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A
COMMENTARY
ON THE
HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

VOL. I.

GENESIS,
EXODUS,

LEVITICUS,
NUMBERS,

DEUTERONOMY,
JOSHUA.

BY THE
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
DR. SYMON PATRICK,
LORD BISHOP OF ELY.

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A

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

AND

PARAPHRASE

ON THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

AND THE

APOCRYPHA.

BY

PATRICK, LOWTH, ARNALD, WHITBY, AND
LOWMAN.

A NEW EDITION, WITH THE TEXT PRINTED AT LARGE,
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IN the previous Editions of this invaluable Commentary, the Annotations were printed *without the Sacred Text*, thus rendering it a mere book of reference for the study. In this Edition, the Text is placed at the head of each page, as in other Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, thus adapting it to general use both in the family and the closet. The Publisher hopes, by this improvement, undertaken at a very considerable increase of expense, to find his advantage in a much wider circulation of the work than it has heretofore obtained.

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PREFACE.

HAVING been persuaded to put together some scattered notes, which I long ago made upon several places of Holy Scripture, I began the last year to consider some texts in the book of Genesis; where I soon found there would be a necessity of making an entire commentary, upon a good part of it: and therefore I resolved to go through the whole, in the same manner as I had done the three first chapters.

After I had finished the better half of my work, I was informed that Mons. Le Clerc had published a Critical Commentary upon the same book: but whether I have concurred in any thing with him, or contradicted him, I am not able to say; having wanted leisure to peruse his work, by reason of the public business, which came upon me in the end of the year: when I likewise understood that a very learned friend and brother had put into the press Annotations upon all the five books of Moses. But by communicating some of our papers to each other, we found there would be no reason that either of us should lay aside our design; but go on, in our several ways, to make the scriptures better understood, by all sorts of persons: for all helps are little enough in this age, which seems to take pleasure in being ignorant of the most important truths,

In which we are so particularly instructed by Moses, as by no other author, nor by all the authors that are, or have been known to be, extant in the world. For to him we owe the knowledge of the beginning of the world; of the first parents of mankind; the inventors of arts; the original of nations; the founders of kingdoms and empires; the institution of laws; the fountain of religious rites; yea, of all the ancient mythology; and, which is most considerable, the means of propagating that sense of God and of religion, which mankind brought into the world with them; and how it came to be corrupted.

There have been those who have taken the liberty to say, that it is impossible to give any tolerable account of the creation of the world in six days; of the situation of Paradise; the fall of our first parents by the seduction of a serpent, &c. But I hope I have made it appear, there is no ground for such presumptuous words; but very good reason to believe every thing that Moses hath related: without forsaking the literal sense, and betaking ourselves to I know not what allegorical interpretations. Particularly, I find the truth of what I have noted concerning Paradise very much confirmed by a learned and judicious discourse of Mons. Huetius; which I did not meet withal till I had made an end of these Commentaries: but then took a review of what I had written, and found cause to correct what I had noted out of Mr. Carver, concerning the spring of Tigris and Euphrates. I might also have given a clearer account of the Deluge, if I had observed some things which are come to my notice since these papers went to the press: but I hope I have said enough to evince that it is not so incredible as some have pretended. For, having made the largest concessions concerning the height of the highest mountains, which, according to the old opinion, I have allowed may be thirty miles high, Gen. vii. 19 (whereas if, instead of thirty, I had said not above three perpendicular, I had had the best of the modern philosophers to defend me), it appears there might be water enough to

cover the loftiest of them, as Moses hath related ; whose account of the families by whom the earth was peopled after the flood, is so surprisingly agreeable to all the records that remain in any language, of the several nations of the earth, that it carries with it an uncontrollable evidence of his sincerity and truth, as well as of his admirable universal knowledge. For, as there is no writer that hath given us an account of so many nations, and so remote, as he hath done, so he hath not satisfied himself with naming them, but acquainted us with their original, and told us at what time, and from what place, and on what occasion, they were dispersed into far distant countries ; and this with such brevity, that he hath informed us of more in one chapter than we can find in the great volumes of all other authors : having shown us from whom all those people descended, who are spread over the face of the earth, from the Caspian and Persian sea, to Hercules' pillars (as the ancients speak) ; that is, all the world over.

In short, whatsoever is most ancient in those countries, which are farthest from all commerce with his own, is clearly explained by Moses ; whose writings therefore cannot but be highly valued by all those who will apply their minds seriously to the study of them. For if they, who have now no regard to him, would but compare what he hath written on the forenamed subject, with what they find in those heathen writers, whom they have in the greatest veneration, they would be forced to confess him to be a man of wonderful understanding ; and could not reasonably doubt he had an exact knowledge of the truth of those things whereof he wrote. To this purpose, I remember, the famous Bochartus speaks ; who hath given the greatest light to the tenth of Genesis, wherein these things are delivered.

And truly, it is some wonder, that they who so much cry up the Egyptian learning, should not easily grant (unless they will believe all historians but only those whom we account sacred) that Moses must needs be qualified, even without the help of divine revelation (which he certainly had), to write both of their original, and of all those who were related to them : being bred up in their country ; nay, in their court, till he was forty years old ; and well versed in all the wisdom that was to be found among them, Acts vii. 22. Which wisdom of theirs, I doubt not, was much augmented by Abraham's living among them (as I have observed upon xiii. 2), but especially by Joseph's long government of that country, for the space of eighty years : who was endued with such an incomparable spirit, that the wisest men among them learnt of him ; for he "taught their senators wisdom," Ps. cv. 22. And, in like manner, Moses lived forty years more among the Midianites, where, it appears by Jethro, there wanted not persons of great knowledge. And from thence he might easily be instructed in all that the Arabians knew : who were no mean people (it appears by the story of Job and his three friends, and Elihu, who is supposed by some to have written that admirable book), and were near neighbours to the most famous nations of the eastern countries : from whom, it is evident by this history, all learning, arts, and sciences, originally came.

April 10, 1694.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

GENESIS.

THAT Moses wrote this and the four following books hath been so constantly believed, both by Jews, Christians, and heathens, that none, I think, denied it, till Aben Ezra (a Jewish doctor, who lived not much above five hundred years ago) raised some doubts about it, in his Notes upon the First of Deuteronomy, out of twelve passages in these books themselves: which he pretended could not be his, but the words of a later author. But when I meet with those places, I shall make it appear that all such exceptions are very frivolous, and ought not to shake our belief of this truth, that these five books were penned by Moses, and nobody else.

The first is called Genesis, because it contains the history of the creation of the world, with which it begins; and the genealogy of the patriarchs, down to the death of Joseph, where it ends. It comprehends a history of two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine years, or thereabouts: the truth of all which it was not difficult for Moses to know, because it came down to his time through but a very few hands. For from Adam to Noah, there was one man (Methuselah) who lived so long as to see them both. And so it was from Noah to Abraham: Shem conversed with both. As Isaac did with Abraham and Joseph; from whom these things might easily be conveyed to Moses, by Amram, who lived long enough with Joseph. In short, Moses might have been confuted, if he had written any thing but the truth, by learned men of other nations, who sprang from the same root, and had the like means of being acquainted with the great things here reported by tradition from their forefathers; who lived so long in the beginning of the world, that they more certainly transmitted things to their posterity. Besides, it is not reasonable to think, they had not the use of writing as we have, whereby they conveyed the knowledge of times foregoing to those that came after.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The creation of heaven and earth, 3 of the light, 6 of the firmament, 9 of the earth separated from the waters, 11 and made fruitful, 14 of the sun, moon, and stars, 20 of fish and fowl, 24 of beasts and cattle, 26 of man in the image of God. 29 Also the appointment of food.*

1 In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep.

CHAPTER I.

Ver. 1. *In the beginning*] The world is not eternal, but had a beginning, as all philosophers acknowledged before Aristotle. So he himself informs us, (lib. i. de Cælo, cap. 2, speaking of the ancient opinions concerning the original of the world) *ἐνόμιζον μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες εἶναι φασίν, they all say it had a beginning:* but some thought it might have no end; others judged it to be corruptible.

God created] He who is eternal gave a being to this great fabric of heaven and earth out of nothing. It is observed by Eusebius (in the beginning of his book De Præpar. Evang. p. 21, 25, Edit. Paris), that neither the ancient historians, nor the philosophers, do so much as mention God, οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν ὀνόμαζον; no, not so far as to name him, when they write of the beginning of the world. But this Divine lawgiver design-

ing to hang the whole frame of his polity upon piety towards God, and to make the Creator of all the founder of his laws, begins with him. Not after the manner of the Egyptians and Phenicians, who bestowed this adorable name upon a great multitude: but he puts in the front of his work the name of the sole Cause of all things, the Maker of whatsoever is seen or unseen. As if he had told the Hebrew nation, that he who gave them the law contained in these books was the King and Lawgiver of the whole world; which was, like a great city, governed by him. Whom therefore he would have them look upon, not only as the enactor of their laws; but of those also which all nature obeys. See lib. vii. de Præpar. Evang. cap. 9, 10; and lib. xii. cap. 16.

The heaven and the earth.] The Hebrew particle *eth* put before both heaven and earth, signifies as much as *with*, if Maimonides understood it aright; and

And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

makes the sense to be this: *He created the heavens with all things in the heavens, and the earth with all things in the earth*; as his words are in More Nevochim, p. ii. cap. 30. Certain it is, these two words *heaven and earth* comprehend the whole visible world. Some would have the angels comprehended in the word *heaven*; as particularly Epiphanius (Heres. lxx. n. 45), ἀμα οὐρανῶ καὶ γῆ Ἀγγέλους ἐκτίσθησαν. But others of the fathers are of a different opinion, as Petavius observes. It is a pretty conceit of Theophilus Antiochenus (lib. ii. ad Autolyceum), that the *heavens* are mentioned before the *earth*, to show that God's works are not like ours: for he begins at the top, we at the bottom; that is, he first made the fixed stars and all beyond them (so I take the word *heaven* here to signify), for they had a beginning, as well as this lower world, though they do not seem to be comprehended in the six days' work, which relates only to this planetary world, as I may call it, which hath the sun for its centre. And thus Philo understood the first word *berechith*, in the beginning, to respect the order wherein things were created. God began his creation with the *heavens*, as the most noble body, and then proceeded to the *earth*; an account of which follows.

Ver. 2.] Some connect this verse with the foregoing, by translating the first verse in this manner: *When God first created, or began to create, the heaven and the earth, the earth was without form, &c.* That is, at first he only created a rude matter of those things, which afterwards were fashioned as we now see them.

Without form] A confused, indigested heap, without any order or shape.

And void:] Having no beasts, nor trees, nor herbs, nor any thing else, wherewith we now behold it adorned.

So these two words, *tohu vabohu*, are used in Scripture, where we meet with them (which is not often) for confusion and emptiness (Isa. xxxiv. 11; Jerem. iv. 23), being a description of that which the ancients called the Chaos (of which the Barbarians had a notion, no less than the Greeks), wherein the seeds and principles of all things were blended together. This is called, in the pagan language, by Epicharmus, πρῶτον Θεῶν, the first of the gods: because all things sprang out of this; which was indeed the first of the works of God, who, as Moses shows in the sequel, produced this beautiful world out of this chaos.

Darkness was upon the face of the deep.] Nothing was to be seen, for want of light; which lay buried, as all things else did, in that great abyss, or vast confused heap of matter, before mentioned. So the Hebrew word *tehom* (which we translate *deep*) signifies tumult and turbid confusion; the first matter being very heterogeneous, as they speak, i. e. of various sorts and kinds, huddled together without distinction.

And the Spirit of God moved] Men have been extremely fanciful in the exposition of these plain words: some understanding, by the *Spirit of God*, the sun, which gives spirit and life to all things upon earth; others, the air, or the wind; when as yet there was no sun in the firmament, nor any wind that could stir, without the power of the Almighty to excite it. This therefore we are to understand to be here meant: the infinite wisdom and power of God, which made a vehement commotion, and mighty fermentation (by raising, perhaps, a great wind) upon the face of the waters: i. e. on that fluid matter before mentioned, to separate the parts of it one from the other

3 And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

Waters.] That which Moses before called the *deep*, he now calls the *waters*; which plainly shows that some parts of the confused mass were fluid and light, as other parts were solid and heavy. The heavy naturally sunk, which he calls the *earth*; and the lighter parts got above them, which he calls the *waters*: for it is clearly intimated the *waters* were uppermost.

The word we here translate *moved*, signifies literally brooded upon the waters, as a hen doth upon her eggs. So the ancient and modern interpreters have observed: and Morinus, who opposes it, hath said nothing to make us doubt of this sense of the phrase. From whence some have, not unhappily, conjectured, the ancients took their notion of a πρωτόγονον ὄν, a fresh-laid egg, out of which all things were formed: that is, the chaos (out of which all the old philosophers, before Aristotle, thought the world was produced) consisting of earth and water, of thicker and thinner parts, as an egg doth of the yolk and white.

Now the *Spirit of God* thus moved upon the waters, that by its incubation (as we may call it), it might not only separate, as I said, those parts which were jumbled together; but give a vivific virtue to them, to produce what was contained in them. The souls and spirits, that is of all living creatures, were produced by the *Spirit of God*, as Porphyry saith Numenius understood it. For his opinion, he tells us, was, that all things come out of the water, θεοπνεῦμα ὄντι, being divinely inspired: for which he quoted these words of the prophet, as he called Moses. See Porphyry περὶ τοῦ Νυμφ. Ἀνθρώπ, on those words of Homer:

Ἰερὸν Νυμφαῖον, καὶ Νηϊάδες καλέονται.

Which gives us to understand, that the spirits of all living creatures (which we call their active forms) did not arise out of matter, for that is stupid; but proceeded from this other principle, the powerful *Spirit of God*, which moved upon the face of the waters, by a vital energy (as St. Chrysostom speaks), so that they were no longer standing waters, but moving, having ζωτικὴν τινα δύναμιν, a certain living power in them. From whence we may also gather, that the spirits of living creatures are distinct things from matter, which of itself cannot move at all, and much less produce a principle of motion.

And thus indeed all the ancient philosophers apprehended this matter: and some of them have most lively expressed it. For Laertius in the Life of Anaxagoras tells us, that he taught, among other things, Πάντα κομμάτια ἢ ὑποῦν εἶτα Νοῦς ἐβίβησεν αὐτὰ διεκοσμήσει, all things were huddled together: and then the Mind came and set them in order. And Thales before him (as Tully informs, lib. i. de Nat. Deor.), Aquam dixit esse initium rerum; Deum autem eam montem quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret, said, "Water was the beginning of things; and God that Mind, who formed all things out of the water."

By the *Spirit of God* some of the ancient Jews have understood the *Spirit of the Messiah* (as Hackspan observes in his Cabala Judaica, n. lxxvi. out of Baal Hatturim, the Hierusalem Targum, &c.), which explains the evangelist, St. John, who in the beginning of his Gospel says, all things were made by the eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ, or Word of God (the same with the Νοῦς of the ancient philosophers), whose almighty Spirit agitated the vast confused mass of matter, and put it into form.

Ver. 3. *And God said.*] These words are taken notice of by Longinus, περὶ ὕψους, as a truly lofty

4 And God saw the light, that *it was good* : and God divided the light from the darkness.

5 And God called the light Day, and the

darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

6 ¶ And God said, Let there be a firmament

expression, wherein appears the wisdom of Moses, who represents God, like himself, commanding things into being by his word ; that is, by his will : for where-soever we read these words in the history of the creation, *He said*, the meaning must be understood to be *he willed*, as Maimonides interprets it. (More Nev. p. i. cap. 65.) Thus Justin Martyr demonstrates Orpheus had learnt out of Moses's books, when he swears by the heaven, the work of the great and wise God, and by the "word of the Father, which he spake at first," when he established all the world by his counsels. So his words are in Παρρη. εις Ελληνας.—P. 16.

And as there is nothing more famous in antiquity than the τὸ Ὀρφεὺν ᾠόν, *Orpheus's egg*, which I before mentioned ; so it is remarkable, that the Egyptians (among whom Orpheus travelled) described their God Kneph, with an egg coming out of his mouth, which was a lively representation of this world (noted by the egg) produced by God's omnipotent Word : for how richly soever the chaos was furnished with materials, it could have brought forth nothing, without his powerful motion, and wise contrivance, by whom it was created. So Anaxagoras himself resolved, νοῦν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως, that *Mind was the principle of motion* (as Laertius tells us in his Life), by which Mind he understood God, as others have reported his opinion more largely in these admirable words : "The beginning of all things is ὁ Νοῦς, the Mind, who is the Cause and the Lord of the whole world, and gave τῶν τοῖς ἀτάκτοις, καὶ κινήσιν τοῖς ἀκίνητοις, &c. order to things in disorder, and motion to things immoveable, and distinction to things confused, and beauty to things deformed."

Let there be light.] Having spoken of the creation of all things, now follows an account of their formation out of that rude matter which was at first created. And the first thing produced was light, which Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. xliii. p. 699, a.) calls ἀσώματος καὶ ἀνήλικου, because it was not yet collected into a body, as it is now in the sun. Others think it to have been a dimmer sort of light from the sun, not yet perfectly formed. Abarbinel (upon the xlii of Exodus) takes this to be the Shechinah, the most excellent of all created things, called, in Holy Scripture, the *glory of the Lord* ; which God, saith he, sealed up in his treasures, after the luminaries were created, to serve him upon special occasions (for instance, to lead the Israelites in the wilderness, by a cloudy pillar of fire), when he would make himself appear extraordinarily present. And because of the perfection of this *light* he fancies it is that Moses says in the next verse, that "God saw the light (repeating the word light) that it was good : " whereas, in all the rest of the six days' work, he only says, "He saw it was good," without naming again the thing he had made.

But it seems to me most rational, by this *light* to understand those particles of matter, which we call fire (whose two properties, every one knows, are light and heat), which the almighty Spirit, that formed all things, produced as the great instrument for the preparation and digestion of the rest of the matter ; which was still more vigorously moved and agitated, from the top to the bottom, by this restless element, till the purer and more shining parts of it, being separated from the grosser, and united in a body fit to retain them, became *light*.

Ver. 4. *And God saw the light, that it was good.*] He was pleased in this work of his, as agreeable to his design : which for the present was (we may conceive) to influence the upper parts of the chaos, and

to be the instrument of rarefaction, separation, and all the rest of the operations, which were necessary to mould it into such creatures, as were afterwards made out of it.

Divided the light from the darkness.] Appointed that they should constantly succeed one another ; as we see they do *now*, that this light is imbodyed in the sun ; and as they did *then*, by the circular motion of this first light of fire, round about the chaos, in the space of twenty-four hours : which made it day to those parts where it shone ; and night, where it did not. It is remarkable how Moses ascribes every thing to God, the former of all things ; who, by making this light move round about the chaos, still more prepared and exalted the remaining indigested parts of matter for their several uses.

Ver. 5.] He settled them (that is) in such a constant course, that it gave them these distinct names.

And the evening and the morning were the first day.] In the Hebrew language, evening and morning signify a whole day ; which the motion of this light made, if we conceive it to have been formed about noon, and to have gone round the forementioned heap of matter in twenty-four hours.

How long all things continued in mere confusion, after the chaos was created, before this light was extracted out of it, we are not told. It might be (for any thing that is here revealed) a great while ; and all that time the mighty Spirit was making such motions in it, as prepared, disposed, and ripened every part of it, for such productions as were to appear successively in such spaces of time, as are here and afterwards mentioned by Moses ; who informs us, that after things were so digested, and made ready (by long fermentations, perhaps) to be wrought into form, God produced every day, for six days together, some creature or other, till all was finished ; of which light was the very first. This Maimonides hath very happily illustrated, in his More Nevochim, p. ii. c. 30 ; where, observing that all things were created at once, and then were afterwards separated one from another successively, he says, their wise men resemble this proceeding to that of a husbandman, who sows several seeds in the earth at the same moment ; some of which are to come up after one day, others after two, and others not till three days be past ; though the whole sowing was in one and the same moment. Thus God made all things at the first, which did not appear together ; but, in the space of six days, were formed and put in order one after another ; *light* being the work of the first day.

Ver. 6.] The next thing that God commanded to come forth of the chaos, was the *air* ; particularly that region next to us, wherein the fowls fly, as it is expounded afterwards. (ver. 20.) The Hebrew word *rachia*, properly signifies a *body expanded*, or spread forth (as may be seen in Exod. xxxix. 3 ; Isai. xl. 19 ; Jer. x. 9 ; where it can have no other meaning), but it is by the LXX. translated στερέωμα, and from thence by us, *firmament* ; because the air, though vastly extended and fluid, yet continues firm and stable in its place.

In the midst of the waters.] This region of the air manifestly parts the waters above it in the clouds from those below it here upon earth ; the one of which *waters* bears a good proportion, and is in some measure equal unto the other : for there are vast treasures of water in the clouds ; from whence the *waters* here below, in springs and rivers, are supplied. This

in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

7 And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which *were* under the firmament from the waters which *were* above the firmament: and it was so.

8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

9 ¶ And God said, Let the waters under the

heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so.

10 And God called the dry *land* Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that *it was good*.

11 And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed *is* in itself, upon the earth: and it was so.

12 And the earth brought forth grass, and

appeared afterwards in the deluge, which was partly made by continued rains for many days. The great objection against this exposition is, that now there were no clouds, neither had it, after this, rained on the earth. (Gen. ii. 6.) But it must be considered, that neither were the *waters* below as yet gathered into one place: and therefore Moses here speaks of the air, as a body intended to be stretched between the *waters* above and beneath, when they should be formed.

That the clouds above are called *waters* in the Scripture language, is plain enough from Psalm civ. 3; Jer. x. 13; and other places.

Ver. 7.] What his Divine will ordered, his power effected, by that light which rolled about the chaos, and that heat which was excited within it; whereby such exhalations were raised, as made the *firmament*: that is, the thicker parts of them made this region of the air, which is the *lower firmament* (ver. 20); and the thinner parts of them made the ether, or *higher firmament*, wherein the sun and the planets are seated. Ver. 14, 15.

Ver. 8. *God called the firmament Heaven.*] Made it so different from the rest of the mass, called *earth*, that it had the name of *heaven*, to distinguish it from the other. So all above the earth is called, as appears by the following part of the chapter, in the verses now mentioned. And that is the very import of the word *shamaim*, which in the Arabic language (as Aben Ezra observes) signifies *height*, or *altitude*.

This was the work of another whole day. Concerning which it is commonly noted, that it is not said of this, as of all the works of the other five days, "God saw that it was good." What the reason of this should be, is inquired by all interpreters; and the most solid account that I can find of it is this:—that the waters mentioned upon this day, were not yet separated and distinguished from the earth; and, therefore, in the next day's work, when he did gather the waters together (ver. 10), and when he commanded the earth (which was become dry) to bring forth (ver. 12), these words, "God saw that it was good," are twice repeated. Which made Picherellus and Ger. Vossius think the two next verses (9, 10) belonged to the second day's work; and that the first words of the ninth verse should be thus translated, "And God had said, Let the waters under the heaven," &c. And so the words in the end of the tenth verse, "God saw that it was good," relate to the second day. Lib. ii. de Orig. Idolol. c. 67.

Ver. 9. *And God said, Let the waters*] All the *waters*, which continued mixed with the earth, and covered the surface of it.

Be gathered together,] Collected into one body by themselves.

And let the dry land appear.] Distinct and separate from the waters.

There being such large portions of matter drawn out of the chaos, as made the body of fire and air before mentioned, there remained, in a great body, only water and earth; but they were so jumbled together, that they could not be distinguished. It

was the work therefore of the third day to make a separation between them, by compacting together all the particles which make the earth, which before was mud and dirt: and then, by raising it above the waters, which covered its superficies (as the Psalmist also describes this work, Psalm civ. 6); and, lastly, by making such caverns in it, as were sufficient to receive the waters into them. Now this we may conceive to have been done by such particles of fire as were left in the bowels of the earth, whereby such nitro-sulphureous vapours were kindled, as made an earthquake; which both lifted up the earth, and also made receptacles for the waters to run into; as the Psalmist (otherwise I should not venture to mention this) seems in the forementioned place to illustrate it (Psalm civ. 7), where he says, "At thy rebuke they (i. e. the waters) fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away." And so God himself speaks (Job xxxviii. 10), "I brake up for it (i. e. for the sea) my decreed place, and set bars and doors." Histories also tell us, of mountains that have been, in several ages, lifted up by earthquakes; nay, islands in the midst of the sea: which confirms this conjecture, that possibly the waters were, at the first, separated by this means; and so separated, that they should not return to cover the earth: for the word, in the beginning of this verse, which we translate *gathered*, comes from *kar*, which signifies *a square, a rule, or perpendicular line*; and therefore denotes they were most exactly collected, and so poised in such just proportions, that they should not again overflow the dry land.

This work of God (whereby the waters were sent down into their proper channels, and the earth made dry, and fitted for the habitation of such creatures as were afterwards created) is observed by Strabo in his Geography as an act of Divine Providence. (lib. xvii.) Because, says he, the water covered the earth, and man is not *ἐνδρον ζῷον*, a creature that can live in the water, God made *εἰς χάλας ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλὰς καὶ ἐνοχὰς*, &c. many cavities and receptacles in the earth for the water; and raised the earth above it, that it might be fit for man's habitation.

Ver. 10.] This is sufficiently explained, by what has been said upon verses 5 and 8; only this may be added, that the word *eretz*, *earth*, in Arabic, signifies any thing that is low and sunk beneath, opposite to *shamaim*, *heavens*, which, in that language, as I noted before, signifies *high* and *lifted up*.

Ver. 11.] Rather, it should be translated, *and the herb yielding*, &c. though the copula be omitted, which is usual in Scripture; particularly in Abak. iii. 11, "the sun, moon," i. e. the sun and moon.

Moses having shown how the first matter (ver. 2), and then the elements of things, as we call them (ver. 3; 6, 9, 10), were produced, he proceeds to the production of more compounded bodies. And here an account is given of all sorts of vegetables, which are ranged under three heads; *grass*, which comes up every year without sowing; *herbs*, bearing a seed, which comprehends (as Abarinel here notes) all sort of corn, and whatsoever is sown:

herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed *was* in itself, after his kind: and God saw that *it was* good.

13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.

14 ¶ And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:

and trees, which also bear fruit. There are several kinds of all these; which some have cast into eighteen, others into six-and-thirty classes; none of which could at the first spring out of the earth, of itself, by the power of external and internal heat, and of the water mixed with it, (no, not so much as one single pile of grass) without the almighty power and wisdom of God; who brought together those parts of matter, which were fitted to produce them; and then formed every one of them, and determined their several species; and also provided for their continuance, by bringing forth seed to propagate their species to the end of all things. And here it is very remarkable, how God had secured the seeds of all plants with singular care: some of them being defended by a double, nay, a treble inclosure.

Ver. 12. *And the earth brought forth grass,*] These things did not grow up out of seed, by such a long process as is now required to bring them to maturity; but they sprung up in their perfection, in the space of a day, with their seeds in them, completely formed, to produce the like throughout all generations. Thus Moses gives a plain account of the first production of things, according to the natural method: for supposing they had a beginning, the herb and the tree must naturally be before the seed they bear; as the hen is before the egg she lays. And to make a question, which was first (as some of the philosophers did) is very frivolous; because that Power which alone could produce the seeds of all things, could as easily make the things themselves, with a power to propagate their kind by seed.

It is therefore most judiciously noted by Abarbinel, a learned Jew, that the production of plants, in the beginning, differed from their production ever since in these two things: first, That they have sprung ever since out of seed, either sown by us, or falling from the plants themselves; but, at the beginning, were brought out of the earth, with their seed in them to propagate them ever after. And, secondly, They need now, as they have done since the first creation, the influence of the sun, to make them sprout; but then they came forth by the power of God, before there was any sun, which was not formed till the next day. Of this last Theophilus Antiochenus, long before Abarbinel, took notice (lib. ii. ad Autolyicum), where he says, God produced things in this order; foreseeing the vanity of philosophers, who, saying nothing of Him, made all things to be produced by the sun, ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων, "out of the elements." Porphyry himself also, (lib. ii. περὶ ἀπορίας), could observe out of Theophrastus, that the earth brought forth trees and herbs before beasts, δένδρα μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸ ζώων ἀνέδωκε ἡ γῆ, &c. which Eusebius remembers in his Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 9, p. 28.

Ver. 14. *Let there be lights*] This is a different word from what we had, ver. 3; signifying, as Paulus Fagius observes, that which is made out of light; *luminous bodies*, whereby light is communicated to us: the Hebrew particle, *mem*, before a word, being used to express the instrument of an action. And so now we are to conceive, that the light produced at first, having for three days circulated about the earth, and

15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he made* the stars also.

17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

18 And to rule over the day and over the

that near unto it, to further the production of the things before mentioned, was on this fourth day distributed into several luminaries, at a great distance from the earth. So it follows—in the *firmament of heaven*, in the upper region, which we call the ether, or sky, where the sun and the planets are placed.

To divide the day from the night;] By a continued circular motion, finished in four-and-twenty hours; in one part of which, by the presence of the sun, the day is made: and, in the other part, by the sun's absence, night is made, in a constant succession.

For signs and for seasons,] That is, for signs of the times or seasons; as Ger. Vossius expounds it, by the figure of ἐν δαὶ ὅσων. And by *times* are meant, the spring, summer, autumn, and winter; and, by consequence, the *seasons* for ploughing, sowing, planting, pruning, reaping, vintage, sailing, &c.—L. de Scientiis Mathemat. cap. 38.

And for days and years;] By a speedy swift motion round, in twenty-four hours, to make *days*; and by a slower, longer motion, to make *years*; and a grateful variety of seasons, in the several parts of the earth, which by this annual motion are all visited by the sun's beams.

Ver. 15. *And let them be for lights,* &c.] i. e. Let them there continue to give constant light and warmth to the earth: and so they do immovably.

Ver. 16. *And God made two great lights;*] It is observable that nothing is said to have been created since the first matter, out of which all things were made or formed. And the *two great lights*, or luminaries, *enlighteners* (as the word signifies) are the sun, which enlightens by day; and the moon, which enlightens us by night. The moon, indeed, is not so great as the rest of the planets (for it is the least of all, except Mercury), but it affords the greatest light to us, by reflecting the beams of the sun to us in its absence; and thereby very much abating the disconsolate darkness of the night.

He made the stars also,] That is, the rest of the planets, and their attendants.

Ver. 17. *And God set them in the firmament of the heaven,* &c.] By the repetition of this so often, Moses intended to fix in the people's mind this notion—that though the heavenly bodies be very glorious, yet they are but creatures, made by God, and set or appointed by his order to give us light; and, therefore, He alone is to be worshipped, not they.

It is commonly taken notice of, that there is no mention of the creation of angels in all this history; nor was there any need of it. For the ancient idolatry, consisting in the worship of the sun, moon, and stars (as appears from the very names of the most ancient idols in the Old Testament, such as Moloch, Ashtaroth, and the like), which they believed to be eternal beings, the great design of Moses was to confute this opinion, by representing them over and over as the work of the eternal God, which struck at the very root of idolatry. The worship of angels was a later invention.

Ver. 18.] Some have fancied that the ancient idolatry sprung from this word *rule*; men looking upon these glorious lights as having a dominion over them

night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that *it was good*.

19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.

21 And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters

brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that *it was good*.

22 And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.

23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

24 ¶ And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and

Whence the sun was called Baal, that is, *lord* or *governor*, by the eastern people; and Moloch, that is, *king*, by the Egyptians. But one word sure was not the ground of so foul an error, when the scope of Moses was to show, that these things were made by a higher Being, and made not to rule over men, but over the day and the night, which the sun makes when it rises and sets, by the order and appointment of God.

And God saw that it was good.] He was pleased with this work, as suitable to the ends for which he intended it. The first light *was good* (ver. 4) for the purpose to which it served; which was, by its heat, to agitate, rarefy, and separate the matter of the chaos, for the making of air, and gathering together the waters, and drying the earth, and producing grass, herbs, and trees, which made it necessary it should continue some days near to the earth, that it might powerfully penetrate into the matter it was to digest; but, if it should have continued longer so near to the earth, it would not have been good for it; because it would have burnt up all the plants that the earth had brought forth; and, by its too scorching heat, have hindered the production of those living creatures, which were ready on the next day to be made, or, at least, made the earth unfit for their habitation. For the air, which all living things, even fishes themselves, need (nay, the plants also, which have vessels for conveying air to all their parts), would have been so very hot, that it would have afforded no refreshment to them: therefore *it was good* that it should be advanced into the firmament of the heaven, and there imbedded in those luminaries, which, being removed further from us, give such a moderate heat, as is necessary for the preservation of us and of all things living that dwell upon the earth.

Ver. 19. *And the evening, &c.*] Thus the fourth day concluded.

Ver. 20.] Now God proceeded to form the lower sort of animals, or living creatures, viz. the fish and the fowl, which are in many respects inferior to beasts. And the fishes are called *moving* (in the Hebrew, *creeping*) creatures; because their bellies touch the water, as creeping things do the earth. Both fishes and fowls were made out of the *waters*; that is, out of such matter as was mixed with the *waters*, which contained in them many things besides simple water; for the sea and rivers are still very richly furnished with various compounds, for the nourishment of an innumerable multitude of fishes. The great congruity that there is between fish and fowl, in many particulars, will not let us doubt they had the same original: for they are both oviparous, which makes them more fruitful than the beasts of the earth; neither of them have any teats: they both direct (and, as I may say, steer) their course by their tail, &c. See Ger. Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. iii. cap. 78.

Bring forth abundantly] That is, various sorts of both kinds, there being many hundred kinds of fishes, and birds or fowls; many of the latter of which live in the water (which shows their original to have been from thence), and others of them live both in the air and water. The formation of these creatures is, in

every part of them, very wonderful, especially in those parts whereby they are fitted to swim, and to fly, which demonstrate a most wise Agent, by whose infinite power they were so contrived, as to be able also to propagate their kind.

Ver. 21. *God created great whales,*] The vastness of these creatures, perhaps, made Moses again use the word *create* (which he had not done since the beginning of the chapter); not because they were made as the chaos was, out of nothing; but because it required a greater power to make out of the precedent matter moving things of so huge a bulk, and of such great agility, than to make any other thing hitherto formed.

The Hebrew word *tanin*, which we translate *whales*, comprehends several sorts of great fishes, as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoic. p. i. lib. i. cap. 7, where he shows the prodigious bigness of some of them. But he should have added, that this word also signifies *crocodiles*, which he himself shows are set forth in Job xli. as the most astonishing work of God. For Job Ludolphus, I think, hath demonstrated, that nothing but the crocodile can be meant by this word *tanin*, in Ezek. xxix. 3; and xxxii. 2, and some other places. Vid. lib. i. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. cap. xi. n. 86.

God saw that it was good.] Was pleased with the structure of these several creatures: of the *birds*, who were furnished with wings to fly in the air; and of the *fishes*, whose fins serve them to swim in the water; and of *water-fowl*, whose feet are formed so, as to serve for the same use; and some of them (such as dive under water), covered so thick with feathers, and those so smooth and slippery (as the learned and pious Mr. Ray hath observed), that their bodies are thereby defended from the cold of the water, which cannot penetrate or moisten them. See Wisdom of God in the Creation, pt. i. p. 135.

Ver. 22. *God blessed them, &c.*] His blessing them was giving them a power to multiply and increase, till they had filled the water with fish, and the air with fowl, which required a particular care of Divine Providence, as Abarinel observes: because they do not bring forth young ones perfectly formed, as the beasts do, but lay their eggs in which they are formed, when they are out of their bodies. This, saith he, is a wonderful thing, that when the womb, as we may call it, is separate from the genitor, a living creature like itself should be produced, which is the reason, he fancies, that a blessing is here pronounced upon them, and not on the beasts, that were made the next day. The ancient fathers are wont to observe, that the first blessing was given to the waters, as a type of baptism. Theophilus ad Autolye. lib. ii. and Tertullian. de Baptismo, cap. 3.

And let fowl multiply in the earth.] There, for the most part, they have their habitation and their food, though some live upon the water.

Ver. 23.] See verse 19.

Ver. 24.] By a gradual process, the Divine Power produced creatures still more noble: the matter being more digested and prepared in five days' time than it was at first. I do not know whether there be any

creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

25 And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that *it was good*.

weight in the note of Abarbinel, who observes that Moses here uses a new word, which we translate *bring forth*, to show the difference between plants and animals. The former of which spring out of the earth indeed, but continue fixed in it, and perish if they be separated from it: whereas animals, though made out of the earth, and living upon it, have a separate existence, and do not still adhere to it.

After his kind.] Three sorts of living creatures are immediately mentioned, which were formed out of such matter as the earth afforded (not simple earth, we must understand, no more than before simple water; for it was impregnated with many other principles); the first of which, *behemah*, which we translate *cattle*, always signifies the flocks and herds of tame beasts, when it is distinguished from *chajja*, which we translate in the end of the verse, *beasts of the earth*, that is, wild beasts: between which two, he mentions a third kind of living creatures on the earth, which he calls *remesh*—*creeping things*; because, whatever feet they have, they are so short and small, that they seem to the naked eye to have none at all; but to crawl on their bellies upon the ground. Of all these three kinds there are various sorts where-with God hath replenished the earth: and of every kind, some vastly great, and others very little; as Abarbinel notes even among reptiles, there being serpents of a prodigious length, and other creeping things far smaller than ants.

Ver. 25.] The earth did not bring them forth, by virtue of the influence of heaven upon prepared matter: but God framed them out of the matter so prepared, and produced them in their full perfection after their several kinds.

And God saw that it was good.] Was pleased with the great variety of these creatures, and their complete structure, fitting them for their several uses.

Ver. 26. *Let us make man.*] God not only reserved man for the last of his works; but doth, as it were, advise and consult about his production. Not to signify any deliberation within himself, or any difficulty in the work; but to represent to us the dignity of man, and that he was made (as Abarbinel glosses) with admirable wisdom and great prudence. To the same purpose St. Chrysostom here speaks. And see Greg. Nyssen. de Opificio Hominis, cap. 3, and Orat. i. on these words; with Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. xliii. p. 699; who observes, that God brought him into this world, as into a noble palace, ready furnished with all manner of things; which is the notion also of Methodius; see Epiphanius Hæres. lxiv. n. 18. It is to be observed also, that God doth not say, "Let the earth bring forth man," as he saith before (ver. 24) of other animals; for the same reason: to represent man as a far more noble work, than any other upon earth: for though he was made (as we read in the next chapter) *of the dust of the ground*; yet a greater power and skill was employed in producing a creature of such beauty and majesty.

Let us.] The ancient Christian looked upon this as a plain intimation of a plurality of persons in the Godhead: inasmuch that Epiphanius says, "This is the language of God to his Word and only Begotten, as all the faithful believe." See Hæres. xxiii. n. 2; and xlii. n. 4; and xlii. n. 3, where he says, Adam was *παρά τὸν θεὸν ἐν χειρὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, "formed by the hand of the Father, and the

26 ¶ And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

Son, and the Holy Ghost." To which one cannot but incline, who considers how poorly the Jews expound this place: who fancy a kind of senate or council of angels, without whom God doth nothing (which they ground upon Dan. iv. 14); whereas, there is not the least signification as yet of any such beings; much less, that they had any hand in the making of man, who was not made in their image, but in the image of God. Yet thus Saturnilus foolishly expounded these words, as Epiphanius informs us, in the fore-named Hæres. p. 62. Edit. Paris. And Moses Gerundensis still more foolishly imagines God spake to the earth, that it should bring forth man, as it had done other creatures: but Maimonides, who magnifies that saying of their masters (that God doth nothing without his council), is forced to acknowledge (More Nevoch. p. ii. cap. 6), that it is not to be understood, as if he asked their advice, or was assisted by their judgment, but only that he used them as instruments in the producing of every thing, which is directly contrary to the very words, which are not in the form of a *command*, but of a *consultation* before execution. Others therefore think God speaks after the manner of kings, who advise with their council, but do things themselves; and are wont to speak in the plural number, when they declare their pleasure. But I take this to be a custom much later than the days of Moses, when they spake as the King of Egypt doth to Joseph: (Gen. xli. 41, 44) "I am Pharaoh, and see I have set thee (not we have set thee) over the land of Egypt." In which style the King of Persia writes long after this: (Ezra vi. 8) "I Darius make a decree."

All these poor shifts are a plain confession, that they found it very hard (as the Socinians do at this day) to give any account of this way of speaking, without granting a plurality of persons in the Godhead. And therefore Menasseh Ben Israel, in his Conciliator, mentions one of their doctors, who, in Bereshith Rabba, says, that when Moses by God's direction was about to write these words, "Let us make man," he cried out, "O Lord of the world, why wilt thou give men occasion to err about thy most simple unity?" To which he received this answer, "Write as I bid thee; and if any man love to err, let him err." The same story is told by Joseph Albo; which shows, that their doctors have been long puzzled with this manner of speech, which unavoidably suggested to their thoughts more than one person in the Deity; which, till they believe, they are at a loss what to say about it.

In our image, after our likeness.] Two words (some think) to express the same thing: with this difference only, as Abarbinel explains it, that the last words, *after our likeness*, give us to understand that man was not created properly and perfectly in the image of God; but in a resemblance of him. For he doth not say, *in our likeness* (says that author) as he had said *in our image*, but *after our likeness*: where the *cap* of similitude (as they call it) abates something of the sense of what follows; and makes it signify only an approach to the Divine likeness, in understanding, freedom of choice, spirituality, immortality, &c. Thus Tertullian explains it, "Habent illas ubique lineas Dei, qua immortalis anima, qua libera et sui arbitrii, qua præscia plerumque, qua rationalis, capax intellectus et scientiæ." Lib. ii. contra Marcion. cap. 9. And so Gregor. Nyssen. cap. 16, De

27 So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

28 And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

29 ¶ And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which *is* upon

Οπίς. Hom. Πάντες τοῦ διανοῦσθαι καὶ προβουλεύειν δύναμι ἔχουσι, &c. "All have a power of considering and designing, of consulting, and fore-appointing, what we intend to do." Purity and holiness likewise seem to be comprehended in this: as may be gathered from the apostle (Coloss. iii. 10): "For the new man consists in righteousness and true holiness." (Eph. iv. 24.) But though he was created with a faculty to judge aright, and with a power to govern his appetite, which he could control more easily than we can do now; yet he was not made immediately good (quia hoc soli Deo cedit, which belongs to God alone, as Tertullian excellently discourses in that place), but might, without due care, be induced to do evil, as we see he did. For an habituated, confirmed state of goodness, was even then to have been acquired by watchfulness and exercise, whereby, in process of time, he might have become so steadfast, that he could not have been prevailed upon, by any temptation, to do contrary to his duty.

And let them have dominion, &c.] Some have thought the image of God consisted in this alone. (See Greg. Nyssen. eap. 1, De Opific. Hom. p. 143.) Which rather follows upon man's being made in God's image, viz. an intelligent being; which gave him dominion over other things that are not endued with such understanding. I conclude this note with a very pertinent observation of his in that book (cap. 16): That Moses speaks more magnificently of man, than any philosopher ever did: for they could say nothing of him beyond this, that he was μικρὸς κόσμος, "a little world;" but, according to the church's account, his greatness consists not in his likeness to the created world, but in his being made κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ κτίσαντος φύσεως, "after the image of the nature of the Creator of all things."

Over all the earth.] Over all four-footed creatures in the earth, though never so wild; as Bochartus observes.

Ver. 27. God created man in his own image.] From these words Origen gathers there is a great deal of difference between Εἰκών, *image*, and Ὁμοίωμα, *likeness*; because, though God said (ver. 26), "Let us make man in our image, and after our likeness," yet here he is said to have made him only in his own image; and not, for the present, after his likeness. For that, saith he (lib. iv. contra Celsum), is reserved to the other world; when, as St. John says (1 Epist. iii. 2), ὁμοιοὶ αὐτῷ ἵσμεθα, "we shall be like him." But this seems too curious. No doubt God made man just as he designed, in such a complete resemblance of himself, that there is no creature like to man, no more than God hath any equal to himself: as some of the Hebrew doctors explain this matter. And therefore Moses repeats it again, "in the image of God created he him:" to imprint upon the minds of men, a sense of the great dignity of human nature; which was foully debased by worshipping any creature.

Male and female created he them.] He made woman the same day he made man; as he did both sexes of all other living creatures, and as he made herbs and

the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

30 And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* life, I have given every green herb for meat: and it was so.

31 And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

plants with seed in them, to propagate their species on the same day they were produced. It is plain by this, also, that woman, as well as man, was made in the image of God. And it seems to be pertinently observed by Abarbanel, that Moses here again uses the word *create* (and that three times) to denote the original of human souls; which are not *made* out of pre-existent matter, as our bodies are; but by the power of God, when they had no being at all.

Ver. 28. God blessed them, &c.] The former part of this blessing, "be fruitful and multiply," God hath bestowed before (ver. 22) upon other creatures: unto which he adds two things here, "replenish the earth, and subdue it." He gives them the whole earth for their possession, with a power to *subdue it*: that is, to make it fit for their habitation, by bringing under or driving away wild beasts. For, secondly, he gives them the dominion (unto which he designed them in their creation) over all other creatures; whether in the water, air, or earth. And he speaks to them in the plural number; which is a demonstration, that man and woman were both created, and received, his blessing, on the same day.

Ver. 29.] Here he assigns them their food; and makes no mention at all of beasts, but only of plants and fruits of the earth. For beasts being made by pairs in their several species (we may well suppose) as man and woman were, and not being yet multiplied, the killing of beasts, birds, and fishes, would have been the destruction of the kind: whereas there were plants innumerable and great variety of fruit for their sustenance. And therefore here being no grant made to them of animals for their food, though no prohibition neither, it is very probable they abstained from eating flesh, till after the flood (when God expressly gave them every living thing for meat, as much as the herbs, ch. ix. 2), unless it were upon some special occasions; as, perhaps, when they sacrificed living creatures; which they did in process of time (iv. 4), though not at the first.

Ver. 30. To every beast, &c.] Here he gives to the beasts, and fowl, and creeping things, all herbs for their food, but saith nothing of fruit; from which we cannot well think the birds would abstain; and therefore they are included in the phrase, *of every green herb*.

Ver. 31. Very good.] From these words Epiphanius confutes the Manichees, Hæres. lxxvi. n. 18, where there is an explanation of this phrase, "God saw that it was good," throughout this whole chapter. Where it being said at the end of every day's work, "God saw it was good;" and particularly here on the sixth day, before he had quite ended the work of it, he saith so of the formation of the beasts (ver. 25). Abarbanel will have this to relate peculiarly to the creation of man and woman. But the beginning of the verse plainly shows that he speaks of every thing that he had made: and therefore their doctors in Bereshith Rabba (whom he mentions) say a great deal better, that man is meant in the first and principal place, when Moses says, "God saw every thing that he had made; and behold, it was very good."

CHAPTER II.

1 *The first sabbath.* 4 *The manner of the creation.* 8 *The planting of the garden of Eden,* 10 *and the river thereof.* 17 *The tree of knowledge only forbidden.* 19, 20 *The naming of the creatures.* 21 *The making of woman, and institution of marriage.*

1 THUS the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.

2 And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.

3 And God blessed the seventh day, and

sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.

4 ¶ These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,

5 And every plant of the field before it was in

CHAP. II.

Moses having given a short account of the orderly production of all things, from the meanest to the noblest, explains more largely in this chapter some things which were delivered briefly in the foregoing, because he would not too much interrupt the coherence of his discourse about the works of the six days. Particularly he relates how Eve was made; and also further illustrates the production of Adam, &c.

Ver. 1.] The visible world was brought to that perfection wherein we see them.

And all the host of them.] That is, all creatures in heaven and in earth; which are called *host*, or army, because of their vast variety, and excellent order.

Ver. 2. On the seventh day, God ended his work] Or rather, *had ended* (as it may be translated), for he did not work on the seventh day: but, *rested from all his work which he had made*; having so completely finished it, that there remained no more to be done. An emblem of the rest that we shall have, when we have done our work faithfully, and left none undone, as Origen's words are, lib. vi. contra Celsum.

Ver. 3.] As God sanctified Jeremiah in aftertimes from his mother's womb, (Jer. i. 5) by ordaining him to be a prophet; so he now determined and appointed the seventh day, from the very beginning of the world to be observed in memory of its creation. And this setting it apart, and consecrating it to that holy use, was his *blessing* it, or recommending it to be observed as a day of blessing and praising him, in all his works of wonder; and (I know not why I should not add) of his bestowing blessings upon all his pious worshippers.

There is no mention, indeed, made of Adam's, or Abel's, &c. observing this day; which hath inclined many to conclude these words, to have been written by way of anticipation: this day being set apart in aftertimes by the law of Moses for God's service; but in their opinion not till then. To which I cannot agree; because it seems to me far more reasonable to think, that God took care to preserve the memory of the creation in the minds of mankind; and the worship of him, the one only God, by whom it was created: which could not be done by any means more effectually, than by setting apart this day for that purpose. Which if he had not appointed, yet men being made religious creatures, I cannot but think they would have agreed upon some set time for the exercise of their religion, as well as some set place (though that be not mentioned neither) where to meet for Divine service: and what time more proper, wherein to honour their Creator, with their sacrifices, praises, and thanksgivings, than this day? Which Philo well styles τὸν χρόνον γενέσεως, "the birthday of the world;" which was so much observed all the world over (though they forgot

the reason), that the seventh day, he observes, may be truly called ἡ πρώτη πανόρημος, *the universal festival*, kept by all people. Josephus speaks to the same purpose; and there is a great deal more said by Aristobolus, a peripatetic philosopher, out of Hesiod, Homer, and others, in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xiii. cap. 12, concerning the sacredness of the seventh day. Which, though Mr. Selden (lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 17, &c.) endeavours to prove is meant of the seventh day of the month, not of the seventh day of the week; yet we may look upon that as a remain of this ancient tradition. Which, in time, men forgot, as they did the most natural duties; having so corrupted their ways (as we read Gen. vi. 10, 11) that there was nothing good among the generality of them. And therefore no wonder if they did not regard the service of God every seventh day: to which I shall show, in due place, Noah, the only righteous man among them, had some regard. Which continued in the family of Abraham after the flood: Moses speaking of it, not long after their coming out of Egypt (where it is likely they were not suffered to observe it, having no time free from their intolerable labours), as a day known to them before the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, Exod. xvi. 23, 25, 26.

Which is not to be understood, as if the patriarchs, before and after the flood, kept such a rest as God enjoined the Israelites by Moses: for that was proper to them, for a peculiar reason—because they had been slaves in Egypt; and therefore were commanded to keep the sabbath, without doing any manner of work upon that day. (Deut. v. 15.) Which is all the Christian fathers mean, when they say the patriarchs did not *Sabbatizare*, keep the Sabbath as the Jews did. (See Tertullian adv. Judæos, cap. 2, et 4. Irenæus, and others.) For in religious offices I doubt not they observed the seventh day; as a proper time for that sacred hymn, which Galen himself (lib. iii. de usu partium) says, we should all sing to the Creator of all; "If we ourselves first know, and then tell others οἷος μὲν ἔστι τὴν σοφίαν, &c. how wonderful he is in wisdom, how great in power, and how rich in goodness."

Because that in it he had rested from all his work] This is the reason why this day was distinguished from the other six; that a remembrance of God's resting from all his works on this day, might be preserved; by men's laying aside their other employments so long as to praise Him solemnly, by whom this great world was made.

Which God created and made.] Or, as the Hebrew phrase is, *created to make*, i. e. rested from all the six days' work. For he created something at the first, out of which to make all the rest, in six days' space; and now he ceased from all.

Ver. 4. These are the generations, &c.] That is, this is

the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and *there was* not a man to till the ground.

6 But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

a faithful account of the original of the world. Which Moses here repeats, more deeply to imprint on the people's minds, that the world was not a god, but *the work of God*: which they were to acknowledge every seventh day.

In the day, i. e. At that time, so *day* often signifies.] It is observed by Tertullian, that exinde Dominus qui retro Deus tantum, &c. from henceforward (ver. 7, 8, 9, 15, &c.) he is called Lord, who hitherto was called only God: of which he endeavours to give a reason. (L. adv. Hermog. cap. 3.) The Hebrew doctors observe, that Jehovah Elohim (Lord God) joined together, is the full and perfect name of God: and therefore fitly reserved till this place, when the works of God were perfected, and not before.

Ver. 5. *Every plant*] That is, before there was any seed to produce them, God made them to spring up with their seed in them; as was said before, in the first chapter. And Moses here mentions these alone, because they were the first productions out of the earth; without which there had been no food for living creatures.

Here are two reasons to confirm, that plants were not produced in the way they are now; for, there had been no showers of rain; nor was there any man to prepare the earth to receive the seed (if there had been any); both which are necessary in the ordinary method of Divine providence, ever since the world was made. From hence some collect there were no Preadamites (people before Adam), for then Moses could not have said, "There was no man to till the earth."

Ver. 6. *But there went up a mist*, &c.] Many think this will best cohere with what went before by translating it, *nor did there* (taking the particle *αὐτοῖς* *not*, from the foregoing verse, as is usual) *a mist go up from the earth*. See Drusius in Levit. x. 6. and Hottinger in Hexapl. Paris. p. 89.) But I see no necessity for this; and think it more likely, there did go up a vapour or steam out of the earth, when it came reeking out of the waters (as was said upon verse 9 of chap. 1), to moisten the superficies of it; before any clouds were raised, by the power of the sun, to give rain.

Ver. 7. *Out of the dust of the ground*] Not dry, but moist dust, as the LXX. have it, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χοῖν ἀπὸ γῆς. From whence the apostle calls him ἄνθρωπον χοῖνιν (1 Cor. xv. 47), which teaches us this dust was mixed with water: for so *χοῖν* signifies; limus, as the Vulgar Latin hath it. Which agrees with the Hebrew *jalsar*, *formed*; which is used concerning potters, who make their vessels of clay, not of dry earth. Diodorus Siculus seems to have had some notion of this, when he saith, man was made out of "the slime or mud of Nile." Upon which original of man's body the ancient fathers make many pious reflections; but none better or shorter than that of Nazianzen's, who says, it is to teach us, *ὅτι ὅταν ἰπαιρώμεθα διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, διὰ τὸν χοῖν συντελλώμεθα*, "that when we are apt to be lifted up because we are made after God's image, the thoughts of the dirt out of which we were taken, may humble and lay us low."

And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life;] This being said of no other creature, leads us to conceive, not only that the soul of man is a distinct thing, of a different original from his body; but that a more excellent spirit was put into him by God (as appears

7 And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

8 ¶ And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

by its operations) than into other animals. For though the simple speech of inspiring him with "the breath of life," would not prove this; yet Moses speaking in the plural number, that God breathed into him *nishmath chajim*, the *breath* or *spirit* of *lives*, it plainly denotes, not only that spirit which makes man breathe and move; but think also, reason, and discourse.

And he became a living soul.] This is the immediate result of the union of the soul with the body. Which Eusebius thus explains (lib. vii. Prepar. Evang. cap. 10): Moses having laid the foundations of religion before mentioned, viz. the knowledge of God, and of the creation of the world, proceeds to another point of doctrine most necessary to be understood; which is the knowledge of a man's self; to which he leads him by showing the difference between his soul and the body: his soul being an intelligent substance, made after the image of God; his body, only an earthly covering of the soul. To which Moses adds a third, *πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐνσπναιζον ἑαυτα, καὶ συναρτίζον δύναμιν*, &c. "A certain vital breath, whereby the other two are united and linked together by a powerful bond or strong tie." His soul, it is manifest, did not come out of the earth, or any power of matter; but from the power of God, who infused it into him by his Divine inspiration.

And this was the original of Eve's soul also, though it be not mentioned: for if her soul had been made out of Adam, as her body was, he would have said, not only, *She is bone of my bone, but soul of my soul*; which would have mightily strengthened the bond of marriage, and exceedingly heightened conjugal affection.

Ver. 8. *The Lord God planted*] Or, *had planted*; for it doth not seem to be a new thing.

A garden] A most pleasant part of the earth.

Eastward] Or, as others translate it, *before*, in the beginning, viz. on the third day, when he made all vegetables. And it cannot be denied, that *mikkedem* may signify time as well as place: but as the greatest part of interpreters, ancient and modern, take it here to signify place; so Moses himself uses it in the following part of this book, iii. 24, xi. 2, xii. 8, xiii. 11.

In Eden;] A country (as most understand it) so called, perhaps, from its pleasure: Τόπον διάφορον φασί, διαγνῆς ἀέρι χαμηλοτέρῳ, φητοῖς παγχολοῖς, as Theophilus de Autolyce. speaks, (lib. ii.) Where Eden was, there are two or three places of Scripture that give some direction to our search (2 Kings xix. 12, Isa. xxxvii. 12, Ezek. xxvii. 23); which show there was a country, that, for many ages after this, retained the name of Eden: and that eastward, as Moses here tells us, it was situated; that is, eastward of Judea, or of the desert of the Amorites, where he wrote these books. For the Scripture calls those people "The children of the east," who dwelt in Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. But in what country of the east Eden was, will be best understood from ver. 10.

The man whom he had formed.] He was formed we must suppose in some other place; and conducted hither by God, in token of his singular kindness to him. Where he declared him, saith a Syriac writer mentioned by Hottinger (in his Dissert. de Hexaplis, Paris, p. 115), an heir of paradise, and made him *מלך וכהן נביא*, a king, a priest, and a prophet.

9 And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the

midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

10 And a river went out of Eden to water

Ver. 9. *And out of the ground.*] Of that garden before mentioned.

Every tree.] The greatest variety of the choicest plants, flowers, and fruits: for *tree* comprehends every thing that grows out of the earth.

Pleasant to the sight.] He gratified man's eye, as well as his taste and his smell.

The tree of life.] So called, because there was a virtue in it, as several of the ancient fathers think, not only to repair the animal spirits, as other nourishment doth; but also to preserve and maintain them, and all the organs of the body, in the same equal temper and state wherein they were created, without any decay: until a man should have been fit to be translated into another world. To this purpose Irenæus, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, but especially Greg. Nazianzen speak, *Εὐ μὲν οὖν ζωοποιον, &c.* "If therefore we had continued where we were, and kept the commandment, we should have been what we were not by coming to the tree of life, ἀναθαντοδέντρει καὶ θεῷ πληροῦσαιτες, being made immortal, and approaching nigh to God." (Orat. xliii. p. 699. D.) And why we should think it impossible or unlikely, that God would make such a fruit, I do not see. Nay, it seems necessary there should have been such a kind of food; unless we will suppose God would have preserved Adam (had he continued innocent) from dying, by a continual miracle: which is a harder supposition than the other.

But this garden being also a type of heaven, perhaps God intended by this tree to represent that immortal life, which he meant to bestow upon man with himself (Rev. xxii. 2). And so St. Austin in that famous saying of his: "Erat ei in cæteris lignis alimentum, in isto autem sacramentum" (lib. viii. de Gen. ad Lit. cap. 4): "In other trees there was nourishment for man; but in this also a sacrament." For it was both a symbol of that life which God had already bestowed upon man (who was hereby put in mind, that God was the author of his being, and all his enjoyments), and of that life he was to hope for in another world, if he proved obedient.

In the midst of the garden.] This signifies either its situation, or its excellence: for that which is most eminent in any place, the Hebrews say is "in the midst," xliii. 10.

The tree of knowledge.] So called, as I take it, because God intended by this tree to prove Adam and Eve, whether they would be good or bad: which was to be made known, by their abstaining from its fruit, or eating of it. It is generally thought indeed by interpreters (of which I leave the reader to judge,) that it had this name afterwards; either because the tempter pretended it would make them so wise, as to know all things (for so *good and evil* may be expounded, chap. iii. 5, to signify as much as *all things whatsoever*), or because, in the event, upon the eating of this fruit, they did actually know, by miserable experience (which they would not learn without it), the great difference between obeying and disobeying God's commands. That is, they who did not sufficiently attend to their duty, nor consider what it was to sin, and what the effect of it would be; presently, upon the eating of this fruit, reflected upon both. For they saw how grievous it was to incur God's displeasure, by believing a creature rather than him; and by being so ungrateful, as not to acknowledge his bounty in all the blessings they enjoyed; without thinking him envious in denying them one, as a proof of their obedience.

Some think it was so called, as a caveat to them, not to study craft and subtilty; but to content themselves in a simple, plain way of life (wherein God made them), without any curiosity to know more than was needful for them. Which they think is confirmed by chap. iii. 6, "She saw it was good to make one wise," i. e. cunning and wily.

Ver. 10. *A river went out of Eden, &c.*] These words afford us such a key to open to us the place where this garden was planted, that one can scarce doubt whereabout it was; though the precise spot of ground be not marked out in this description of it. For it lay in the country of Eden; and we are directed to find that out by this remarkable circumstance, that a *river went out of it*; which doth not signify that the spring of the river was in Eden; but that the river ran through that country into the garden, to *water it*. The garden, therefore, it is probable, was a part of the province of Eden; and was watered by that river which came from it. The only difficulty is, to find what river this was. Our countryman Mr. Carver, in his learned discourse of the Terrestrial Paradise (chap. vii.), endeavours to prove, that the two great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, having but one and the same fountain in Armenia the Greater, run along for some time in one stream, called Tigris: upon which he thinks this garden was seated, before this river parted into two streams, Euphrates and Tigris.

This he confirms out of the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians written to Rome 1552, and translated by Masius; where they call Tigris the River of Eden. And there are indeed some ancient authors, particularly Lucan and Boetius, who say that these two rivers come out of the same spring: but their mistake arose, it is likely, from hence, that they sprung (as Strabo tells us) out of one and the same mountain, viz., Niphates, which is a part of Taurus: and Euphrates sprung out of the northern side of it, and Tigris out of the southern; as Salmasius observes upon Solinus, (p. 621, &c.) Certain it is, that the best authors, both ancient and modern, make them to have different springs, from whence they hold different courses, Euphrates towards the west, and Tigris towards the east: and do not make one river, till (after they have run through many countries) they meet and join together about Apania, according to Ptolemy. And then indeed they make, for a long way, but one great stream: which I take to be the river here mentioned by Moses, that ran through the country of Eden, which perhaps lay on both sides of the river; as the garden, it is plain, by ver. 8, did on the eastern side of it; extending itself to the place where these united rivers parted again. For so it follows:

And from thence] i. e. Below the garden.

It was parted.] Or, was divided again, as it had been before into two other streams. By which words we seem to have found the place where the garden ended; but not being told where it began, nor how far it spread itself eastward from the river side, I will not presume to say what country or countries it included. Certain it is, there was a country, as I observed before, called Eden in aftertimes, which was part of the kingdom of Assyria (2 Kings xix. 12). And that kingdom then comprehended not only the country anciently called Ashur, but Mesopotamia and Babylon, &c. In some part of which last province it is probable this garden was seated.

And became into four heads.] He doth not say was *parted* into four heads, but *became* into four heads (whose names here follow); two before they united,

the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.

11 The name of the first is *Pison*: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where *there is gold*;

viz. Tigris and Euphrates; and two after they again parted, viz. *Pison* and *Gihon*.

These he calls *heads*, or principal rivers, as David Chytraeus, I think, rightly understands it; quatuor illustria et magna flumina efficiebant, made four famous and great rivers. For all divisions from the main stream are called the *heads* of a water; as Sir W. Raleigh observes out of Ulpianus. And it is indifferent, whether the water come out of a fountain, or out of a river, or a lake: for that part of the river (suppose) where the branch forsakes the main stream, is called the *head* of that branch; which becomes a new river. In like manner may Euphrates and Tigris be called the *heads* of that river which they made at their meeting: as where they part again, the *beginnings* (as the LXX. translate the word) of the other two rivers, *Pison* and *Gihon*, are properly called the *heads* of them.

Ver. 11. *The name of the first is Pison, or Phison:*] This is that branch which runs westerly; and being nearest to the place where Moses wrote, on the other side of Jordan, is first mentioned by him. It is a long time since both this river and *Gihon* have lost these names: the Greek and Roman writers calling them still, after their parting, by the names they had before they met, Euphrates and Tigris. But there was a remainder of the name of *Pison* preserved in the easterly river, called *Pasitigris*, which is the same with *Oroatis*, as Salmasius observes in his *Exerc. Plinianæ* in Solin. p. 701, 702: and is called (as Mr. Carver notes) by Xenophon simply *Physcus*; in which the name of *Phison* is plainly enough retained. Which continued to the time of Alexander the Great; for Q. Curtius, as he further notes, commonly calls Tigris itself by the name of *Phasis*, and says it was so called by the inhabitants thereof. Which, in all probability, was at first the name of this other river *Phison*; but lost by the many alterations which were made, for a long time, in the course of it, as Pliny tells us. For he says, the *Orcheni*, and other neighbouring nations, made great and deep cuts or canals to carry the water of Euphrates (meaning this river) into their fields; and so it lost its course, and run through Tigris and the marshes into the sea. Strabo saith the same, that from these *ῥαγισαί*, as he calls them, *deep trenches*, which carried the water of Euphrates into Tigris, came the name of *Pasitigris*; that is, *Pison* mixed with Tigris. See Salmasius in the forenamed *Exercitationes*, page 703, where he shows this river was not perfectly restored to its course till the times of Alexander the Great.

That is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah,] By finding where this country was, we certainly find the river *Phison*. Now Moses makes mention of two Havilahs; one descended from Cush (Gen. x. 7), and the other from Joktan (ver. 29). The latter of these cannot be here meant, for his posterity were planted eastward; but the former, who were a more western people, in that part of Arabia Felix which bordered upon this stream. For the Ishmaelites (who inhabited Arabia Deserta) are described by Moses (xxv. 18), as bounded by Shur towards Egypt, and by Havilah in the way to Assyria. And Saul found Havilah in aftertimes in the very same situation. (1 Sam. xv. 7.) And still, much later, Strabo mentions the *Χαυλαία* (which are certainly the posterity of Chavilah) among the people of Arabia. See Bochart's *Phaleg*. lib. iv. cap. 11.

12 And the gold of that land *is good*: there *is bdellium* and the onyx stone.

13 And the name of the second river *is Gihon*: the same *is* it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia.

Where there is gold;] Nothing is more famous than the gold of Arabia: where Diodorus Siculus says it is digged up in great lumps, as big as a chestnut: lib. ii. p. 93. Edit. H. Steph.

Ver. 12. *The gold,—is good:*] i. e. Is excellent: for the forenamed author says, it is of such a flaming colour, that it adds much to the lustre of precious stones, that are set in it.

Bdellium] The Hebrew word being *bedolach*, some have thought *bdellium* to come from thence, which is an aromatic gum. Others think *bedolach* to be *crystal*, others *amber*; but Bochart rather thinks it signifies *pearl*: which he proves (in his *Hierozaic*. pt. ii. lib. v. cap. 25) from the country itself here mentioned, viz. Havilah, which he looks upon as that part of Arabia which lies upon the Persian Gulf; at Catipha, there is a great pearl-fishing. The manna also, wherewith the Israelites were fed in the wilderness, is described (Numb. xi. 7) to be round like coriander seed, and of the colour of *bedolach*. Now, in his former description, Moses says it was white (Exod. xvi. 14), which agrees to pearls, as also doth roundness, but not to the sweet gum called *bdellium*: of which see Salmasius in his *Exerc. Plin.* p. 1150.

The onyx stone.] This country also was famous for precious stones; as appears by the report which Nearchus (Alexander's admiral) made of the western coast of the Persian Gulf, in Strabo, lib. xvi. But Braunius (lib. ii. de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. cap. 18) thinks *shoham* should rather be translated the *sardonyx*. Whichsoever it be, Arabia was famous for the onyx and sardonyx, as Salmasius observes out of Pliny; ib. p. 562, 563.

Ver. 13. *Gihon:*] There are no footsteps of this name remaining that I can find; but we are directed, by the country it is said to compass, to take it to be the eastern stream that arose from the parting of Euphrates and Tigris; as *Pison*, I said, was the western.

Compasseth, or, runneth along by—Ethiopia.] Or Cush: who was seated more eastward than his sons, Havilah, Seba, and the rest (mentioned Gen. x. 6, 7), upon the borders of this river. For when people first began to spread themselves, they kept as near to great rivers as they could; for the better communication one with another, and affording mutual succour and assistance. It is probable that he gave name to the country of Susiana; which the Greeks called *Κίσαα*, and is now called by the Persians, Chuzestan; i. e. the province of Chus. And when his posterity multiplied, they went more westward, toward the Arabian sea; from whence his brother Mizraim passed into Egypt. Our translators follow the LXX. in rendering the Hebrew name Cush, by Ethiopia: not meaning that in Africa, but this in Asia. For the ancients frequently mention a double Ethiopia, as many have observed; particularly Job Ludolphus, who herein justifies the LXX. in great part; lib. ii. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. cap. iii. n. 16.

Ver. 14. *Hiddekel:*] Which river, being called by Daniel (x. 4) the great river; cannot be, as many have fancied, Naharmalcha: for that was but a cut, made by Trajan to waft his army out of Euphrates into Tigris (as Ammianus Marcellinus tells us), and therefore Hiddekel is Tigris itself. Which, as Pliny says, was called *Diglit* in those parts where its course was slow; and where it began to be rapid, it took the name of Tigris. And so the Arabians call this river Deglat, and Degela, from the Hebrew word *Hiddekel*,

14 And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.

15 And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

Which Salmasius derives from *Hadda*, or *Chadda*, sharp pointed; and *Kal*, swift; because of its very quick and hasty motion: and thence the Greeks, he observes, derive the name of Tigris, ἀπό τῆς δεινότητος. (Exerc. in Solin. p. 691.) Rauwolf, in his Travels (pt. ii. cap. 9), says, that when he was at Caruch, on the confines of Media (which was about a hundred years ago), Tigris was still called in their language Hiddekel.

Which goeth toward the east of Assyria.] If it make a great bend northward [as Pliny saith it doth about Apamia], it must needs run towards the east of Assyria, for some time. But this is not the course of the river; and therefore the LXX. translate the word *kiddanath*, which we English towards the east, simply toward: and it is certain Tigris did run by Assyria; for Nineveh, the chief city of Assyria, stood upon the east side of this river, as Bochart hath demonstrated in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 20.

Euphrates.] None doubt that the river called here in the Hebrew Perath, or Phrath, is the same that hath been called for many ages Euphrates. The course of which was so well known in those days, that Moses gives no description of it.

Ver. 15. *The Lord God took the man.*] After such a manner as he took David from the sheepfolds (Psal. lxxviii. 70), by an extraordinary motion. For as a prophet was sent from God to anoint him; so God himself, I suppose, appeared to Adam, in a visible glorious majesty, which the Jews call the Shechinah (as was noted before, i. 3); because it was a token of God's special presence, and by it he dwelt among his people. It seems to have been a *very shining flame*, or *amazing splendour of light*, breaking out of a thick cloud: of which we afterwards read very often, under the name of "the glory of the Lord;" which at first appeared to Moses, as "a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush." (Exod. iii. 2.) To this I cannot think our first parents to have been strangers; but look upon it as highly probable, that this Divine Majesty conducted Adam from the place where he was formed into the garden of Eden.

And put him.] Or, placed him there.

To dress it and to keep it.] To preserve it, by his care and labour, in the condition wherein he found it. Theophilus Antiochenus thinks it is not without a mystery, that God's putting man into paradise is twice mentioned (here, and ver. 8), to signify, that after man was cast out of one paradise, he should still have a right to another: "By being well instructed in his banishment, and prepared for a restitution, at the general resurrection and new creation." Lib. ii. ad Autolycum.

Ver. 16. *The Lord God commanded the man.*] This is a farther indication, that the Divine Majesty appeared to Adam and spake to him, as he did to Moses, out of the flame in the bush, saying,

Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat.] A very liberal concession; which was abundantly sufficient to demonstrate, that it was not envy (of which the Divine nature is not capable) which moved their Creator to abridge our first parents' liberty in one particular.

Ver. 17. *But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (why so called, see ver. 9), thou shalt not eat of it.)* This small restraint it was fit to lay upon Adam, to make him sensible, that though he had do-

16 And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat:

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

minion over all things, yet he was not their lord; but a servant of the Most High: who required this abstinence in token of his subjection, and to prove his obedience to him. This account many of the fathers give of it: particularly Tertullian, who calls this the *primordial law*: which was, quasi matrix omnium præceptorum Dei (adv. Judæos, cap. 2), including, as it were, in its womb, all the natural laws of God. For as, in observing this law, he had testified his unspotted love and obedience to God; so, in violating it, he threw off the Divine government, and opposed his own will to God's. But still some ask, why should his obedience be tried in such an instance as this? Not considering, that an experiment of it could scarce have been made in any of the moral precepts; which there was no occasion to violate. For what should tempt him to idolatry, or to take God's name in vain, or to murder his wife? How was it possible to commit adultery, when there was nobody but he and she in the world? How could he steal, or what room was there then for coveting, when God had put him in possession of all things? It had been in vain to forbid that which could not be done; and it had not been virtue to abstain from that to which there was no temptation, but from that which invited them to transgress. I speak in the plural number; because it must be remembered, that this prohibition was given, not only to Adam, but to Eve also (iii. 1, 2), an account of whose production immediately follows.

Theoph. Antiochenus in the place before named, hath several pretty reflections upon this prohibition; and this among the rest: That Adam and Eve, being but newly brought into the world, were in simplicity, to be wholly ordered and governed by the will and pleasure of their heavenly Parent; and not affect much knowledge (as not agreeable to their infant state), but to grow up in it by degrees, and not *ἑκείνη τὴν ῥαχίαν φρονεῖν*, "to aim at wisdom above their age." To which purpose Greg. Nazianzen also discourses in many places (Orat. xxxviii. p. 619; Orat. xlii. p. 681; and Carm. Arcan. vii. p. 163). And indeed many excellent meditations may be raised from hence; particularly, that Christians new-born should not be so greedy of knowledge, as careful and solicitous of well-doing: for many have been ruined by early speculations. Which, if one could pick any good sense out of such stuff as the Valentinians uttered, I should think they intended to represent, when they said, the last of their *Æons*, whom they called Wisdom, labouring to comprehend the *βέβαιος*, or *depth* (i. e. the Father of all), had like to have lost itself, till it was helped by *ὁσος*, or *limit*. That is, we are preserved by setting some bounds to our desires after knowledge.

Thou shalt surely die.] In the Hebrew, *dying thou shalt die*; to show the certainty of it, as we rightly translate it. Which doth not signify, as appears by the event, that he should instantly die; but become mortal; lose the immortality wherewith he was invested. (Gen. iii. 19.) And, as Athanasius thinks, the doubling the expression denotes, *μὴ μόνον ἀποθνήσκειν*, *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου ἔδρᾳ διαμένειν* (lib. de Incarn. Verbi), he should "Not only die, but remain in the corruption of death;" as we should all have done, had not the second Adam obtained for us a happy resurrection.

I need not add that diseases, sicknesses, and

18 ¶ And the LORD God said, *It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.*

19 And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.

pains, the forerunners of death, are included in this threatening.

Ver. 18. *And the Lord God said,*] Or, *had said*, as it is by some translated, the better to show that the foregoing precept was given to both. And to say in this place is as much as to *resolve* and decree: as Melancthon well explains it, in one of his Epistles: *Dicere*, hoc loco significat, miranda sapientia sancire, et nobis hoc decretum tradere: "*To say* here signifies to establish with wonderful wisdom, and to deliver this decree to us." (lib. i. Epist. 126.) Where he again repeats it, "*The Lord said;*" that is, by his wise counsel and immutable decree, he established this order.

It is not good that the man should be alone;] Uncomfortable to want society, and unfit there should not be an increase of mankind. Concerning which Plato hath left these wonderful words (lib. vi. De Legibus): This is the encouragement to marriage—not only that the human race may be perpetuated; but a man may, *παῖδας παῖδας αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἐκτρέφας ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ παραδόναι*, "leave children's children behind him when he is gone, to serve God in his stead."

[*An help*] For all the necessities and uses of life.

[*Meet for him.*] In whose company he shall take delight; so the Hebrew phrase, *as before him*, imports; being as much as, answerable to him, every way fitted for him; not only in likeness of body, but of mind, disposition, and affection: which laid the foundation of perpetual familiarity and friendship. Or, as the author of Cether Shem Tobh, mentioned by Hackspan, interprets it, "*She shall always be ready to observe and serve him.*" For to stand before any one, in the Hebrew language, signifies readiness to do what is desired. See more on ver. 25.

Ver. 19. *The Lord God formed*] Or, *had formed*; i. 20, 24.

Every beast of the field, &c.] The ground here must be understood to comprehend the water also, out of which the fowl were made.

Adam] It is commonly thought that this name of Adam, given to the first man, signifies as much as *red earth*. But Job Ludolphus hath made it far more probable that it imports *elegant*, or *beautiful*. (See his Histor. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 15, n. 17, 18, and his commentaries upon that chapter, n. 107.) How the beasts and birds were brought to him we are not told: but it is likely by the ministry of angels; who were perpetual attendants upon the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty.

To see what he would call them:] To exercise and improve his understanding.

Whosoever Adam called, &c.] God approved of it.

Ver. 20. *And Adam gave names, &c.*] Or, *though Adam gave names* to all creatures; yet among them all, when they were brought before him, there was not a fit companion found for him. It doth not follow, from his *giving names*, that he knew the nature of all those creatures; for the names of them in Scripture (which they who are of this opinion generally suppose were the names given by Adam) are taken from their voice, their colour, their magnitude, or some such external difference, and not from their nature. Therefore, this imposing names upon them, denotes rather

20 And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.

21 And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof;

22 And the rib, which the LORD God had

his dominion than his knowledge. The anonymous author of the Chron. Excerpta before Joh. Antiochenus Malala, says, That Adam imposed names upon all creatures, *κατὰ χεῖρην Θεοῦ*, "by the commandment of God," *τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς γυναῖκος αὐτοῦ Ἀγγέλους Κυρίου εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*, "but his own name and his wife's were told him by an angel of the Lord."

Ver. 21. *Caused a deep sleep, &c.*] Whereby he was made less sensible of the pain, which otherwise he would have felt in the opening his side, if his mind had not been wholly intent upon something else. As it was in this sleep; which was accompanied with an *ecstasy* (so the LXX. translate this word, and it is agreeable to what we read Job iv. 13), wherein was represented to his mind, both what was done to him, and the mystery of it; as appears by ver. 23, 24. Vid. Epiphani. Hæres. xlviii. n. 4, 5, 6.

And he took one of his ribs,] Tho. Bartholinus, a late famous physician, thinks it probable that Adam had thirteen ribs on each side, and that God took away one pair, with the muscular parts that adhere to them; and out of them made Eve. For commonly men have but twelve ribs, though sometimes there have been found (as Galen and Riolanus upon him testify) those who have had thirteen, and, very rarely, some who have had but eleven: as Bartholin himself observed in a lusty strong man whom he dissected, Anno 1657, who had but eleven on one side, and a small appearance of a twelfth on the other. (Histor. Anatom. et Medic. Centur. v. cap. 1.) It is fit here to be observed, that God did not form Eve out of the ground, as he had done Adam; but out of his side; that he might breed the greater love between him and her, as parts of the same whole. Whereby he also effectually recommended marriage to all mankind, as founded in nature; and as the re-union of man and woman. It is likewise observable, that there is no mention here of his breathing a soul into her, as into him: for Moses only explains what was peculiar to Eve (which was her being made out of his side): the rest is supposed in those words (ver. 19), "*I will make him an help meet for him;*" which the Vulgar Latin rightly translates *simile ei*, like unto him. For so the Hebrew word *kenegeo* is used by the Jewish writers, particularly by Benjamin in his Itinerary; where, speaking of the Jews at Germuda, and naming several, he says there were many more *kenegeo*, like unto them. And so the word *avri* among the Greeks denotes *likeness* and *similitude*, as well as contrary. Of which see Const. L'Empereur, Annot. in Benj. Tudel. p. 138. The woman therefore was in all things like him: only he made out of the earth, she out of him: that he might cleave to her with the dearest love and affection. It was also said before this (i. 27), that both man and woman were made "in the likeness of God."

And closed up the flesh] Made the flesh as firm as it was before.

Ver. 22. *And the rib, &c. made he woman,*] Which was as easy for the Divine power to do, as to make the man himself out of the earth.

And brought her unto the man.] Not merely by conducting her to the same place where he was; but the

taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.

23 And Adam said, *This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.*

Divine Majesty (which now appeared to Eve) presented and gave her to him, to be his wife. God himself made the espousals (if I may so speak) between them, and joined them together in marriage.

Ver. 23. *And Adam said, &c.*] Now indeed I have found, what I could not see before among all God's creatures, *another self.*

She shall be called Woman, &c.] Partake of my name, as she doth of my nature. For he called her Issha, as he was called Issh. From whence Sepher Coris and Abarinel endeavour (in a very long discourse) to prove the Hebrew to be the primitive language. And Abarinel observes the Christians to be of the same opinion, quoting, for a proof of it, St. Austin's book, *De Civitate Dei.*

Ver. 24. *Therefore shall a man, &c. cleave unto his wife:*] Cohabit with her, rather than with his parents (if they cannot all dwell together), and be joined to her in the closest and most inseparable affection: as if they were but one person, and had but one soul and one body. That is the meaning of the next words,

They shall be one flesh.] Most intimately conjoined in entire and inseparable love. Which arose from the singular union of the flesh of our first parents; one of them being taken out of the other. From whence Maimonides and other Hebrew doctors infer all mixture with beasts to be contrary to nature; who are neither one flesh with us, nor one with another.

24 Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.

25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.

For in this our bodies, as well as our souls, have a preeminence above theirs; which were not made one flesh after such a manner as man and woman were. They hence also conclude all incestuous marriages, &c. to be unlawful, as may be seen in Mr. Selden. (*De Jure N. et G. lib. v. cap. 2.*) Their observation is more pertinent, who take notice, that God, creating and joining together but one man and one woman in the beginning, intended mankind should be so propagated, and not by polygamy. Which in process of time indeed became the general practice; but "from the beginning it was not so," as our Saviour speaks in the case of divorces. Which he concludes, from these very words, were against the Divine institution, which made "two to be one flesh" (*Matt. xix. 5, 6, 8*); so he interprets these words (and St. Paul doth the same *1 Cor. vi. 16*), "they shall be one flesh:" and so doth Jonathan's Paraphrase, and the Samaritan Code, as Mr. Selden observes, in the place now named.

Ver. 25. *They were both naked,*] They did not yet find any necessity for clothes.

And were not ashamed.] Did not blush; no more than little children do when they behold one another naked, and embrace with an innocent affection. Besides, there was nobody but they two (who in effect were as one) to behold them: and therefore they had no more reason to blush, than a man doth when he is naked alone by himself.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The serpent deceiveth Eve.* 6 *Man's shameful fall.* 9 *God arraigneth them.* 14 *The serpent is cursed.* 15 *The promised seed.* 16 *The punishment of mankind.* 21 *Their first clothing.* 22 *Their casting out of paradise.*

I Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea,

hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

2 And the woman said unto the serpent,

CHAP. III.

EUSEBIUS observes (*lib. vii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 9, 10*), that Moses, having settled the great doctrines of the creation of the world, and the dignity of man, made in the image of God; proceeds very wisely to instruct the Israelites, that there are none so happy, but, without due care and watchfulness, may become most miserable: there being ποικίλος δαίμων (as his words are), *a wicked demon* at every man's elbow, βάνταρος καὶ μισοχάρος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀρχῆς ἐπιβόλος σωτηρίας, "envious, a hater of those that are good, and from the beginning a wily underminer of men's salvation."

Now this following immediately after the relation of the formation of Eve, hath made some fancy, that our very first parents fell the very same day they were made. And thus much, I think, must be supposed—that they did not continue very long in their happy state: for if they had persisted steadfastly in their duty for a considerable time, they would have acquired such a habit of well-doing, as would not have been so easily lost. But that they continued longer than a day, there are many circumstances to induce us to believe. For it required some time for Adam to be acquainted with all other creatures, and to impose

names upon them: and there being none of them a meet help for him, he slept some time, till Eve had taken her beginning out of him. Whom, when he saw, he received, and owned her for his wife; and no doubt made more reflections upon God's wisdom, power, and goodness, than are set down in this sacred story. They both also received a command from God, not to eat of one tree in the garden: into which, when they were brought, we cannot but think they walked about, and took such a view of it, as to be convinced, by the bountiful provision God had made for them, they had no reason to complain of the small restraint he had laid upon them. All which could not be performed so speedily as some have imagined: for though God can do what he pleases in an instant, yet man cannot; and God himself did not in one day create the world. And, besides that, some time was necessary for transacting all these things; it is not likely the devil would immediately set upon Eve, as soon as the command was laid upon them; but rather let it be a little forgotten. And if the time be observed when he assaulted her, it will much confirm this opinion, which was in the absence of her husband; for that we cannot easily believe to have been upon the same day they were created. The extra-

We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden :

ordinary kindness they had one for the other, will scarce allow us to think it possible, they should be so soon separated. It is plain also, God "sanctified the seventh day" before their fall; which it is highly probable they spent in admiring and praising the almighty goodness.

Ver. 1. *The serpent*] Or, *that serpent* (as some think it should be translated) which the tempter made use of, as his instrument to deceive.

Was more subtil] The whole species of serpents is noted by Aristotle (lib. i. Histor. Animal. cap. 1) to be *υἰσίστα ἐπίθουλος*, "extremely insidious;" but this was extraordinarily wily. What sort it was is not here expressed: but all agree there is now none like it; the curse of God having degraded it. St. Basil in his Book of Paradise (p. 627) saith, it was not a frightful creature, as it is now, *ἀλλὰ προσηγής καὶ ἡμερος*, but *mild and gentle*: not crawling and winding about in a terrible manner, upon the ground, *ἀλλ' ὀρθὸς ἐπὶ πόδιον βιβηκώς*, "but lofty, and going upright upon its feet." Several of the Jews have been of this opinion; and our famous Mr. Mede inclines to it. (Discourse xxxviii. p. 291, &c.) But I take the conjecture of another very learned person, now a bishop of our church, to be far more probable: which I shall endeavour to strengthen. There were (and still are in the eastern and southern parts of the world) serpents having wings, and shining very brightly, like to fire. So we read (Isa. xiv. 29) of "a flying fiery serpent." Which *fiery serpents* are called *seraphims*, in Numb. xxi. 6, 8, and termed *fiery*, not merely with respect to their venom, which made sore inflammations on the bodies of those who were bitten by them, but because they appeared shining like fire when they flew in the air.

Whence *seraphim* is the name also of the highest sort of angels (called the "angels of the presence," Isa. vi. 2, 6), who appeared, I suppose, in some such form with flaming wings. For otherwise, I cannot think serpents would have been honoured as sacred things in so many countries, as we find they anciently were, unless they had been the symbols of angels. The devil, therefore, I conceive, made use of some such serpent (but of a more surpassing brightness than any now extant), that he might resemble one of the most illustrious angels, who appeared sometimes in the like shape. Which moved Eve the more readily to hearken unto the voice of the serpent; taking it to be one of the heavenly seraphims, which she had seen sometime, in such a splendid form, attend upon the Divine glory, or majesty: for the angels always made a part of the Shechinah. And thus, one would think, Tertullian understood this matter, when he said (in his book De Præscript. Hæret. cap. xlvii.), *Istum fuisse serpentem, cui Eva, ut filio Dei, crediderat*; "this was the serpent to whom Eve gave credit as to the Son of God." Which, if any one take to be the words of the heretics he is there speaking of; yet those are not which we find in his book against the Valentinians (cap. 2), where he saith the serpent was a *primordio Divine imaginis prædo*, "an usurper of the Divine image from the beginning." (See Dr. Tenison of Idolatry, p. 356.) To which that passage in Epiphanius may be added, who mentions some heretics (who might have some truth among them) that said, the woman listened to the serpent, *καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὡς υἱὸν Θεοῦ*, and "believed him," or was persuaded by him, "as the Son of God." (Hæres. xxxvii. n. 25.) And, one would think, Rabbi Bechai had this notion in his mind, when he said (upon the 14th verse of this chapter), "This is the

3 But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye

secret (or mystery, of the holy language), that a serpent is called *Saraph*, as an angel is called *Saraph*." For which he quotes the forenamed place (Numb. xxi. 6), and then adds, The Scripture calls serpents *seraphim*, because they were toledoth *hanacash hakadmoni*, the offspring of this old serpent: understand this (so he concludes, as our Saviour speaks in another case, "Whoso readeth, let him understand"), as a matter of great concernment. Which can have no other meaning, I think, but this; that the devil, (whom St. John also calls the "old serpent," Rev. xii. 9), in this serpent here spoken of, counterfeited a glorious *seraphim*, and thereby seduced Eve to give credit to him.

However this be, it is most reasonable to suppose, it was some beautiful creature; by whom Eve thought an angel, who wished them well, discoursed with her: for she was not so simple as to think that beasts could speak; much less that they knew more of God's mind than herself. Nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherwise deceived, but by some creature which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for a heavenly minister; who, she thought, came to explain to them the meaning of the Divine command.

Yea, hath God said,] This doth not look like the beginning of a discourse, but the conclusion: as the Jews themselves have observed. And it is not improbable, that the tempter, before he spake these words, represented himself as one of the heavenly court; who came, or was sent to congratulate the happiness that God hath bestowed upon them in paradise: which was so great, that he could not easily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden. He desired therefore to be satisfied from her own mouth, of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; or to know how they understood the command of God: for so these words may be translated, "Is it true indeed, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree," &c. Which is a very ancient interpretation, and more probable than theirs, who would have the Hebrew particles, *aph ki*, signify as much as *ut ut*: "Although God hath said, Ye shall not eat, notwithstanding, ye shall not die." So they suppose he was going to add; but, before he had spoken the latter part of the sentence, Eve interrupted him, saying, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden." This had been too gross, flatly to contradict what God had said; whereas, the beginning of the verse tells us, he went more subtilly to work.

Ver. 2. *The woman said unto the serpent, We may eat, &c.*] She seems to have understood him, as if he thought God had forbidden them to eat of any fruit in the garden. And indeed the foregoing question is ambiguous; like those oracles of his which made him be called *Λοῖσας* (oblique or crooked), by the ancient heathen; because they had two meanings. She truly therefore reports the sense of God's prohibition, in this and the following verse. Though there are those who think she pronounced these words, "We may eat of the fruit," &c. with some admiration, that they should be restrained from one fruit, when God had most liberally granted them all the rest. The reason of which she did not know, and showed her desire perhaps to understand it.

Ver. 3. *But of the fruit,—in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not—touch it,*] Some fancy the woman here began to pravaricate in two things: First, In saying they might not *touch it*: Secondly, In saying only there was danger if they meddled with it, and not an absolute threatening. Of

shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

4 And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

5 For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

6 And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to

the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.

8 And they heard the voice of the Lord God

which the devil, they think, took advantage; and immediately assured her, there was no danger at all. This last they grounded upon the Hebrew particle *pen*, which we translate *lest*, and expresses a doubting. But I do not think either of these observations is solid: for that particle does not always imply a doubt, as we may learn from the second psalm, the last verse, and many other places; and the *touching* of the fruit, signifies the plucking it off from the tree, in order to eat it; which was expressly forbidden.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall not surely die.*] You are under a mistake: death will not be the certain consequence of your eating this fruit: for God is too good to inflict such a heavy punishment for so small a fault.

Ver. 5. *For God, &c.*] The particle *ki*, which we translate *for*, signifies here as much as *but* (as Abarbanel and others observe), just as in Psalm cxv. 1. So the meaning is, you shall be in no danger, but quite contrary, be great gainers by tasting of this fruit; as God himself knows, who only keeps you in awe by his threatening, but will not be so severe as to execute it; when he sees you much improved, not impaired by eating of it.

Then your eyes shall be opened.] For you will immediately discover abundance of things, whereof you are now ignorant.

As gods.] Like unto us the angels of God: who are frequently called Elohim, i. e. gods, in Scripture. Thus Maimonides understands it (More Nev. pars i. cap. 2), and Onkelos, who translates it *princes*, meaning angels, who are called *Ἀγγέλαι*, *principalities* and *powers*, &c.

Knowing good and evil.] i. e. All manner of things. Or, as some of the Hebrews understand it, "Know what is fit for you to do, without any advice or instruction, and without any restriction, being subject to none; but enjoy freely what you please." For to *know* is sometimes as much as *to enjoy*, in the Scripture language. So that according to this interpretation, he promises them likeness to God himself; who is absolutely free, and subject to none.

But in this suggestion the devil proved, what our Saviour says of him, that he was "a liar from the beginning;" for there are no less than four lies (as some reckon them) in these two verses. Which makes it seem strange that Eve should give credit to these suggestions, which are very foolish: it being incredible that God should envy them any thing, who had given them their beings, and innumerable blessings. I can give no account of it but this: that when we are searching after the reason of things (as she, I suppose, was of this prohibition) and cannot find it; if one be suggested to us, which never came into our mind before, though in itself unlikely, we are ready to catch at it, and to be pleased with it: for when the mind is weary with inquiring, it is satisfied with a false reason rather than have none. The promise also of knowledge was very tempting; especially of such knowledge as he gave her hope would raise and advance her to a more noble condition. And it is likely she thought an heavenly minister (as she took him to be) might understand God's meaning better than herself.

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Ver. 6. *When the woman, &c.*] This verse gives a further account of that which seems very strange, the disobedience of our first parents. She looked so long upon the forbidden fruit, till she not only had an appetite to it, as excellent food, but was taken with its beautiful colour; and was also strongly possessed by the persuasion of the old serpent, that her mind would be no less pleased than her palate by an increase in knowledge and wisdom. These were powerful temptations (expressed in these words, "Good for food, pleasant to the eyes, and to be desired to make one wise"), and she could see no evil in the thing itself: it being a mere pleasure of God, of which she did not apprehend the reason, that made the eating of it a crime. This fruit also was planted, not in an obscure place, but "in the midst of the garden" (ver. 3), near to the tree of life; which made it the more inviting; by its being always in her eye, as well as very beautiful; and raised, perhaps, the greater wonder in her, that God should forbid a thing which he had made so eminent for its beauty. Hereupon she yielded, and (as it follows) "took of the fruit thereof and did eat."

And gave also unto her husband with her.] Who returned to her, it is likely, as she was eating the fruit; and was soon persuaded to bear her company; for it immediately follows, "and he did eat."

It is a question, whether he debated the matter with her, till he was satisfied with the arguments that moved her to eat; or his great affection to her drew him in, to do as she did: without any other consideration, perhaps, than this; that he chose rather to die, than outlive one, whom he loved most passionately. To this last, the apostle's words seem to incline (1 Tim. ii. 14), "Adam was not deceived;" though they do not necessarily signify, it must be confessed, that he was not seduced by the tempter's arguments; but only that Eve was first seduced, and then helped to seduce him. So that he might be wrought upon, both by those arguments, and by his affection also to his wife: but could have been deceived by neither, had he not been first guilty of a great ἀπροσεξία and ἡμετέλεια (as St. Chrysostom calls it), *heedlessness and non-attention*, arising from sloth and negligence. The reflection which Gregor. Nazianzen makes upon her gazing upon the beautiful fruit is this; *Ἐνύχων τὸς εὐχρασις* εἰς ἑαυτὸς αὐτοὺς βλέπομεν, &c. (Orat. xlvii. p. 700. D.)

Ver. 7. *Their eyes were opened.*] Not in the sense the serpent promised, but a very much different: for they soon saw their folly, and made sad reflections upon what they had done.

They knew (or felt) that they were naked.] A cold shivering seized on them; and they perceived also that they were stripped of their intellectual ornaments (as Athanasius expounds it, contra Gentes, p. 4), and blushed also at their bodily nakedness, of which they were not before at all ashamed.

They sewed fig leaves.] Or, *twisted the young twigs of the fig tree, with the leaves on them*: which are very broad in the eastern countries. Pliny reckons this among the trees that have the largest leaves (lib. xvi. cap. 24, and cap. 26); where he saith, it hath folium

walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden.

9 And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?

10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.

11 And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree,

maximum, umbrosissimumque, "the greatest and most shady leaf of all other."

Aprons.] A covering, which they girt about them.

Ver. 8. *The voice of the Lord God walking.*] The sound of the majestic presence, or the glory of the Lord, approaching nearer and nearer unto the place where they were. For the walking may be referred to voice as well as to the Lord: signifying that the sound as I said (for so voice is often used in Scripture) of the Divine Majesty's approach, came still nearer, and made a louder noise, to terrify them. For thus the word walk is applied to the voice (i. e. sound) of the trumpet at the giving of the law, when Moses says of it (Exod. xix. 19), וְהָלַךְ, "it walked, or increased, and grew stronger."

Just so, I conceive, the sound, which the motion of the Shechinah made, did at this time. And that,

In the cool of the day.] When the wind began to rise (so it is in the Hebrew, *in the wind of day*); that is, towards the evening, as most understand it: for then there was wont to be a gentle breath of wind; as Aristotle observes of his country, τὸν Ζέφυρον πρὸς πᾶν δέσσειν ἀνέμῳ, "the west wind was wont to blow towards the close of the day." Which being a soft and gentle gale, the sound they heard was the more astonishing, which seemed to threaten a dreadful storm.

Onkelos thus paraphrases the first words, "they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord;" that is, of the Son of God; who appeared in very glorious clouds, or rather in flaming fire, of such an amazing brightness, that they were not able to endure the sight of it. For so it follows:

Hid themselves, &c.] It is plain by this there was the appearance of an extraordinary presence; which affrighted them, and made them run "among the trees of the garden," i. e. into the thickets, or closest places they could find there.

I cannot but think the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared quite otherwise than formerly; that is, not in so mild a lustre as when they were first acquainted with him; but in a more terrible burning light, as if it would consume them. For so we read in aftertimes, that the same Lord, who appeared unto Moses "in a flame of fire out of the midst of the bush" (Exod. iii. 2), came down in a more dreadful manner, at the giving of the law, from Mount Sinai: when the mountain was "altogether on a smoke" (Exod. xix. 18), because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and that fire so great, that it flamed "unto the midst of heaven" (Deut. iv. 11), with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness."

Ver. 9. *The Lord God called unto Adam.*] As he did to Moses out of the bush (Exod. iii. 4), and to Israel out of the midst of the fire (Deut. iv. 12).

And said unto him,] With a majestic voice, against which he could not stop his ears.

Where art thou?] Why dost thou run into covers, like the wild beasts? Such questions do not argue ignorance in him that asks them; but are intended to awaken the guilty to a confession of their crimes: as appears from (iv. 10), "Where is Abel thy brother?"

whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?

12 And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

13 And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

14 And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed

Of whom Cain stubbornly refusing to give an account, the Lord said immediately (to show he needed not to be informed), "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

Ver. 10. *And he said, I heard thy voice, and I was afraid, &c.*] The very sound of the approach of thy presence so affrighted me, because I found I had lost my innocency, that I hid myself from thee. This was a foolish and vain attempt; but as guilt makes men fearful, so that bereaves them of all consideration.

Ver. 11. *Who told thee that thou wast naked?*] Divested of those noble endowments, which I bestowed on thee!

Hast thou eaten, &c.] Transgressed my commandment!

Ver. 12. *And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest, &c.*] I confess my guilt; into which I was drawn by her whom thou gavest me for a help. Thus we are apt to excuse and palliate our faults; by laying that load upon others, with which we ought to charge ourselves.

Ver. 13. *The Lord God said unto the woman, &c.*] What moved thee to violate my command?

The woman said, The serpent beguiled me.] My weakness was deceived by the cunning of the devil. Thus she also threw the blame upon another. But God, no doubt, convinced them both of the greatness of their guilt, and the miserable condition into which they were fallen by their transgression, before he ended this discourse with them. Which shows the infinite mercy of the Creator of all, who would not abandon them; but sought after them to save them, when they had lost themselves.

Ver. 14. *Thou art cursed, &c.*] It is observed by Tertullian, that though God inflicted punishments on Adam and Eve, yet he did not curse them as he did the serpent, *ut restitutionis candidatos*, they standing fair for a restitution to his favour (lib. ii. adv. Marcion. cap. 25). And I may add, God did not begin with them; but first sentences the serpent, before he proceeds to judgment upon them: which denotes that he (the old serpent) was the great offender, being the first mover to sin; which made his crime more grievous than theirs.

Now, to be *cursed*, is to be deprived of what was before enjoyed, and doomed to a miserable wretched condition of life: the particulars of which follow. The only difficulty is, why the serpent (literally so called) should be cursed, as it manifestly is (though the devil also, I shall show, is intended), being but an instrument which the evil spirit used; and had neither will to sin, nor yet understanding or knowledge of what the devil did. It is commonly answered, that this is no more than the curse which God inflicted upon the earth (which was not capable of sinning) for Adam's sake (ver. 17). But still the reason of that curse is inquired; which is evident enough; man himself being punished by the curse upon the earth: which did not yield its fruit so plentifully and so easily, as it had done before his transgression. And the reason of this curse upon the serpent may be the better

above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life:

15 And I will put enmity between thee and

discerned, by another instance which we find Exod. xxi. 28, where an ox, which gored a man or woman that they died, is ordered to be stoned, and his flesh not to be eaten. This sure was to show the great value God set upon man's life; which he secured also by this punishment; which moved all owners to look well to their beasts that might endanger it. Even so was the serpent condemned, in mercy to Adam and his wife (whom, it is manifest by what follows, God intended to restore into his favour), that they might be ever mindful of the foulness of their guilt, and excited to repentance; by seeing a noble creature (who was but the instrument of it) so extremely debased into a most vile condition.

Upon thy belly shalt thou go.] This shows the serpent was a more noble creature before this fact: but changed after it, from a flying seraph (as the word is, Numb. xxi. 6) into a foul creeping serpent; not moving aloft in the air, but crawling upon the earth, and licking the dust. So it follows:

Dust shalt thou eat.] There is no viler food than this: which doth not signify the serpent should feed upon nothing else; but that creeping on the ground it cannot but lick up much dust together with its food, whatsoever that be.

All this is, literally, the curse of the serpent; but as the devil lay hidden under the covert of the serpent, though he be not named; so his curse is intended in this curse of the serpent, though it be not separately mentioned: as appears by the following verse, which has a peculiar respect to the devil under the name of the serpent. And the devil's curse in general was this: to be thrust down further than before, from his ancient heavenly habitation; and condemned to live in the lower smoky region of the air: where he hath lost all relish of celestial enjoyments, and pleases himself only in his vile endeavours to make mankind as wicked as himself.

Ver. 15. I will put enmity, &c.] An irreconcilable feud, throughout all generations. Which is true of the serpent, literally understood, between whom and mankind there is such an antipathy, that it discovers itself both in the *natural* and *sensitive* faculties of them both: their humours being poison to each other; and man being astonished at the sight of a serpent more than any other creature: and the serpent in like manner, at the sight of a man, especially (if naturalists say true) of a *naked* man. Thus Mr. Mede (Disc. xxxix. p. 295). But this is far more true and certain of the *spiritual serpent*, the devil and his angels (who joined with him in his apostasy), and the woman and her seed, in whom these words are more literally fulfilled. For Maimonides justly admires, that the seed of the woman should be only mentioned and not of Adam (without whom *she* could have no seed; which therefore must be *his* seed), and that it should be said of *her* seed, not of *his*, that it bruised the serpent's head (More Nevochim, pt. ii. cap. 30). "This," saith he, "is one of the passages in Scripture which is most wonderful, and not to be understood, according to the letter; but contains great wisdom in it." In which words he wrote more truth than he was aware: but was not able to unfold this hidden wisdom, as we Christians, blessed be God, are able to do. For this *seed* here spoken of is Christ, as both the Targums (that ascribed to Jonathan, and that called the Hierusalem) expound it; and as we are taught to understand it, by God's words to Abraham, when he renewed this promise: "In thy seed (that

the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

16 Unto the woman he said, I will greatly

is, Christ, saith the apostle) shall all nations be blessed, (Gen. xxii. 18, Gal. iii. 8, 16). For he vanquished the devil, who had now vanquished mankind. So here it follows,

It shall bruise thy head,] i. e. *That seed* of the woman shall despoil thee of thy power (meaning the devil), and abolish thy tyranny. For in the head of the serpent (to which there is here an allusion) lies his strength: as Epaminondas represented to the Thebans when he exhorted them to set upon a band of Lacedemonians, by showing them the head of a vast snake which he had crushed (*τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ὄφιοις συντρίψας*), saying, "Look ye, the body can do no hurt now the head is gone:" meaning, that, if they routed the Lacedemonians, the rest of the confederates would signify nothing. (Polyæn. lib. ii. Strateg.) And therefore Mr. Mede has rightly interpreted the *serpent's head*, to signify the *devil's sovereignty* (Disc. xxv. p. 143, and xxxix. p. 298), and that sovereignty is the power of death: which headship of the devil, the *seed of the woman* (that is, *Christ the Lord*) hath broken in pieces, and at last, will utterly destroy (1 Cor. xv. 25, 26).

There is a notable example of this enmity in the struggle between Christ and the devil for empire, in Rev. xii. 7, 8, where Christ destroyed the sovereignty of the serpent in the Roman empire so effectually, that there was "no more place found for the dragon and his angels in heaven;" i. e. the devil utterly lost his sovereignty in that state; as Mr. Mede interprets it.

Thou shalt bruise his heel.] This victory over the devil was not to be gotten without blood: for the devil did all that he was able to destroy this *seed*. But that was impossible to be done; he could only assault his lower part (called here the *heel*), viz. *his body or flesh*: which, by his instruments, he persecuted, desperately used, and at last crucified. By which very means (so admirable was the wisdom and goodness of God) the *seed of the woman* conquered the devil, as the apostle shows, Heb. ii. 14, 15. For it must be here noted, that Christ was properly and literally the *seed of the woman*, and not at all of the man: being born, without him, of a pure virgin. The tender mercy of God also must here be acknowledged; which gave our first parents hope of a recovery, as soon as they were fallen: by making them this most gracious promise. Which, though here something obscurely delivered, grew clearer and clearer, in every age, till Christ came.

It cannot be denied likewise, but that by *seed* may be understood (collectively) all the faithful, who, by the power of their Lord, vanquish all the power of their spiritual enemy (see Luke x. 19). Yet so, that we must confess, there was *one eminent seed* here primarily intended, by whom they overcome. Unto whom another *seed* is not here opposed in this last part of the verse (as in the former part), but the serpent himself: which points out a single combat (as I may call it) between this promised *seed* and the devil. But if we will take it in the other sense also, understanding by *seed*, Christ with all his members, then the *bruising their heel* signifies (as Mede expounds it) the devil's deceit and guile in assaulting us unawares; as they do who come behind others, when they do not observe them, and catch hold of their heel. For that this is an emblem of guile and deceitful dealing, appears from the story of Esau and Jacob; the latter of which had his name from catching his brother by the heel at his birth, which

multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire *shall* be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.

17 And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;

18 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring

forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;

19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.

20 And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living.

21 Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.

Esau took for an indication of his beguiling him, as he did two times. See Disc. xxxvii. p. 184.

It is fit, I think, here to note further (what the learned Mr. Allix hath observed), that God in this promise did a particular kindness to our father, Adam. Who having been seduced by his wife to eat the forbidden fruit, it might have occasioned a breach between them; had not God taken care to prevent it, by making this gracious promise of a Redeemer, to depend upon his union with his wife: from whom, he assures them, One should descend that should repair their losses.

The time likewise when this promise was made is remarkable: which was, before God had rejected Cain and preferred Seth to him; and long before any restriction made to Noah's family, or Shem's (who derived from him), that all the world might look upon the Messiah as a common benefit to all the sons of Adam.

Ver. 16. *Unto the woman he said,*] Next to the serpent, the woman receives her sentence (as Mr. Mede well notes), because she was more in the fault than Adam: being guilty, as his words are (Disc. xxxviii. p. 287), both of her own personal sin and of her husband's also. Whence it is, that he, who had only sinned himself, and not caused others to sin, had his judgment last of all. This should be a little more considered than it is, by all those who not only do evil themselves, but draw others into the same guilt.

I will multiply thy sorrow and thy conception;] i. e. Thy sorrow in thy conception: which includes all the time of women's going with child; when they frequently nauseate all their food, or have troublesome longings, and endure many other things which are very grievous to them; especially when they are in danger to miscarry of their burden.

In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children;] Brute creatures are observed to bring forth their young, with far less pain, and difficulty, and danger, than women commonly have in their labour. Who, after they are delivered of their children, are still in danger, by many accidents: especially when that stays behind which should follow the birth (as it sometimes doth from various causes, noted by Bartholinus, in his Hist. Anatom. et Medic. Cent. v. Hist. xxvii. n. 3); which occasions sore torments, and puts their lives in the greatest hazard.

Thy desire shall be to thy husband,] That is, it shall be subject to him; as the Vulgar Latin and Aben Ezra expound this phrase: which is so used, iv. 7.

He shall rule over thee.] Have power to control thy desire. This looks like putting her more under the will of her husband, than was intended in her first formation: because she had not given a due regard to him; but eaten the forbidden fruit, without staying to consult him, and ask his advice.

Ver. 17. *Because thou hast hearkened, &c.*] Been so weak, as to mind her more than me.

Cursed is the ground!] It shall not bring forth so plentifully, nor so easily as it did.

For thy sake;] Because of thy sin; which shall be punished partly by its barrenness,

In sorrow shalt thou eat] It shall cost thee a great deal of labour and toil, before thou reapest the fruits of it.

All the days of thy life;] Every part of the year shall bring along with it new wearisome labours.

Ver. 18. *Thorns also and thistles, &c.*] It shall cost thee abundance of pains to root up the thorns, thistles, and unprofitable weeds; which shall come up instead of better plants.

Eat the herb of the field;] Be content with such things as the common field produces; instead of the delicious fruits of paradise. Here the Rabbins cry out, *Mensura pro mensura*; "behold the justice of God, who served man in his kind!" He was not satisfied with the choice fruits of the garden in which God put him; and therefore he took them from him, and sent him to eat the ordinary food of beasts; and that not without hard labour (Maimon. More Nevoch. pt. i. cap. 2).

Ver. 19. *In the sweat of thy face, &c.*] Some conclude from hence, that the earth brought forth before the fall without any pains to cultivate it. And indeed there needed none; all things beings produced at the first, by the divine power, in full perfection. But what labour would have been necessary in time, if man had continued innocent, we do not know: only these words signify, that less toil would have served than man must now take for their sustenance.

Some of the Jews reckon up nine punishments, besides death, which God inflicted upon Adam; and as many upon Eve. (See Pirke Eliezer, cap. xiv. and Vorstius upon him.)

Till thou return unto the ground;] i. e. Till thou diest, and moulderst into dust.

For out of it thou wast taken;] From whence thou wast taken, as it is explained, ver. 23, which shows the particle *ki* is not always to be translated *for*: but sometimes *whence*, or *whom*, as (iv. 25) "God hath given me another seed instead of Abel, *כי* אברם whom Cain slew."

The rest of this verse needs no explication.

Ver. 20. *Called her name Eve;*] Some think she was called Issha before, and now he changed her name into Eve: in belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the promised seed particularly; by whom (as D. Chytraeus adds) he hoped to be raised from the dead to immortal life.

Mother of all living.] Of all men that should live hereafter, or of Him that should give life to mankind. So Havah may be interpreted, *viva* or *vivificatrix*: because she was the mother of all mankind, or because mankind, now sentenced to death, were by her seed to be made alive.

Ver. 21. *Coats of skins, &c.*] The first clothes of mankind were of the leaves of trees, which they made themselves; being ready at hand, woven by Divine art. The next were of the skins of beasts; which were much warmer, and better able to defend them from the injury of cold and weather; and these were made by God's direction. Who having made a most gracious covenant with our first parents (ver.

22 ¶ And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil : and now, lest he put forth his hand, and

take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever :

23 Therefore the LORD God sent him forth

15), it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that he also signified to them, they should, for the confirmation of it, offer to him sacrifices : by the blood of which, covenants were ratified, in aftertimes, from this example. For it is not likely that the beasts, of whose skins these coats were made, died of themselves ; or that they were killed merely for this use, or for their food. And, therefore, what is so probable as that, by God's order, they were slain for a sacrifice to him (the better to represent to them their guilt, and that the promised seed should vanquish the devil, and redeem them, by shedding his blood), and that of the skins of those beasts God directed coats to be made to clothe them ? But whether by dressing them and making leather of them, or only by drying them, and letting the hair still continue on them, we cannot tell : certain it is, that this was a very ancient sort of clothing ; as we learn, not only from profane authors, but from the sacred ; particularly Heb. xi. 37. The Jewish doctors have carried this matter so far, as to say, that Adam being a priest, these were his priestly garments. The skin, indeed, of the burnt-offering, under the law, is given to the priest (Lev. vii. 8), but not to make him clothes : and Eve, if this were true, must have been a priest also ; for she had a coat made of skins, no less than Adam ; who, they fancy, left this coat to his posterity. So that Noah, Abraham, and all the rest of the patriarchs (as Abel they say did) sacrificed in the very same coat ; till Aaron was made high-priest, and had special garments appointed him by God. Among which, one being called by this very name of *כִּתְיָוָה* (Exod. xxviii.), it gave ground to this idle conceit.

Ver. 22. *Behold, the man, &c.* Man in this place, includes woman ; and these words are generally thought to be spoken sarcastically ; to approve their great folly, in thinking to increase their knowledge, whether God would or no.

As one of us. These words plainly insinuate a plurality of persons in the Godhead ; and all other explanations of them seem forced and unnatural : that of Mr. Calvin's being as disagreeable to the Hebrew phrase, as that of Socinus to the excellency of the Divine nature. This, I think, is well proved by Theodorick Hackspan, Disput. iv. De Locut. Sacris, n. 15, &c.

And now, lest he put forth, &c. This seems an abrupt kind of speech ; something being kept back : as, let us turn him out (or some such-like words), "Lest he take also of the tree of life, and live for ever." Which many of the ancient fathers look upon as a merciful dispensation that man might not be perpetuated in a state of sin. So Irenæus (lib. iii. cap. 37, and Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xxxviii. p. 619), God thus ordered *ὅνα μή ἀθανάτων ᾖ τὸ κακόν, καὶ ῥήνηται φθαρσιμότης ἡ τελευτή*, &c. "that sin might not be immortal, and the punishment might be a kindness." Which he repeats, Orat. xlii. p. 681. So Epiphanius also (Hæres. xxxvii. n. 1), "When man had spoiled himself, God unmade him, that he might make him better." And Methodius in him (Hæres. xlv. n. 24, 25, &c. and 29), where he proceeds so far as to say, that death was not sent upon man *ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι*, "out of any evil design to him," but as a mercy.

Ver. 23. *God sent him forth, &c.* Or, *cast him out* ; and that with reproach and disgrace ; as Aben Ezra observes the Hebrew word, in this form, to signify. And so cast him out that he should not return again.

To till the ground from whence he was taken. This confirms what I said upon the second chapter (ver. 8):

That Adam was made in another place, and thence brought into paradise : from whence, being now expelled, he was sent back to the place where he was first formed ; there to labour in all the toils of husbandry. Though, it must be confessed, these words may signify no more than those ver. 19, of this chapter, that he had his original from the earth ; by the tilling of which he was put in mind of his return thither.

Ver. 24. *So he drove out the man ;* (With his wife) or, as Aben Ezra translates it, *after he had driven him out, he placed, &c.* This word *נָשָׂא* is that which the Hebrews properly use in divorces ; and therefore denotes, they think, that the Lord put him away from his presence, as a man did his wife, to whom he gave a bill of divorce ; or, as a prince banishes a subject that hath rebelled against him, whom he sends into exile out of his own country.

He placed at the east of the garden This shows the entrance into paradise was from the east : at which entrance Adam being cast out, it is likely he afterwards inhabited some of the eastern countries. Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, saith a mountain in India ; which the Mahometans commonly call Sarandib, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. i. De Synedr. cap. ii. p. 452, &c.) But Aben Ezra's conjecture seems more reasonable, that he dwelt in some country not far from paradise.

Cherubims Some of the heavenly ministers, that waited upon the Divine Majesty : who were called by this name in Moses's time, when he wrote this history in the wilderness, after the giving of the law. For the glory of the Lord, I take it, here appeared, at the expulsion of Adam and Eve, in a most dreadful manner ; to deter them from attempting to come near this place again for fear of being consumed.

A flaming sword. Or, *flame of a sword.* Concerning which Maimonides thus discourses (p. i. More Nevoch. cap. 4). Our wise men understand by *lahat* (flame) an angel : according to the psalmist, "He maketh his angels spirits ; his ministers (*lohet*) a flaming fire." (Psal. cix. 4.) That is, one of the seraphims, or a flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery seraph (or serpent), whose body moving in the air resembled the vibration of a sword, was appointed, with the cherubims, to guard the entrance of the garden. For the cherubims and seraphims are frequently mentioned in Scripture as attendants upon the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty : which appeared here in great glory, at the passage into the garden of Eden ; as it did in aftertimes at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation of Israel, to their great astonishment.

Which turned every way. "Angels," says Maimonides, in the forenamed place, "can turn themselves into all forms and shapes : some of which strike greater terror into those that behold them than others do." But I take this expression, not to signify mutation of shapes, but the motion of the angel : which was so very swift and glittering, that devouring flames seemed to come streaming out on every side.

To keep the way of the tree of life. To secure the passage into the garden of Eden, where this tree was ; that none should dare to attempt a re-entrance. But Adam was so far from thinking of this, that, if the eastern traditions were to be credited, I should add, he plunged himself into the deepest sorrow for a long time ; bewailing his sin, begging pardon, &c. till God despatched an angel to comfort him, and further assure him of his favour ; which being but probable conjectures, I say no more of such matters.

from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.

24 So he drove out the man; and he placed

Nor can I assert, with any degree of confidence, what our great primate of Ireland says, in his Annals, that it seems to have been the tenth day of the world's age, when Adam was cast out of paradise: in memory of which calamity, the solemn day of expiation, and the great fast, was instituted in aftertimes, wherein all were to afflict their souls (Lev. xvi. 29). This indeed is the doctrine of the Jews, who say, "The great day of expiation (which was on the tenth of September) was appointed and sanctified from the creation of the world:" but there is no other authority for it.

It will be more useful, I think, to observe what

at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

footsteps there are of these things remaining in the gentle world. I will mention but two. One of which is noted by Eusebius, who shows (lib. xii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 11) that Plato, in his Symposium, hath preserved the memory of Paradise: his *κῆπος Διὸς*, garden of Jupiter, being the same with this garden of God, in which man was at first placed. The other by St. Austin, who says, Pherecydes, the scholar of Pythagoras, called the beginner of evil, *Ὀφωρία*: that is, a demon in the shape of a serpent. So Heideggerus observes out of him, Exercit. iv. De Adama et Eva, n. 82.

CHAPTER IV.

1 The birth, trade, and religion of Cain and Abel. 8 The murder of Abel. 11 The curse of Cain. 17 Enoch the first city. 19 Lamech and his two wives. 25 The birth of Seth, 26 and Enos.

I AND Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord.

2 And she again bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground.

CHAPTER IV.

Ver. 1. *And Adam knew Eve, &c.*] After they were thrown out of paradise; not before (whatsoever some of the Jewish doctors fancy to the contrary); nay, as some will have it, after they had spent some time in acts of repentance, which is not an improbable opinion.

A man from the Lord.] i. e. The promised Messiah; which she imagined would have been her first-born. For the words of the promise (iii. 15) might as well be expounded of the first seed the woman had, as of any of his posterity.

Ver. 2. *Abel.*] But gives no reason of his name, which signifies *vanity*; as she did of Cain's, which signifies *acquisition*, or *possession*. Nor is it said who gave this second son the name of Abel: but it seems they made no account of him, in comparison with the first-born. Quod non posuerunt in eo spem factæ promissionis de semine, ut in Cain (as Joh. Forsterus judiciously speaks, in his Lexicon, on the word Hevel), "Because they did not place in him their hope of the promised seed, as they did in Cain."

Abel was a keeper of sheep, &c.] The younger son was a shepherd; and the elder a husbandman and planter. For this last seems to have been Adam's chief employment, both before and after his fall (Gen. ii. 15, iii. 23), and therefore either chosen by Cain, in imitation of his father, or put upon him by his direction, as the more noble of the two.

Whence the eastern people gave him the name of Abdalcarrith; which some mistook for another son of Adam: but in truth was another name of Cain, signifying a tiller of the field, as Mr. Selden shows, lib. v. De Jure N. et G. cap. 8.

The patriarchs indeed after the flood, at least in Abraham's family, chose to feed cattle: but that was because it was less laborious, and more suitable to that unsettled condition wherein they lived for many years, removing, like the ancient Nomades, from one country to another.

Ver. 3. *In process of time*] In the Hebrew the words are, *in the end of days*: that is, in the conclusion of the year, or after harvest. So *days* signify in

many other places, particularly Judg. xi. 4, where *after days* is *after a year*. This was a very reasonable time to make their grateful acknowledgments to God; who had given them a fruitful year, and blessed them with increase. Accordingly God ordained, in future times, that the Israelites should keep a solemn feast, in the year's end, to thank him for the ingathering of their fruits (Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22). But in what year of the world it was that Cain and Abel brought these sacrifices, we have no means to know. It was, no doubt, when they were grown men; and perhaps had more brothers and sisters besides themselves. See ver. 17.

Cain brought of the fruits of the ground an offering] These were the most ancient sacrifices among the gentiles, both Greek and Roman, as their authors tell us; and therefore it is most likely that Adam began with these oblations of herbs, flowers, frankincense, meal, &c., in which Cain followed him; being of the same profession, and provided with store of such things. Now, as there were solemn times of making their devout acknowledgments to God: so, I doubt not, there were some set places where they met for that purpose. For the word in Hebrew for *brought*, is never used about domestic or private sacrifices, but always about those public sacrifices, which were brought to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to be offered by the priest. As (Lev. iv. 4) "He shall bring the bullock to the door," &c. Which occurs all along, especially in the ninth chapter of that book.

And therefore, I suppose, they *brought* these sacrifices, here mentioned, to some fixed place: looking towards the Shechinah, or glorious presence of God, at the entrance of the garden of Eden, from which Adam had been expelled. For there being, no doubt, some settled place where they performed sacred offices, it is most reasonable to think it had respect to the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty. Whosoever that appeared, there they appeared (as the Scripture speaks) before God: because there he manifested his special presence, which moved them to go thither to worship him, to give him thanks, or to inquire of him, as we read Rebecca did, xxv. 22.

3 And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD.

What kind of sacrifices these were, is a question among learned men. The Talmudists are of opinion they were *whole burnt-offerings*, and that there were no other before the law was given (which I shall not now examine), nor would the Jews, after the giving of the law, permit the gentiles to offer any other at their temple.

It is their opinion also, that Cain and Abel brought these sacrifices to Adam, to be offered by him: for which I see no convincing reason; but rather they themselves seem to have offered them. And then this place effectually confutes their opinion, who say the first-born were separated to the office of priesthood: for, by these words, it is plain, the youngest sacrificed, as well as the eldest. And so they did in following ages; when we find Jacob performing the office of a priest (Gen. xxviii. 18, xlv. 1). Which proves their opinions rather to be true, who say, that every man anciently had the power, in his own family, to do the office of a priest, as Job did, (i. 5). But when families combined together, under one head, prince, or governor, he had the sole right of sacrificing devolved to him, as their common father. Thus Melchizedek was both king of Salem and priest of the most high God. All which was taken away by the law of Moses, which permitted none to officiate among the Israelites, but the family of Aaron; and no sacrifices to be offered, but at the tabernacle of the congregation, Lev. xvii. 3, 4, 5.

It is a much harder question, how they came to sacrifice at all, either meal or beasts; since we read of no command from God requiring them to bring him such oblations: which hath led some to conclude that men did this out of a grateful inclination, to return him some of his own blessings; though they had no directions from him about it. But if this were true, how came Abel to believe that his sacrifice of a beast would be so acceptable to God, as the apostle says it was by faith? (Heb. xi. 4.) That faith had something else to warrant it, than barely his own reason. Adam, in all likelihood, had received some order concerning it; and began to sacrifice (as I noted before, iii. 21) by direction from the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty: from whence a voice spake to him upon several occasions, (ii. 16, 17, iii. 8, 9, &c.) This order, indeed, is not recorded, no more than many other things which Moses in his short history omitted (as Enoch's prophecy, Noah's preaching, the peopling of the world, &c., see ver. 15), but it doth not seem probable that Adam would have presumed to invent a way of worship by killing beasts and burning their fat: especially since one cannot perceive any inclination of it in nature. And therefore Eusebius very judiciously resolves, in my opinion, that this way of worship was not taken up by chance, or by a human motion, *κατὰ θεῶν δ' ἐντολὰν ὑποβιβάζοντων*, but suggested to them by a divine intimation (lib. i. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 10). Of which Plato, one would think, had some notion, when he forbids his law-maker (in his *Epinomis*) to make any alteration in the rites of sacrificing, because, *οὐ δυνατόν εἶδέναι τῇ διηγητῇ τῶν τοιοῦτων κρείν*, "it is not possible for our mortal nature to know any thing about such matters."

Ver. 4. *Abel brought of the firstlings of his flock, &c.* Many have fancied, from this, that Cain's guilt lay in this, that he did not bring the *first of his fruit*, as he ought to have done, and as the heathens ever did, or were bound to do by their pontifical laws (as Mr. Selden observes, chap. i. of his *Hist. of Tithes*), in

4 And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering:

their *Præmessum*, i. e. the first-fruits of their corn, or their *Calpar*, which was the richest of their wine. For it is only said, he brought of the *fruit of his ground*, when Abel brought of the *firstlings of his flock*. And Moses also adding, that Abel brought of the *fat thereof*, that is, the very best; they think Cain's fault was, that he brought not the fullest ears of corn (which he kept for himself), but the lankest, or brought them with a niggardly hand, or a grudging mind. Thus Palladius, in the *Life of St. Chrysostom*, says, "He was the first that tasted the first-fruits, and kept the best things for his own belly." *Τὸν ἀπαρχὸν ἀπεργασάτο πρῶτος, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ λαμπυρίᾳ τὰ πρωτὰ φράζας*, p. 108. But there is no certainty of this; and the apostle to the Hebrews hath directed us to a better account (xi. 4). Abel offered with a pious mind; Cain without a due sense of God, and sincere affection to him. He offered the fruit of his ground; but did not devote himself to God. Therefore it follows,

The Lord had respect unto Abel] He graciously accepted them: and his offering was accepted, because he himself was accepted. It is a metaphor from those who, when a present is made to them, look kindly upon the person that brings it, if they like him and his present; or turn away their faces, if they disdain them.

How God testified his acceptance of Abel's sacrifice is the only difficulty: which the Jews say was by fire coming from heaven (or rather, I think, by a stream of light, or a flame from the Shechinah, or glorious presence of God, to whom it was offered) which burnt up his sacrifice. Thus Theodotion of old translated these words: *Ἀνέβηκεν ἐκ τῆς θύρας Ἄβελ, καὶ ἀνέπρησε*: "He looked upon Abel's sacrifices, and set them on fire." Which St. Hierom, and other ancient writers approve. The footsteps of which we meet withal, in Gen. xv. 17, and examples of it very many in future times: when Moses offered the first great burnt-offering according to the law (Lev. ix. 24), when Gideon offered upon the rock (Judg. vi. 21), and David stayed the plague (1 Chron. xxi. 26), and Solomon consecrated the temple (2 Chron. vii. 13), and when Elijah contended with the Baalites, (1 Kings xviii. 38, &c.) Whence the Israelites, wishing all prosperity to their king, pray that God would accept (in the Hebrew, *turn into ashes*) *his burnt sacrifice* (Psal. xx. 4). And we find some relics of this among the heathen: for, when the Greeks went on ship-board to the Trojan war, Homer represents Jupiter promising them good success in this manner, *Iliad. ii. 354*:

Ἀστράπτειν ἐπιβέβη' ἐκείναισιν σήματα φάινων

by "lightning on the right hand of them (as it may be translated), or shining graciously upon them (as the ancient scholiast expounds it), and making favourable tokens appear to them." In like manner, he gave the same encouragement to the Trojans, when they were going to set upon the Greeks, *Iliad. x. 236, 237*:

Ζεὺς δὲ φῆν Κρονίδης ἐνδύξια σήματα φάινων, Ἀστράπτει

"Jupiter giving them good signs, lightened upon them." And thunder sometimes accompanying these flashes of lightning (as it did on Mount Sinai), Virgil makes him to have established covenants in that manner (*Æneid. xii. 200*.) Where, after Æneas had called

7 5 But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell.

6 And the Lord said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen?

7 If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.

8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother:

the sun to witness, &c. Latinus lifts up his eyes and right hand to heaven, saying,

"Audiat hæc genitor, qui fœdera fulmina sancit."

"Let the (heavenly) Father hear what I say, who establishes covenants with thunder."

If such passages as these were attended to, no considering man would think the books of Moses to be of less antiquity than they pretend to; they opening to us the very fountains of things, particularly of the ancient religion.

Ver. 5. *But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect.*] He did not so much as shine upon his sheaves; much less make them ascend up to heaven in a smoke: though he were the elder brother, and brought his offering first.

Cain was very wroth.] This highly incensed him against Abel: when he should have made severe reflections on himself, and considered what it was that provoked God to slight his sacrifice; that so he might amend it, and procure his favour. Unto which he had not a title by his birthright, but by his piety. It is possible, indeed, that Eve might have instilled an opinion into him, that he, being the first-born, was the blessed seed which God had promised. And then this may be conceived to have enraged him the more against his brother: when he saw such a distinguishing mark of God's special favour to him in the very act of sacrificing. Which made him look upon Abel with a jealous eye, and tempted him to kill him: that he might not supplant him in his hope, of being the fulfiller of the oracle before mentioned, iii. 15.

His countenance fell.] He did not merely look dejectedly through grief; but knit his brows, and had a down look, as we speak, lowering and cloudy: like those who have evil designs in their heads, and meditate nothing but revenge.

Ver. 6. *And the Lord said unto Cain, &c.*] He did not intend wholly to cast off Cain, by refusing his sacrifice, it is plain, I think, by this question. Which was, in effect, to tell him, he had no reason to be angry or out of humour; but only to become a better man: and then God would have respect unto him also. So it follows:

Ver. 7. *If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? &c.*] There are vast varieties in the interpretation of this verse, with which I shall not trouble the reader (see Theodorick Hackspan, lib. i. Miscel. cap. 4. Mercer, and L. de Dieu, different from all, with Dr. Lightfoot), but only give the sense of our translation, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" Canst thou doubt that I have an impartial respect to true goodness, wheresoever I find it?

But if thou doest not well, sin (that is, the punishment of sin, as ver. 13, xix. 15, and many other places) *lieth at the door.*] Is ready to follow the offence.

Unto thee shall be his desire, &c.] He is still thy younger brother, and shall be subject to thee (see iii. 16), and thou shalt be his superior. So here are three things suggested to Cain, to appease his anger against his brother. First, That the reason of his not being respected was not in his brother, but in himself:

and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.

9 ¶ And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: *Am I my brother's keeper?*

10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.

11 And now art thou cursed from the earth,

who, if he would do well, as Abel had done, should find favour no less than he. Secondly, That there was no reason he that did ill should fare like him that did well; but quite contrary, should feel the marks of God's displeasure. And yet, Thirdly, This should not alter his civil right, nor give Abel any authority over him: but he should still retain the privilege of his birthright; and need fear no harm from his brother, who was his inferior.

Ver. 8. *Cain talked with Abel*] Asked him in a friendly manner (as one brother speaks to another) if he would walk into the fields? This seems more likely to me, than that he told him how the Lord had chidden him (as Aben Ezra interprets it), or that he disputed with him about the other world, and the judgment to come, as others of them expound it. Which Mr. Selden very judiciously concludes to have arisen from Onkelos's paraphrase on the foregoing verse, which is this: "If thou amend thy worship (or service of me) shalt thou not be pardoned? but if thou dost not amend it, thy sin shall remain to the day of judgment, in which thou shalt be punished if thou dost not repent." Upon which follows, in some editions of the Pentateuch, the dispute which Cain had with Abel about the day of judgment, as a traditional explication of this eighth verse. Lib. vii. de Jure N. et Gen. cap. 4.

In the field.] When he had drawn him from company, and had him alone.

Cain rose up against Abel.] Assaulted him on a sudden; took him at an advantage.

Slew him.] Gave him a stab; or some other way wounded him; so as to shed his blood. Ver. 11.

Ver. 9. *Where is thy brother?*] Which is not spoken as if he was ignorant; but to awaken Cain, and make him sensible, that he knew what had passed.

I know not.] I can give no account of him.

Am I my brother's keeper?] Was he committed like a little child to my care; to look after him, and see he took no harm? Rage made him rude; and not mind what he said, nor to whom he spoke. Salvian, indeed (lib. i. de gubern. Dei), thinks this speech proceeded from atheism; and that, in those early days, the opinion sprung up, which, in his time, had infected many, Deum terrestria non respiciere, &c. "That God did not mind what we do on earth: but the foulest fact may be covered with a lie." But this conceit is confuted by the very question which is put to Cain.

Ver. 10. *What hast thou done?*] Consider what a heinous crime thou hast committed; which cannot be concealed from me. For,

Thy brother's blood crieth, &c.] Calls for speedy and severe vengeance. In the Hebrew it is *bloods*, in the plural number; because, say the Hebrew doctors, he killed Abel and all his posterity, which were in his loins: according to what we read, 2 Kings ix. 26, "I have seen the blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons (though we read of nobody stoned but himself), saith the Lord, and I will requite thee in this plat," &c. See Sanhedrin, cap. iv. and Excerpt. Gemara, cap. vi. N. 7. a Joh. Coch.

which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand;

12 When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

13 And Cain said unto the Lord, My punishment is greater than I can bear.

14 Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and

a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me.

15 And the Lord said unto him, Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him.

16 ¶ And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.

17 And Cain knew his wife; and she con-

Ver. 11. *Thou art cursed from the earth, &c.*] I pass a sentence of perpetual banishment upon thee, from this country; which hath drunk in the blood of thy brother. Hitherto Adam and his children had lived together; but now, as Aben Ezra well observes, Cain was banished into a region far off from his father, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Paradise.

Ver. 12. *When thou tillest the ground, &c.*] And whosoever thou shalt flee, the earth, which thou tillest, shall be barren; and not bring forth answerable to thy labour.

A fugitive and a vagabond, &c.] In that strange country thou shalt have no rest; but wander up and down unequally, and not know where to settle; or as the LXX. translate the words, "Go about groaning and trembling, full of anguish in thy mind, and with a continual shaking in thy body." Thus St. Basil, in his Homily against Drunkenness understood it, when he said, "A drunkard draws upon himself the curse of Cain," *Τρέμων καὶ περιφερόμενος διὰ παντός βίου*, "Staggering and turned about uncertainly all his life long." Hen. Valesius thinks his brother's ghost haunted him whithersoever he went; which made him run from place to place to avoid its persecution. So he paraphrases these words (Annot. in lib. iii. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. cap. 6), *Umbra fratris tui quem occidisti, persecutor te ubique, et aderit infesta*. And so he interprets the foregoing words, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground." Thy brother, whom thou hast impiously slain, requires me to avenge him, and exact the punishment of thee, which is due for his murder. And indeed it was a notion, not only among the pagans, but among the Jews also (as he shows), that the ghosts of those who were murdered persecuted their murderers, and required punishment of them.

Ver. 13. *My punishment is greater than I can bear.*] This is too heavy a punishment, for I sink under the weight of it. Others interpret it (as appears by the margin of our Bible), "My sin is unpardonable;" or too great to be forgiven. Thus he, who, at first, was not so sensible of his sin as to confess it, now thinks it to no purpose to beg mercy.

Ver. 14. *Thou hast driven me*] Banished me (as was said before, ver. 11) from my own native country.

And from thy face shall I be hid;] And more than that, I am banished from thy blessed presence (as appears from ver. 16), and shall not have the liberty to come before thy glorious Majesty. With respect to which he may be said to have been excommunicated, though not in the full sense of that word, as Mr. Selden shows, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 2, p. 446, 455, &c.

A fugitive, &c.] Wandering up and down in unknown regions.

Every one that findeth me shall slay me.] I shall be looked upon as a common enemy: so that whosoever lights upon me, taking me for a dangerous person, will kill me. To find another, in Scripture language, signifies to fall upon him by chance or unawares; without any precedent hatred: as Bochart observes,

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from 1 Sam. xxiv. 14, and other places, lib. ii. Hierozoic, p. i. cap. 21.

Ver. 15. *Therefore whoso slayeth Cain, &c.*] Or, (as the word we translate *therefore* may be rendered) *not so*: it shall not be as thou suspectest. But Lud. de Dieu gives many instances where this word *ἵνα* is used as an affirmative, signifying as much as *surely*. So the meaning is, Take it for a certain truth, that if any man slay Cain, he (that is Cain) shall be avenged sevenfold; or rather, through seven generations, God will punish the slaughter of Cain a long time: for the number seven is ἀποστον ἡγέθους σημαντικόν, (as the Chronic. Excerpt. before Joh. Antiochenus speak) "an indication of an indeterminate, but great number;" signifying as much as he shall endure many punishments. For God intended the life of Cain should be prolonged, in a miserable estate, as an example of his vengeance; to deter others from committing the like murder.

A mark upon Cain.] What this mark was, we must be content to be ignorant. Some think God stigmatized him with a letter of his name in his forehead; (or, rather, I should think, set such a brand upon him as signified him to be accursed:) others, that he looked most frightfully, so that every body avoided him; or, that his head shook continually; or, (as others) he had a trembling in his whole body; or, his face, perhaps, was blasted by lightning from the presence of the Lord. Certain it is, that it was some notorious mark of God's displeasure; which made men shun him. For we must not imagine there was nobody in the world, at this time, but Adam and Eve, and Cain: but consider that the design of this Holy Book is not to give us a particular account of the whole race of mankind descended from Adam (who, no doubt, had a great many more children than Cain and Abel; and they also had children before this happened), but only of those persons who were most remarkable; and whose story was necessary to be known, for the understanding of the succession down to Moses's time. Accordingly we read, presently after this, that Cain had a wife; and more than that, he built a city: which supposes a great company of people to inhabit it (ver. 17). And here, by the way, we need not wonder there is no mention made of the institution of sacrifices; when the first peopling of the world is only supposed, not related.

Ver. 16. *Cain went out*] Not voluntarily, but by the force of the Divine curse.

From the presence of the Lord.] There was a Divine glory, called by the Jews the Shechinah, which appeared from the beginning (as I have often said before); the sight of which Cain never after this enjoyed; but was banished from it: and God withdrawing his gracious presence from him (so St. Chrysostom), he was also forsaken by him, and put out of his special protection. If Cain, after this, turned a downright idolater (as many think), it is very likely he introduced the worship of the sun (which was the most ancient sort of idolatry), as the best resemblance he could find of the glory of the

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ceived, and bare Enoch : and he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch.

Lord : which was wont to appear in a flaming light. And in aftertimes they worshipped fire, in the eastern countries; as the best emblem of the sun, when it was absent.

The land of Nod.] At last he settled in a country, which had the name of *Nod*; from his wandering up and down, like a vagabond, till he fixed here: where, it seems, he still continued restless; moving from one part of the country to another, till, in conclusion, "he built a city" (for his security, some think), as we read in the verse following.

Some translate it, *in the land of vagabonds*. And R. Solomon fancies the very ground shaken under him, and made people run away from him, saying, "This is the cruel man that killed his brother."

The east of Eden.] He still went eastward from that country, where Adam settled after he was thrust out of paradise. See iii. 24. Which Junius thinks was in that tract of ground where the Nomades afterwards dwelt, bordering upon Susiana. Which is far more probable, than the conceit of the author of the book Cosiri (par. ii. § 14), who would have Cain's going "from the presence of the Lord" nothing else but his expulsion out of the land of Canaan, where Adam dwelt after he was thrust out of paradise: and consequently the land of Nod was not far from the land of Canaan. Nothing can be more ungrounded than this; which overthrows, also, all that Moses saith of Eden, and the garden planted there; from whence Adam went out on the *east side*, and therefore not towards Canaan, which was *westward*.

Ver. 17. *And Cain knew his wife:]* There hath been no mention hitherto of any woman in the world but Eve, much less of Cain's having a wife. And therefore it is uncertain whether this were a wife he took before he killed his brother, or after. It is most probable before; because we may well think all the world abhorred the thoughts of marriage with such an impious murderer, whom God also had accursed. But whether it were before or after, I see no reason to conclude that this wife was his sister: there being women enough in the world beside, before this time, as was said before (ver. 15). For even in our country, in the age before us, there sprung from two persons, three hundred and sixty-seven children, within the space of eighty years. And therefore, the world being now (when Cain slew Abel) a hundred and twenty-eight, or a hundred and thirty years old, according to Abp. Usher, and Jac. Capellus's Chronology, we cannot but conceive there were a great number of people in it, descended from all those sons and daughters which Adam begot (chap. v. 4). We are not told how many, but some of the ancient eastern traditions (in Cedrenus) say, he had thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters.

It is true, indeed, that at the first Cain could marry none but one of his sisters. Which was then lawful because absolutely necessary: but prohibited by God when that necessity ceased. Of which the eastern people were so sensible, that they took care to have it thought, that Cain and Abel did not marry those who were nearest akin to them, but those that were at some distance. For their tradition is, that Eve at her two first births, brought twins, a son and a daughter; viz. Cain with his sister Azron, and Abel with his sister Awin; as Saidus Patricides, patriarch of Alexandria, reports. Now such was their caution not to match with those that were nearest in blood, but with those further off, as much as was then possible; Cain was not suffered to marry his twin-sister, nor Abel

18 And unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech.

his: but Adam gave Awin to Cain, and Azron to Abel. I cannot vouch the truth of this story; which I mention only to show, that mankind have had a sense, that all possible care should be used to avoid marriages with the nearest relations: for though this story was derived, perhaps, from the Jews, yet it was believed by other people. See Mr. Selden, lib. v. De Jure N. et G. cap. 8. Whence Diodorus Siculus says, lib. i. it was κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, "the common use of mankind," that brothers and sisters should not be joined in marriage. And Plato (lib. viii. de Legib.) calls such marriages μηδαμῶς ὁσὰ καὶ θεομοῦν, "by no means holy, but hateful to God." For though they were not so in the beginning of things, they became so afterwards: that being natural in one state of things (as Grotius well observes, lib. De Jure B. et P. cap. 10), which is unnatural in another state.

He builded a city,] Not as soon as he came into this country: but when he had a numerous progeny, able to people it: and consequently in his old age. His end in building it, some think, was to cross the curse of wandering to and fro: others, to defend himself against those whom his guilty conscience made him fear; or, to secure the spoils which, by force and violence (as Josephus relates, lib. i. Antiq. cap. 3), he had taken from others. There are those who imagine that when he attempted to build this city, he often broke off the work, out of a panic fear; such a one as Romulus felt, after he had killed his brother Remus.

Called the name of the city, &c.] Some think he declined his own name, because he knew it to be odious every where: but it is more likely, it was for that reason which moved men in aftertimes to do the same. For it hath been a very ancient usage for great men to call the cities which they built by the name of their sons, rather than their own: out of the great love they bare to their children. Thus Nimrod called Nineveh after the name of his son Ninus: which the psalmist notes as a piece of the vanity of mankind, to call their lands (that is, the houses where they dwelt, as R. Solomon Jarchi interprets it) by their own names, to be a lasting monument of them and of their family.

Enoch.] There were an ancient people called by Pliny, Heniochii; by Mela, Eniochi; and by Lucan, Enochii: some of which lived so far eastward, that Sir W. Raleigh fancies they might be the posterity of this Enoch.

Ver. 18. *Unto Enoch was born Irad, &c.]* It is remarkable, that though Moses gives us some account of the descendants of Cain, yet he saith not a word of the years that they lived; and carries their genealogy but a little way. Whereas he deduces the genealogy of Seth down to the flood, and so to his own time, &c. And also relates particularly (chap. 5), to what age the life of his principal posterity was prolonged. It seems, he looked upon Cain's race as such a reprobate generation, that he would not number them in the book of the living: as St. Cyril speaks.

Ver. 19. *Lamech took unto him two wives:]* By a small transposition of letters, Lamech being the same with Melech, which signifies a king, some of the Jews fancy him to have been a great man: for none but such, they say, had two wives in those ancient times; though they hold it was lawful (as Selden shows, lib. v. De Jure N. et G. cap. 6), for any body that could maintain them to have had more. But it is more likely that Lamech was the first that adventured to transgress the original institution; which was observed even by the Cainites till this time. When, perhaps

19¶ And Lamech took unto him two wives: the name of the one *was* Adah, and the name of the other Zillah.

20 And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle.

21 And his brother's name *was* Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ.

22 And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, an

his earnest desire of seeing that blessed seed which was promised to Eve, might induce him to take more wives than one; hoping, by multiplying his posterity, some other of them might prove so happy as to produce that seed. And this he might possibly persuade himself was the more likely, because the right that was in Cain the first-born, he might now conclude was revived in himself: who, being the seventh from Cain, had some reason to imagine the curse laid upon him, of being punished *sevenfold*, i. e. for *seven* generations, was now expired: and his posterity restored to the right of fulfilling the promise.

Ver. 20. *He was the father*] The Hebrews call him the *father* of any thing, who was the first inventor of it; or a most excellent master in that art. Such was Jabal in the art of making tents, folding flocks, and all other parts of pasturage. Which, though begun by Abel, was not by him brought to perfection: or if it were, Jabal was the first in the family of Cain that was eminent in the following inventions.

Such as dwell in tents] Taught men to pitch tents; which were movable houses, that might easily be carried from place to place, when there was occasion to remove for new pasture. Under this is comprehended all that belongs to the care of cattle in their breeding, feeding, and preserving, as appears by what follows.

Of such as have cattle] In the Hebrew the words are, and of cattle. Where the copulative *van*, which we translate *and*, signifies as much as *with*: and so the words are to be here translated, "such as dwell in tents, with cattle." Thus Bochartus observes it is used, 1 Sam. xiv. 18, "The ark of God was at that time with the children of Israel;" as we, with the ancients, truly translate it. And so it should be translated, Exod. i. 5, "All the souls that came out of Jacob's loins were seventy souls, with Joseph." For Joseph is not to be added (as we seem to understand it) unto the seventy, but made up that number, as appears from Gen. xlv. 27. So that the sense of this whole verse seems to be, that though men fed cattle before in good pastures, yet Jabal was the first that, by the invention of tents, made the more desert countries serviceable to them: where, when they had eaten up all the grass in one place, they might in a little time take up their tents, and fix them in another. To this purpose R. Solomon Jarchi. And in these tents, it is likely, he taught them to defend their cattle, as well as themselves, from heat and cold, and all other dangers to which they were exposed in those desert places.

Ver. 21. *Father of such as handle the harp and organ*] The first inventor of musical instruments, and that taught men to play upon them. What *cinnor* is (which we translate *harp*), see in Bochartus's *Canaan*. lib. ii. cap. 7, p. 808. I believe the first word includes in it all *stringed*, the latter all *wind* musical instruments.

It is possible that Apollo, or Linus, or Orpheus (for there are all these various opinions), might be the inventor of the harp among the Greeks: but it was their vanity that made them fancy such instruments had their original in their country.

instructor of every artificer in brass or iron; and the sister of Tubal-cain *was* Naamah.

23 And Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt;

24 If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

25¶ And Adam knew his wife again; and

Ver. 22. *Tubal-cain*] The Arabians still call a plate of iron or brass by the name of Tubal (as Bochartus observes out of Avicenna, and others, lib. iii. Phaleg, cap. 12), who, as it follows in the text, was

An instructor of every artificer in brass and iron] i. e. Found out the art of melting metals, and making all sorts of weapons, arms, and other instruments of iron and brass. Many think that Vulcan is the same with Tubal-cain (their names being not unlike); particularly Gerh. Vossius, *De Orig. Idolol*, lib. i. cap. 16.

Naamah] Whom Vossius (Ib. cap. 17) takes to have been the heathen Minerva, or Venus. Her name signifies beautiful, or fair, one of a sweet aspect: and the Arabians say, she invented colours and painting as Jubal did music. See Elmacinus, p. 8.

Ver. 23. *And Lamech said—Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech*] Something had preceded these words, which was the occasion of them: but it is hard to find what it was. Jacobus Capellus, indeed (in his *Historia Sacra et Exotica*), hath a conceit that Lamech was now in a vapouring humour, being puffed up with the glory of his sons' inventions; to whose music and other arts he endeavoured to add poetry: which he expressed in the following words, that seem to him a thraconical hymn, wherein he brags what feats he would do. For so he reads the words (with Aben Ezra), not *I have slain*, but *I will kill* a man with one blow of my fist, &c. But I can see no warrant for this translation, without a violence to the Hebrew text; and therefore we must seek for another interpretation.

I have slain a man, &c.] These words would have a plain exposition (which otherwise are difficult), if we could give credit to the Hebrew tradition; which, St. Hierom says, several Christians followed: that Lamech, being informed by a certain youth, as he was hunting, that there was a wild beast lay lurking in a secret place, went thither; and unawares killed Cain, who lay hid there: and then, in a rage at what he had done, fell upon the youth that had occasioned this mistake, and beat him to death. But, as there is no certainty of this, so it doth not agree with the next verse: which seems to suppose Cain to be now alive. Therefore, Lud. De Dieu, following Onkelos, reads the words by way of interrogation; "Have I slain a man? or, so much as a boy?" that you should be afraid of my life! It seems the use of weapons being found out by one of his sons, and grown common, his wives apprehended that somebody or other might make use of them to slay him. But he bids them comfort themselves, for he was not guilty of slaying any body himself: and therefore might reasonably hope nobody would hurt him.

And then the meaning of the next verse is easy.

Ver. 24. *If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold*] If God hath guarded Cain so strongly, who was a murderer, as to threaten great and long punishments to those that slay him; he will punish them far more, and pursue them with a longer vengeance, who shall slay me, being a guiltless person.

There are divers other interpretations, which I shall

she bare a son, and called his name Seth: For God, *said she*, hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.

not mention; because this is most pertinent to the preceding discourse.

Ver. 25. *Bare a son.*] The Jews think he was born a year after Abel was killed.

And called his name Seth.] Mothers anciently gave names to their children as well as the fathers. And Eve gave this son the name of Seth, because she looked upon him as *appointed* (so the word signifies) by God, to be what Cain, she thought, should have been; till God rejected his sacrifice, and he slew Abel: in whose room she believed God had substituted this son, to be the seed from whom the Redeemer of the world should come.

The Arabians say (particularly Elmacinus, p. 7), that Seth was the inventor of letters and writing (as Jubal was of music, and Tubal-Cain of arms), which so much surpassed all other inventions, that some (as Cedrenus tells us) called him a god; i. e. the highest benefactor to mankind. Which, if it were true, we might think that thence his children were called "the sons of God" (vi. 2). But it is most likely this mistake arose from Symmachus's translation of the last words of the next verse, which, if we may believe Suidas, was thus: "Then began Seth to be called by the name of God." For which there is no foundation, either there or any where else in Scripture. For though it be said that Moses was made "a god to Pharaoh," yet he is never simply called a god, as Jacobus Capellus well observes. Nor is any king or prince called by that name particularly, in Scripture; though in general it says of them all, that "they are gods."

Ver. 26. *To him also there was born a son;*] When he was a hundred and five years old, as we read, v. 6.

Enos: Signifying the weak and miserable condition of mankind; which he seemed, by giving him this name, to deplore.

Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord.] This doth not import that men did not call upon the Lord (which includes all his worship and service) before this time: but that now (as Jac. Capellus conceives) they were awakened, by the consideration of their infirmity before mentioned, to be more serious and frequent in religious offices: or, rather (as others understand it) they began to hold more public assemblies. For families being now multiplied, to which religion was before confined, they joined together and met in larger societies and communion, for the solemn worship of God by sacrifices, and other religious ser-

26 And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name Enos: then began men to call upon the name of the Lord.

vices. For to call upon God, comprehends, as I said, all religion: which consists in acknowledging him to be the Lord of all; in lauding all his glorious perfections; giving him thanks for his benefits; and beseeching the continuance of them.

But it being scarce credible, that public assemblies were not held long before this (it being probable that, even when Cain and Abel sacrificed, their families joined together to worship God), it hath moved some men of note (such as Bertram and Hackspan), to follow our marginal translation; "Then began men (i. e. the children of Seth) to call themselves by the name of the Lord:" that is, the servants or worshippers of the Lord; in distinction from the Cainites, and such profane persons as had forsaken him.

And indeed a great number of the Jewish writers, with whom Mr. Selden joins (in his *De Diis Syris*, Prolegom. 3), would have the words expounded thus, to signify that apostasy: "Then was there profanation, by invoking the name of the Lord." For the word *hochal*, which we here translate *began*, signifying *profaned*, in Lev. xix. 12, ("Thou shalt not profane the name of the Lord thy God;") they take Moses's meaning to be, "That the most Holy Name which belongs to the Creator and Possessor of heaven and earth alone, was now impiously given unto creatures;" particularly to the sun. And thus the Arabic interpreter, in Erpenius's edition; "Then began men to apostatize from the worship of God." But a great number of very learned men have opposed themselves to this interpretation; and with much judgment: Moses being here speaking of the pious family of Seth, and not of impious Cain's: and the word *hochal* (as Hackspan observes), with the preposition *le* following in the next word, being constantly used in the sense of *beginning*, not of *profanation*. And therefore they content themselves with our marginal translation: or else think that God was now first called upon by the name of Jehovah. Or, that *liturgies*, as we call them, or public forms of worship, were now appointed at set hours: or, some other considerable improvements made in religious offices. For the Arabian Christians represent this Enos as an excellent governor; who, while he lived, preserved his family in good order; and when he died, called them all together, and gave them a charge to keep God's commandments, and not associate themselves with the children of Cain. So Elmacinus.

CHAPTER V.

1 The genealogy, age, and death of the patriarchs from Adam unto Noah. 24 The godliness and translation of Enoch.

1 THIS is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him;

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *This is the book*] i. e. Here follows a catalogue of the posterity of Adam. So the word *book* signifies, Matt. i. 1, an account of those from whom Christ the second Adam came; as here, an account of those who came from the first Adam. Yet not of all, but of the principal persons, by whom, in a right line, the succession was continued down to Noah, &c.

2 Male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created.

As for the collateral lines, which, no doubt, were very many, by the other sons and daughters which the persons here mentioned begat, they are omitted: because no more than I have said, was pertinent to Moses's purpose.

In the day] This is repeated again, only to imprint on their minds that Adam was not produced, like other men, by generation, but by creation.

In the likeness of God] This also is again mention-

3 ¶ And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth:

4 And the days of Adam after he had begot-

ed; to remember men how highly God had honoured them, and how shamefully they had requited him.

Ver. 2. *Male and female*] Of different sexes, to be joined together in holy marriage: as Moses had shown, chap. ii. 22, 23, &c.

Adam.] The common name to both sexes; like *homo* in Latin, &c.

Ver. 3. *Adam lived an hundred and thirty years.*] This doth not assure us he had no children but Cain and Abel till now; but only acquaints us with his age, when Seth was born.

In his own likeness.] Not so perfect as himself, when he was created; but with those imperfections which impaired him, after he had eaten the forbidden fruit: that is, inclined to sin, and subject to death.

For his own likeness and image, wherein this son was begotten, seems to be opposed to the *likeness and image of God*, wherein Adam was made (i. 26), which, though not quite lost, was lamentably defaced.

Maimonides will have this to refer to Seth's wisdom and goodness; he proving truly a man like to his father Adam: whereas the rest before him proved rather beasts. More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 7.

Seth.] He intends to give here an account of those descended from Seth alone, not of his posterity by Cain (who are only briefly mentioned in the foregoing chapter, verses 17, 18), because in Seth the posterity of Adam were preserved, when all the children of Cain perished in the deluge.

Ver. 4. *He begat sons and daughters.*] After the birth of Seth he begat more children (as he had done, it is probable, many before), whose names are not here recorded: because Moses sets down only that race of men, from whom Noah and Abraham (the father of the faithful), and the Messiah were derived.

Ver. 5. *Were nine hundred and thirty years.*] It is not reasonable to take a measure of the length of the lives of the patriarchs by the shortness of ours. For, as Josephus well observes (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 4, and out of him, Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 13), they being men much beloved of God, and newly made by him, with a strong constitution, and excellent temper of body, and using better diet, the vigour of the earth serving at the first for the production of better fruits; all these things, joined with their temperance, constant exercise and labour, a sweet temper of air, their knowledge in the nature of herbs and plants, &c. might well contribute very much, to as long a life as is here mentioned. Which was but necessary, also (and therefore God's providence took special care of them), that the world might be the sooner peopled; knowledge and religion more certainly propagated, by the authority of living teachers; arts and sciences brought to a great perfection, which could not have been effected in a short life, like ours. And therefore Josephus shows, that herein Moses hath the testimony of all the Greeks and Barbarians also, who have wrote about ancient affairs. Of Manethus (for instance), who wrote the Egyptian history; Berosus, who wrote the Chaldean; Mochus, Hestæus, &c. who wrote the Phœnician; with a great number of Greek writers whom he mentions; who all say men lived anciently a thousand years. None indeed came up to that full sum; but some so near it, that they who were not exactly acquainted with the sacred story, might well speak in that manner.

And this ought not to seem incredible to us in these days, when we consider how long several have lived in the later ages of the world; as Pliny reports in his

ten Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat sons and daughters:

5 And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died.

Natural History, lib. vii. cap. 48. Nay, in times nearer to us, there are instances of this kind, as the Lord Bacon observes, in his Hist. Vitæ et Mortis; and Bartholin. in his Hist. Anatom. Rariorum, Cent. v. Hist. 28.

But nothing is more remarkable than that which Gassendus reports in the life of Nicol. Peirescius, lib. v. That he received a letter from Aleppo, no longer ago than the year 1636, of a man then in Persia, known to several persons worthy to be believed, who was four hundred years old: *Idque ipsis omnino esse exploratum atque indubium*: and the persons that wrote this, were fully assured of the undoubted truth of it.

Such instances indeed are rare; and there is one that thinks men did not generally live to such a great age in the old world: for Maimonides is of opinion, that none attained to so many years as are here mentioned, but only the particular persons expressly named by Moses; all the rest of mankind, in those days, living only the ordinary term which man did in aftertimes: or, in other words, this extraordinary length of days, was the privilege only of these singular individuals; either from their accurate way of living and diet, or God's special favour in reward of their eminent virtue and piety. (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 47.) But Nachmanides (another great Jewish doctor) opposes this with much reason; for, that their eminent virtue was not the cause they alone had this privilege, appears by Enoch, the most holy man of them all, who did not live to the age of four hundred years. And as there is no ground to believe these were the only persons who lived exactly temperate in all things; so it is manifest Moses doth not design to give us an account of those that lived longest, but of those from whom Noah descended; and it is incredible that they alone should be very long-lived, and nobody else, though descended from the same parents.

Ver. 6. *Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enos.*] We must not think he lived so long before he begat any children: no more than that Adam had none till he was a hundred and thirty years old, when he begat Seth (ver. 3), for we know he had Cain and Abel, and, in all likelihood, many others before. Therefore, to explain this and other things that follow, ver. 18 and 28, which seem more strange, (for Jared is said to have lived a hundred and sixty-two years before he begat Enoch; and Lamech a hundred and eighty-two years before he begat Noah), we must consider, as was noted ver. 4, that Moses sets down only those persons by whom the line of Noah was drawn from Seth, and Abraham's line from Noah, by their true ancestors; whether they were the eldest of the family or no. Seth, it is likely, had many other children before Enos was born; as Noah, we may be confident, had before he begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth: which was not till he was five hundred years old (ver. 32). As Lamech also had several before Noah was born: though Moses doth not mention them; because he was here concerned only to inform us, who was the father of Noah.

Enos.] The Arabian Christians, as I observed before (iv. 26), make him to have been a man of singular goodness.

Ver. 9. *Cainan.*] The same writers represent him to have been like to his father: and say, he gave his children charge not to mingle with the seed of Cain. So Elmacinus. Yet there is but little difference between his name and that of Cain's; no more than between Irad and Jared, and some other of Shem's posterity and Cain's: which may teach us, says Jac.

6 And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enos :

7 And Seth lived after he begat Enos eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters :

8 And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years : and he died.

9 ¶ And Enos lived ninety years, and begat Cainan :

10 And Enos lived after he begat Cainan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters :

11 And all the days of Enos were nine hundred and five years : and he died.

12 ¶ And Cainan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalaleel :

13 And Cainan lived after he begat Mahalaleel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters :

14 And all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years : and he died.

15 ¶ And Mahalaleel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared :

16 And Mahalaleel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters :

17 And all the days of Mahalaleel were eight hundred ninety and five years : and he died.

18 ¶ And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and he begat Enoch :

19 And Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters :

20 And all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years : and he died.

21 ¶ And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah :

22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters :

23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years :

24 And Enoch walked with God : and he was not ; for God took him.

25 And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech :

26 And Methuselah lived after he begat La-

Capellus (in his Hist. Sacra et Exot.), Ne fatale nescio quod omen nominibus propriis effingamus :—"that we should not fancy there is, we do not know what fatal omen in proper names." The wickedness of Judas Iscariot did not make the other Judas, called by that name, to think the worse of it. And therefore Jared feared not to call his son Enoch, by the very name of Cain's eldest son (iv. 17). And Methuselah also gave his son Lamech the name of one of Cain's grandchildren (iv. 18).

Ver. 12. *Mahalaleel* : This name imports as much as a *praiser of God* : which Cainan imposed upon this son of his (as Jacobus Capellus fancies), because he was born after he had lived ten weeks of years (i. e. when he was seventy years old), in the beginning of the *sabbatic* year ; which was the eighth jubilee from the creation. For, as there were sacrifices and a distinction of clean beasts and unclean, so he conceives there might be a distribution of years by sevens or weeks (as they spake in aftertimes), from the very beginning of the world. But there is no certainty of this ; nor of what the forenamed Arabian writers say of this Mahalaleel, that he made his children swear by the blood of Abel (so Patricides), not to come down from the mountainous country where they dwelt, to converse with the children of Cain.

He is mentioned also by the Mahometans, as Hottinger observes in his *Histor. Orient.* p. 20.

Ver. 15. *Jared* : The same Arabian writers make him also a strictly pious man, and an excellent governor ; but say, that in his days some of Seth's posterity (about a hundred in number), notwithstanding all his persuasions to the contrary, would go down and converse with the children of Cain, by whom they were corrupted. And thence, they fancy, he was called *Jared* (which signifies *descending*), either because they went down from the Holy Mountain, as they call it, where Seth's posterity dwelt ; or piety, in his time, began very much to decline. See Hottinger's *Smegma Orient.* lib. i. cap. 8, p. 235, &c.

Ver. 18. *Enoch* : Whom the Arabians call *Edris* ; and represent him as a very learned man, as well as a prophet ; and especially skilled in astronomy. See Hottinger, *Histor. Orient.* lib. i. cap. 3, and *Smegma Orient.* p. 240. The Greeks anciently had the same notion of him, as appears by a discourse of Eupolemus, which Eusebius quotes out of Alexand. Polyhistor.

lib. ix. *Præpar. Evang.* c. 17, where he says, Enoch was the first who taught the knowledge of the stars, and that he himself was taught, *δὲ Ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ*, "by the angels of God ;" and was the same person whom the Greeks call Atlas. Certain it is, his story was not altogether unknown to the ancient Greeks, as appears in what they say of *Ἀραξός*, or *Καναξός*, which is the same with Enoch, whose name in Hebrew is *Chanoch*. For Stephanus, in his book *De Urbibus*, says, that this Annacus lived above three hundred years, and the oracle told the people, that when he died they should all perish : as they did in the flood of Deucalion : in which he confounds the history of Enoch and Methuselah, as Bochart well observes (lib. ii. *Phaleg.* cap. 13).

Ver. 21. *Methuselah* : Enoch being a prophet (as we learn from St. Jude), and foreseeing the destruction that was coming upon the earth by a deluge, immediately after the death of this son of his, gave him this name of *Methuselah*, which imports as much. For the first part of it, *Methu*, evidently carries in it the name of death, being as much as *he dies* ; and *sela* signifies "the sending forth of water," in Job v. 10. And therefore *Methuselah* is as much as "when he is dead shall ensue an emission or inundation of waters," to the destruction of the whole earth. Which ingenious conjecture of Bochartus (in his *Phaleg.* lib. ii. cap. 13) is far more probable than any other account of his name.

Ver. 22. *Enoch walked with God* : Of all the rest, Moses only says, they lived after they begat those sons here mentioned ; but of this man, that he *walked with God* : i. e. was not only sincerely obedient to God (as we suppose his forefathers to have been), but of an extraordinary sanctity, beyond the rate of other holy men ; and held on also in a long course of such singular piety, notwithstanding the wickedness of the age wherein he lived. And the very same character being given of Noah (vi. 9), it may incline us to believe, that, as Noah was a preacher of righteousness, so Enoch, being a prophet, was not only exemplary in his life, but also severely reprov'd the wickedness of that age by his word.

Ver. 24. *Enoch walked with God* : Persevered in that course before mentioned, to the end of his days.

And he was not ; He doth not say that he died (as he doth of the rest in this chapter, both before and

mech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters :

27 And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years : and he died.

28 ¶ And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat a son :

29 And he called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work

after), but that *he was not* any longer among men in this world. For,

God took him.] Translated him to another place. Which plainly signifies the different manner of his leaving this world ; inasmuch, that the apostle saith, "he did not see death" (Heb. xi. 5), which confutes the conceit of Aben Ezra, and R. Solomon, and others, who would have this word *took* to signify, that he was snatched away by an untimely death : contrary to the opinion of their other better authors, and particularly Manachem, who, in his commentary on this place, saith, "That God took from Enoch his bodily clothes, and gave him spiritual raiment."

But whither he was translated, we are not told. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlv. (according to the Vulgar translation), saith, "into paradise." And upon this supposition, the Ethiopic interpreter hath added these words to the text : "God translated him into paradise ;" as Ludolphus observes (lib. iii. Commentar. in Ethiop. Hist. cap. 5, n. 40). And accordingly we find, in the calendar of that church, a festival upon July 25, called "The Ascension of Enoch into Heaven" (for they were not so foolish as to understand by paradise a place upon earth, but a heavenly mansion), unto which he was advanced, δι' ἁγρὰν ἀρετῆς τελείωσεν (as Eusebius speaks, lib. vii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 8), "because of his consummate virtue."

And it is no unreasonable conjecture, that God was graciously pleased to take him unto himself at this time, to support and comfort mankind in their state of mortality (Adam, the father of them all, being dead not above fifty-seven years before), with the hope of a better life, in the other world. For which reason, it is not improbable, that he was translated in some such visible manner, as Elijah afterward was, by a glorious appearance of the Shechinah, from whence some heavenly ministers were sent to carry him up above.

Ver. 25. *Begat Lamech.*] The same name with one of Cain's posterity (iv. 18). But as he was of another race, so he was the grandchild and the father of the best men in those days, viz. Enoch and Noah.

Ver. 27. *All the days of Methuselah, &c.*] What was wanting in the days of his father, God, in some sort, made up in his age ; which was extended to the longest term of all other men. He died in the very year of the deluge, according to the import of his name. See ver. 21.

Ver. 29. *Noah.*] Which signifies *rest*, or *refreshment* ; which proceeds from rest and quiet. Because, says he,

This same shall comfort us, &c.] He expected, some think, that he should be the *blessed seed*, promised him. iii. 15 ; or that it should spring immediately from him. But the last words, *toil of our hands*, seem to impart some inferior consolation, which he expected from Noah : and the Hebrew interpreters generally expound it thus, "He shall make our labour in tilling the earth more easy and less toilsome to us." Which agrees to what follows :

Because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed.] There was a general curse upon it for the sin of Adam ;

and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed.

30 And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters :

31 And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years : and he died.

32 And Noah was five hundred years old : and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

and a particular upon some part of it for the sin of Cain. Now God, he foretells, would take them both off in great measure, and bless the earth to the posterity of this same man ; who perfected the art of husbandry, and found out fitter instruments for ploughing the earth than had been known before. When men being chiefly employed in digging and throwing up the earth with their own hands, their labour was more difficult : which now is much abated, because the pains lie more upon beasts than upon men. And, indeed, Noah is called (ix. 20) *Ish haadamah, a man of the ground* (which we translate *a husbandman*) ; one that improved agriculture, as other famous men had done pasturage, and found out other arts (vi. 20, &c.). In the same place, also (ix. 20), we read that Noah planted a vineyard : with respect to which, if he was the first inventor of making wine, he might well be said here to comfort them concerning their work and toil of their hands ; wine cheering the heart, and reviving the spirits of men that are spent with labour.

But if the last words of this verse be expounded of the Lord's cursing the ground by sending a flood upon it, as Enoch had foretold ; then Noah is here called *his comforter*, with respect to his being the restorer of the world, after it had been dispeopled by that inundation. And so Jacobus Capellus, not unreasonably, interprets them to have relation to both curses, à maledictione, quam terræ infixit, et inficturus est Deus. "He shall give men rest from the curse which God hath inflicted, and intends further to inflict upon the earth. Hist. Sacra et Exot. ad A. M. 1053.

Ver. 32. *Noah was five hundred years old.*] See ver. 6, where I have said enough to show it is not reasonable to think he had no children till this age of his life.

Noah begat Shem, &c.] Here ends the line of Adam before the flood. For though these three were married, as appears vii. 13, before the flood came ; yet they either had no children, or they did not live : for they carried none with them into the ark.

It doth not follow that Shem was the eldest of these three, because he is here and every where else in this book mentioned first ; for I shall show plainly, in its due place, that Japheth was the eldest (x. 21). Sealigner, indeed, would have this a settled rule, that, Hunc ordinem filii in Scriptura habent, quem illis natura dedit. "That children are placed in Scripture, according to the order which nature hath given them." But it is apparent from many instances, that the Scripture hath regard to their dignity other ways, and not to the order of their birth ; as Abraham is mentioned before Nahor and Haran, merito excellentiæ, "with respect to his excellence" (as St. Austin speaks), to which God raised him, though he was not the eldest son of Terah (Gen. xi. 28). Thus, Jacob is mentioned before Esau (Mal. i. 1), and Isaac before Ishmael (1 Chron. i. 28). Thus, Shem's eminence in other respects, placed him before Japheth, to whom he was inferior in the order of nature ; as appears even from their genealogy both in Gen. x. and 1 Chron. i., where Shem's posterity are placed below those of both his other brothers.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The wickedness of the world, which provoked God's wrath, and caused the flood.* 8 *Noah findeth grace.*
14 *The order, form, and end of the ark.*

1 AND it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,

2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they *were* fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *When men began to multiply*] To increase exceeding fast; for they were multiplied before, but not so as to fill the earth. Or the word *men* may be limited to the children of Cain (see ver. 2), who now began to be very numerous.

And daughters were born unto them.] In great numbers; for daughters, no doubt, they had before; but now so many more daughters than sons, that they had not matches for all: no, though we should suppose they followed the steps of Lamech (chap. iv. 19), and took more wives than one.

Ver. 2. *The sons of God*] There are two famous interpretations of these words (besides that of some of the ancients, who took them for angels). Some understand by the *sons of God*, the great men, nobles, rulers, and judges, whether they were of the family of Seth or of Cain; and so, indeed, the word *Elohim* signifies in many places (Exod. xxi. 6, xxii. 28, &c.); and the ancient Greek version, which Philo and St. Austin used, perhaps meant no more, where these words are translated αἱ ἀγγέλοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the angels of God," his great ministers in this world; who, in aftertimes, were mistaken for *angels in heaven*. These great persons were taken with the beauty of the daughters of men, i. e. of the meaner sort (for so sometimes *men* signifies, Ps. xlix. 2, &c.), and took, by force and violence, as many as they pleased; being so potent as to be able to do any thing with impunity. For they that should have given a good example, and punished vice, were the great promoters of it.

But there are other ancient interpreters, and most of the later, who, by the *sons of God*, understand the posterity of Seth, who were worshippers of the true God (iv. ult.).

Saw the daughters of men] Conversed with the daughters of Cain. So Tho. Aquinas himself interprets it, pars i. q. 51, art. 3 ad 6.

That they were fair;] Being exceedingly taken with their beauty.

And they took them wives] Made matches with them, and perhaps took more than one apiece.

Of all which they chose.] Whomsoever they liked (so the word *choose* is used in many places, Ps. xxv. 12, &c.), without regard to any thing else but their beauty. Some of the Hebrews by *daughters* understand *virgins*, which they distinguish from *nasim*, *wives*, or married women; whom they also took and abused as they pleased. But there is no evidence of this. The plain sense is, that they who had hitherto kept themselves (unless it were some few, see ver. 15) unmingled with the posterity of Cain, according to a solemn charge which their godly forefathers had given them, were now joined to them in marriage, and made one people with them. Which was the greater crime, if we can give any credit to what an Arabic writer saith (mentioned first by Mr. Selden, in his book De Diis Syris, cap. 3, Prolegom. et de Jure N. et G. lib. v. cap. 8, f. 578), that the children of Seth had sworn by the

3 And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.

4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of

blood of Abel, that they would never leave the mountainous country which they inhabited, to go down into the valley where the children of Cain lived. The same author (viz. Patricides, with Elmaccinus also), says, that they were inveigled to break this oath by the beauty of Naamah, before mentioned (iv. 22), and the music of her brother Jubal. For the Cainites spent their time in feasting, music, dancing, and sports; which allured the children of Seth to come down and marry with them. Whereby all manner of impurity, impiety, idolatry, rapine, and violence filled the whole earth, and that with impunity, as Eusebius observes (lib. vii. Præpar. cap. 8). This Moses here takes notice of, that he might give the reason why the whole posterity of Seth, even those who sprung from that holy man Enoch (except Noah and his family), were overflowed with the deluge, as well as the race of Cain: because they had defiled themselves with their cursed affinity, and thereby were corrupted with their wicked manners.

Ver. 3. *The Lord said,*] Resolved with himself.

My Spirit] Either speaking by his prophets, such as Enoch had been, and Noah was; or working inwardly in all men's hearts.

Shall not always strive] Chide and reprove them, and thereby endeavour to bring them to repentance; but proceed to punish them. There are several other interpretations, which may be seen in all commentators: which to me seem more forced than this.

For that he also is flesh:] For that besides his wicked actions, he is grown wholly fleshly in his inclinations and affections. He savours nothing but carnal things; and consequently is incurable. Or, as others expound it, even the best of them (the children of Seth) are become fleshly men.

Yet his days] I will not destroy mankind presently; but have patience with them so long that it may appear I would willingly have saved them.

Ver. 4. *Giants.*] Men of vast stature and strength, which tempted them to oppress others by violence: for so several of the ancients translate the Hebrew word *nephilim*, by βαιοι, "violent men," who carried all before them by main force; tyrants who filled the world with rapines and murders, and all manner of wickedness, having society with the devil (as Eusebius understands it, lib. vii. Præpar. cap. 8) in infernal arts, which they introduced. Josephus calls them ἰβριτᾶς καὶ παντὸς ὑπεροπίας καλοῦ, "insolent contemners of all the laws of God and man." Which made Origen look upon them only as impious atheists: but, no doubt, the extraordinary bulk and strength of their body is also intended.

In those days;] i. e. Before the sons of God married with the daughters of men. For these giants were produced by those who went down and mixed with the posterity of Cain in the days of Jared: as both Elmaccinus and Patricides understand it.

They bare children] The word *children* is not in the Hebrew: and it better agrees with what goes

God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

5 ¶ And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

9 ¶ These are the generations of Noah:

before to translate it, "Even they bare giants unto them." Besides those which were before, there was a new race of gigantic persons begot by the sons of God upon the daughters of men.

Mighty men] Of great power, as well as strength of body.

Which were of old.] This may refer either to what goes before, or to that which follows.

Men of renown.] Of great undertakings and adventurous actions: which got them a great name in ancient time. But they were no less famous for their wickedness, than for their valorous and great exploits; for by their means all mankind were overrun with impiety, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 5. *The wickedness of man was great, &c.*] All sorts of wickedness in a high degree overspread the whole earth.

Every imagination, &c.] And that there were no hopes of their amendment; their very minds being so set upon wickedness, that they thought of nothing else but how to satisfy their lusts. In the margin it is, "their whole imagination," i. e. all the designs and contrivances of all the men of that age, and this continually, day and night, were only rapine, filthiness, and all manner of evil.

Ver. 6. *And it repented the Lord, &c.*] God can neither properly repent, nor be grieved: but such expressions signify he resolved to do, as men do; who, when they repent of any thing, endeavour to undo it. And so here it follows:—

Ver. 7. *I will destroy man, &c.*] Though they be my creatures, I am resolved to have no pity upon them, but to abolish them, and all things else upon the earth. For that sort of punishment which God intended, would in its own nature sweep all away.

For it repenteth me that I have made them.] See ver. 6. This represents how highly God was offended, that he would leave nothing of the old world remaining, but only to preserve the seed of a new one.

Ver. 8. *But Noah found grace, &c.*] This single person God resolved to spare, because (as it follows) he continued untainted in the midst of an universal contagion.

Ver. 9. *These are the generations of Noah;*] An account of his family. Or, as Paulus Fagius (who, upon xxxvii. 2, expounds the word we translate *generations*, to signify *events*), "These are the things which befel Noah and his family." Which way soever we expound this, the next words are inserted by a parenthesis as a character of Noah, who was

A just man] Free from that violence which the rest committed.

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Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.

10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

11 The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence.

12 And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.

14 ¶ Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.

15 And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: The length of the ark shall be

And perfect in his generations.] Not guilty of any of those other sins which every where abounded.

Noah walked with God.] Not only did well, but was addicted (as we speak) to it; continuing constant in the way of righteousness.

Ver. 10. *Noah begat three sons, &c.*] Vid. chap. x. ver. 1.

Ver. 11. *The earth also was corrupt*] The Jewish doctors say, that by *corruption* is always understood either *filthiness* (or forbidden mixtures), or else *idolatry*. Some take the first to be here meant; and then the next words, "filled with violence," denote their perverting of justice, taking bribes, and oppressing men by open force. But others think it better by *corruption* to understand *idolatry*: and then this generation is accused of the two highest crimes that can be committed; the one of which is between man and his neighbour, and the other between man and God. The highest degree of the former is, when they that sit in judgment make unrighteous decrees: which R. Solomon thinks is principally meant in these words, "the earth was filled with violence." See Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9, latter end. However we understand the words, they point out some special enormous sins, which are only comprehended in general words before.

Ver. 12. *God looked upon the earth, &c.*] No fruits of God's long-suffering appearing, he resolved to visit men for their wickedness; which had rather increased than been lessened, by his forbearing them one hundred and twenty years: which now, we must suppose, drew near to an end (ver. 13). The observation of some of the Hebrew doctors, perhaps, is too curious, which is this: that the name of *Jehovah*, which we translate *Lord*, is used ver. 3, where the first mention is made of this matter: for it betokens the clemency of the Divine Majesty, till the one hundred and twenty years were out, and then Moses uses the word *Elohim*, which is a name of judgment: the time of which was come.

For all flesh (i. e. all men) *had corrupted his way*] Wholly departed from the rule of righteousness; or had made their way of life abominable throughout the whole world.

Ver. 13. *The end of all flesh is come before me;*] I am determined to make an end of (i. e. to destroy) all mankind shortly. So it follows:

I will destroy them with the earth.] i. e. With all the beasts and the fruits of the earth. Or, *from the earth*, as it is in the margin.

Ver. 14. *An ark*] This vessel was not in the form of one of our ships, or boats: for it was not made sharp forward to cut the waves, but broad like a chest; and therefore had a flat bottom, with a cover or a roof.

three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

16 A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; *with lower, second, and third stories* shalt thou make it.

17 And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein *is* the breath of life, from under hea-

ven; *and every thing that is in the earth shall die.*

18 But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee.

19 And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every *sort* shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female.

We do not find it had any rudder, being steered by angels.

[Of *gopher-wood*.] There are various opinions about *gopher*, which some take for *cedar*, others for *pine*, &c.; but our learned Nic. Fuller, in his *Miscellanies*, hath observed, that it is nothing else but that which the Greeks call *κυπάρισσος*, the cypress tree. For, taking away the termination, *cupar* and *gopher* differ very little in their sound. Bochartus hath confirmed this, and shown that no country abounds so much with this wood as that part of Assyria which was about Babylon: where Arrianus says, Alexander built a navy of these trees, *τοὺτων γὰρ μόνων τῶν δένδρων εὐκαρίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων*, &c. (lib. vii.) "For there is great plenty of these trees alone in the country of Assyria; but of other fit for making ships there is great scarcity." Strabo saith the same (lib. xvi.); from whence Bochart thinks it probable, that Noah and his children lived in this country before the flood; for it is not likely that such a vast bulk as the ark was carried far from the place where it was made: and the mountains of Ararat, which he will have to be the Gordiæan mountains, are upon the borders of Assyria northward; which way the wind blew (if there were any) in all likelihood; the rain coming from the South Sea (lib. i. Phaleg, cap. 4).

[*Rooms*] Little cabins or cells; to sever the beasts from the birds; the clean beasts from the unclean; and to preserve their several sorts of food.

[*Pitch it, &c.*] So the Arabic translation expressly, "pitch it with pitch." For the *bitumen*, which was plentiful thereabouts (which others think is here meant), was of the same nature, and served for the same use with pitch: being very glutinous and tenacious, to keep things close together. But not only the chinks were filled with it, but the whole body of the ark seems to have been all over daubed with it.

[*Within*] To give a wholesome scent, some think, among so many beasts.

[*And without*] To make the ark more glib and slippery, to swim in the water more easily.

Ver. 15. *This is the fashion, &c.*] There are those who take these for geometrical cubits; every one of which contains six of the common. But there is no need of such: for, taking them for common cubits, containing each only one foot and a half, it is demonstrable there might be room enough in the ark for all sorts of beasts and birds, with Noah's family, and their necessary provision (see ver. 20).

Ver. 16. *A window*] To let in the light into the several apartments: for which, should we conceive, that one great window might be so contrived as to be sufficient; I do not see how that would exclude many little ones, here and there, for greater convenience.

[*Finish it above*.] That is, finish the ark; which had a cover, it is plain, from viii. 13, and was made shelving, that the rain might slide off.

[*The door of the ark shall thou set in the side*] But on what side, or whereabouts on the side, is not certain. It is probable on one of the long sides, and in the middle of it. Patricides calls it the eastern side.

[*With lower, second, and third stories, &c.*] That Arabian author, and Pirke Eliezer (cap. 23), place Noah and his family in the uppermost story; the birds in the middle; and the beasts in the lowest. But they forgot to leave a place for their provision; and therefore they make a better distribution, who think the beasts were bestowed in the lower story, and that the third served for the birds, with Noah and his family: the second, between them both, being left for the stores that were to be laid in of meat and drink for them all. The creeping things, some think, might well live in the space between the lower story and the bottom of the ark.

Ver. 17. *And behold* [*—do bring a flood of waters, &c.*] i. e. They shall unavoidably be all swept away; for I myself will bring a deluge upon them: not an ordinary flood, but one of which I will appear to be the author. All nations, it plainly appears, by such records as remain, had heard something of this flood. Lucian in his *Dea Syria* tells a long story of it, out of the archives of Hierapolis, very like to this of Moses, only he puts the name of Deucalion instead of Noah. Plutarch mentions the dove sent out of the ark: and so doth Abydenus, mentioned by Eusebius (lib. ix. *Præpar. Evang.* cap. 12), speak of birds in general, which being sent out, returned again to the ship, finding no place to rest in but there only. Josephus mentions a great many more, not only Berosus the Chaldean, but Hieronymus Ægyptius, who wrote the ancient Phœnician history, Mnaseas, Nicholaus Damascus, with many others. St. Cyril also (lib. i.) against Julian, quotes a passage out of Alexander Polyhistor, wherein is part of the story; only he calls Noah by the name of Xisuthros (as Abydenus calls him Seisithrus), in the dialect of the Assyrians, as some conjecture. And now it appears that the Americans have had a tradition of it (as credible authors, Acosta, Herrera, and others, inform us), which saith, "The whole race of mankind was destroyed by the deluge, except some few that escaped." They are the words of Augustin Corata, concerning the Peruvian tradition. And Lupus Gomara saith the same from those of Mexico. And, if we can believe Mart. Martinus's History of China, there is the like among the people of that country.

Ver. 18. *With thee will I establish my covenant*.] I will make good the promise I have made thee, to preserve thee and all that are with thee in the ark. For so the word *covenant* is sometimes used: and it is reasonable to think God made him such a promise; which is plainly enough implied in ver. 8. Or, otherwise, we must understand this of the covenant about the promised seed (iii. 15), which, he saith, he will establish with him; and consequently preserve him from perishing.

[*Thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, &c.*] This passage shows the ark was not a hundred years in building, as some have imagined: for none of these sons were born a hundred years before the flood: and we must allow some years for their growth, till they were fit to take wives. Compare v. 32 with vii. 6. And, if we observe how Shem, though he had a wife

20 Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive.

21 And take thou unto thee of all food that

before the flood, yet had no children (for Arphaxad, his first child, was not born till two years after the flood, xi. 10), it will incline us to think, that Noah received the command for building the ark not long before the flood came.

Ver. 19. *Two of every sort*] i. e. Of unclean beasts, as it is explained vii. 2.

Male and female.] To preserve the species. Lucian in his book of the Syrian Goddess, where he describes the flood, saith, all creatures went into the ark, *σὺς ζεύγεια*, "by pairs."

Ver. 20. *Of fowls after their kind, &c.*] In such numbers as is directed afterwards (vii. 3). Which seems to some to be so very great, there being many sorts of living creatures, that they could not possibly be crowded into the ark; together with food sufficient for them. But such persons never distinctly considered such things as these: First, That all those which could live in the water are excepted: and so can several creatures besides fishes. Secondly, That of the species of beasts, including also serpents, there are not certainly known and described above one hundred and fifty (as Mr. Ray hath observed), and the number of birds about five hundred. Thirdly, That there are but a few species of very vast creatures, such as elephants, horses, &c. And fourthly, That birds generally are of so small a bulk that they take up but a little room. And, fifthly, That if we suppose creeping insects ought to be included, they take up less, though very numerous. And, lastly, That less provision would serve them all, when they were shut up close, and did not spend themselves by motion; and besides, were in a continual confused agitation, which palled their appetites. From all

is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.

22 Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

which, and many more considerations, it is easy to demonstrate, that there was more than room enough for all sorts of creatures that God commanded to be brought into the ark; and for their food, during the time they stayed in it.

Two of every sort shall come unto thee, &c.] In the foregoing verse he had said, "Two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark." Which he might think impossible; for by what means should he get them altogether? Therefore here it is explained in these words, "they shall come unto thee;" by the care of God, who made them and moved them to it. R. Eliezer (chap. 23 of his Pirke) is commonly censured for saying, "The angels that govern every species of creature brought them thither." But (setting aside the opinion of angels peculiarly presiding over every kind of creature), I see no incongruity in affirming that God, by the ministry of his angels, brought them to the ark: but it is rather agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which represent the Divine Majesty as employing their services in all affairs here below.

Ver. 21. *Take unto thee of all food that is eaten, &c.*] Either by man or beast: food suitable to every creature. Among which, though there be many that feed on flesh; yet other food, as several histories testify, will go down with them, when they are accustomed to it. See Philostratus, lib. v. cap. 15. Tzetzes Chil. v. Hist. 9. Sulpit. Severus, De Monacho Thebaid. Dial. i. cap. 7.

Ver. 22. *Thus did Noah, &c.*] i. e. He made the ark of such dimensions, and laid up provisions for all creatures, as he was directed. This he did when the hundred and twenty years drew towards an end. See ver. 18.

CHAPTER VII.

1 Noah, with his family, and the living creatures, enter into the ark. 17 The beginning, increase, and continuance of the flood.

1 AND THE LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female.

CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *Come thou—into the ark;*] When the time of God's patience was expired, he required him to enter into the ark which he had prepared; and unto which all sorts of creatures were gathered.

For thee have I seen, &c.] I have observed thee sincerely obedient, when all the rest of the world were impious.

Ver. 2. *Clean beast, &c.*] The distinction of beasts, clean and unclean, being made by the law of Moses, hath given some a colour to say he wrote this book after they came out of Egypt and received the law; which made him speak in that style. But it may be answered to this, that though, with respect to men's food, the distinction of clean and unclean creatures was not before the law; yet some were accounted fit for sacrifice, and others not fit from the

3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

beginning. And then clean beasts, in this place, are such as are not rapacious; which were not to be offered unto God. In short, the rite of sacrificing being before the flood, this difference of beasts was also before it. The only question is, How men came to make this difference? Some imagined, that they considered the nature of beasts, and by common reason determined that ravenous creatures were unfit for sacrifice: but it is more likely that they had directions from God for this, as they had for sacrificing. Which though they be not recorded, yet, I think, are rather to be supposed, than imagine men were left in such matters to their own discretion. Aharinel, indeed, here says, that "Noah out of his profound wisdom discerned clean from unclean;" and if he had stopped here, and not added, that "he discerned the difference from their natures," he had said the truth. For he being a prophet, may be thought to have had in-

* 5 And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him.

6 And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

7 ¶ And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.

8 Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth,

9 There went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah.

10 And it came to pass after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

11 ¶ In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day

of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

12 And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

13 In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark;

14 They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort.

15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.

structions from above about such matters; though others, who first were taught to sacrifice, had them before him.

By sevens.] Seven couple, it is most probable, that they might have sufficient for sacrifice when they came out of the ark; and, if need were, for food, if other provision did not hold out: at least for food, after the flood, when God enlarged their former grant, ix. 3.

Ver. 4. *For yet seven days, &c.*] So much time he gave him for the disposing himself, and all things else in the ark.

Ver. 5. *And Noah did according*] He had said the same before (vi. 22), with respect to the preparation of the ark and provision of food: and now repeats here again, with respect to his entering into it himself, with all other creatures. For so it follows, ver. 7, 8, &c.

Ver. 6. *Noah was six hundred years old, &c.*] Current, as we speak, not complete, as appears by comparing this with ix. 28, 29, where he is said to have lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and in all nine hundred and fifty; whereas it should have been nine hundred and fifty-one, if he had been full six hundred years old when the flood began.

Ver. 10. *And it came to pass*] As he had said, ver. 4.

Ver. 11. *Second month.*] Of the year, not of the six hundredth year of Noah's life: i. e. in October; for anciently the year began in September: which was changed, among the Israelites, in memory of their coming out of Egypt, into March, Exod. xii. 2.

Seventeenth day of the month.] Which was the beginning of our November.

Were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, &c.] Here are two causes assigned for the deluge: first, The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep; and secondly, *The opening of the windows of heaven.* By the great deep is meant, those waters that are contained in vast quantities within the bowels of the earth. Which, being pressed upward by the falling down of the earth, or some other cause unknown to us, gushed out violently at several parts of the earth, where they either found or made a vent. For that is meant by *breaking up the fountains of the great deep*: the great holes or rather gaps, that were made in the earth; at which those subterraneous waters burst out. This, joined with the continual rains for forty days together, might well make such a flood as is here described. For the rain came down, not in ordinary showers, but in floods; which Moses calls opening the windows or flood-gates of heaven: and the LXX. translate *cataracts*. Which they can best understand who have seen those fallings of waters in

the Indies, called *spouts*: where clouds do not break into drops, but fall, with a terrible violence, in a torrent. In short, it is evident from this history, that the waters did once cover the earth (we know not how deep), so that nothing of the earth could be seen, till God separated them, and raised some into clouds, and made the rest fall into channels, which were made for them, and commanded dry land to appear (Gen. i. 2, 7, 10). Therefore it is no wonder if these waters were raised up again, by some means or other, to cover the earth as before: especially when the waters above the firmament came down to join with those below, as they did at the beginning.

This some wise heathen looked upon as a possible thing. For Seneca, treating of that *fatal day* (as he calls it, lib. iii. Nat. Quæst. cap. 27) when the *deluge shall come* (for he fancied it still future), questions how it may come to pass. Whether by the force of the ocean overflowing the earth; or by perpetual rains without intermission; or by the swelling of rivers, and the opening of new fountains; or, there shall not be one cause alone of so great a mischief; but all these things concur, uno agmine ad exitium humani generis, in one troop to the destruction of mankind. Which last resolution, he thinks, is the truth, both there and in the last chapter of that book, where he hath these remarkable words: "Where, hath not nature disposed moisture, to attack us on all sides, when it pleases?" Immanes sunt in addito lacus, &c. "There are huge lakes which we do not see; much of the sea that lies hidden; many rivers that slide in secret. So that there may be causes of a deluge on all sides, when some waters flow in under the earth; others flow round about it, which being long pent up overwhelm it; and rivers join with rivers, pools with pools, &c. And as our bodies sometimes dissolve into sweat, so the earth shall melt, and, without the help of other causes, shall find in itself what will drown it, &c. There being on a sudden, everywhere, openly and secretly, from above and from beneath, an eruption of waters." Which words are written as if they had been directed to make a commentary upon Moses.

Ver. 12.] It continued raining so long without any intermission.

Ver. 13. *In the selfsame day, &c.*] In that very day, when the rain began, did Noah and his family, &c. finish their going into the ark. Which could not be done in a day or two; but required a good deal of time: and now he had completed it; the very last creature being there bestowed. For, it is likely he put in all other things first; and then went in himself, with his wife, and children, and their wives: who were no sooner entered, but the waters brake in

16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him: and the Lord shut him in.

17 And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth.

18 And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters.

19 And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered.

20 Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.

upon the earth from beneath; and came down pouring from above.

Ver. 16. *The Lord shut him in.*] Or, shut the door after him: closed it so fast, that the waters could not enter, though it was not pitched, as the rest of the ark. How this was done, we need not inquire. It is likely by an angelical power; which, I supposed before, conducted the several creatures into the ark.

Ver. 17. *And the flood was forty days, &c.*] After forty days' rain the waters were so high that they bare up the ark, so that it did not touch the earth.

Ver. 18. *The waters prevailed*] By more rain, which fell after the forty days, the inundation grew strong and mighty (as the Hebrew word signifies); so strong that the waters bore down houses and trees, as some expound it.

Increased greatly] He said before (ver. 17), they were increased, but now, that they were greatly increased. Which must be by more rain still falling on the earth; though not in such uninterrupted showers as during the forty days.

The ark went upon the face of the waters.] Moved, from place to place, as the waves drove it.

Ver. 19. *The waters prevailed exceedingly*] This is a higher expression than before; signifying their rising still to a greater pitch by continued rains.

And all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered.] There were those anciently, and they have their successors now, who imagined the flood was not universal, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι ᾔκουν, "but only there where men then dwelt:" as the author of the Questions, Ad Orthodoxos, tells us, Q. 34. But they are confuted by these words, and by other passages, which say all flesh died. For the truth is, the world was then fully peopled as it is now; and not only inhabited in some parts of it; as may be easily demonstrated, if men would but consider, that in the space of one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, when men lived so long as they then did, their increase could not but be six times more than hath been in the space of five thousand years, since men's lives are shortened as we now see them. Therefore it is a strange weakness to fancy, that only Palestine, Syria, or Mesopotamia, or some such country, was drowned by the flood; no more of the earth being then inhabited: for those countries could not have held the fortieth part of the inhabitants, which were produced between the creation and the flood; no, all the earth was not more than sufficient to contain them; as many have clearly proved.

Plato says, there were in his days, Παλαιὰ λόγον, "ancient traditions," which affirmed there had been sundry destructions of mankind by floods, as well as other ways: in which, βραχὺ τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος, "a small parcel of mankind were left." And particularly he saith concerning floods, that they were so great, that only σμικρὰ ζῶντοια, some very little sparks of mankind were saved, and those upon

21 And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:

22 All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.

23 And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark.

24 And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.

the tops of mountains: and the like he saith of beasts, that πάντα ταῦτα, very few of them were left to support the life of mankind (lib. iii. De Legib. p. 677. Edit. Seran). But this appears to have been an imperfect tradition; the higher mountains having been covered with the waters, as well as the low countries, and that all the earth over: which need not seem strange, if we consider what was said before upon ver. 11. And withal observe, that the diameter of the earth being seven thousand miles, and consequently, from the superficies to the centre, no less than three thousand five hundred miles, it is not incredible (as Sir W. Raleigh discourses, lib. iii. cap. 7, § 6), that there was water enough in the great deep, which, being forced up from thence, might overflow the loftiest mountains: especially, when water came pouring down, also, from above so fast, that no words can express it. For there is no mountain, above thirty miles high, upright; which thirty miles being found in the depths of the earth, one hundred and sixteen times; why should we think it incredible that the waters in the earth (three thousand five hundred miles deep) might be well able to cover the space of thirty miles in height? It would help men's unbelief, if they would likewise consider the vast inundations which are made yearly in Egypt, only from the rains that fall in Ethiopia; and the like overflows yearly, in America, of the great river Orinoco; whereby many islands and plains, at other times inhabited, are laid twenty foot under water, between May and September.

Ver. 20. *Fifteen cubits upward, &c.*] Moses doth not here plainly say that the waters prevailed fifteen cubits above the highest mountains; though I do not see but there might be water enough heaped up, by the forementioned means, to cover them so high; and the whole verse be thus interpreted, "The waters prevailed fifteen cubits upwards, after the mountains were covered." Otherwise, by the high hills in the verse before, we must understand only such single hills as are in several countries; and by mountains in this verse, those long ridges of hills (such as Caucasus and Taurus, &c.) which stretch themselves many hundreds of miles through a great part of the earth. See viii. 5.

Ver. 24. *The waters prevailed—an hundred and fifty days.*] These words seem to me to import, that whatsoever short intermissions there might be, yet the rain continued a hundred and fifty days. Otherwise, it is hard to explain how the waters increased more and more, as it is said ver. 17, 18, 19. Besides, had the rain ended, as we commonly suppose, at forty days' end, the waters could not have prevailed a hundred and fifty days, but would have sunk much before that time; by reason of the declivity of the earth. And yet they were so far from falling, that (as Mr. Ray hath observed, in his pious and learned discourse of the Dissolution of the World) the tops of mountains were not seen till the beginning of the tenth month; that is, till two hundred and seventy days were passed.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *The waters assuage.* 4 *The ark resteth on Ararat.* 7 *The raven and the dove.* 15 *Noah, being commanded, 18 goeth forth of the ark.* 20 *He buildeth an altar, and offereth sacrifice,* 21 *which God accepteth, and promiseth to curse the earth no more.*

1 AND God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that *was* with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged.

2 The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained;

3 And the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated.

4 And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.

5 And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

6 ¶ And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made:

CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *And God remembered Noah, &c.*] Took compassion upon him, and heard his prayers, which we may well suppose he made for himself and for all creatures that were with him. Thus the word *remember* is used, xix. 29, xxx. 22. The Hebrew doctors here again took notice of the word *Elohim* (see vi. 12), which is the name for *judges*; and observe, that even God's justice was turned to mercy. Justice itself was satisfied, as Sol. Jarchi expresses it.

And God made a wind, &c.] Some gather from hence that, during the fall of the rain, there was no storm or violent wind at all; but the rain fell downright. And consequently, the ark was not driven far from the place where it was built: it having no masts, or sails, but moving as a hulk or body of a ship, without a rudder, upon a calm sea. Philo, indeed (in his book *De Abrahamo*), gives quite a different description of the deluge; representing the incessant showers to have been accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning, storms and tempests. But there is not a word in this story to countenance it.

This wind, it is very probable, was the *north wind*, which is very drying, and drives away rain (*Prov.* xxv. 23), which came, perhaps, out of the *south*, as I said upon iv. 14. Thus Ovid represents it in the flood of Deucalion, where he saith Jupiter,

"Nubila disjecit, nimbisque Aquilone remotis," &c.

The waters assuaged.] This drying wind, and the sun, which now began to shine with great power, made the waters fall. For, if the second month, when the flood began, was part of our October and November; then the flood abated (after a hundred and fifty days) in the beginning of May, when the summer came on apace.

Ver. 2. *The fountains also of the deep*] There was no farther eruption, or boiling up of the water, out of the bowels of the earth.

And the rain—was restrained;] So that the rains ceased at the end of a hundred and fifty days.

Ver. 3. *And the waters returned, &c.*] The waters, rolling to and fro by the wind, fell by little and little; and, after the end of the hundred and fifty days, began to decrease. So the Vulgar Latin well translates the latter end of this verse, *were abated*: i. e. began sensibly to decrease.

Ver. 4. *The seventh month*] Of the year, not of the flood.

Upon the mountains of Ararat,] i. e. Upon one of the mountains, as xix. 29: "God overthrew the cities in which Lot dwelt;" i. e. in one of which he dwelt.

Judg. xii. 7, "Jephthah was buried in the cities of Gilead;" i. e. in one of the cities. For there was no one mountain called by this name of *Ararat*: but it belonged to a long ridge of mountains, like the Alps or Pyrenean, which are names appertaining not to one but to all. And Sir W. Raleigh, I think, truly judges that all the long ridges of mountains, which run through Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, &c. i. e. from Cilicia to Parapontus, are called by Moses *Ararat*, as by Pliny they are called *Taurus*. And that author thinks the ark settled in some of the eastern parts of Taurus, because Noah planted himself in the east after the flood (and it is likely did not travel far from the place where the ark rested), as appears, he thinks, from Gen. xi. 2, where we read his posterity, when they began to spread, went westward, and built Babel. The common opinion is, that the ark rested in some of the mountains of Armenia, as the Vulgar Latin translates the word *Ararat*; i. e. saith St. Jerome, upon the highest part of Taurus. But Epiphanius (who was before him) saith, upon the Gordian mountains; and so Jonathan, and Onkelos, and the Nubiensian geographer, and many others mentioned by Bochartus: who is of this opinion, as having the most authority. Many of which say that some relics of the ark were remaining upon these mountains: which (as Theodoret observes upon Isa. xiv. 13), were accounted the highest in the whole world. Vid. Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 3, and lib. iv. cap. 38.

There were such remainders of this history among the ancient Scythians, that, in their dispute with the Egyptians about their antiquity, they argue it partly from hence; that if the earth had ever been drowned, their country must needs be first inhabited again, because it was first cleared from the water; being the highest of all other countries in the world.

Thus their argument runs in Justin, lib. ii. cap. 1, where he hath given us a brief relation of it (if we had Trogus, whom he epitomizes, it is likely we should have understood their tradition more perfectly), in this manner: "If all countries were anciently drowned in the deep, profecto editissimam quaque partem, we must needs grant the highest parts of the earth were first uncovered of the waters that ran down from them: and the sooner any part was dry, the sooner were animals there generated. Now Scythia is so much raised above all other countries, that all the rivers which rise there run down into the Meotis, and so into the Pontic and Egyptian seas," &c.

Ver. 5. *Tenth month:*] For the summer's heat must needs very much dry them up when there was no rain.

7 And he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth.

8 Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground;

9 But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark.

10 And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark;

11 And the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf

plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth.

12 And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth his dove; which returned not again unto him any more.

13 ¶ And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.

14 And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried.

15 ¶ And God spake unto Noah, saying,

The tops of the mountains seen.] This shows the mountain on which the ark rested was the highest, at least in those parts: because it settled there above two months before the tops of other mountains were seen. And, perhaps, the ark, by its weight, might settle there, while the top of that mountain was covered with water; which, it is possible, might not appear much before the rest.

Ver. 6. *At the end of forty days.*] Forty days after the tops of the mountains appeared; i. e. on the eleventh day of the eleventh month, which was about the end of our July.

Ver. 7. *He sent forth a raven.*] For the same end, no doubt, that the dove was sent forth; to make discovery whether the earth were dry: for, if it were, the smell of the dead carcases would allure it to fly far from the ark; which it did not, but only hovered about it, as it follows in the next words.

Went forth to and fro.] In the Hebrew more plainly, "going forth and returning." That is, it often went from the ark, and as often returned to it. For after many flights, finding nothing but water, it still betook itself unto the ark; either entering into it, or sitting upon it; till at last the waters being dried up, it returned no more; that is, fifty days after its first going forth (ver. 13). All which time it spent in going out and coming back. Bochart, indeed, approves of the Greek version; which makes the raven "not to have returned:" for which he gives some specious reasons (lib. ii. cap. 12, p. 2, Hierozoic.), and hath such of the Hebrews to countenance him as R. Eliezer, who saith (Pirke, cap. 23) that "the raven found a carcass of a man upon a mountain, and so would return no more."

But the next words (which in the Greek and Hebrew are both alike) confute this translation.

Until the waters were dried up.] Which make this plain and easy sense, in connection with the foregoing (as they run in the Hebrew), that while the earth continued covered with water, the raven often flew from the ark, but, finding no convenient place to rest in, returned thither again, till the ground was dry. Whereas, according to the Greek we must suppose the raven to have returned to the ark, when the waters were dried up from the ground: which is very absurd. For, if it had sometimes sat upon a carcass floating in the waters before they were dried up, or upon the top of some mountain which already appeared, what should make it return when all the waters were gone everywhere, and not rather while they remained upon the ground?

Ver. 8. *He sent forth a dove.*] As a proper creature to make further discoveries: being of a strong flight, loving to feed upon the ground, and pick up seeds; and constantly returning to its rest from the remotest places. These two birds (the raven and the dove)

some imagine were sent forth upon one and the same day, or but a day between; as Bochartus conjectures. But this doth not agree with ver. 10, where it is said, "Noah stayed yet other seven days," and then sent out the dove again: which relates to seven days preceding; which seem to have passed between the sending out of the raven and of the dove.

Ver. 9. *The dove found no rest, &c.*] For though the tops of the mountains appeared, yet they continued muddy, as some conceive; or, they were so far off, that the dove could not easily reach them.

Ver. 10. *He stayed yet other seven days.*] It appears by this, that on the seventh day Noah expected a blessing, rather than on another day: it being the day devoted from the beginning to religious services. Which he having, it is likely, performed, thereupon sent out the dove upon this day, as he had done before, with hope of good tidings.

Ver. 11. *In her mouth was an olive leaf* (or branch, the word signifies) *plucked off.*] Bochart thinks the dove brought this out of Assyria, which abounds with olive trees, and lay south of Ararat: the wind then blowing towards that country from the north. (See Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 6, p. 2) where he shows, out of many authors, that not only olive trees, but some other also, will live and be green under water. All the difficulty is, how the dove could break off a branch (as the Vulgar translates it) from the tree. But it is easily solved, if we allow, as I have said before, that now it was summer time; which brought new shoots out of the trees that were easily cropped.

So Noah knew that the waters were abated.] The tops of mountains were seen before (ver. 5), but now he understood the waters had left the lower grounds. Yet not so left them that the dove would stay; the earth, it is likely, remaining very chill.

Ver. 12. *He stayed yet other seven days.*] See ver. 10. The observation there being confirmed by what is repeated here.

Returned not again.] There wanting neither food, nor a nest wherein to repose itself. By which Noah understood the earth was not only dry, and fit to be inhabited; but that it was not quite spoiled by the flood, but would afford food for all creatures.

Ver. 13. *Noah removed the covering.*] Some of the boards on the top. For he could see further by looking out there, than if he looked out at the door, or window, which gave him a prospect but one way.

The ground was dry.] Quite freed from water, but yet so soft and muddy that it was not fit to be inhabited: as appears by his staying still almost two months more before he thought fit to go out. So the following verse tells us.

Ver. 14. *In the second month, &c.*] If their months were such as ours, twelve of which make three hundred and sixty-five days, then Noah stayed in the

¶ 16 Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.

17 Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee, of all flesh, *both* of fowl, and of cattle, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth.

18 And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him;

19 Every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, and whatsoever creepeth upon the earth, after their kinds, went forth out of the ark.

ark a whole year and ten days, as appears by comparing this verse with vii. 11. But if they were lunar months, which is most probable, then he was in the ark just one of our years: going out on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day after his entrance into it.

Was the earth dried.] Perfectly dried, so that no moisture remained; and grass, it is likely, was sprung up for the cattle.

It need not seem a wonder, that Moses gives so punctual and particular an account of this whole matter, and of all that follows; for he lived within eight hundred years of the flood: and therefore might very well know what had been done within that period, and easily tell how the world was peopled by the posterity of Noah. Which could not be but fresh in memory, when men lived so long; that not much above three generations had passed from the flood to Moses. For Shem, who saw the flood, was contemporary with Abraham; as he was with Jacob; whose great grandchild was the father of Moses.

Ver. 16. *Go forth of the ark.*] Though he saw the earth was fit to be inhabited; yet he waited for God's order to go out of the ark, as he had it for his entering into it.

Thou, and thy wife, &c.] I do not think the observation of some of the Jews is absurd; who, by comparing this verse with vii. 13, make this collection: that while they were in the ark, the men did not cohabit with their wives; it being a time of great affliction: and therefore they kept asunder in separate apartments. So R. Eliezer in his Pirke, cap. 23, where R. Levitus thus gathers it: When they went into the ark, it is said (vii. 13), "Noah and his sons entered," and then "Noah's wife, and his sons' wives:" Behold, saith he, here the men are put together, and the women together. But when they come out, it is here said, "Go forth, thou and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives, with thee;" lo, here they are coupled together, as before they were separated. And so we find them again (ver. 18), where it is said, "Noah went forth, and his wife," &c.

Ver. 17. *Bring forth—every living thing—that they may breed, &c.*] One would think, by this, that no creature bred in the ark, no more than men: but now are sent forth to breed and multiply in the earth.

Ver. 20. *And Noah builded an altar*] We never read

20 ¶ And Noah builded an altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.

21 And the LORD smelled a sweet savour; and the LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done.

22 While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

of any built before this time: though we may reasonably conclude there was an altar upon which Cain and Abel offered; in the place appointed for Divine worship.

Offered burnt-offerings] He restores the ancient rite of Divine service; which his sons and their posterity followed. Some think these *burnt-offerings* had something in them of the nature of a propitiatory sacrifice, as well as eucharistical, which they certainly were, for their deliverance from the flood. Their reason is taken from what follows.

Ver. 21. *The Lord smelled a sweet savour;*] That is, as Munster understands it, he ceased from his anger and was appeased. So the Syriac also, and Josephus (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 4). But it may signify no more, but that his thankfulness was as grateful to God as sweet odours are to us.

The Lord said in his heart,] He determined, or resolved in himself. The Vulgar understands this as if the Lord spake comfortably to Noah (which in the Hebrew phrase is, "speaking to one's heart") and said,

I will not again curse the ground] i. e. After this manner with a deluge.

For the imagination of man's heart is evil] Such a proclivity there is in men to evil, that if I should scourge them thus, as often as they deserve, there would be no end of deluges. But the words may have a quite different sense, being connected with what went before in this manner; "I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake, though he be so very evilly disposed," &c.

Those words, "from his youth," signify a long radiated corruption, as appears from many places; Isa. xlvii. 12, 15, Jerem. iii. 25, Ezek. xxiii. 8, &c. Sol. Jarchi extends it so far as to signify, "from his mother's womb."

Ver. 22. *While the earth remaineth,*] While men shall inhabit the earth.

Seedtime and harvest, &c.] There shall not be such a year as this last has been: in which there was neither sowing nor reaping, nor any distinctions of seasons, till the rain was done.

Day and night,] One would think, by this expression, that the day did not much differ from night, while the heavens were covered with thick clouds, which fell in dismal floods of rain.

CHAPTER IX.

1 God blesseth Noah. 4 Blood and murder are forbidden. 8 God's covenant, 13 signified by the rainbow. 18 Noah replenisheth the world, 20 planteth a vineyard, 21 is drunken, and mocked of his son, 25 curseth Canaan, 26 blesseth Shem, 27 prayeth for Japheth, 29 and dieth.

1 AND God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *And God blessed Noah, &c.*] The Divine Majesty appeared now to Noah and his sons; to

2 And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon

assure them of his favour and protection, and to renew the blessing bestowed upon Adam (as after a new creation), saying, "Increase and multiply."

the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.

3 Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.

4 But flesh with the life thereof, *which is the blood thereof*, shall ye not eat.

Ver. 2. *The fear of you, &c.*] He seems also to confirm to them the dominion which God gave to Adam, at first, over all creatures (i. 26).

Ver. 3. *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you, &c.*] Here the first grant made to mankind concerning food is enlarged, as St. Basil observes, ἡ πρώτη νομοθεσία τῶν καρπῶν ἀπόλασιν συνεχώρησε. The first legislation granted to them the use of fruits; but now of all living creatures; which they are as freely permitted to eat of, as formerly of all the fruits of the garden. For God seeing men to be ἀπειθεῖς, "contumacious," as Greg. Nyss. expresses it, tom. i. p. 157, ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπόλασιν συνεχώρησε, "he conceded to them the enjoyment of all things." This is the general sense of the Jews, and of the Christian fathers, and of the first reformers of religion. They that would have this only a renewal of such an old charter, are of later standing; and can show us no charter, but are led by some reasonings of their own, not by the Scriptures: unless we will admit such a criticism upon Gen. i. 30, as seems to me very forced. And they would have this also understood only of clean creatures; but I do not find any ground for the distinction of clean and unclean creatures with respect to *food*, but only to *sacrifice*, as was said before.

The reason why God now granted the liberty to eat flesh, Abarbinel thinks, was because otherwise there would not have been food enough for Noah and his sons: the fruits of the earth, which before were abundant, being all destroyed; so that for the present there was not sufficient for their sustenance. Others think the reason of it was, because the fruits of the earth were not now so nutritive as they had been, before the salt water of the sea very much spoiled the soil.

Ver. 4. *But flesh with the life thereof, &c.*] Here is one exception to the foregoing large grant, that the blood of beasts should not be eaten: just as, at the first, one fruit in the midst of the garden was excepted, when all the rest were allowed. The Hebrew doctors generally understand this to be a prohibition to cut off any limb of a living creature, and to eat it while the life, that is, the blood, was in it: "Dum adhuc vivit, et palpat, seu tremit," as a modern interpreter truly represents their sense; which is followed by many Christians. See Mercier, Musculus, especially Mr. Selden, lib. vii. cap. i. de Jure N. et G.: who thinks, as Maimonides doth, that there were some people in the old world so fierce and barbarous, that they ate raw flesh, while it was yet warm from the beast out of whose body it was cut: and he makes this to have been a part of their idolatrous worship. (See More Nevochim, part. iii. cap. 48.) But, supposing this to be true, there were so few of these people, we may well think (for he himself saith, it was the custom of the gentile kings to do thus) that there needed not to have been a precept given to all mankind to avoid that, unto which human nature is of itself averse.

St. Chrysostom there expounds this, of not eating "things strangled:" and L. de Dien, of not eating "that which died of itself:" for *nephesh* in Scripture signifies, sometimes, a *dead carcass*. But it is manifest it was not lawful for all people to eat such things; for God himself orders the Israelites to give that

5 And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.

6 Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.

which died of itself to a stranger, or to sell it to an alien (Deut. xiv. 21). And therefore the simplest sense seems to be, that they should not eat the blood of any creature: which was a positive precept, like that of not eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And the reason of it, perhaps, was, that God, intending in aftertimes to reserve the blood for the expiation of sin, required this early abstinence from it, that they might be the better prepared to submit to that law, and understand the reason of it: which was, that it was the life of the *beast* which God accepted instead of *their* life, when they had forfeited it by their sins.

And there is another plain reason given of this prohibition immediately after it; that they might be the more fearful of shedding the blood one of another, when it was not lawful so much as to taste the blood of a beast.

Ver. 5. *And surely*] Or rather *for surely*, as the LXX., the Vulgar Latin; and a great number of learned men, expound the particle *vau* as a *causal*, not as a *copulative*, in this place. So that the sense is this: Therefore I command you to abstain from the blood of living creatures, that you may be the farther off from shedding the blood of men: for that is so precious in my account, that I will take care he be severely punished, by whom it is shed; yea, the very beast shall die that kills a man. So it follows:

At the hand of every beast will I require it,] Not as if beasts were to blame if they killed a man (for they are capable neither of vice nor virtue); but this was ordained with respect to men, for whose use beasts were created. For, first, such owners as were not careful to prevent such mischiefs were hereby punished; and, secondly, others were admonished by their example to be cautious: and, thirdly, God hereby instructed them that murder was a most grievous crime, whose punishment extended even to beasts: and, lastly, the lives of men were hereby much secured by the killing such beasts, as might otherwise have done the like mischief hereafter. See Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. i. cap. 40.

At the hand of every man's brother, &c.] And therefore much more will I require it at the hand of every man. Whom he calls *brother*, to show that murder is the more heinous upon this account: because we are all *brethren*. Or the meaning may be (as some will have it), that though he be as nearly related as a brother he shall not go unpunished.

Ver. 6. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood,*] He repeats it over again, to enact this law more strongly. Or, as the Hebrews understand it, he spake before of the punishment he would inflict himself upon the murderer; and now of the care we should take to punish it.

By man shall his blood be shed:] That is, by the magistrate or judges. For God had kept the punishment of murder in his own hand till now; as we may gather from the story of Cain, whom he banished, but suffered nobody to kill him: but here gives authority to judges to call everybody to an account for it, and put them to death. They that would see more of the sense of the Jews about these and the foregoing words, may read Mr. Selden, de Jure N. et G. lib. i. cap. 5, and lib. iv. cap. 1, and de Synedriis, lib. i. cap. 5.

I will only add, that they rightly conclude that as

7 And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

8 ¶ And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying,

9 And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you;

10 And with every living creature that *is* with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.

11 And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth.

12 And God said, This *is* the token of the covenant which I make between me and you

courts of judicature were hereby authorized; so what was thus ordained against murder, by a parity of reason, was to be executed upon other great offenders; there being some things which are no less dear to us than life; as virginal chastity, and matrimonial fidelity, &c.

For in the image of God made he man.] Notwithstanding the sin of man, there remained so much of the image of God in him as entitled him to his peculiar protection.

Ver. 7.] You need not doubt therefore of the blessing I now bestow upon you (ver. 1), for you see what care I take of the preservation as well as the propagation of mankind.

Ver. 9.] Because beasts cannot covenant, most understand by that word simply a *promise*, as Jer. xxxiii. 25. But there is no need of this explication; the covenant being made directly with Noah, including all other creatures who were to have the benefit of it.

Ver. 10.] That is, it shall extend not only to those which now go out of the ark, but to all their breed in future ages.

Ver. 11. *And I will establish my covenant with you, &c.*] Doubt not of it; for I tell you again, I will faithfully keep this solemn promise.

Any more be a flood to destroy the earth.] That is, the whole earth; for particular inundations there have been often.

Ver. 12.] I do not only give you my word; but a token or sign that I will keep it.

Ver. 13.] Most think this doth not signify there never had been a rainbow before the flood; for since there were both sun and clouds, it is likely, say they, there was a rainbow also: only now it was appointed for a *sign*, which it was not before. But as this opinion hath nothing in Scripture to enforce it, so grounds in nature there are none to warrant it; unless we will assert this manifest untruth, that every disposition of the air, or every cloud, is fitly disposed to produce a rainbow. They are the words of that great divine, Dr. Jackson (book i. upon the Creed, chap. 16), who adds, that if other natural causes, with their motions and dispositions, depend upon the final (as Scripture philosophy teaches us), they, who acknowledge the Scripture, have no reason to think that either the clouds or the air had that peculiar disposition before the flood, which is required to the production of the rainbow: when this wonderful effect had no such use or end, as it hath ever since, for it was appointed by God, to be a witness of his covenant with the new world; a messenger to secure mankind from destruction by deluges. Now, if it had appeared before the flood, the sight of it after the flood would have been but a poor comfort to Noah and his timorous

and every living creature that *is* with you, for perpetual generations:

13 I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.

14 And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud:

15 And I will remember my covenant, which *is* between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.

16 And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that *is* upon the earth.

17 And God said unto Noah, This *is* the

posterity: whose fear, lest the like inundation might happen again, was greater than could be taken away by a common or usual sign. The ancient poets had a better philosophy (though they knew not the original of it), when they feigned Iris to be the daughter, or (as we would now speak) the mother of wonderment (*Θαυματος ἱερων*), the messenger of the great god Jupiter, and his goddess Juno: whom Homer (as he observes) represents as sent with a peremptory command to Neptune not to aid the Grecians; by the swellings, we may suppose, of waters, which much annoyed the Trojans.

My bow.] It is called *his*, not only because he is the Author of all things, which have natural causes, as there are of this: but because *he* appointed it to a special end, as a signification and assurance of his mercy to mankind.

Ver. 14. *When I bring a cloud over the earth*] i. e. When there are great signs of rain, which come out of the clouds.

That the bow shall be seen in the cloud.] Not always, but at certain times; often enough to put men in mind of this promise, and stir up their belief of it. For it doth, as it were, say, I will not drown the earth again, though the clouds have thickened as if they threatened it. Common philosophy teaches us, that the rainbow is a natural sign there will not be much rain after it appears; but that the clouds begin to disperse: for it is never made in a thick cloud, but in a thin: so that if it appears after showers, which come from thick clouds, it is a token that now they grow thin. But the God of nature chose this to be a sign, that he would never let them thicken again to such a degree to bring a deluge upon the earth. And, indeed, the admirable form or composition of this "glorious circle (as the son of Sirach calls it, Ecclus. xlii. 12), bent by the hands of the Most High," doth naturally excite one to look beyond the material and efficient cause of it to the final, as the forenamed author speaks. And now that we have Moses's commentary upon it, we may see, in the mixed colours of the rainbow, these two things; the destruction of the old world by *water*, and the future consumption of the present world by *fire*; whose flaming brightness is predominant in the waterish humour.

Ver. 15. *And I will remember my covenant, &c.*] Look upon it as a token of my faithfulness to my word.

Ver. 16. This is spoken after the manner of men; the more to confirm their belief that God would not go back with his word.

Ver. 17.] As the promise is repeated twice, to express its certainty (ver. 9, 11), so is the token of it as oft repeated, for the same reason (ver. 12, and here ver. 17).

token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.

18 ¶ And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan.

19 These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread.

20 And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:

21 And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.

22 And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the

Ver. 18. *And the sons of Noah, &c.*] They are here again named, with respect to what follows: but not in their order, as shall be proved in its proper place (x. 21), for Japheth was the eldest.

And Ham is the father of Canaan.] This son of Ham is here alone mentioned, because he was concerned in the following wicked act of his father: and his posterity were those wicked people, whose country God gave the Israelites.

Ver. 19.] By this it appears, that, though Noah lived above three hundred years after he came out of the ark, yet he begat no more children; or, if he did, none of them lived to have any posterity.

Ver. 20. *Began to be an husbandman,*] To improve the art of husbandry, which was understood before, but he much advanced it: there being nothing, in old time, which the greatest men thought more worthy their study; as we see by the Romans themselves, till they were corrupted by the luxury which their conquests brought in among them.

And he planted a vineyard.] There were vines here and there before the flood; but Noah seems to have been the first that made a vineyard, and put them in order: and the first, perhaps, that invented wine-presses, to press out the juice of the grapes, and make wine. If he was not the inventor of these two (planting of vineyards and making wine), yet we may well allow him to be the improver of them, as he was of husbandry.

Ver. 21. *And he drank of the wine, and was drunken.*] Being unacquainted with the strength of the liquor (as several of the fathers, as well as of the Jewish doctors think), or else being old and unable to bear its strength, as Epiphanius understands it (see Hæres. lxiii. n. 3). For it is manifest from what follows, that this happened a great while after the flood; Ham having a son, nay, more than one, for Canaan was not his first-born.

And he was uncovered within his tent.] The heat of the weather, or of the wine, perhaps, made him throw off the clothes: or he was negligent, being not himself.

Ver. 22. *And Ham, the father of Canaan, &c.*] There are some circumstances, which follow, that make the opinion of the Hebrew doctors not improbable: that Canaan first saw Noah in this indecent posture, and made sport with it to his father; who was so far from reproving him, as he ought to have done, that he also did the same.

And told his two brethren without.] In the street, publicly before the people, he proclaimed his father's shame, and mocked at it. For it is hard to think that God cursed him merely for his irreverence, but there was something of derision joined with it, and perhaps of profaneness and irreligion; in laughing (we may conceive) at the promise of the Messiah, which, it is likely, he heard his father often speak of, but now thought him incapable to beget. For Ham is generally thought to have been an impious man; and some take him to have been the first inventor of idols after the

nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.

23 And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.

24 And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.

25 And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

26 And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

flood; nay, of magic, which he learned of the wicked Cainites before the flood. Thus Gaspar Schottus, lih. i. de Magia, cap. 3. prolegom. Where he endeavours to show he was the same with him whom the Persians call Zoroaster.

Ver. 23.] A great argument of their piety and dutiful affection to their father; which God, therefore, greatly rewarded.

Ver. 24. *And knew what his younger son had done.*] Finding himself covered with clothes that were not his own, he inquired, it is likely, how it came about: and was informed how he had been abused by one of his sons, and honoured by the other.

His younger son.] Some make this an argument that Canaan was the first that made himself merry with his grandfather: and is here called his younger, or little son (nothing being more common than to call those the sons of another who were his grandchildren, as cousin-germans are called brothers), for Ham was neither little, nor his younger son; but the middlemost, as he is always placed. Nor doth it seem at all pertinent to the matter to mention the order of his birth; but very fit, if he spake of his grandson, to distinguish him from the rest. And what follows is a farther proof of it.

Ver. 25. *Cursed be Canaan, &c.*] If what I said before (ver. 23, 24) be allowed, it makes it easy to give an account why Canaan is cursed rather than Ham; because he was first guilty. Ham, indeed, was punished in him: but he had other sons, on whom the punishment did not fall, but only on this. For which I can give no reason so probable as that before mentioned. Which, if it be not allowed, we must have recourse to a harsh interpretation; and, by Canaan, understand Canaan's father, as some do.

A servant of servants.] That is, the basest and vilest of servants. See the next verse.

Ver. 26. *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem;*] The Lord was the God of Shem, after a peculiar manner, just as he was the God of Abraham, because of the gracious covenant made with him: for God settled his church in the family of Shem; and Christ was born of his posterity; and he himself, in all likelihood, kept up the worship of the true God, and opposed idolatry. In short, to be the God of Shem, was to bestow all manner of blessings upon him; which Noah here prophesies to him, by blessing the Lord for them: whom he acknowledges to be the Author of them, out of his special grace and favour towards him. For he was the younger brother of Japheth, as I shall show, x. 21. Thus Jacob interprets this phrase, xxix. 19, 20.

And Canaan shall be his servant.] This was fulfilled eight hundred years after, when the Israelites (who were descended from Shem) took possession of the land of Canaan; subduing thirty of their kings; killing most of their inhabitants; laying heavy tributes upon the remainder; and using the Gideonites (who saved themselves by a wife), though not as servants

27 God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

to them, yet as mere drudges for the service of the tabernacle. Whose name David is thought to have changed into *Nethinim* (Ezra viii. 20); people who had voluntarily surrendered themselves (as they did to Joshua when he had discovered their fraud), to do what he would with them. Solomon also made all the remainders of the people of Canaan subject to servile labours, when all the Israelites were free, as is plainly signified, 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9. And see Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2. Thus, as the blessing promised to Abraham was not fulfilled in his own person, but in his posterity, many generations after his death; so this curse upon Cham did not take place till the same time: the execution of God's curse upon the one being his conferring of a blessing upon the other.

Ver. 27. *God shall enlarge Japheth.*] i. e. His habitation; for God gave him, for his possession, all the isles of the sea westward, and those countries near to them, as Spain, Italy, Greece, Asia the Less, &c. as Bochart hath observed in his *Phaleg*. lib. i. cap. vi. Who further notes, that, in the Hebrew word for *enlarge*, there is a plain allusion to Japheth's name; as there are to many others in Scripture; Noah (ver. 29), Judah, Dan, Gad, &c. (xlix. 8, 16, 19). They that translate this word *persuade* (as it is in the margin), did not consider that it is commonly taken in a bad sense, when it is so used, for *deceiving* and *seducing*; and that it governs, as grammarians speak, an accusative case and not a dative (as it doth here), when it signifies to allure or persuade. In short, this is a promise of a very large portion to Japheth's posterity in the division of the earth: which was but necessary; for that part of the world which bends to the north being assigned to him, vast regions were requisite for such a numerous offspring as were likely to come from him: the fruitfulness of people being wonderfully great in cold climates. And, accordingly, besides all Europe, and the Lesser Asia, there fell to the share of his posterity, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and the vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians, now the Tartars, inhabit: from whom the people of the New World (as we call it) seem to be derived; the Scythians going thither by the Straits of Anian. Of which more upon x. 32.

Moses hath not told us, what were the names of any of their wives; but the Greeks have given to Japetus's wife the name of *Kνωβη* (as Hesiod calls her), because she was the mother of so many famous nations. So Vossius, lib. i. De Orig. Idolol. cap. 18. And Campanella's observation in this verse is, That all empires descended from the sons of Japheth (L.

28 ¶ And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years.

29 And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

de Monarchia Hispan. cap. 4). Which may be true of the great empires, but the Egyptians seem to have been the first considerable princes, and Nimrod was of the race of Ham.

And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem;] i. e. His territories shall be so dilated, that, in future times, he shall possess some of his brother's countries: which is also prophesied of, Numh. xxiv. 24, where it is said, they of Chittim "shall afflict the children of Assur and Eber;" i. e. afflict the Assyrians and the Hebrews, who were of the posterity of Shem. And so both the Greeks and the Romans did, who invaded and conquered that part of Asia which belonged to Shem. The Chaldee paraphrast gives a spiritual interpretation of this passage, which is very apt, That the gentiles should come into the church, which was in the family of Shem. And it is very remarkable (which is observed by our Mr. Mede, book i. discourse 48), that all the offsprings of Japheth are at this day Christians, Magog only excepted (i. e. the Turks), whom God seems to have reserved, as he did some of the Canaanites in the land of Israel, to prove and punish us withal. Our learned N. Fuller gives a quite different interpretation from all these, making God the subject of this speech, not Japheth; and thus translates it; "God shall dwell in the tents of Shem;" among them shall be the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty. But this doth not agree with what follows.

And Canaan shall be his servant.] The Greeks and Romans, descended from Japheth, conquered Canaan; and whatsoever relies there were of them any where (for instance, at Tyre, built by the Sidonians; at Thebes, by Cadmus; at Carthage, by Dido), they were all cut off by the Greeks or Romans. It is observed by Campanella, that "none are descended from Cham, but slaves, and tyrants, who are indeed slaves" (cap. 4, De Mon. Hispan). But Mr. Mede's observation is more pertinent (in the forenamed discourse, p. 358). There hath never yet been a son of Cham, that hath shaken a sceptre over the head of Japheth. Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth subdued Shem; but Cham never subdued either. Which made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with amazement of soul, *Agnosco fatum Carthaginis*, "I acknowledge the fate of Carthage." (Livy, lib. xxvii. in fine.)

Ver. 28. *Noah lived—three hundred and fifty years.*] Which was of great advantage for the certain propagation of the knowledge of those things before related, and of those that follow in the next chapter: for he died not above two-and-thirty years before Abraham was born.

CHAPTER X.

1 The generations of Noah. 2 The sons of Japheth. 6 The sons of Ham. 8 Nimrod the first monarch. 21 The sons of Shem.

1 Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood.

2 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, &c.*] As he had often before mentioned the three

sons of Noah, so now he mentions them again, being to give an account of their children, by whom the earth was peopled after the flood. And he reckons them in the same order he had always done (vi. 10,

3 And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.

vii. 13, ix. 18), first Shem, then Ham, and last of all Japheth. But it is observable, that, in the next verse, he gives an account first of the sons of Japheth, who was, indeed, the eldest. There is great use of this genealogy, as Maimonides shows (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 50), because the doctrine of the creation of the world, which is the foundation of the law (i. e. of religion), would not have been so easily believed, if Moses had not given an account of the succession of mankind, from the first man to the flood; and from the flood to his own time: showing from whom all nations were derived, and how they came to be dispersed.

Shem is named first of Noah's sons, because the blessed seed was to spring out of his family: in which the true religion was preserved: which was soon lost in the posterity of the other two; among whom their names remained in great honour. For,

Ham was the heathen Jupiter, who was called Hammon in Egypt; which, it will appear, was part of Ham's portion, and is called the Land of Ham, as every one knows, in many places of the Psalms. And, accordingly, the same country is called by Plutarch, *Χρμία*.

Japheth also seems to have been the same with Japetus, whom the Greeks own to have been their father. Nor do they know any name of greater antiquity: which made them give it to decrepit persons (as many, particularly Bochart, have observed); and it became a proverb in that country, "older than Japetus." Whom their poets feign to have attempted war against Jupiter; because of the dissensions which the unlikeliness of their manners begat between them. Which seems to be nothing but the story in chapter ix. of this book, ver. 22. For Ham, as I said, is the heathen Jupiter.

Ver. 2. *The sons of Japheth;* Were seven; the eldest of which, Gomer, had three sons; and the fourth, Javan, had four; whose names we have in the following verses.

Gomer, It is hard, at this distance, to find what country was peopled by his posterity; but Bochartus, in his Phaleg, hath made such probable conjectures, about this and all that follow, from other Scriptures, and from neighbouring places, and the relics of their names in ancient geographers, and such like things, that they carry a great appearance of truth in them. Our famous Camden (in his account of the first inhabitants of Britain) thinks that the Cimbri and Cimmerii descended from this Gomer, who gave them their name; and that the old Britons came from him, because they call themselves Kumero, Cymro, and Kumeri; which seems to denote them the posterity of Gomer. But this, as also the notion of Ludov. Capellus in his Chron. Sacra, p. 104 (who, if this of Mr. Camden be not accepted, propounds another, of the Comari and Chomari, a people in Scythia, mentioned by Ptolemy, within the mountain Imaus, near Bactriana), is confuted by what we read in Ezekiel, who makes Gomer to have been a neighbour of Togarmah (Ezek. xxxviii. 6). And Togarmah was a nation that usually went to the marts of Tyre (xxvii. 14), and consequently were not seated in the furthestmost part of the north; but, as will appear afterward, not very far from Tyre. And in some countries thereabouts we must seek for Gomer: who, it is likely, gave Phrygia its denomination. For a part of it was called *Καταξικαυίρις* by Diodorus and Hesychius, because it looked as if it were burnt. Such was all the country about Cayster, Mæander, and the city Philadelphia. Now this is the very signification

4 And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim.

of Gomer. For in the Hebrew Gomer is to *consume*; and so the Chaldee and Syriac frequently use it; whence Gumra, or Gumro, is a *coal*. And Phrygia is of the same signification (for *φρύγιον* in Greek is to *torrify*), which, being the name of part of the country, in time became the name of the whole.

Magog, The second son of Japheth, was in all likelihood the father of the Scythians; which is the opinion of Josephus, Theodoret, St. Jerome, and others. For all that is said in Scripture about Magog exactly agrees to them; as Bochartus hath shown at large, out of Ezekiel. lib. iii. Phaleg. cap. 13.

Madai, From him the country of Media took its name; where he and his children settled: and it is the farthestmost country eastward, where any of the posterity of Japheth inhabited. What is the name of this country, at present, is not easy to tell; the ancient name and limits of countries so remote, being quite worn out of memory. But it is no improbable conjecture of Bochartus (lib. iii. cap. 14), that the ancient Sarmatæ took their name from this man, Sear, or Sar-Madai, being in Chaldee, as much as the relics of Madai or the Medes. Dr. Jackson, I think, hath well observed (book i. chap. 16), that Scythia, or the north part of Asia Minor, and other parts adjacent, were inhabited by the sons of Japheth, before they came into Greece (where the next son settled), or the other parts of Europe.

Javan, Planted himself in Greece; under which word is comprehended, not only Achaia and the rest of the countries thereabouts; but even Macedonia, and the nations neighbouring to it, towards the west: the sea that washes them, being called the Ionian Sea. And indeed, the Hebrew word *יָוָן*, taking away the vowels, may be either read Javan or Ion. From whence the Iones; whom Homer calls Jaones, which is near to Javan; which a Persian, in Aristophanes's Acharnenses, pronounces Jaonau; as Grotius observes, Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C. Hence Daniel calls Alexander, who came out of Macedonia, the King of Javan (viii. 21). And the Chaldee paraphrase hath here, instead of Javan, Macedonia. See Bochart. lib. iii. cap. 3.

Tubal and Meshech, These two are constantly joined together by Ezekiel in many places, (xxvii. 13, xxxii. 26, &c.) Which is a sign these two brothers planted themselves not far from one another. And no conjecture seems so probable as that of Bochartus, who takes these to be the people whom the Greeks call Moschi and Tibareni: who are as constantly joined together in Herodotus, as Meshech and Tubal are in Ezekiel, and none need wonder that Tubal was changed into Tuber, and then into Tiber: for nothing was more common, among the Greeks, than to change the letter L into R, as *Βελιάρ* for Belial, and *Φελζώρ* for Phicol, &c. The Moschi inhabited the mountains called Moschici, N. E. of Cappadocia, and all the mountains (as Bochart thinks) from the river Phasis to the Pontus-Cappadocius. The Tibareni were in the middle between the Trapezuntii and the inhabitants of Armenia the Less. So Strabo describes them, who was born not far from these countries, and had reason to know them. Nor is this a new opinion of Bochart's, that the Tibareni came from Tubal: for Epiphanius, in his Ancoræ, mentions among the descendants of Japheth, *Τιβάρωνες*, together with the Chalybes and Mossynæci; whom our Broughton follows.

Thiras, Or Thiras, the youngest of the sons of Japheth, possessed Thrace and Mysia, and the rest of Europe towards the north. For *εραξ* is Thiras or

5 By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.

Thras, by the change of the letter Samech into Xi: which in the Greek Alphabet (received from the Phenicians) answers to the letter Samech; so that some of the Hebrews write Thracia with an S, Thrasia: and a Thracian woman is called by the Greeks themselves Θρακία and Θρηκία: which comes very near to Thiras. And that great man Bochartus says a great deal more to confirm this; which was the opinion, he shows, of many of the ancients. (Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 2.) And in late times, of Ludovicus Capellus; who adds, that possibly Tros and Troas were derived from this Thiras.

Ver. 3. *And the sons of Gomer;* Now follows an account of those that descended from the eldest son of Japheth. Ashkenaz was the eldest son of Gomer, whose posterity settled in Bithynia (where we find the footsteps of his name, in the Sinus Ascanius, and Ascanius Lacus, and Annis), and in Troas, and the Lesser Phrygia: in which is a country and a city called Ascania and Ascania-Insulæ. Into which country the offspring of Ashkenaz brought colonies from Gomer, or the Greater Phrygia: and extended themselves to the sea. Which being called by the people upon the coast Ascenez, was pronounced by the Greeks Ἀσενος. Which being an odious name in their language, signifying *inhospitable*, they changed it into the contrary, and called it Εὐσενος, the Euxine Sea. See more in the forenamed author (lib. iii. cap. 9). Ludovicus Capellus happened upon the same conjecture. Riphath, or Diphath, as it is written in 1 Chron. i. 6, whose posterity Josephus thinks to have inhabited Paphlagonia; which is a country near to Phrygia, upon the Euxine Sea: and there are remainders of the name in several places, both ways written, with Resh or with Daleth: as Bochart shows (lib. iii. cap. 10). Mela places the Riphaces in this country, as Grotius observes, Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C.

Togarmah. His posterity, it is manifest, settled northwards of Judea, by that place in Ezekiel (xxxviii. 6) where the Greek scholiast saith, some hereby understand the Cappadocians and Galatians. And, indeed, Cappadocia lies near to Gomer or Phrygia, with whom Togarmah is wont to be joined: and in respect of Judea, it lies northward; and was most famous for excellent horses; which the prophet saith came from Togarmah (Ezek. xxvii. 14). The Greek interpreters constantly write it Torgama, or Thorgama; from whence the name of the Trogmii, or Trocmi, may well be thought to be derived: who, Strabo saith (lib. xii.), lived near Pontus and Cappadocia: and it appears by Ptolemy, they possessed some cities in Cappadocia itself. This people are called by Stephanus, Trocmeni, and in the council of Chalcedon, Trocmades, or Trogmades: for their bishop is often mentioned, Επισκοπος Τροχυμδων. See Bochart in the same book, cap. 11.

Ver. 4. *And the sons of Javan;* Having told us what sons Gomer had, he informs us who had descended from Javan: who had four sons, that gave names to four provinces.

Elishah. His first-born inhabited Peloponnesus: in which there was an ample country, called by the ancients Elis: and one part of it called by Homer, Alisium. I omit the other arguments whereby Bochartus proves this to be the part of the earth where Elishah's posterity settled, not far from their father Javan. Nay, Ludovicus Capellus (p. 105, Chron. Sacra) thinks the Αἰολεῖς, Æoles, and the country Æolia had its name from thence.

6 ¶ And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan.

7 And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah.

Tarshish (or Tarsis) Neither peopled Cilicia, where we meet with a like name, nor the coast about Carthage, as some of the ancients thought; but, as Eusebius, and from him our Broughton, and lately Bochart, have observed, from him came the Iberi in Spain. Θαρσῖς; ἰβηρῶν Ἰβηρες. Which name of Iberi came, as Bochart thinks, from the Phenicians, who called the bounds and utmost limits of any thing Ebrim or Ibrim; a word often used in the Syriac version of the Psalms and the New Testament. From whence, it is not unlikely, the Spaniards were called by this name of Iberi, because they were thought to possess the utmost limits of the earth westward. However, we may well think Tarshish to be Spain, or that part of it which was most frequented by the Phenicians, viz., about Gades and Tartessus, as Bochartus, I think, hath proved by evident arguments, fetched chiefly from what Ezekiel says of Tarshish (xxvii. 12), and comparing it with this country (lib. iii. Phaleg. cap. 7).

Kitim, The same author hath proved by solid arguments, and by good authority, that from him came the people who inhabited Italy: in which there were anciently many footsteps of this name. For there was in Latium itself a city called Kerta, as Halicarnassus tells us; which was one of those great and populous cities taken by Coriolanus, as Plutarch, in his life, tells us. There was a river called Keros, about Cuma, mentioned by Aristotle, as turning plants into stones. And the very name of Latines answers to Chittim: for most say it comes *à latendo*, being formed to express this ancient Scripture name. For Chetema, in Arabic (which is a branch of the Hebrew tongue) is to *hide*; and Chetim is *hidden*, and *latent*. And so, no doubt, it was anciently used in Hebrew: for what better sense can we make of those words of Jeremy, ii. 22, "thy iniquity, *סתר*, is hidden or laid up with me?" according to an usual expression in Scripture (Deut. xxxiii. 34; Job xxi. 9; Hos. xiii. 12), where there are words of the like import with this. That famous man Bochart saith a great deal more, to assert this (lib. iii. cap. 5).

Dodanim. He is called Rhodanim, in 1 Chron. i. 7, by whom the Greek interpreters understand the people of Rhodes (and so do several of the ancients), but the name of that island is much later than Moses's time: and therefore it is better to understand hereby that country now called France; which was peopled by the posterity of this son of Javan: who, when they came to this coast, gave name, as Bochart conjectures, to the great river Rhodanus; where it is likely they first settled themselves, and called the adjacent coast Rhodanusia: which had anciently in it a city of the same name, mentioned by Stephanus; and said to be seated in *Massadia* "in tractu Massiliensi," where now stands Marseilles. (See Bochart, lib. iii. cap. 6.) These Dodanites are never mentioned in any other places of Scripture, which makes it the more difficult where to find them; but this account seems more probable than that of our learned Mede, who places them in Epirus (where there was a city called Dodona), and part of Peloponnesus: all which, and several countries thereabout, seem to be comprehended under the name of Javan.

Ver. 5. *By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided.* By the word isles we commonly understand countries compassed round about by the sea. But there were not such islands enough to contain the sons of Japheth (though these were part of their portion), and therefore we must seek for another sense

and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.

8 And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.

of this word. Which the Hebrews use (as Mr. Mede hath observed), to signify "all those countries divided from them by the sea;" or, such as they used not to go to, but by sea. (See book i. disc. 47.) Many places testify this (Isai. xi. 10, 11, xl. 15; Jer. ii. 10, &c.). Now if Moses wrote this book in Egypt, as he thinks it probable, they commonly went from thence to Phrygia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, by sea, as well as to Greece, Italy, &c. To Media, indeed, he thinks, they did not use to go by sea, and therefore makes this an objection against Media being the father of the Medes: for their country cannot be called an isle. But the far greater part of the regions, peopled by the sons of Japheth, being such as, he confesses, the Hebrews call isles, Moses might well say, the isles of the gentiles were parted among them, though Media be comprehended, which was not such an isle. But there is no need of all this, if we take the word we translate *isle*, for a region, country, or province. And so it plainly signifies, Job xxii. 30; Isai. xx. 6, where, in the margin, we translate it *country*. And then the word *Gomim*, which we render *Gentiles*, signifies a multitude of people; as it doth often in Scripture: particularly Gen. xvii. 4, 16. And so we translate it, *nations*, in the last words of this verse; and in the last clause of this chapter; "by these were the [*Gomim*] nations divided in the earth." Which may serve to explain this phrase here; which we may thus interpret, "by these (or among these) were divided the regions of the people or nations (descended from Japheth) in their lands;" in the several countries which they possessed.

Divided] It appears by the following words (according to his language, family, and nation), this great division of the earth was made orderly, and not by a confused irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he thought good. This, Mr. Mede thinks, is also suggested in the very word we translate *divided*; which signifies not a scattered, but a distinct partition.

Every one after his tongue, or language.] The same is said (ver. 20, and ver. 31) of the posterity of Cham and Shem. Which signifies they did not all speak the same language, but doth not prove that any one of the forementioned people had a language peculiar to themselves, distinct from the rest, and not understood by them. As, when Ahasuerus is said to have caused letters to be written to a hundred and twenty-seven provinces, according to their language and their writing (Esth. viii. 9), it doth not prove there were so many several sorts of writing, and so many several languages in his empire; but only that to each of them was directed a letter, in that language which they spoke.

After their families, in their nations.] The particle *in* denotes, as Mr. Mede observes, *families* to be subordinate to *nations*, as parts to a whole. Families are parts of a nation, and a nation is an offspring containing many families. So here was a twofold order in this division. First, They were ranged according to their nations; and then every nation was ranked by his families. So that every nation had his lot by himself; and in every nation, the families belonging to it had their portion by themselves. The number of nations descended from Japheth were seven, according to the number of his sons, who were all founders of several nations. But the number of families is not here entirely set down: for Moses names only the families of Gomer and Javan; whose children, perhaps, are rather to be looked upon as founders of nations; and therefore mentioned by Moses, when the posterity of the rest are omitted.

Ver. 6. *And the sons of Ham.*] Having given an account of the sons and grandsons of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah, he next proceeds to the sons of Ham, the second son of Noah, which were four: and gives an account also of every one of their sons, and of some of their grandsons.

Cush] Gave name to a country very often mentioned in Scripture; which most of the ancients take for Ethiopia, and so we commonly translate the word *Cush*. But if by Ethiopia they meant that country south of Egypt, and not an eastern country (which may be a question), Jonathan is rather to be followed, who here paraphrases it Arabia. For Cush is the same with Cushan (only this latter is a diminutive), which is made the same with Midian (Habak. iii. 7). And so Moses's wife is called a Cushite (we render it Ethiopian), for she was a Midianite, (Exod. ii. 16, 21), and therefore was of Arabia, not of Ethiopia: and so we should translate it (Numb. xii. 2), an *Arabian woman*. And there is a demonstration of it in Ezek. xxix. 10, that Cush cannot be Ethiopia; for, when God saith he will make Egypt desolate, "from the tower of Syene to the border of Cush," if we should understand by Cush the country of Ethiopia, it would be as if he had said, "from Ethiopia to Ethiopia." For every one knows Syene was the border of Egypt towards Ethiopia: and therefore here being two opposite borders, it is manifest that Cush, which is the opposite term to Syene, cannot be Ethiopia, but Arabia: which bounded that part of Egypt which is most remote from Ethiopia. A great number of other arguments, out of the Scriptures, evince this: which Bochartus hath collected (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 2), and Philip Beroaldus asserted the same thing before him.

Mizraim.] The father of them who inhabited Egypt, whose metropolis [Alcairo] the Arabians at this day call Meser; and the first month among the ancient Egyptians was called Mesori: and Cedrenus calls the country itself Mestra, as Grotius observes in his Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C., and Lud. Capellus, in his Chronol. Sacra. p. 109. And this word *Mizraim* being of the dual number (which shows it to be the name of the country rather than of a person), denotes two Egypts, as Bochart observes. For so there were, the higher and the lower. All that country was called the higher, where Nile runs in one stream; the lower was that, where it was divided into many: which the Greeks call Delta, from its triangular form.

Phut,] All Africa was divided between Mizraim and Phut, as Bochartus observes. For all Egypt, and several other parts of Africa, as far as the lake Tritonides (which divides Africa into two almost equal parts), fell to Mizraim. The rest, beyond that lake, to the Atlantic Ocean, was the portion of Phut. Of which name there are some footsteps, in the city Putea, which Ptolemy (lib. iii. cap. 1) calls *Φούτις*; and the river called Phut, mentioned by Pliny, as Grotius notes; and a country, which St. Jerome, in his time, says, was called *Regio Phutensis*: which lies not far from Fez. Another name of Africa is Lub, which we often meet withal in Scripture: whence the name of Libya. Concerning which, and a great many other proofs that Phut was planted in Africa, see the famous Bochartus (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 33).

Canaan.] The youngest son of Ham, every one knows, gave name to that country, which God gave afterwards to the Israelites. Which the Phœnicians, who descended from the Canaanites, called *Χανα*, by a contraction from the word *Canaan*, as many have observed out of Eusebius (lib. i. Præpar. cap. 10), who quotes Sanchoniathon and Philo-Biblus for it.

9 He was a mighty hunter before the Lord : wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord.

It is so certain that the Phœnicians had their original from the Canaanites, that the LXX. use their names promiscuously. For example, Shual is called (Gen. xli. 10), the son of a Canaanitish woman : whom in Exod. vi. 15, they call the son of a Phœnician woman. And so in the New Testament, the woman whom St. Matthew calls a *woman of Canaan* (xv. 22), St. Mark calls a *Syrophœnician* (vii. 26). We never, indeed, find the Phœnicians called Canaanites by the Greeks, for their posterity, being ashamed (as we may suppose) of that name, because of the curse pronounced upon Canaan, chose to be called rather Syrians, or Assyrians, or Sidonians, or Phœnicians. For Syria, which was a common name to a great many people round about, was at first proper to them; from the metropolis of Phœnicia, which was Tyre, in Hebrew, *Sor* or *Sur*; from whence Surin, and thence the Greek Συρία. They that would see more of this, may read the forenamed author (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 34).

Ver. 7. In this verse, Moses acquaints us, what people descended from the eldest son of Ham : viz. Cush, who had five sons : and the fourth of them had two.

Seba.] There were four nations, that had the name of Seba or Shebah, as Bochart observes (lib. ii. cap. 25). Three of them are mentioned here in this chapter. The first of them, this son of Cush, is written with Samech, all the rest with Shin ; viz. the grandson of Cush, who was the son of Raamah or Rhegma, in the end of this verse. The third was the son of Joktan, the son of Shem (ver. 28). And the fourth was a grandchild of Abraham, by his son Jokshan (xxv. 3). They that descended from the three first of these, were a people given to trade : from the fourth came a people addicted to robbery. The first, the second, and the fourth, were seated near the Persian Sea ; the third near the Arabian ; whence Pliny saith the Sabeans stretched themselves to both seas (lib. v. cap. 28). For all these four people were comprehended under the name of Sabeans, though very different one from another. But it may be doubted, whether the Sabeans, who descended from Jokshan the grandchild of Abraham, did live near the Persian Sea. And I shall show upon xxv. 3, that Bochart himself thought otherwise, upon further consideration.

And as for this Seba, he was the father of a people in Arabia called Jemamites, as Alcamus, an Arabian writer, tells us : whose words are, "A certain man called Saba gathered together the tribes of the Jemamites : " i. e. he was the founder of the people called by that name, from a famous queen of that country called Jemama. See Bochartus, lib. iv. cap. 8, where he shows where they were situated : and that they are the Sabeans, who are said by Agatharctides to have been a very tall proper people, mentioned Isa. xlv. 14.

Havilah.] Or *Chavilah*. There were two Havilahs also : one the son of Cush here mentioned ; another the son of Joktan (ver. 29). From this Havilah seem to have come the people called Chaulothai by Eratosthenes : who were seated in Arabia Felix (as Strabo tells us) between the Nabatæi and the Agræi, i. e. the Hagerens. By Pliny they are called Chavelæi (which comes nearest to the Hebrew name), who were seated in that part of the country which lay towards Babylon : as appears by this, that, in the Scripture, the wilderness of Shur (nigh Egypt) and Havilah are opposed, as the most remote opposite bounds of Arabia. Thus the Ishmaelites are said to have dwelt "from Havilah to Shur" (Gen. xxv. 18), that is, be-

10 And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.

fore Egypt, e regione Egypti, "over against Egypt," as Bochart translates it. That is, Havilah bounded them on the north-east ; and Shur on the south-west ; which Shur was near to Egypt. And so Saul is said to have smitten the "Amalekites from Havilah to Shur," &c. (1 Sam. xv. 7), where we translate the last words, "over against Egypt."

Sabtah.] Or *Sabtha*, (whom the ancients call *Sabatha*, or *Sabathes*) seems to have been settled in that part of Arabia Felix called Leaites, upon the Persian Sea ; where there was a city, not far distant from the sea, called by Ptolemy Σαφθα : from whence they sent colonies over the Sea into Persia, as Bochart shows by several arguments (lib. iv. cap. 10). For there is an island on that coast called Sophtha ; and a people called Messabathæ, or Messabathæ, upon the confines of Media ; from the Chaldean word *Mesa* (which signifies middle) and *Sabatha* ; as if one would say the *Mediterranean Sabta*.

Raamah.] Or as the ancients pronounce his name, *Rhegma*, was situated in the same Arabia, upon the Persian Sea. Where there is a city mentioned by Ptolemy's tables *Rhegama* ; in the Greek text expressly, Ῥήγμα, Rhegma. And so Stephanus mentions both Ῥήγμα πόλις and πόλις Ῥήγμα, about the Persian Gulf.

Sabtecha.] Or, *Sabthecha*, as some read it, was the youngest son of Cush, except Nimrod, who is mentioned by himself. It is hard to find the place of his habitation : but the rest of the sons of Cush being seated about the Persian Sea (except Nimrod, who, as Moses tells us, went to Babylon), Bochartus thinks it reasonable to seek for him in that part of Caramania, where there was a city called Samydace, and a river Samydachus : which he thinks may have come from Sabtecha, by the change of the letter B into M. Which was very frequent in Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. For Merodach is also called Berodach, in the Book of the Kings : and in the Chaldee paraphrase, Basan is called Bathnan and Mathnan : and Abana (the famous river of Damascus) is expounded Amana : and Mecca and Becca, are the same city among the Arabians. In like manner, Sabtecha, or Sabithace, might be changed into Samydace. Now, into Caramania there was a short cut over the straits of the Persian Gulf out of Arabia. I see nothing anywhere more probable than this conjecture of that very learned man (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 4).

And the sons of Raamah ; Seba, and Dedan.] He gives an account of none of Cush's other sons' posterity, but only of this : whose two sons were seated near him and one another. For the younger of them, Dedan, seems to have left his name in a city now called Dadan, hard by Rhegma, upon the same shore eastward. And from this Dadan the country now hath its name : of which Ezekiel speaks (xxvii. 15), as Bochart shows plainly (lib. iv. cap. 6). And Seba (or, as others read it, *Seba* or *Saba*), his elder brother, was seated in the same country not far from Dedan, where Pomponius mentions a people called *Sabæi* : and Arianus speaks of a great mountain not far off, called *Saba*, from this *Saba* : whose posterity, easily passing over the straits before mentioned into Caramania, might possibly give name to a city there, which Ptolemy calls *Sobis* : and Pliny mentions a river of the same name : and Dionys. Periegetes speaks of a people called *Sabæ*. Of whom the Scripture seems to speak, in those places where Seba and Seba are joined together (Ps. lxxii. 10) : "The kings

11 Out of that land went forth Asshur, and build-
ed Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah,

12 And Resen between Nineveh and Calah :
the same is a great city.

of Sheba (i. e. of this country) and Seba shall offer gifts." And sometimes Sheba and Raamah (for Rhegma) are joined (Ezek. xxvii. 29); where the prophet speaks of this *Sheba*, the son, or Rhegma; who brought those precious commodities there mentioned out of Arabia; they lying very commodiously for traffic upon the Persian Gulf. And these are the people also mentioned, ver. 23, of that chapter, with sundry other nations; who lived upon Tigris and Euphrates, which run into the Persian Sea; and therefore it is reasonable to think that Sheba's posterity lived near the same sea.

Ver. 8. *And Cush begat Nimrod:*] Besides all the forementioned, he also begat this son; whom Moses distinguishes from the rest, and mentions him alone by himself, because he was the most eminent among his brethren, though born the last; a mighty commander, as Moses here describes him. Thus in the title of Psal. xviii. it is said, David was delivered out of the hand of all his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul: who is particularly mentioned by himself because he was his chief enemy. Sir W. Raleigh thinks he was begotten by Cush when his other children were become fathers; and so, being younger than his grandsons, he is named after an account is given of every one of them.

Nimrod.] The author of the Chronicon Alexandr. thinks he was the same with Ninus: but Vossius rather takes him for him whom the Greek writers call Belus, that is *Lord*. And that Ninus was his son, so called from the very thing itself, *Nin* in Hebrew signifying a son (lib. i. de Idolol. cap. 24). The same Chronicon saith, that Nimrod taught the Assyrians to worship the fire: and both Elnacinus and Patricides affirm the same. (See Hotting. Smegma Orient. lib. i. cap. 8, p. 272.) Which, if it be true, I doubt not was an emblem of the Divine Majesty; which used to appear in a glorious flame. Ur, a city of Chaldea, seems to have had its name from the fire which was there worshipped: and that Ur also, from whence Abraham came, the Hebrews fancy had the same original; for their fable is, that Abraham was thrown into the fire, because he would not worship it; and by the power of God delivered, as St. Jerome tells us in his Questions upon Genesis.

He began to be a mighty one] He was the first great warrior and conqueror: so *Gibbor* is to be understood; not for a giant, or man of great stature, but for a potent person: and, as some will have it, a more severe governor than they had been, who only exercised paternal authority. For he was the first that put down the government of eldership, or paternity (as Sir Walter Raleigh speaks), and laid the foundation of sovereign rule.

Ver. 9. *He was a mighty hunter*] Or rather, *mighty in hunting*: for the word *tsid* doth not signify a *hunter*, but *hunting*. Which shows by what means he came to be so great a monarch. He hardened himself to labour by this exercise (which was very toilsome), and drew together a great company of robust young men to attend him in this sport: who were hereby also fitted to pursue men, as they had done wild beasts. For this was looked upon, in all ages, as the rudiment of warfare (as Bochart shows out of a great many authors, lib. iv. cap. 12), all the heroes of old, such as Nestor, Theseus, Castor, Pollux, Ulysses, Diomedes, Achilles, Æneas, &c., being all bred up to hunting, as Xenophon informs us. And it was not without some such reason that noble families carry in their coats of arms (as ensigns of their valorous achievements) lions, bears, tigers, &c., from their kill-

ing such-like fierce creatures. For it must be further noted, that in this age of Nimrod, the exercise of hunting might well be the more highly esteemed, and win him the hearts of mankind; because he delivered them, by this means, from those wild beasts whereby they were much infested, and very dangerously exposed, while they were but few, and lived scattered up and down, in the open air, or in tents but weakly defended. The destroying of wild beasts (and, perhaps, of thieves whom he hunted also) was a great service in those times, and made many join with him in greater designs which he had at last; to subdue men, and make himself master of the people who were his neighbours, in Babylon, Susiana, and Assyria. The memory of this hunting of his, was preserved by the Assyrians (who made Nimrod the same with Orion), who joined the dog and the hare (the first creature perhaps that was hunted) with his constellation. This, Mr. Selden observes in his Titles of Honour (part i. cap. 1), where he farther notes, that he is to this day called, by the Arabians, *Algebar*, the mighty man, or the giant; from the Hebrew *Gibbor* here in the text.

Before the Lord:] i. e. To the highest degree. For so "a great city to God," is a very great city (Jonah iii. 3), and a child very beautiful is called *αἰσῖος* Θεῷ, *fair to, or before God* (Acts vii. 20). Or the meaning may be, he was *truly so*, not only in common opinion. For that is said to be *before God*, which really is; because God cannot be deceived with false appearances.

Wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty, &c.] i. e. Thence came the common proverb; which Moses alleges as a proof of the truth of what he delivered. Nothing being more usual, in his days, than for men to say, when they would express how exceeding great any man was, "He is like Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord." Thus common sayings are quoted in other places, nothing being more notorious than such proverbial speeches (Numb. xxi. 27; 1 Sam. x. 12).

It is not improbable that Nimrod is the same with him whom the Greeks call Bacchus; whose conquests in the east, as far as India, are nothing else but the expeditions of Nimrod and his successors. The very name of Bacchus imports this, which was made out of *Bar-Chus*, the son of Cush, as *Dammasek* (i. e. *Damascus*) was out of *Darmasek*. Many other arguments for this are collected by Bochartus (lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 2).

Ver. 10. *The beginning of his kingdom was Babel,*] (See xi. 5, 8.) Which, according to the gentile writers, was built by Belus (the same with Nimrod, who was called Belus, as I noted before, from Baal, because of his dominion and large empire, over which he was an absolute lord). They that say his son Ninus (or, as Philo-Byblius, his son Babylon) was the builder, may be thus reconciled with the forementioned opinion, that Belus began it, and his son much augmented it. See Voss. lib. i. de Idol. cap. 24, and lib. vii. cap. 9. There are those that say it was built by Semiramis; but as they have it only from Ctesias, who is not to be relied on against Berosus and Abydenus, who wrote the history of that country out of the ancient records, and say Belus built it; so, if it be true, we must understand it of her rebuilding it, after it was decayed, or adding greater splendour to it. And this also must be understood not of the wife of Ninus, for it is a question whether he had any wife of that name: or, if he had, she was different from her whom the Greeks so much

13 And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Ananim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim,

14 And the Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim.

magnify, who lived almost two thousand years after the son of Belus, as Salmasius observes (Exercit. in Solin. p. 1228) out of Philo-Byblius.

And Erech, &c.] Having built Babel, which he made the chief city of his kingdom, he proceeded to build three cities more in the same country. Which they that think he won by conquest, imagine also that he made Babel the head city, because he won it first; and then the other. And all this, say some, before the dispersion we read of in the next chapter: which others think happened after the dispersion. Erech seems to have been the city which Ptolemy calls Arecca, and Ammianus, Arecha; which lay in the country of Susiana upon the river Tigris. Whence the Areccæ Campi in Tibullus, as Salmasius observes in his Exercit. in Solinum, p. 1194. From whence Huetius thinks the country below it was called Iroque; mentioned by Alferganus, and other Arabian writers.

Acad.] It is a hard matter to give any account of this city; but the LXX. calling it Archad, from the Chaldee idiom, which is wont to change the *Daghes*, which doubles a letter, into R (as Damasek for Damasek, i. e. Damascus; and, by the same reason, *Archad* for *Acchad*), the footsteps of this name may be thought to remain in *Argad*, a river of Sittacene in Persia. For nothing is more common, than to change *ch* into *g*.

Calneh.] It is sometimes called Calno (Isa. x. 9), and Canneh (Ezek. xxvii. 23.) From whence the country called Chalanitis (mentioned by Pliny and Strabo, Polybius, and Dionys. Periegetes) may well be thought to have taken its name: whose chief city was called Calneh, or Chalone (which is the same), and afterwards changed by Pacorus, king of Persia, into Ctesiphon.

Ver. 11. Out of that land went forth Asshur.] This translation is not so likely as that in the margin, "He went out into Assyria." For Moses is speaking of what Nimrod the son of Cush did, and not of the sons of Shem, among whom Asshur was one. Nor is it agreeable to the order of history to tell us here what Asshur did, before there be any mention of his birth, which follows (ver. 22). Besides, it was not peculiar to Asshur, the son of Shem, that he went out of the land of Shinar: for so did almost all men who were dispersed from thence. Add to this, that Assyria is called "the land of Nimrod," by Micah (v. 6): "They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod with their lances;" or, "in the entrance thereof," as we translate it. Therefore it is very reasonable to take Asshur here, not for the name of a man, but of a place, as it is frequently; and expound the word Asshur, as if it were Leasshur into Asshur; as Beth in 2 Sam. vi. 10, is put for Lebeth; other examples there are of this (2 Sam. x. 2, 1 Chron. xix. 2). By "going forth" into Asshur, Bochart thinks, is meant Nimrod's making war there: for so the Hebrew phrase "go forth" imports, in 2 Sam. xi. 1, Psalm lx. 12, Isa. xlii., Zac. xiv. 3. So Nimrod went forth into Assyria, which belonged to the children of Shem: but was usurped, he thinks, by the son of Cush, who had no right to it, but what he got by his sword. If this be true, Mr. Mede's observation which I mentioned upon ver. 27 of the foregoing chapter [That the posterity of Cham never subdued either those of Japheth or Shem], must be understood of such large conquests as they two made over one another, and over him.

And builded Nineveh.] Which Nimrod so called from his son Ninus: the very word *Nineveh* being as

much as *Ninus's habitation*, *nu pu*. Thus Cain built a city, and called it not by his own but his son's name (iv. 17). This was the chief city of Assyria, and flourished in great glory till it was utterly razed by the Medes, and never again rebuilt. It stood on the east side of Tigris.

Rehoboth.] There was a city of this name upon Euphrates, which was famous for the birth of Saul, one of the kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 37), which the Arabians call *Rahabath-Melic*, i. e. *Rahabath of the Kings*, a little below Cereusium, at the mouth of the river Chaboras. But this being too far distant from Nineveh (to which this and the two following cities were neighbours), Bochart's conjecture is not unreasonable, that this is the city which Ptolemy calls Bithra, on the west of Tigris, at the mouth of the river Lycus. For in the Chaldee tongue, Streets are called Bithra; and that is the signification of Rehoboth, as the margin of our Bible will inform the reader.

Calah, or Calach.] Seems to have been the chief city of the country called Calachene; about the fountain of the river Lycus: which Strabo often mentions.

Ver. 12. And Resen, &c.] The forenamed great man conjectures this to have been the city which Xenophon calls Larissa, situate upon the Tigris: which Moses might well call a *great city*. For so Xenophon says it was, and describes the height of the walls to have been a hundred feet, the breadth five-and-twenty and the compass of it eight miles about. The Greeks found it in ruins, and uninhabited, when they came into those parts; being destroyed by the Persians, when they spoiled the Medes of their empire. And it is possible, as Bochart goes on, the Greeks asking whose city that was, and the Assyrians answering *Leresen*, i. e. *Resen's* (adding, as is usual, *le*, the note of the genitive case), they might thence call it *Larissa*. Such a mistake, he shows, there is in the Vulgar translation of the Bible, which takes this particle *le* for part of the name. For in 1 Chron. v. 26, where it is said the king of Assyria carried the Israelites to *Halah*, the Vulgar says unto *Lelahel*. Whereas it is certain, from 2 Kings xvii. 6, that it should be unto *Halah*, or *Helah*. However, it is reasonable to think that these words, *this is a great city*, belong to Resen, not to Nineveh: whose greatness, as well as Babylon's, was very well known; and therefore these words seem to be added to denote Resen to be a great deal bigger than the two before named, Rehoboth and Calah. See Bochart, lib. iv. cap. 23.

They that think Nimrod settled his kingdom in Babel before the dispersion, by confusion of their languages, imagine that he made this expedition into Assyria (where he built Nineveh, and the rest of the cities here mentioned), after they were forced to leave off their vain-glorious building at Babel, and to disperse themselves into other countries.

Ver. 13. And Mizraim (the second son of Cham) begat Ludim.] By whom we are to understand the Ethiopians, as Bochart hath proved by many arguments (which I shall not mention), and therefore understands by these words, that the Ethiopians were a colony of the Egyptians (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 26). For it appears by Diodorus that they were near of kin; having many things common to both nations; which he reckons up, and are sufficient to persuade those who consider them, that they had the same original; the only difference among them being this—which of them was of greatest antiquity. The Egyptians fan-

15 ¶ And Canaan begat Sidon his first born, and Heth,

16 And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Gergasite,

cied they, were the first of all men: and the Ethiopians pretended that they, living more southerly, had a stronger sun; which contributed more efficaciously to natural generation; and that Egypt was a country thrown up by the mud which Nilus left, and so got out of the sea. But Moses hath determined this controversy in these words, and by the rest of his history; which shows, that the first men after the flood came from the mountains of Armenia, which is in the north: and consequently they went to the southerly countries, by degrees, through Assyria, Babylon, Syria, and Egypt, into Ethiopia. And their discourse is ridiculous about the original of Egypt, unto which we see nothing added by the Nile, in many ages.

Ananim.] Our Broughton takes these to be the Numidians, among whom he finds Anubis. Others take them for the Anaitæ in Ethiopia. But these Ananim being derived from Mizraim, we are rather to seek them about Egypt: and the opinion of Bochartus is probable, that they are the Nomades, who lived about Ammon and Nasamonitis; and called Ananii from Anam, which signifies a *sheep* among the ancient Egyptians, as it doth among the Arabians. For the Nomades fed sheep, as Herodotus tells us, and lived upon them (whereas they abstained from eating cows or swine); and their garments also, as he tells us, were of sheep-skins.

Lehabim.] These are thought to be the Libyans; but that being a name which belongs to the greatest part of Africa, it cannot be well thought that so great a portion fell to this son of Mizraim, or that so many people were descended from him. Therefore Bochart, with great reason, thinks the Lehabai were not all the Libyans; but those whom Ptolemy, Pliny, and others, call Libyægyptii; because they lived next to Egypt on the west of Thebais, in a sandy, adust soil, burnt by excessive heat; from whence he thinks they had the name of Lehabim. For *lehaba* signifies both a flame and heat; as in Joel i. 19, "The flame (*lehaba* in the Hebrew, or scorching heat) hath burnt all the trees of the field."

Naphthuhim.] These seem to be the people of Nephthuh; and what that is we may learn from Plutarch: who, in his book De Iside et Osiride, says, the Egyptians call the country and the mountains that lie upon the sea Nephthun; which may incline us to think that the Naphthuhim were those people that lived upon the shore of the Mediterranean in Marnarica: for the people upon the Red Sea belonged to Arabia, not to Egypt. It is not improbable that from hence came the name of Neptune, who originally was a Libyan god; and known to none but that people.

There was a city called Nepata by Pliny which Grotius thinks may explain this name: but it was in Ethiopia; and Moses is speaking of the sons of Mizraim.

Ver. 14. *Pathrusim.*] Who were the inhabitants, it is likely, of Patros: which was a part of Egypt; though represented sometimes in Scripture as a country distinct from it: just as Thebais is, in some authors, said to be, whereas it was the Upper Egypt. Bochart hath brought a great many arguments to prove this: particularly from Ezekiel xxix. 14, which shows clearly that Pathros belongs to Egypt: for the prophet foretelling that God would bring again the captivity of Egypt, he saith he would "cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, or nativity: that is, into Thebais, which Nebuchadnezzar had principally afflicted, carrying most of the inhabitants of Thebes into captivity. This seems a more probable account of the Pathrusim than theirs,

who take them to be the Pharusi (as Grotius doth) or Phantusi; who were a people of Ethiopia.

Casluhim or *Casluhim.*] These were the Colchii, who, though they lived far from Egypt, from whence they are said here to descend, yet there are a great many arguments that they had their original from that country. For several ancient authors say so; as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Ammianus: all of great credit. And there are many reasons whereby Herodotus proves it (as Bochart shows in his admirable work, often mentioned, lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 31), they agreeing in so many things, especially in their manners and language, that one can scarce have any doubt of it. These people were seated at the east end of the Euxine Sea.

Out of whom came Philistim.] They were the offspring of the people of Colchis, as will appear in what follows.

Caphtorim.] These were a people near to Colchis, as appears from hence; that the Philistim, who are said here to come from Casluhim, in other places are said to have come from Caphtor, Jer. xlvii. 4, Amos ix. 7. And Moses himself relates how the Avims, nigh to Gaza (a famous city of the Philistim), were driven out by the Caphtorims, Deut. ii. 23. All the ancients therefore are in the right, who take the Caphtorim for the Cappadocians: yet, not all the inhabitants of that country (part of which was possessed by other people, as was said before), but that part of Cappadocia which was next to Colchis, viz. about Trapezund, where Colchis ended. For there we find the city called Side, and the country Sidene, mentioned by Strabo. Now Side in Greek (as Bochart ingeniously observes), signifies the same with Caphtor in Hebrew, viz. Malum punicum: and therefore, in all likelihood, the same country was called by the Hebrews Caphtor, and by the Greeks Sidene.

What invited the Caphtorim out of Egypt into this country is hard to tell at this distance of time. But Strabo thinks it was the fame of the gold wherewith this country abounded. And as this drew them thither, so perhaps the coldness of the country, very much different from that wherein they were born, or else their neighbours the Scythians, and Mesech and Tubal (viz. the Moschi and Tibareni), who dwelt near them, and might be troublesome to them, made them think of returning back again. And in their way through Palestine they fell upon the Avim, whom they possessed of their country, and settled there (Deut. ii. 23), by the name of Philistim.

Ver. 15. *Canaan.*] Now follows an account of the posterity of Ham's youngest son.

Sidon.] Was his first-born; who was the founder of the famous city called by his name, *Sidon*: which Trogius saith was so called from *plenty of fish* on that coast. And so the present name of it, *Said*, signifies *fishing* or *fishery*: as the town in Galilee called Bethsaida, is as much as the *place of fishing*: for that sea upon which it lies, the Hebrews say, abounded with fish. However, the Sidonians came from this son of Canaan; and some of them (if he did not found it himself), called the city by this name, in memory of him. It was far more ancient and famous than Tyre; for we read of it in the books of Moses, and Joshua, and the Judges; but nothing of Tyre till the days of David. Nor doth Homer mention Tyre: though he speaks of Sidon and the Sidonians in many places.

Heth.] His second son, was the father of the Hittites, or the children of Heth, often mentioned in Scripture; who dwelt about Hebron and Beersheba, in the south of the land of Canaan. They were a

17 And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite,

18 And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite : and afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.

very warlike people, and struck a terror into their neighbours : from whence the word *Hittite* seems to be derived, which signifies *fright* and *sudden consternation* ; such as came upon the Syrians, when they thought the kings of the Hittites were coming against them (2 Kings vii. 6). This was the country of the Anakims : for from Arba, who was a Hittite, descended Anak ; and from him those three giants, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmi, and the rest of the Anakims (Numb. xiii. 22, 23, Josh. xv. 13, 14).

Ver. 16. *The Jebusite.*] This people, who were situated near to the former, descended from Jebus, the third son of Canaan : and were a very warlike people also : for they kept Jerusalem and the fortress of Zion to the times of David, notwithstanding all the power of the Benjamites. And when David besieged it, they mocked at his attempts (2 Sam. v. 8).

And the *Amorite.*] They came from Emur, the fourth son of Canaan, and are commonly called Amorites ; who possessed the mountainous parts of Judea : and many of them passed over Jordan, and making war upon the Moabites and Ammonites, seized upon Bashan and Heshbon, and all the country between the rivers of Jabbok and Arnon (Numb. xiii. 29, Josh. v. 1), in memory of which victory some Canaanite poet made a triumphing song, which Moses hath recorded (Numb. xxi. 27). What a mighty people these were we learn from Amos ii. 9.

Girgashite.] There was a remnant of this people about Gerasa, or Gadara, beyond Jordan, in our Saviour's time (Matt. viii. 28, Mark v. 1, Luke viii. 26). And they were called, perhaps, by this name from the fat clayey soil of the country where they lived ; for *gargies* in Hebrew is *white clay*.

Ver. 17. *And the Hivite, or Hevite.*] They lived in and about Mount Hermon, as we read Josh. xi. 3, which being toward the east of the land of Canaan, they are called Kadmonites, i. e. *orientals* or *easterlings* (Gen. xv. 19). The Gibeonites and Sichemites were colonies from them (Josh. xi. 19, Gen. xxxiv. 2), who dwelt more westward : the former of them neighbours to Jerusalem ; and the latter to Samaria.

Arkite.] This people, Bochart thinks, inhabited Mount Libanus, where Ptolemy and Josephus mentioned a city called Area, or Arce : in which, he thinks, was the temple Veneris Architides, worshipped by the Phœnicians, as Macrobius tells us, lib. i. Saturn. cap. 27. Pliny also mentions Area among the cities of the Decapollitan Syria, and saith it was one of those which had a royal jurisdiction, under the name of a tetrarchy, as Salmasius observes in his Exerc. in Solin. p. 576.

Sinite.] St. Jerome saith, that not far from Area there was a city called Sin ; where we may suppose these people to have dwelt. But Bochart rather by the Sinites understands the Peleusians, whose city was called Sin ; which is of the very same signification with Pelusium.

Ver. 18. *And the Arvadite.*] These people are the same with the Aradii, who possessed the island called Aradus upon the coast of Phœnicia, and part of the neighbouring continent : where a place called Antiradus, opposite to the island, was seated. Strabo and others speak of this island, and mention another of the same name in the Persian Gulf (as Salmasius observes upon Solinus, p. 1023), whose inhabitants said, they were a colony from this island I now speak of, and had the same religious rites with these Ara-

19 And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza ; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha.

20 These are the sons of Ham, after their

dians ; who were very skilful in navigation, and therefore joined by Ezekiel with Zidon, xxvii. 8, where he makes them also a warlike people, ver. 11.

Zemarite.] They who make these the same with the Samaritans, do not observe that these names are written quite differently in the Hebrew ; and that the Samaritans, so much spoken of in Scripture, had their names from Somron. And therefore Bochart thinks these are the Samarites mentioned by St. Jerome, who says, they inhabited the noble city of Edessa in Cœlesyria (it should be the city of Emesa, or Emisa which was in that country, but Edessa in Mesopotamia, beyond Euphrates), and so both the Chaldee paraphrases have here for Zemarite, Emisais. But I do not see why we should not rather think this son of Canaan (Zemarus), from whom the Zemarites came, was the founder of the city of Zemaraim (Josh. xviii. 22) which fell to the lot of the tribe of Benjamin.

Hamathite.] These were the posterity of the last son of Canaan ; from whom the city and country of Hamah took its name : of which name there were two ; one called by the Greeks Antiochia, the other Epiphania : the former called the Great (Amos vi. 2), to distinguish it from this, which St. Jerome says, in his time, was called Epiphania, and by the Arabians (in the Nubian geographer) Hama. This is the city which is meant when we so often read that the bounds of Judea were to the "entrance of Hamath," northward (Numb. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8, and other places). For it is certain they did not reach to Antiochia, but came near to Epiphania.

Afterward—the Canaanites spread abroad.] In process of time they enlarged their bounds : for they possessed all the country which lies from Idumæa and Palestine to the mouth of Orontes : which they held for seven hundred years, or thereabout. Moses, indeed, confines the land of Canaan in narrower bounds toward the north (as hath been said), but we must consider, that he describes only that part of Canaan which God gave to the Israelites for their portion. Now, there being eleven nations who had their original (as appears from this and the foregoing verses) from so many sons of Canaan ; we do not find that the first and the five last were devoted by God to destruction, as the rest were. For we read nothing of the Sidonians, Arkites, Sinites, Aradites, Zemarites, and Hamathites, among those nations upon whom the sentence of excision was pronounced by God, and their country bestowed upon the Israelites. But we read of two others, not here mentioned, who made up the seven nations, whom God ordered to be cut off ; viz. the Perizzites, and those who were peculiarly called Canaanites, who sprang from some of the forenamed eleven families ; but we do not know from which. We shall meet with it in the 15th chapter of this book.

Ver. 19. Here Moses describes the bounds of that country, which was given by God to the Jews.

From Sidon.] i. e. The country of Sidon, which extended itself from the city so called, towards the east, as far as Jordan, or near it. This, therefore, may be looked upon as the northern bounds of the promised land.

As thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza, &c.] These, and all the rest, belong to the southern bounds : for these two were cities near to the Philistines. We often read of Gaza ; and Gerar was famous for Abraham's and Isaac's sojourning there (Gen. xx. 1, xxvi.

families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations.

21 ¶ Unto Shem also, the father of all the

1), and for the overthrow of the Cushites (2 Chron. xiv. 13).

Sodom, and Gomorrah, &c.] These four cities are famous for their destruction, by fire and brimstone from heaven.

Even unto Lasha,] Or Lasa, which St. Jerome takes for Callirrhoe, as doth Jonathan also: a place famous for hot waters, which run into the Dead Sea. But Bochartus (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 37) doubts of this, because Callirrhoe was not in the southern part of Judea, as Lasha was: he propounds it therefore to consideration, whether it may not be a city of the Arabs called Lusa: which Ptolemy places in the middle way, between the Dead Sea and the Red.

Ver. 20. These are the sons of Ham, after their families, &c.] This is sufficiently explained by what was said upon ver. 5, where Moses concludes his account of the sons of Japheth. Only it may be observed, in general, that these four sons of Ham, and their children, had all Africa for their portion (Misriam having Egypt, and Phut the rest); and no small part of Asia, which fell to the share of Cush and Canaan.

Ver. 21. Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber,] That is, of the Hebrew nation, whom Moses would have to know from what an illustrious original they sprung; and therefore breaks off the thread of his genealogy, to give a short touch of it. I can give no reason so likely as this, why he calls Shem the father of Eber's children, rather than of any other descended from him. He having told them before, that Ham was the father of Canaan (ix. 22), whom God cursed, and at the same time blessed Shem; he now tells them that this blessed man was the father from whom their nation was descended; that they might comfort themselves in their noble stock, and believe Canaan should be subdued by them.

The brother of Japheth the elder,] Scalliger translates these words, "Shem the elder brother of Japheth:" but the *he* which is prefixed to *gadol*, i. e. *greater*, plainly directs us to refer the word *greater*, or *elder*, to him who was last spoken of, viz. Japheth: who may be plainly proved to have been the eldest son of Noah, from this observation; that Noah was five hundred years old, before any of his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, were born (v. 32). When he was six hundred years old, he entered into the ark with them (vii. 11). And when he came out, two years after the flood, Shem begat Arphaxad, being then a hundred years old (xi. 10), and consequently Noah was six hundred and two. From whence it follows, that Shem was born when Noah was five hundred and two years old: and therefore Japheth must be two years older than he; for Noah began to have children when he was five hundred. But God preferred Shem before him; giving hereby an early demonstration (of which there are many instances afterward), that he would not be confined to the order of nature in the disposal of his favours; which he frequently bestowed upon the younger children; as he did upon Jacob, and in aftertimes upon David, who was the youngest and meanest of all his father's children.

Even to him were children born,] Perhaps he was the last of his brethren that married; and then Moses shows, in the following verses, had five sons: the progeny of two of which are mentioned, but the rest passed over in silence.

Ver. 22. Elam,] Was his first-born; from whom came the Elamites, mentioned Acts ii. 9, whose me-

children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him were children born.

22 The children of Shem; Elam, and As-

ropolis was the famous city of Elymais. They lay between the Medes and Mesopotamians (as Bochart shows, lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 2), and were a very warlike and fierce people, as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel testify. The Susians were a neighbouring people, but different from them: and therefore, when Daniel says Shushan was in the province of Elam, he takes Elam in a large sense: as Pliny and Ptolemy also do, who mention Elamites at the mouth of the river Euleus (Ulai in Daniel), which was below Susania. See Salmassus Exerc. in Solin. p. 1193, 1194. And thus Josephus may be allowed to say, the Elamites were *Ἰερσῶν ἀρχαῖται*, "the founders of the Persians;" who were a distinct people from them, though often comprehended under this name of Elam.

Asshur,] From whom came the people called at first Assyres, and afterward Assyrians; which was a name as large as their empire, comprehending even Syria itself; which, in several authors, is the same with Assyria. But, in proper speaking, it was only that country, whose head was Nineveh, called sometimes Adiabene, and Aturia or Assyria.

Arphaxad,] Many, following Josephus, make him the father of the Chaldees. But I find no good reason for it; and it seems more probable that the Chaldees (in Hebrew *Chasdim*) came from Ched, one of Abraham's brother's sons (Gen. xxii. 22), which St. Jerome positively affirms. Therefore it is more reasonable to think Arphaxad gave name to that country which Ptolemy calls Arraphachitis, which was a part of Assyria.

Lud,] Seems to have given name to the country of Lydia, which lay about Mæander; and included in it Mysia and Caria, which lay on the south side of that river. Which, having the most windings and turnings in it of any river in the world (for it returns sometimes towards its fountain), the Phœnicians call this country, and another, viz. Ethiopia, that lay upon the Nile (which, next to Mæander, is the most crooked of all rivers), by the name of *Lud*, which, in their language, signified *bending* or *crooked*. See Bochart, lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 12.

Aram,] From whom sprang the Syrians, whose name anciently was Aramæi, the children of Aram. A name not unknown to the ancient Grecians; for Homer mentions the Ἀραῖοι in his second book of Iliads; and so doth Hesiod; and Strabo also saith, that many understood by the Arimi, the Syrians. And the Syrians, at this day, call themselves Aramæans. But Syria being so large a name, that ancient authors extend it to all those countries that lay between Tyre and Babylon, we must not take all the people of them to have been the posterity of Aram. For it is evident some of them descended from Canaan, others from Asshur, others from Arphaxad. Therefore, those are to be thought to have come from him, to whom the name of Aram is prefixed or subjoined, as Aram-Naharajim, and Padan-Aram (i. e. the Mesopotamians), Aram-Soba (the people of Palmyra and the neighbouring cities), Aram-Damasc (situated between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, whose chief city was Damascus), and, perhaps, Aram-Maacha, and Aram-Bethrehob, which were places beyond Jordan, one of which fell to the share of Manasseh, the other of Assur.

Ver. 23. The children of Aram, &c.] The four persons that follow in this verse are called the *sons of Shem* (1 Chron. i. 17). Nothing being more ordinary in Scripture, than to call those the *sons of any person*, who were his *grandsons* (xxix. 5, &c.)

shur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram.

23 And the children of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.

24 And Arphaxad begat Salah; and Salah begat Eber.

Uz,] Or *Utz*, the first-born of Aram, is generally said to have been the builder of Damascus: the valley belonging to which is, by the Arabians, at this day called Gant, and Gauta, which differs from *Utz* in the letters, but not in the pronunciation: it being common to pronounce the letter *ajin* by our *G*, as in the words Gaza and Gomorrah. Accordingly, the Arabic paraphrast for *Utz* hath here *Algauta*. There were two other *Uz*'s besides this, one the son of Nabor (Abraham's brother), Gen. xxii. 21, whose country was Ausitis in Arabia Deserta; the other was of the posterity of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 28).

Hul,] Or *Chul*. Grotius observes out of Ptolemy, that there was a city in Syria called Chollæ, which, he thinks, might be founded by this second son of Aram. But Bochart more probably conjectures that his posterity possessed the country called Cholobetene, which was a part of Armenia. For the Armenians, and Arabians, and Syrians, were much alike, as Strabo saith, in their shape of body, speech, and manner of life. And there are divers cities, which Ptolemy places in this country, that begin with *Hol* or *Chol*; as Cholus, Cholunta, Cholana: and Cholobetene (the name of the country), which in their language is Cholbeth, signifies as much as the *house* or *seat* of *Chol*.

Gether,] It is hard to give any account of the country where his posterity settled, unless they gave the river Getri its name, which the Greeks call *Κετρίτης*; which runs between the Carduchi and the Armenians, as Xenophon tells us. This is Bochart's conjecture, which is a little nearer than that of Grotius (Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C.), who explains this by the city Gindarus in Ptolemy, and the people called by Pliny, Gindareni, in Cœlesyria. But after all, it may seem as probable that Gadara, the chief city of Peræa, which Ptolemy places in the Decapolis of Cœlesyria, had its name and original from this Gether.

Mash,] Who is called *Mesech*, in 1 Chron. i. 17, seated himself, as Bochart thinks, in Mesopotamia, about the mountain Masius (which is Grotius's conjecture also), from whence there flowed a river which Xenophon calls Masca. The inhabitants of which mountain, Stephanus calls Masieni; and perhaps the Moscheni, whom Pliny speaks of, between Adiabene and Armenia the Greater, were descended from this Mash, or Mesech.

Ver. 24. *And Arphaxad begat Salah,]* Having given an account of the posterity of Shem's youngest son, he now tells us what people descended from his third son.

Salah,] In Hebrew *Shelah*; His father being born but two years after the flood (xi. 10), seems to have given this name to his son, to preserve the memory of that dreadful punishment; that his posterity might not incur the like by their sins. For *Sela* signifies the letting forth of waters (Job v. 10). He is thought to have been the father of the Susiani: the chief city of their country, next to Susa, being called Sela, as we find in Ammian. Marcellinus: either because he was the founder of it, or in memory of him.

And Salah begat Eber,] The father of those from whom came the Hebrew nation (as was said before, ver. 21), Abraham being descended from him in the sixth generation. All other derivations of the name of Hebrew have great objections lying against them; but this hath none that I can see, and is most agree-

25 And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan.

26 And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah,

able to the grammar of that language, in which all such names ending in *jod* (as *יָד* doth) are noted to come either from a place, or country, or people, or author: therefore, since there is no country or place from which the name of Hebrew can be derived, it is most reasonable to deduce it from the author of this people, *Heber*. And it is authorized by that speech of Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 24). Where, as by Asshur is meant the Assyrians, so by Eber, in all reason, we are to understand the Hebrews.

Ver. 25. *Peleg,]* Either he, or some of his posterity in memory of him, it is not unlikely, gave name to a town, upon Euphrates, called Phalga, not far from the place where the river Chaborus runs into it: upon which Charrah stood, built by Charan, the brother of Abraham.

For in his days was the earth divided,] The great dispersion, which we read of in the following chapter, fell out just when he was born; which made his father call him by this name, signifying *division* and *separation*. Which it appears, by the account given of his ancestors (xi. from ver. 10 to 16), happened in the hundred and first year after the flood. In that year, the tower of Babel and their language were confounded; upon which necessarily followed the separation here mentioned. The age that preceded, from the deluge to this division, is called, by the ancient poets, the Golden Age (as Bochart observes, lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 9), because the earth not being divided, they enjoyed all things in common. And Noah (whom they called Saturn) governing them, not as kings do their subjects, but as parents their children, not so much with fear and dread, as with love and reverence to his fatherly authority; it made the world so happy as it hath not been since.

Joktan or Jektan,] The brother of Peleg, had a numerous offspring of thirteen sons; all seated in the inmost parts of Arabia Felix. So the Arabians, it is certain, derive their original: who in this may as well be credited as the Europeans, who derive themselves from Japetus or Japheth, and the Africans from Cham or Hammon. They call him Cahtan (as our Mr. Pocock, as well as others, observes), by which name the Arabic paraphrast, upon this place, explains that of Jektan. And this Cahtan they say expressly was the son of Eber, the son of Salah, &c. From whence the name of Catanite, a people in Arabia Felix, mentioned by Ptolemy; and a city in the territory of Mecha, still retains the very name of Jektan, being called Baisath-Jektan, i. e. the *seat* or *habitation* of *Jektan*, in the Arabian geographer. See Mr. Pocock's notes upon Abul-Farajus concerning the original of the Arabians, p. 33, 39.

Ver. 26. *Almodad,]* The eldest son of Joktan seems to have given name to the people whom Ptolemy calls *Ἀλμοναῖται*, in the middle of Arabia Felix, near the original of the river Lar, which runs into the Persian Gulf. The Greeks, who knew little of this people, who lived a great way from the sea, might easily mispronounce their name, calling them *Ἀλμαναῖται*, instead of *Ἀλμοναῖται*.

Sheleph, or Saleph,] Was, it is likely, the father of the Salapeni. For such a people there were, mentioned by Ptolemy, who calls them *Σαλαπῆναι*: who were remote from the rest, about the neck of Arabia, not far from the spring of the river Betius.

Hazarmaveth,] Though the Arabians write this name with the very same letters, yet it sounds among

27 And Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah,
28 And Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba,

them thus, *Hadramuth*, or *Cadramuth*; which the Greeks pronounce divers ways, because of the ambiguous sound of the two letters, *tzadi* and *cheth*; for sometimes he is called *Asarmoth*, sometimes (without an A) *Sarmoth*, and *Armoth*, and *Atermoth*, as *Bochartus* hath observed; who thinks the country called *Chatramitis* or *Atramitis*, *Chatramotis* or *Atrimotis*, to have been peopled by the children of this *Hadramuth*, as the Arabians pronounce this name *Hatzermaveth*. *Ἀδραμύτα*, *Salmasius* shows, is the name of a city or place, and *Ἀδραμύται*, of a people or nation. (*Exercit.* in *Solin.* p. 489.) And the same people, he observes (p. 490), are called by *Artemidorus*, *Ατραμυτίται*, whose country was that part of Arabia which abounded with frankincense, myrrh, cassia, and cinnamon, as *Theophrastus* tells us. And *Strabo* calls them (as he there notes) *Χατταμυρίται*, and *Uranius* in *Stephanus*, *Χατταμύται*; so differently was this hard word pronounced: who were so famous, that *Eustathius* *Antioch.*, *Eusebius*, and others, make this *Hatzermaveth* the father of the Arabians, and *Epiphanius* derives their language from him; which they (as was said before) derive from *Jektan* himself; looking upon the dialect of *Chadramites* as barbarous. See *Bochartus*, lib. ii. *Phaleg.* cap. 16, where he observes, that *Hatzermaveth* in Hebrew signifies the *entrance of death*, and *Hadhranauth* in Arabic the *region of death*. Because the air of that country was very thick and foggy (and consequently unwholesome), as *Arrianus* relates, who saith, that the frankincense and myrrh were therefore gathered only by the king's slaves, and by condemned persons.

Jerah, or *Jerach*.] From whom came the people called *Jerachai*, who lived near the Red Sea; called by *Agatharcides*, and others, *Ἀραχάιοι*, *Alilai*: which is the very same in Arabic with the other in Hebrew. For *Hilal* is the moon in that language, as *Jerach* is in Hebrew. And the Nubiensian geographer mentions a people about *Mecha*, who, at this day, are called *Bene-hilal*, the children of *Jerach*, as the Hebrews would have expressed it. It seems they are come more towards the east, when anciently they dwelt in the south. *Ptolemy* mentions also an island, upon the coast of the *Alilai*, which he calls *Ἰεράζων* *ἡ νῆσος*; but it doth not signify the *Isle of Havila* (as the Greeks fancied, who imagined all these old words to come from their tongue), but of the *Jerachai*.

Ver. 27. *Hadoram*.] He seems to have fixed his seat in the utmost corner of Arabia, towards the east, where there was a people whom *Pliny* calls *Drinati*: a name easily made from *Hadoramus*. And the extreme promontory of that country is called by the Greeks *Corodamon*, by transposing the letters *D* and *R* from *Hadoramus*. I can find nothing more likely than this conjecture of that great man *Bochartus*, who hath outdone all that went before him in this argument (lib. ii. *Phaleg.* cap. 20).

Uzal.] *Abraham Zachut*, as he also observes, says, the Jews (who in his time dwelt there) called the chief city of *Aljeman* by the name of *Uzal*. Now the kingdom of *Aljeman*, or *Jeman*, is the south part of Arabia Felix: as the very name of *Jeman* imports, which signifies both the *right hand* and the *south*.

Diklah.] Both in the Chaldee and Syriac languages *Dikla* signifies a *palm*, or a *grove of palms*; which *ied Bochartus* to conclude, that the *Minai*, a people of Arabia Felix, whose country abounds with such trees, were the posterity of this *Diklah*. Both *Pliny* and *Strabo* mention them. And this is far more probable than the conjecture of *Ludovicus Capellus*, that

29 And Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the sons of Jektan.

the country of *Dangala*, in Ethiopia, near Egypt, might have its name from this man: for that is too remote from the rest of this man's posterity: and so is *Δακελαίον* mentioned, as he observes, by *Herodotus* (*Chronolog. Sacra*, p. 108).

Ver. 28. *And Obal*.] Which, in the Arabic pronunciation, is *Aubal*, as *cocob*, a star in Hebrew, is in Arabic *caucab*, &c. The posterity of this *Aubal*, or *Obal*, *Bochart* thinks, passed over the straits of the *Sinus Arabicus*, out of Arabia Felix, into Arabia *Trogodytica*; where we meet with this name, in the *Sinus Abalites* (which others call *Aulites*), and in a great trading town called by *Arrianus* *Αβαλίτες*; and in a people who lived in that *Sinus*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Αβαλίται*, and *Αδολίται*; I believe it should be *Ἀβονίται*, from this *Obal*.

Abimael.] Which the Arabians pronounce *Abimal*; i. e. the father of *Mali*, or the *Malitæ*; a people in Arabia next to the *Minai* before mentioned. *Theophrastus* saith, *Mali* is the metropolis of a country in Arabia the Spicy: from whence the people called *Malitæ*, whom *Ptolemy* calls *Manitæ*, by a usual change of the letter *L* into *N*, as *Nabonidus* is the same with *Labonidus*, &c. And it is probable that *Mali* is the contraction of *Abimali*; nothing being more common than in compound names to omit the first part. As *Sittim* (*Numb.* xxv. 1) for *Abel-Sittim* (*xxx.* 19), *Hermion* very often for *Baal-Hermion* (*Judg.* iii. 3), *Nimrim* for *Beth-Nimrim*, and *Salem* for *Jerusalem*.

Sheba.] From whom came the *Sabeans*, who sometimes comprehend a great many people, but here are to be taken strictly for those upon the Red Sea, between the *Minai* and the *Catabanes*: whose metropolis, which stood upon a high mountain full of trees, is called by ancient authors *Saba* and *Sabai*, *Sabo* and *Sabas*, as *Salmasius* shows out of *Stephanus*, *Agatharcides*, and others; who say that this city was πόλις κάλλιστον, "much the fairest" of all in Arabia. (*Exerc.* in *Solin.* p. 491, 492, &c.) In later times this name was changed into *Mariaba*, the ancient name being lost, as the same *Salmasius* there observes, p. 497, and 1118. Which *Pliny* saith signifies as much as *dominus oranium*, "the lords of all:" for from *Rabba*, to rule, comes *Marab*, which signifies in their language (as *Bochart* observes) the seat of those that rule: that is, the royal city, where their kings lived. The Nubiensian geographer saith, the Queen of *Sheba* came from hence to hear the wisdom of *Solomon*.

Ver. 29. *Ophir*.] Which the Arabians pronounce *Auphir*, signifying *abundance*: gold being found there in such plenty, that they exchanged it for brass and iron, giving a double or triple proportion of gold for them. *Bochart* thinks he gave the name of *Ούφρη* to an island in the Red Sea, mentioned by *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius*, and observes that there were two *Ophirs*, one belonging to India, whither *Solomon's* ships went once in three years (which he takes for *Taprobana*, now *Zeilan*), and the other belonging to Arabia, where the posterity of this *Ophir*, here mentioned, settled. Whose country he takes to have been near to the *Sabeans*, their brethren; which *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy* call *Cassanitis*. The same in sense with *Ophir*; for *Chosan* is a treasure, which the Arabians write *Chazan*, from which comes the word *Gaza*, for abundance of riches.

Havilah or *Chavilah*.] See ver. 7, where we had this name before, among the sons of *Cush*: from whom the *Havilah* here spoken of is very different: giving name, it is probable, to the country which the Nubiensian geographer calls *Chaulan*; and says it

30 And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east.

31 These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.

was a part of Arabia Felix, nigh also to the Sabaeans; which he accurately describes. See Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 28.

Jobab.] The father of the Jobabites, near to the Sachaites, as Ptolemy expressly says, if instead of Jobaritæ in him, we should read Jobabitæ, as Bochartus corrects the passage with great reason. And thinks also the reason of this name to be plain: for Jebab in Arabic signifies a desert: and there are many such in the country of the Jobabites, above the Sinus of Sachalites.

Ver. 30. *And their dwelling was from Mesha, &c.]* This conclusion confirms what hath been said, that all the thirteen sons of Joktan were seated in Arabia Felix, except Obal, who went, it is likely, after Moses's time, over into Abalites; the passage being short across that strait before mentioned (ver. 28), which was not above four or five miles broad. For Arabia Felix lies between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Now Mesa, or Musa, or Muza, was a famous port town in the Red Sea, which the Egyptians and Ethiopians frequented in their way to the country of the Sapharites in the east; from whom they brought myrrh, frankincense, and such-like things. Ptolemy's Tables plainly show this, that from Musa the Sapharitæ lay directly eastward; and Saphar was the metropolis of the country, at the foot of the mountain Climax: which, anciently, it is likely, was called Saphar, from the city at the bottom of it. And thus we are to understand Moses when he says here, that Sephar was a mountain of the east; not eastward from Judea, but from Mesha, which was in the west. See Bochart (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 30), where he observes, that the Arabic paraphrast (of the Paris edition) takes Mesha to be Meecha, and instead of "from Mesha to Sephar," saith "from Meecha to Medina." Which is nearer truth than their opinion, who place the children of Joktan about Copetes, upon the coast of India. But he shows that some of the children of Cush settled between Meecha and Medina: and it sufficiently appears that Joktan's children dwelt in the inmost part of Arabia Felix, and are the genuine Arabians.

Ver. 31. This is explained, ver. 5.

Ver. 32. *By these were the nations divided—after the flood.]* They and their descendants shared the whole earth among them, as it is said expressly (ix.

32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

19), "Of them was the whole earth overspread. But, according to the foregoing account, we find only three parts of the earth, Europe, Asia, and Africa, possessed by the three sons of Noah and their children. Which has made some so bold as to say, there were other people in America, who were not drowned by the flood. And one of their reasons why it was not peopled from any of the other three parts of the earth is, that we can give no account how lions, bears, wolves, foxes, and such-like creatures, should get thither: for none, sure, would carry them by shipping, though men themselves might, by that means, pass over into those regions. But this difficulty is not so great as they make it. For it is manifest, that, though the continent of America was found full of such beasts, when the Spaniards first came thither, yet none of the islands, though very large, which lay remote from the land, had any lions, tigers, or such-like creatures in them. Which is a demonstration, that these creatures were not originally from that part of the earth; for then the islands would have been furnished with them as well as the continent; just as they are with all sorts of vegetables: and consequently, the continent itself was stored with these creatures from some other part of the earth. Which might be done by some neck of land not yet discovered; which joins some part of Europe, or Asia, to the continent of America. Or, if there be no such neck of land now extant, yet there may have been such a bridge (as we may call it) between the northern part of Asia, or Europe, and some northern part of America; or between the south-east part of China, or the Philippine islands, and the southern continent of that other part of this world, though now broken off (as many suppose England to have been from France) by the violence of the sea, or by earthquakes: which have made great alterations in the earth. And truly, he that observes (as that great man the Lord Chief Justice Hales speaks, in his book of the Origin of Mankind, § ii. ch. 7) the infinite number of islands, lying between the continent of China and Nova Guinea, the most contiguous to each other; hath probable reasons to believe, that these were all formerly one continent, joining China and Nova Guinea together, though now, by the irruption of the sea, crumbled into many small islands.

CHAPTER XI.

1 One language in the world. 3 The building of Babel. 5 The confusion of tongues. 10 The generations of Shem. 27 The generations of Terah the father of Abram. 31 Terah goeth from Ur to Haran.

1 AND the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.

2 And it came to pass, as they journeyed

from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there.

3 And they said one to another, Go to, let us

CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *And the whole earth]* i. e. The inhabitants of the earth; as (1 Kings x. 24) "all the earth" is explained (2 Chron. ix. 23) "all the kings of the earth."

Of one language,] In the Hebrew, *of one lip*; which is one instrument of speech comprehending the rest. Their mouth formed the same words. So it follows:

One speech.] Or *word*, as the Hebrew hath it. Some distinguish these two so subtly, as to say, they had not only the same language, but the same manner of pronunciation; which is often very different in the same language. The heathens themselves acknowledge there was but one language anciently (see Josephus, and out of him Eusebius, lib. ix. Præp. Evang. cap. 14, 15), which, in all likelihood, was the same that had been from the beginning,

make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.

which Adam himself spake. For Methuselah, the grandfather of Noah, lived some time with him, and spake, we may well suppose, the same language that he did. And we cannot but think the same of Noah, who propagated it among his posterity till this time. But whether this was the Hebrew or no, we cannot be certain. The Chaldee paraphrasts, and the Hebrew writers, generally say it was; and most Christian writers have been of their opinion: inasmuch that R. Gedaliah, upon these words, saith, "the wise men among the Christians have searched what was the first tongue; and all the world confesses that from Adam to the flood they spake the holy language." Which it is not to be thought we have now entire and pure; but that a considerable part of it still remains in the Bible. As may be proved by no contemptible arguments; particularly this, that Shem, the son of Noah, was for some time cotemporary with Abraham, who descended from him; and in whose family continued the same language, which they both spake, unto Moses's days.

They that have fancied there were more languages than one, at this time, grounded their mistake upon those words (Gen. x. 5, 20, 31), where the sons of Noah are said to have had the earth divided among them according to their tongues. Not considering that he speaks of this very division, of which he is going to give an account; and briefly mentioned there (ver. 25). For the thirteen sons of Joktan, immediately after mentioned (who had their share in the division), were not in being when their uncle Peleg was born; as the most learned primate Usher hath demonstrated in his *Annals* (A. M. 1757).

Ver. 2. *As they journeyed from the east,*] He doth not speak of all the posterity of Noah, who, after the flood, planted in the east; much less Noah himself; but of a great colony of them, who, when the east was much peopled, chose to go westward. By the east, most understand Armenia, where they suppose the ark rested, and Noah with his sons planted. But this hath great difficulty in it; for the mountains of Armenia lay north of Shinar, or Assyria, and not east. Which Bochart solves in this manner: Assyria being divided into two parts, one on this side, the other on the further side of Tigris, they called all that part beyond Tigris the east country, though a great part of it towards Armenia was really northward; and that part on this side they called west, though some of it lay to the south (lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 7). But there is no need of the help of this solution; the mountains of Ararat running a long way eastward; from which, when Noah and his sons descended, they settled, it is likely, in countries which were very much eastward of Assyria.

They found a plain] They continued to dwell in the mountainous countries of the east, where the ark rested, till they grew very numerous and wanted room; and then descended into the plain, and some of them went westwardly into the land of Shinar, that pleasant plain (as Mr. Mede fancies) where God, at the beginning, had placed the first father of mankind, Adam.

Shinar] By this name we are to understand, not only that part of Assyria where Babylon stood, but all that country which bordered upon Tigris unto the mountains of Armenia; from whence Noah and his sons are supposed to have descended when the earth was dry, and not to have gone far from thence, at first, till they were multiplied; and then some of them came into this country, which Noah had inhabited

4 And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top *may reach* unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we

bited before the flood. Thus Bochart, in the place before named. But there is no certainty the ark rested in Armenia; it might be further eastward; upon some other part of that long ridge of mountains called Ararat: from whence they descended when the earth was dry, and dwelt in the lower grounds, which were warmer and more fruitful than the mountains.

But that from the east mankind were propagated, is apparent from the increase of arts and sciences; which, as Dr. Jackson observes (book i. ch. 16), were in some measure perfected there (in times as ancient as any profane history can point us unto), and thence derived, as from a centre, to more remote parts of the world. The ripeness of literature, civil discipline, and arts, among the eastern people, before they did so much as bud forth in Greece or Italy (I may add Egypt either), is a demonstration, that these were the stock, and the other but slips or branches transplanted from thence. Nay, the state and grandeur of those eastern countries, before Greece or Italy, or any other western people, grew into the fashion of a kingdom, shows that the eastern people were the heirs of the world, and other nations but as colonies from them.

Ver. 3. *They said one to another,*] i. e. Consulted together.

Go to,] And stirred up one another to lay all their hands to this work.

Let us make brick,] In that low and fat soil there was no stone, as intimated in the next words, "and they had brick for stone." Nobody doubts but this is a true translation of the Hebrew word *labenah*: for Herodotus, and Justin, and many others, describe the walls of Babylon as made of such materials. What *chemar* is (which was the cement to join the bricks together), doth not so plainly appear. We translate it *slime*; following herein a great many of the Hebrews; particularly Kimchi, who says it is mortar, made of sand and lime. But there is much reason to think it was that which the ancients called *Ἀσφαλτος*, a kind of pitch (as Kimchi himself acknowledges some understand it), which is described by authors as a very gluey thing, and therefore used by Noah, by God's direction, about the ark. There was great plenty of it in Assyria, as Theodoret here observes, from some fountains which vomited it up with the water. And so Strabo and Dion affirm, that it was very fit for this purpose; and Herodotus says expressly, that the walls of Babylon were cemented with it, and so do many others, both Greek and Roman authors, mentioned by Bochartus, (lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 13). And it is very observable, that Arrianus saith (lib. vii.), The temple of Belus, in the midst of the city of Babylon, of a vast bigness, was made of brick, cemented with asphaltus.

Ver. 4. *And they said, Go to,*] At the first, perhaps, they spake only of building themselves houses; but now they laid their heads together, and consulted to make a huge monument of their greatness.

A city and a tower,] Some fancy one thing to be expressed in two words: "a city and a tower," being a city with turrets. But both this verse and the next express them so severally, that we ought to think them to have been distinct. Yet, that the tower was part of the city, is plain by verse 8, where it is said, "they left off to build the city," making no mention of the tower: which was contained in the city, as a part of it; and may well be thought to have been

be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.

5 And the LORD came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded.

6 And the LORD said, Behold, the people is

one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

7 Go to, let us go down, and there confound

the Acropolis (as the Greeks speak), a strong place in the highest part of the city; such as we call a citadel. For the Scripture by a tower, means some fortress to keep out an enemy, which was wont to be built in the midst of the city, that it might command every part of it.

Some fancy the temple of Belus, before mentioned, was afterward built where this tower stood; and was nothing else but the tower perfected for another use. Or, rather, a temple was built round about the tower, which stood in the midst of it, as Herodotus describes it (lib. i.), *Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πυργὸς στεγρός*, &c. "in the midst of the temple was a strong tower," &c.

[*Whose top may reach unto heaven;*] i. e. To the clouds. As much as to say, an exceeding high tower. For the same is said of the walls of the cities of Canaan, (Deut. i. 28, ix. 1), and therefore can mean no more here. And is a usual phrase in Scripture; as when the Psalmist says, they that sail upon the sea are sometime lifted up to heaven (cvil. 25), which is a language that other authors speak; for Homer mentions a fir tree which was *οὐρανομήκης*, *extended to heaven*, i. e. very tall. Which I note to show the senseless spite of Julian the apostate, who endeavoured to discredit this sacred story, by the poetical fiction of the giants warring with heaven: as if there were no more truth in the one than in the other. But St. Cyril, in his fourth book against him, truly observes, that in Scripture, this phrase, *εἰς οὐρανὸν, to heaven*, is put *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑλίου*, for that which is highly elevated as this tower was. Which being half a quarter of a mile in breadth and length, had another tower stood upon it; and a third upon that, and so on, *μέχρι οὗ ὄρατο πύργον* (as Herodotus speaks), "till there were eight towers in all:" which made it of a vast height.

[*Let us make us a name, &c.*] Here he plainly acquaints us with their intention in building this city and tower: which was to be a perpetual monument of their fame; to spread it far and wide, while they were alive; and that their names might live in this monument when they were dead: all posterity saying, such and such persons were the founders of the first and mother city of the world. So David is said to have got himself a name (2 Sam. viii. 13), i. e. extended his fame by his great achievements. And God is said to do the same (Isa. lxiii. 12, 14). Therefore there was no occasion for assigning other reasons for the building of this tower, when Moses gives one so clearly. That which hath been commonly fancied is, that they might secure themselves against another inundation: from which they were secured by the Divine promise (if they would believe it), together with the addition of a sign to it (ix. 12). And, if they did not believe it, why did they come down from the mountains into the plain country to build this tower; which might more rationally have been erected upon the top of the highest mountains, if their meaning had been, by this means, to preserve themselves from future floods? If there were any other meaning besides that mentioned by Moses, I should think that most probable which I find in Dr. Jackson (book i. on the Creed, ch. 16). That it might be "a refuge wherunto they might resort, and continue their combination;" something of which seems to be intimated in the next words. There is a conjecture also made by a most worthy friend of mine, a good while ago,

Dr. Tenison, now bishop of Lincoln, in his book of Idolatry (which is not inconsistent with these), that this tower was consecrated by the builders of it to the sun, as the cause of drying up the waters of the deluge, (or rather, as the most illustrious and nearest resemblance of the Shechinah, as I noted on ch. iv.), and that it was intended as an altar whereon to sacrifice to it. But it is propounded only as a conjecture: which those Jews seem also to have had in their minds, who, by the word Shem (*name*), understand God: as if their meaning were, "let us make us a god;" and raise him a temple. And perhaps future times did convert it to that use.

[*Let us be scattered abroad, &c.*] Here they speak as if they feared a dispersion; but it is hard to tell from what cause, unless it were this, that Noah having projected a division of the earth among his posterity (for it was a deliberate business, as I noted upon x. 5), these people had no mind to submit unto it; and therefore built this fortress to defend themselves in their resolution of not yielding to his design. Thus the most learned Usher (ad A. M. 1757). But what they dreaded they brought upon themselves by their own vain attempt to avoid it; and now there is no memory preserved of the names of those that conspired in this attempt. Thus what Solomon saith, was long before verified (Prov. x. 24), "The fear of the wicked shall come upon him." But this evil by God's providence was attended with a great good; for by this dispersion the whole earth was peopled, and the foundation laid of several great nations and kingdoms.

[*Ver. 5. And the Lord came down to see, &c.*] This is an accommodation to our conceptions, and means no more, but that by the effects he made it appear, that he observed their motions and knew their intentions.

[*Which the children of men builded.*] It is generally agreed that *children of men* in Scripture is opposed to *children of God*; as bad men and infidels are to the good and the faithful. Which gives us to understand, that neither Noah, nor Shem, nor Arphaxad, Salah, or Heber, were engaged in this work; but some of the worse sort of people, who degenerated from the piety of their ancestors. It is probable some of the race of Ham; who, it is likely, carried much of the spirit of Cain with him into the ark: otherwise he could not have behaved himself so vilely towards his father after they came out of it. For that terrible judgment, it seems, had not reformed him; and then it is no wonder if he grew more wicked after it was over. Josephus and others take Nimrod (his grandchild) to have been the ἀρχηγός, as his word is, ringleader of this crew, who combined in this design. But I take it to be more probable that he came and settled here after the dispersion. For there being not much above a hundred years between the flood and this time, it is not likely such a great kingdom could be erected in that space, as we read of (Gen. x. 10). And therefore he grew so great after this dispersion, when he came out of Arabia, or some neighbouring country, and settled here in Babel; which was called by this name, upon occasion of the confusion of languages, and had it not before. Which is an argument that what we read (x. 10, 11), must be understood to have happened after this time. But, if all this be true, that some of Cham's race began this design, which

their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

8 So the LORD scattered them abroad from

other bad people were too much disposed to follow, and that they who retained the true religion (from whom Abraham descended) were not of the number, it is credible that they escaped the punishment here mentioned (in the next verses), retaining still their ancient seat, and the ancient language also; which continued in the family of Heber, and was called Hebrew.

Ver. 6.] This verse only expresses a resolution to spoil their project, and the necessity of so doing.

Ver. 7. *Let us*] The rabbins fancy this is spoken to the angels. But it is beyond the angelical power to alter men's minds so in a moment, that they shall not be able to understand what they did before. Therefore God spake to himself: and this phrase suggests to us more persons than one in the godhead. In short, none but He, who taught men at first to speak, could, in an instant, make that variety of speech which is described in the next words. Novatianus therefore anciently took it, that this was spoken by God to his Son.

Confound their language,] The word *confound* is to be marked; for God did not make every one speak a new different language, but they had such a confused remembrance of the original language which they spake before, as made them speak it very differently; so that by the various inflexions, and terminations, and pronunciations of divers dialects, they could no more understand one another, than they who understand Latin can understand those who speak French, Italian, or Spanish; though these languages arise out of it.

And yet it is not to be thought, there were as many several dialects as there were men, so that none of them understood another; for this would not merely have dispersed mankind, but destroyed them. It being impossible to live without society, or to have society without understanding one another; for if the father could not have understood the son, nor the husband his wife, there could have been no comfort in living together. Therefore it is likely that every family had its peculiar dialect; or rather the same common dialect (or way of speaking) was given to those families whom God would have to make one colony in the following dispersion. Unto which dispersion they were constrained by their not being able to have such familiarity as they had before with everybody; but only with those who understood their particular speech.

Into how many languages they were divided none can determine. The Hebrews fancy unto seventy, which opinion hath much prevailed, being grounded upon the foregoing chapter; where the descendants from the sons of Noah were just so many. The Greek fathers made them seventy-two, because the Greek version adds two more (Elisa among the sons of Japheth, and Caiman among the sons of Shem), and the Latin fathers follow them. But this is a very weak foundation; it being apparent that many of the sons of Canaan used the very same language in their country, and so did Javan and Elishah in Greece: and in other places, so many concurred in the use of the same speech, that scarce thirty remains of the seventy to be distinct, as Bochart hath observed. See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 9, sect. iii.

Ver. 8. *So the Lord scattered them*] Broke their combination by making them speak several languages, which cut off the common bond of one society. For as the unity of one common language (to use the words of Mr. Mede, p. 362) had knit all mankind into one community; so God in his wisdom saw that plu-

thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.

9 Therefore is the name of it called Babel;

reality of languages was the best means to force them into a plurality of societies.

Abroad from thence] Into all the regions of the north, south, and west; the east being inhabited before by Noah, and such of his offspring as abode with him. Which is not to be understood as if they were immediately scattered into the remotest places from Babel, but first into the neighbouring countries, and by degrees into those which were further off, according as their families increased.

How long this dispersion happened after the flood, cannot be certainly determined; but we can demonstrate it was not much above one hundred years. For Peleg (in whose days this came to pass, x. 25), was born but a hundred and one years after; as was observed before upon that place. Now some think this division was made just at his birth; which St. Austin takes to have been the reason why his father called him Peleg, Quia tunc ei natus est, quando per linguas terra divisa est; "Because he was then born to him, when the earth was divided by their languages." But the text doth not make this out, for it only says in *his days* the earth was divided. And the thirteen sons of Joktan (Peleg's brother) who had their share in this division, being not then born, we must conclude, that if this division began at Peleg's birth, it was not finished till some years after. Elmacinus says in the fortieth year of Peleg's age; the Hebrews generally say at his death. See Hottinger's *Smegetma Orient.* p. 62, and 166.

And they left off to build the city.] I see no reason to believe that God overturned it by a terrible tempest, as Epiphanius expresses it, *Τὸν κύριον ἀνέμων βοᾷ ἀνέστρεψεν*. Which is the opinion of Josephus (lib. i. cap. 5, Antiq.), and Abydenus, mentioned by Eusebius (lib. ix. cap. 4, *Præpar. Evang.*), and divers others of the ancients; nor is there any ground for what others say (particularly Benjamin Tudel. in his *Itinerary*, p. 77), that it was burnt by fire from heaven. For Moses doth not intimate that it was either burnt or overturned; but only that they desisted from their enterprise; which naturally ceased, when they could no longer join to carry on the building. Which may rather lead us to think, that the city and tower stood long after this; and that Bochart's conjecture is not unreasonable, that it was the very tower which was afterwards consecrated to Belus, described by Herodotus (lib. i). For it is evident, that though this city and country lay waste for some time, men being frightened by the confusion of their languages from living there; yet Nimrod, a bold man, came and made this the seat of his empire: and it is very probable, carried on that work which was broke off by the dispersion. For it is not said (Gen. x. 10), that he built Babel (as he did Nineveh, and other cities, ver. 11), but only that it was "the beginning of his kingdom," the head city where he made his residence.

Ver. 9. *Babel*] Which signifies in Hebrew *confusion*; so frivolous is their conceit who make it to have been called by this name, from Babylon, the son of Belus. All the difficulty is to know who called it by this name. Some think the children of Heber, in whose family the original language continued; but it may be as rationally conceived, that, in the confusion of languages, all retained some of the ancient words, and particularly this, by which they all commonly called this place.

Confound the language of all the earth] That is, the language of all those people who were in this western colony; not the language of Noah, and his

because the LORD did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

10 ¶ These are the generations of Shem: Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood:

11 And Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

12 And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years, and begat Salah:

13 And Arphaxad lived after he begat Salah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

14 And Salah lived thirty years, and begat Eber:

15 And Salah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

16 And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg:

17 And Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

18 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu:

19 And Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

20 And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug:

21 And Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

22 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor:

23 And Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

24 And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat Terah:

25 And Nahor lived after he begat Terah an hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

27 ¶ Now these are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.

plantation more easterly, who kept, as I said, the primitive language.

Scatter them abroad, &c.] This dispersion was so ordered, that each family and each nation dwelt by itself; which could not well be done, as Mr. Mede observes, but by directing an orderly division; either by casting of lots, or choosing according to their birthright, after portions of the earth were set out according to the number of their nations and families. For otherwise, some would not have been content to go so far north as Magog did; and others suffered to enjoy more pleasant countries.

Ver. 10. *These are the generations of Shem:*] It appears from the foregoing chapter, that these here mentioned were not all the persons who descended from him; but these were the ancestors of Abram, whom Moses derives by these from Shem.

Ver. 11. *Lived after he begat Arphaxad, five hundred years,*] So that, as he had seen Methuselah and Lamech before the flood, he might also see, not only Abram, but his son Isaac, who by this account was one-and-twenty years old when Shem died.

Ver. 14. *Begat Eber:*] Who was the father of those from whom came the Hebrew nation; Abram being descended from him in the sixth generation. And that nation being called Eber (Numb. xxiv. 24), and "the children of Eber" (Gen. x. 21), it is not reasonable, as I observed before, to seek for any other derivation of the name of Hebrews.

Ver. 16. *Peleg, or Phaleg:*] It is not unlikely that either he, or some of his posterity in memory of him, gave name to a town upon Euphrates called Phalga; not far from the place where Chaborus runs into it, upon which Harah (or Charrah) stood, built by Haran, Abram's brother.

Ver. 18. *Reu:*] (or *Ragau*, as some pronounce the Hebrew word) gave name to a field near Assyria (Judith i. 5), or, as Tobit saith, in Media; where Strabo mentions a city called Raga, and so doth Stephanus, *Ράγα πόλις ἐν Μυδίᾳ*. In the hundred and thirtieth year of his life, if we may believe Elmacinus (p. 29), Nimrod began to reign in Babylon; and in his days also, he says, the Egyptian kingdom began. Which need not seem strange, though scarce two hundred years were passed since the flood, when

we consider the vast increase of people in these ages, from a few planters, within such a compass of time; and likewise the extraordinary fruitfulness which God after the flood bestowed upon them for the peopling of the earth. For he says twice to Noah and his sons, immediately after they came out of the ark, "Increase and multiply (xi. 1, 7), and replenish the earth." From this antiquity of the Egyptian kingdom, it is, that the later Pharaohs called themselves "the sons of ancient kings" (Isa. xix. 11).

In Reu's time also, both the Egyptians and Babylonians now began to make images and worship them, if Patricides may be credited. See Hotting. Smegma Orient. cap. 8, n. 16.

Ver. 20. *Begat Serug:*] From whom (Bochartus thinks) some of his descendants might call the city Sarug; which the Arabian geographer says was near to Charrae, or Haran. He first began to celebrate every year the memory of famous men, after they were dead, and commanded them to be honoured as benefactors, if we may believe Suidas, in the word *Σέπυς*, and Damascen, and a long roll of other authors mentioned by Jacobus Geusius, (par. i. cap. 2, De Victimis Humanis).

Ver. 22. *Begat Nahor:*] The same writers say, that idolatry increasing much in his days, there was a great earthquake (the first that had been observed) which overturned their temples, and broke their images in Arabia.

Ver. 24. *Terah:*] Whom they make to have been an idolatrous priest; but to have repented and been converted to the worship of the true God. See ver. 31.

Ver. 26. *And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.*] i.e. He was seventy years old before he had any children, and then had three sons one after another; who are not set down in the order wherein they were born. For Abram's being first named doth not prove him to have been the eldest son of Terah, no more than Shem's being first named among Noah's three sons, proves him to have been the first born (ix. 18). For there are good reasons to prove that Abram was born sixty years after Haran, who was the eldest son; having two daughters married to his two brothers, Nahor and Abram; who seems to be the youngest, though named first, both

28 And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees.

29 And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah.

30 But Sarai was barren; she *had* no child.

here and in the next verse, because of his preeminence. See ver. 32.

Ver. 28. *Haran died before his father, &c.*] In his own country (as it here follows), out of which he did not go, as the rest of his family did.

In Ur of the Chaldees.] That part of Mesopotamia which was next to Assyria, is called the *land of the Chaldees*. For Ur, as Abarbanel observes, was in Mesopotamia; lying in the way from Tigris to Nisibis. And therefore St. Stephen makes Mesopotamia and the land of the Chaldees the very same (Acts vii. 2, 4). Eusebius, indeed, as Bochart notes, places this Ur, from whence Abram came (ver. 31), in Babylon; but Ammianus speaks of an Ur in Mesopotamia, situated as before mentioned; which we have reason to think was the place from whence Abraham came, because from thence to Canaan the way lay straight through Charan (or Haran), but it did not do so if he came from Babylon. And no good account can be given why he should go about through Mesopotamia and Charan, when there was a shorter way through Arabia, if he came from Babylon.

Ver. 29. *The father of Iscah.*] i. e. Of Sarai, whom Abram married; she being his eldest brother's daughter, sister to Lot. For Haran had three children, Lot (ver. 27), and Milcah, whom Nahor married, and Sarah, whom Abram married. That is, Haran dying, the two remaining brethren married his two daughters. For if we should understand anybody else by Iscah but Sarah, there is no account whence she descended; which Moses sure would not have omitted, because it very much concerned his nation to know from whom they came, both by the father's and the mother's side. It is no wonder she should have two names; one, perhaps, before they came out of Chaldea, and another after.

Ver. 31. *Went forth—from Ur of the Chaldees.*] See what was said ver. 26, unto which I have nothing to add but this, that this country was so famous for superstition, that the Chaldeans, in Daniel's time, were reckoned as a distinct sort of diviners from magicians, astrologers, and soothsayers, or sorcerers (Dan. ii. 2, 10, iv. 7, v. 11). And it is likely, from some such sort of men, Terah and his family learned the worship of idols (Josh. xxiv. 2). But though he had been an idolater, yet it may be probably concluded from his leaving Ur of the Chaldees, with an intention to go to Canaan (as it is here said), that now he was become a worshipper of the true God. For what should move him to it, but obedience to the Divine direction which Abram received (as we read in the next

31 And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.

32 And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran.

chapter), to which he would not have agreed, if he had not believed in God; as Lot, it is plain, did, whom he took along with him? That word is much to be remarked, which makes him the principal agent in their removal; Abram himself being governed by his motion: for Moses says, "He took Abram, and Lot, the son of Haran," &c. And though Nahor did not now go along with his father to Haran (being left behind, perhaps, to look after some concerns), yet afterwards he followed him, with all his family; as appears from chap. xxvii. 43, and the following chapter. And he also forsook idolatry; for Rebekah his grandchild was married to Isaac, and his great-grandchildren, Rachel and Leah, nay, their father Laban, seem to have been worshippers of the true God (though with a mixture of some superstition), for he makes mention of Jehovah upon several occasions (Gen. xxiv. 31, 50, 51).

And they came unto Haran.] It is possible that Terah going from Ur to Canaan, and staying in this place called the city *Xáppaz, Charra*, after the name of his son Haran (or Charan), who died a little before (ver. 28). For both the Greek and Roman writers call a city, famous for the death of Crassus, by the name of Charra; situate on a river of the same name. It is likely from Abram's brother were derived both the name of the river and of the city, which the Arabians to this day call Charan, or Charran.

And dwelt there.] It is plain he intended to go to Canaan, and not to settle here; but being arrested with the sickness of which he died, could go no further.

Ver. 32. *And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years:*] Moses doth not sum up the years of any man's life mentioned in this chapter (as he doth in chap. v.), but only of Terah's. Which he doth on purpose that we may know when this new period of time began (of Abram's leaving his own country, and thereby becoming the father of the faithful), which we are not to count from the time when Terah began to have children (ver. 26), but from the time of his death; immediately after which Abram went on towards Canaan. See Usser. Chronol. cap. 3, and cap. 7.

From this also we learn when Abram was born. For, if seventy-five years (which was Abram's age when his father died, and he went from Haran, xii. 4) be subtracted from two hundred and five, it is manifest that he was born when his father was a hundred and thirty years old; that is, threescore years after his brother Haran, as I said on ver. 26.

CHAPTER XII.

1 God calleth Abram, and blesseth him with a promise of Christ. 4 He departeth with Lot from Haran. 6 He journeyeth through Canaan, 7 which is promised him in a vision. 10 He is driven by a famine into Egypt. 11 Fear maketh him feign his wife to be his sister. 14 Pharaoh, having taken her from him, by plagues is compelled to restore her.

1 Now the LORD had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred,

and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee:

CHAP. XII.

MANY ancient authors speak of Abram, as Josephus observes, and out of him Eusebius, who names others

also (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 16, 17, &c.). All that I shall note is, that one great design of Moses being to lead the Jews to understand the genealogy

2 And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing:

3 And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.

of this noble ancestor of theirs, he hastens to it; relating other matters briefly, but spending many pages about him. For he comprises, for instance, the history of the world from the creation to the flood, containing one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, in the compass of six chapters; but bestows on the history of Abram nineteen chapters, though it contains no longer space of time than a hundred and seventy-five years.

Ver. 1. *Now the Lord had said unto Abram.*] While he lived in Ur of the Chaldees; from whence it is certain he called him while his father was alive (xi. 31). We are not told how he spake to him; for here is no mention, as Maimonides observes (par. ii. cap. 41), of his speaking in a dream, or a vision, or by the hand of an angel; but only simply and absolutely that "the Lord said to him." By a voice, when he was awake, I suppose, from the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty; for St. Stephen saith expressly, "the God of glory appeared to him, before he dwelt in Charran" (Acts vii. 2).

Get thee out of thy country, &c.] Which began a good while ago to be infected with idolatry (see xi. 18, 22), some of Shem's posterity forgetting the Creator of all, and worshipping the sun as the great God, and the stars as lesser gods. So Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 29), where he saith the Zabii relate in one of their books (which he there names), that Abram contradicting their worship, the king of the country imprisoned him, and afterwards banished him into the utmost parts of the east, and confiscated all his estate. A tale invented to take away from him the honour of his voluntary leaving his country, and to discredit this sacred history, which tells us he directed his course quite another way, towards the west. Abarbanel, and others, will not have this call of God to Abram to have been when he was in Ur, but after they came to Haran; to which he fancies Terah came, because of some misfortunes he had in Ur. But this is invented to contradict St. Stephen (Acts vii. 2), with whom Aben Ezra agrees, who expounds these words of his calling out of Ur. For it is hard to find any other reason why he designed to go to Canaan (xi. 31), the place whither he went after Terah was dead.

Unto a land that I will show thee.] He had the Divine direction, it seems, all along, to conduct him in his journey. But it argued, as the apostle observes, a great faith in God, that he would follow him, not knowing the country to which he would lead him.

Ver. 2. *And I will make of thee a great nation.*] First by multiplying his posterity, and then by making them a select, peculiar people; whom he distinguished, by his favours, from all other nations. So it follows:

I will bless thee.] Bestow many benefits, both temporal and spiritual, upon them.

And make thy name great.] Make him famous throughout the world; as he is to this day, not only among the Jews, but among Christians and Mahometans. So Maimonides observes, that all mankind admire Abram, even they that are not of his seed.

Thou shalt be a blessing.] Others shall be the better for thee; as Lot was, and the king of Sodom, &c. Or, as the Hebrews understand it, thou shalt be so

4 So Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: and Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran.

5 And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they

prosperous, that when men would wish well to others, they shall use thy name, and say, "The Lord bless thee as he did Abram."

Ver. 3. *I will bless them, &c.*] The highest token of a particular friendship which he here contracts with Abram (who is called the *friend of God*) in promising to espouse his interest so far as to have the same friends and enemies that he had. Which is the form wherein kings and princes make the strictest leagues one with another.

And curse him] Maimonides will have it (in the place beforenamed), that the Zabæans loaded Abram with all manner of curses and reproaches (when he was sent out of their country), which he bearing patiently, God turned upon themselves.

And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.] Which was most eminently fulfilled in Christ. And here it must be remarked that this promise, of blessing all the world in Abram, was made to him before he received circumcision, while he was in Ur of the Chaldees, and before he had any issue (for Sarai was barren, and had no child, xi. 30). And therefore before any preference of Isaac to Ishmael; or any distinction made between his posterity and the rest of mankind: in token that they were all concerned in this promise; whether descended from Abram, or not. In short, this promise not only limits the birth of the Messiah to the seed of Abram; but declares that his benefits should be common to all other nations.

Ver. 4. *So Abram departed, &c.*] Having stayed some time in Haran, where his father fell sick and died, he prosecuted his journey from thence to Canaan, after his father was dead. So St. Stephen tells us expressly (Acts vii. 4), "From thence i. e. from Charran; when his father was dead, he removed him into this land," &c. It was a wonderful effect of Abram's faith (I observed before) to move him to leave his own native country and go to Haran: but it was still a greater, after he had travelled a long way from Ur hither, to go three hundred miles more from hence to Canaan; a country of which he had no knowledge, nor had sent anybody before him to discover it: taking his journey through the dangerous and barren deserts of Palmyrena; and having nothing to support him, but only the promise of God; which made him climb over the high mountains, either of Libanus, Hermon, or Gilead; for in that part of the country he entered, as Sir W. Raleigh hath observed. See ver. 5.

And Lot went with him.] He might conclude, perhaps, that Abram, being called in a special manner out of Chaldea, was thereby distinguished from the rest of Shem's posterity; and that he joining with him in obeying the same call, might claim the privilege of fulfilling the promise of the Messiah, no less than Abram.

And Abram, &c.] See xi. ult.

Ver. 5. *And the souls that they had gotten* (Hebrew, *had made*) *in Haran.*] i. e. All the slaves born in their house, or bought with their money. The Chaldee paraphrast interprets this of the proselytes they had won to God: for such only would Abram carry with him. And some of the Hebrew doctors are so nice, as to say, that Abram instructed the men, and Sarai the women, in the true religion: concerning which he wrote a book (if we may believe Maimonides, De

had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came.

6 ¶ And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land.

7 And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and

Idolol. cap. 1), and left it to his son Isaac. We read also in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 25, that he took a house, which fronted Charran, where, according to the ancient piety, he kept great hospitality: and inviting those that went in or came out of the town to refresh themselves if they pleased, set meat and drink before them; saying, "There is but one God in the world."

And into the land of Canaan they came.] We are told before (xi. 31), that Terah went forth to go to this country, but could not reach it, as Abram did: who entered into it, at the north part of it, as appears from the following part of the story; where we read he went to Sichem, &c., and ver. 9, went on "still towards the south."

Ver. 6. *Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh.*] Or, as Mr. Mede, following the LXX. will have it, *the oak of Moreh*: understanding by oak, not only one single oak, but a *holt* or *grove* of oaks. See xiii. 18. Where I suppose he intended to have fixed his dwelling; had not the temper of the people, who inhabited that country, made it inconvenient.

And the Canaanite was then in the land.] It was very pertinent to Moses's design, speaking of Abram's passage through this country, to tell who was at that time possessed of it. But it is dubious whether he meant by the Canaanite a particular people descended from Canaan, as he doth xv. 21, or, in general, all the nations which the Israelites afterwards destroyed. It seems to me the first of these is meant, and that by land he means only that part of the country where Sichem lay, which was then possessed by this particular people: for, in the next place that Abram went to, it is said, "The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land" (xiv. 7), i. e. in that part of the country: where we do not read what entertainment Abram met withal; but I take it as an argument of Abram's great faith, that he would adventure among such a rough and fierce people, who had no kindness for the posterity of Shem upon an old score: and, if the ancient tradition in Epiphanius be true, upon a fresh account: for he saith (Hæres. lxvi. n. 84), that this country called Canaan did really belong to the children of Shem, by virtue of the division made among the sons of Noah: but the children of Canaan had dispossessed them. So that these words, "the Canaanite was then in the land," signify, they had already invaded this country, before Abram came thither. To whom God promising to give it, he only restored the posterity of Shem (from whom Abram descended) unto that which the children of Ham had wrongfully seized.

By all which it is easy to see how frivolous their reasons are, who, from this place, conclude Moses did not write this book: because these words seem to signify the writer of them lived after the Canaanites were thrown out of this land: which was after Moses's death.

If these men had not a greater inclination to cavil, than to find out the truth, they would rather have said the meaning is, The Canaanite was possessed of this part of the country in Abram's time, though thrown out of it by Jacob's sons (Gen. xxxiv.), before

there builded he an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him.

8 And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent, having Beth-el on the west, and Hai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord.

9 And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the south.

the times of Moses. Which is another way of explaining these words: against which I see no objection but this, that their prince is called a Hivite (xxxiv. 2). To which there is an answer (ver. 30), which shows the people were partly Canaanites.

Ver. 7. *And the Lord appeared unto Abram,*] As he had done before (ver. 1), but now, it is likely, in a more glorious manner; to establish him in faith and obedience.

And said, *Unto thy seed*] There was a voice came from the Shechinah, or Divine glory, which now appeared to him; and told him this was the country he intended to bestow upon his posterity. It is very remarkable, that he no sooner entered Canaan, but God renewed his promise to him, made before he came out of his own country.

And it is further observable (as we shall see in the following story), that Abram's obedience was constantly rewarded in kind, according to the quality of the service he performed: though, in quantity, the reward far exceeded the service. Thus, having left his own country and father's house (which was the first trial of his obedience), God promises to give him the whole land of Canaan, and to make his posterity a mighty nation. See xvii. 6, xxii. 16.

And there builded he an altar, &c.] This was so glorious an appearance, that it moved him to offer up a solemn sacrifice to God, for which he built an altar here in Sichem. And it being the first that he built in this country, it made this become the first place that was established for public worship, after the Israelites conquered the land of Canaan. For here was the sanctuary of God in Joshua's time, near this very grove where Abram first pitched his tent, and built an altar (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25, 26). It continued famous also in after-times, as appears from Judg. ix. 6.

Ver. 8. *And he removed from thence, &c.*] Though the Lord here appeared to him, yet he did not think fit to trust himself among the Canaanites (who were the chief of the wicked nations that possessed this land), or he thought fit to see the rest of the country, which God promised to give him: and therefore came hither, which was about twenty miles further southward.

And there he builded an altar] Upon the mountain; where they anciently chose to sacrifice, rather than in other places. And, it is likely, God again appeared to him here to encourage and strengthen him against all his fears: which made him build a new altar and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, to implore his continued favour.

And it is observable, that the promise which God made in the former place (ver. 7), he renewed again in this, and more at large, after he came out of Egypt (xiii. 3, 4, 14—16).

On the east of Beth-el,] So it was called in after-times.

Ver. 9. *And Abram journeyed, &c.*] He did not think fit to fix yet in the forenamed place; but made a further progress into the southern parts of the country. Yet after he had been in Egypt (the story of which follows), he returned to this place.

10 ¶ And there was a famine in the land : and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there ; for the famine was grievous in the land.

11 And it came to pass, when he was come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that thou art a fair woman to look upon :

12 Therefore it shall come to pass, when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife : and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive.

13 Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister : that it may be well with me for thy sake ; and my soul shall live because of thee.

14 ¶ And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair.

15 The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and

commended her before Pharaoh : and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.

16 And he entreated Abram well for her sake : and he had sheep, and oxen, and he asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she asses, and camels.

17 And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.

18 And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me ? why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife ?

19 Why saidst thou, She is my sister ? so I might have taken her to me to wife : now therefore behold thy wife, take her, and go thy way.

20 And Pharaoh commanded his men concerning him : and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had.

Ver. 10. *A famine in the land.*] Of Canaan.

Abram went down] Egypt lay low in comparison with Canaan.

To sojourn] Not to dwell there : for he doubted not of God's promise to him, of possessing the land which he had left.

Ver. 11. *Thou art a fair woman, &c.*] She was now threescore years old : but having comely features, and being of a fair complexion (in comparison with the Egyptians, who were sallow), she seemed to be younger than she was.

Ver. 12. *They will kill me.*] Knowing them to be a libidinous people, he was afraid they might be tempted to make him away, that they might have his wife.

Ver. 13. *Say,—thou art my sister.*] He himself, upon another occasion, explains in what sense she was so, xx. 12. Therefore he teaches her not to tell a lie, but to conceal the truth.

Ver. 15. *Pharaoh*] The Egyptian kingdom began about three hundred years before this (in the days of Ragau, xi. 18, if the Arabian writers say true), and now was grown to be very powerful, by the means of some king of this name ; which (it appears by this place) was very ancient, and continued to be the name of all the kings of Egypt, till the captivity of Babylon ; and we know not how much longer. Just as Ptolemy was their name after the times of Alexander ; and Cæsar and Augustus were the names of all the emperors of Rome ; and Candace of all the queens of Ethiopia ; and the like may be observed in several other countries. Ludolphus takes *Pharaoh* to be a compound word, signifying as much as *father of the country* : for that is the meaning of *Phar-ot*, in the Ethiopic language ; as *Pharmut* is *mother of the country*.

The princes also, &c.] The courtiers who studied to gratify their prince's pleasure.

Was taken into Pharaoh's house.] Into the house of

the women, it is probable (for the Egyptian kings were now, as I said, very great ; like those of Persia in after-times), intending to make her one of his concubines.

Ver. 16. *And he had sheep, &c.*] By the gift of the king ; besides those he had of his own before.

Ver. 17. *And the Lord plagued Pharaoh, &c.*] Some of the Hebrews think they had grievous ulcers in the secret parts ; which made both him and his servants incapable to enjoy either her, or any one else.

His house] His courtiers partake of the punishment, because they were partners in the intended sin.

Ver. 18. *Why didst thou not tell me, &c.*] Some think he speaks thus subtly to Abram, to see what he would say ; not knowing yet that she was his wife. Or, that his priests and wise men had consulted the oracles about the cause of their plagues. But the simplest account is, that Sarai, being interrogated about it, confessed the whole truth. Whereupon he expostulated thus with Abram ; who being silent, he took it for granted, that indeed she was his wife.

Ver. 19. He disclaims all intention of abusing another man's wife (so virtuous they were in those days), but would have made her his own (as he saith in the foregoing words, "I might have taken her to me to wife") ; that is, a secondary wife, as the manner was in those days ; for it is not likely he had no wife at all before.

Ver. 20. *Pharaoh commanded his men concerning him, &c.*] Gave strict orders none should hurt him, or any thing belonging to him, but conduct him safely, whither he had a mind to go. And accordingly, the next words tell us they did.

They sent him away, &c.] Not with violence, but gave him a safe conduct : sending him away, perhaps, with a guard for his security. Such was the generosity of the Egyptian princes in those times.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 Abram and Lot return out of Egypt. 7 By disagreement they part asunder. 10 Lot goeth to wicked Sodom. 14 God reneweth the promise to Abram. 18 He removeth to Hebron, and there buildeth an altar.

1 AND Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the south.

2 And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.

3 And he went on his journeys from the south

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *Into the south.*] Into the southern part of Canaan, where he had been before (xii. 9).

Ver. 2. *Very rich, &c.*] His riches were increased, since he went into Egypt, by the bounty of Pharaoh (xii. 16), and (if we could believe Josephus, lib. i. Antiq. cap. 8) by the rewards he had for teaching

even to Beth-el, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Beth-el and Hai;

4 Unto the place of the altar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram called on the name of the LORD.

5 ¶ And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents.

6 And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together.

7 And there was a strife between the herds-men of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land.

8 And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren.

them several pieces of learning, which he brought out of Chaldea. The author of Schalsch. Hakkab. quotes Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 4, to prove this. And, indeed, I find Eusebius quoting Josephus in the sixteenth chapter of that book; who says he taught arithmetic and astrology, of which the Egyptians were ignorant before: and in the seventeenth chapter, Eupolemus, who says that Abram was familiarly conversant with the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis (when he went thither by reason of the famine in Canaan), and taught them many things; particularly the celestial sciences, which he calls astrology; i. e. the knowledge of the stars.

Ver. 3. *To Beth-el, &c.*] Which was the second place wherein he dwelt, after his first entrance into Canaan (xii. 8).

Ver. 4. *Unto the place of the altar, &c.*] This seems to intimate that the altar itself was either fallen or thrown down. Some think demolished by Abram himself, when he left the place; others by the Canaanites when he was gone.

Abram called on the name of the Lord.] Commended himself, and all he had, to God's protection; who had promised to bestow this country upon him. Perhaps he built the altar again, and offered sacrifice thereon.

Ver. 5.] God had blessed him likewise, as a faithful companion of Abram in his travels; and partaker also of his faith.

Ver. 6.] There was not sufficient pasturage for them both, in that part of the country.

Ver. 7. *And there was a strife, &c.*] Wealth commonly breeds contentions. Yet here was no difference between the masters, but between their servants; each endeavouring to get the best pastures, and the best watering places for their flocks.

And the Canaanite and the Perizzite, &c.] This part of the country was inhabited by the people peculiarly called Canaanites, and by the Perizzites (a very rugged and barbarous nation, see xv. 20), among whom contention would have been dangerous, at least very scandalous.

Ver. 8. *Abram said unto Lot.*] The best, the wisest, and men of the greatest experience in the world, are most inclined to peace, and most yielding in order to it.

Let there be no strife, &c.] There had been none yet; but their servants' quarrel might have proved theirs at last.

And between my herdmen, &c.] And here signifies or: as xix. 12, Exod. xii. 5.

VOL. I.—9

9 *Is not the whole land before thee?* separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if *thou wilt take* the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if *thou depart* to the right hand, then I will go to the left.

10 And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it *was* well watered every where, before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, *even* as the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar.

11 Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east: and they separated themselves the one from the other.

12 Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain, and pitched *his* tent toward Sodom.

13 But the men of Sodom *were* wicked and sinners before the LORD exceedingly.

14 ¶ And the LORD said unto Abram, after

For we be brethren.] Near kinsmen, whom the Hebrews call brethren.

Ver. 9. *Is not the whole land before thee?*] There is room enough, though not here, yet in other parts of the country: now, since we cannot remain together, take thy choice which way thou wilt go, &c. A wonderful condescension in Abram, to let the younger, and least in estate, please himself. And he did not desire Lot to leave the country, but only to settle himself in what part of it he liked best; that he might be near to help him, as he did afterwards.

Ver. 10. *Beheld all the plain of Jordan, &c.*] A fruitful and pleasant country, well watered by the streams of Jordan: which in many windings and turnings run through it, and at some times overflowed it; which made the ground very rich. And therefore Moses compares this land to the garden of Eden, (as most understand those words, "the garden of the Lord") which was well watered by a river running through it; and to the land of Egypt, which is fattened by the overflowing of the Nile, as this was by the overflowing of Jordan.

As thou comest unto Zoar.] These words are not to be referred to "the land of Egypt," immediately foregoing (from which Zoar was at a great distance), but to those words in the beginning, "a plain well watered everywhere;" even to the utmost skirts of it, which was Zoar.

Ver. 11. *Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan;*] He was invited by the richness of the soil, without regard to the manners of the people; which proved afterwards a great affliction to him.

And Lot journeyed east.] For the "plain of Jordan" lay east, from Bethel, where they now were.

Ver. 12. *And Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, &c.*] In that part of the country where the people peculiarly called Canaanites (ver. 7, and xii. 6) were seated: otherwise, if "the land of Canaan" be taken largely, the "plain of Jordan" was also a part of it.

Ver. 13. *The men of Sodom were wicked, &c.*] Their sins were grown ripe for punishment; having been brought (as it were) "before the Lord;" and sentenced at his tribunal to the judgment which shortly after befell them.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord said unto Abram, &c.*] It is likely the Lord appeared again to him (as he had done formerly, xii. 7), after Lot was separated from him: both to comfort him in his absence, by renewing his promise in larger words, and to assure

that Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward :

15 For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.

16 And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth : so that if a man can number the

him that his posterity, not Lot's, should inherit this country.

Lift up now thine eyes, &c.] He dwelt now, it is likely, upon the mountain, which was on the east of Beth-el (where he pitched his tent before he went into Egypt, xii. 8), and returned to it when he came from thence (ver. 3, 4, of this chapter), which gave him the advantage of a fair and long prospect of the country every way.

Ver. 15. *For all the land which thou seest, &c.*] That whole country, some parts of which he saw a great way, in every quarter of it, and all the rest contiguous to them, were hereby assured to him.

For ever.] It doth not signify strictly time without end ; but a very long period. The Jews, indeed, say that this word *olam*, when it is written full, as they speak, that is, with *vau*, denotes *eternity* ; though, without *vau*, they confess it signifies only a *long time* : but this small observation is quite overthrown by many examples to the contrary. For (Exod. xv. 18) where the Lord is said to *reign for ever*, this word *olam* is without a *vau*, and yet denotes *eternity*. And (Deut. xv. 17) where it is said, "he shall be thy servant *for ever*," it is written with a *vau*, and yet denotes only a term of *fifty years* at the most.

Ver. 16. *I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, &c.*] More than could be contained in that land.

Ver. 17.] He would have him, for his satisfaction, go and view it all more nearly in every part of it. Or, he gives him leave (if he desired to understand more fully both the quality and quantity of the inheritance he bestowed on him) to go and survey it : promising he would protect and preserve him in his perambulation. Nay, some look upon this as giving him a warrant to take possession of the country, though he should not yet enjoy it.

Ver. 18. *Then Abram removed his tent,*] To a place about twenty-four miles from Beth-el, where he was before.

And dwelt in the plain] Here the word we had before (xii. 6), is in the plural number ; and is taken by many for *oaks*, i. e. for an *oaken grove* : so the Arabic interpreter. The LXX. translate it *παρά τῶν ὀκύν*, "by the oak," in the singular number ; for

dust of the earth, *then* shall thy seed also be numbered.

17 Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it ; for I will give it unto thee.

18 Then Abram removed *his* tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron, and built there an altar unto the Lord.

there seems to have been one *oak* more eminent than the rest : under which Abram pitched his tent, and built an altar unto the Lord.

This is confirmed by xviii. 1, compared with ver. 8. And indeed the ancients very much revered an oak, and therefore planted this tree very frequently. Jacob buried the idolatrous trumphy of his family under an oak (xxxv. 4), which was by Shechem, where the place of public worship seems to have been fixed in Joshua's time (Josh. xxiv. 1, 26). The angel of the Lord also appeared to Gideon under an oak (Judg. vi. 11, 19, 25, ix. 6). And of all other trees, an oak was held most sacred by the heathen ; particularly by the Druids. (See Pliny, lib. xvi. cap. 44, Max. Tyrius, Dissert. 34). And Pausanias, in his account of Arcadia, says, the ancients made the images of their gods of oak, being the most durable wood.

This *oak*, some fancy, was in being in the time of Constantine, and there was great resort to it. (See Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 4.) Here Abram dwelt a long time, and many great things passed here, before he removed to any other place.

Mamre,] Was the name of a man among the Amorites, as appears from the next chapter, ver. 13.

Which is in Hebron,] Or, rather, *by or near Hebron* (for so the particle *beth* is often used), which was a very ancient city, built seven years before Zoar ; i. e. the famous city of Tanis in Egypt (Numb. xiii. 22). It was called Arba, or Kirjath-Arba at the first (xxiii. 2), but in Moses's time, Hebron. There are those, indeed, who say it was not called Hebron till the time of Joshua, who gave it to Caleb for his portion (Josh. xv. 13, 15) : and thence conclude this passage was not wrote by Moses, but put in by some other hand, after his time. But I see not the least proof of this assertion, that Caleb was the first who gave it this name. His grandson, mentioned 1 Chron. ii. 42, 43, may rather be thought to have taken his name from this place, than to have given a name to it. Besides, there have been two occasions of giving one and the same name ; as appears by what is said of Beersheba (xxi. 31, xxvi. 33). And therefore this city might have the name of Hebron in Moses's time ; and it might be confirmed in Joshua's.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 The battle of four kings against five. 11 Lot is taken prisoner. 14 Abram rescueth him. 18 Melchizedek blesseth Abram. 20 Abram giveth him tithes. 23 The rest of the spoil, his partners having had their portions, he restoreth to the king of Sodom.

1 AND it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar,

Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations ;

CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *And it came to pass, &c.*] It is very easy to give an account of this war, which the kings of the east made upon the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. if what was said before (xii. 6), be admitted ; that the Canaanites had invaded the rights

of the children of Shem, and gotten possession of a country belonging to them ; which they now endeavoured to recover (as they had attempted before, ver. 4). For Elam of which Chedorlaomer was king, descended from Shem, (Gen. x. 22).

Amraphel king of Shinar,] i. e. King of Babylon, as it is commonly understood. But it cannot well

2 *That these made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar.*

3 All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea.

4 Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirtieth year they rebelled.

5 And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephains in Ashteroth Karnaim, and

the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim.

6 And the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which is by the wilderness.

7 And they returned, and came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar.

8 And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela

be thought that so potent a king as he is supposed to have been in those days, should need any associates in a war against such petty princes as those mentioned ver. 2. Or, that the king of Elam (whose quarrel this was, as appears from ver. 4) should not be able of himself to grapple with them: or, that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. durst have adventured, with a handful of people, in comparison, to rebel against him, after he had brought them under his subjection. Therefore, we must either take Amraphel to have been some small prince in the country of Shinar, i. e. Assyria; or, if he were king of Babylon, that monarchy was not very great in the days of Abram. And we must also look upon the rest as names of some particular places (like Sodom and Gomorrah) over which Arioch and Chedorlaomer reigned; who were such kings as those in Canaan when Joshua conquered it: or else, commanders of colonies, which they had led out of Assyria and Persia, and settling thereabouts, endeavoured to enlarge their plantations; as the manner was in those and in succeeding times; when the captains of a troop, and leaders of a small body of men, were called princes or kings.

Arioch king of Ellasar,] There was a city (mentioned by Stephanus, de Urbibus) called Ellas, in Cælo-Syria, on the borders of Arabia; where Arioch perhaps commanded.

Chedorlaomer king of Elam,] Concerning this country see x. 22, where Chedorlaomer was either governor of some little province or city, or a commander of some troop of that nation.

Tidal king of nations,] Some take *gojim* in this place, which we translate *nations*, for a country or city. But it is more agreeable to the common use of the word in Scripture, to take it to signify a people: who either wanted a fixed habitation, or were gathered out of sundry regions.

Thus, part of Galilee being inhabited by a mixed people of divers countries, was thence called "Galilee of the nations," or gentiles, (Matt. iv. 15). There were also, as Sir W. Raleigh observes, several petty countries which adjoined to Phœnicia (viz. Palmyrena, Batanea, Apamena, Laodicene, &c. which lay towards Mesopotamia on the north, and Arabia on east) over which we may suppose Tidal reigned. Eupolemus, an ancient Greek writer, relating this story, calls them Armenians, who made this inroad upon the Phœnicians, as Eusebius tells us of Alexander Polyhistor, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 17.

Ver. 2.] They were lords of the country called Pentapolis, or five cities: which were so small, that there was no need to bring a great king from beyond Tigris, with such a mighty monarch as he of Babylon is thought now to have been, and several other nations between these kings and Euphrates, to subdue their petty province. It had been madness also for these kings to resist such powerful armies as the eastern kings are commonly supposed to have brought against them. And therefore I think it reasonable,

by the kings in the first verse to understand some such petty princes as those mentioned in the second.

Ver. 3.] The five cities stood in this goodly valley, which now is the Salt Sea or Lake; since the overthrow of these cities by fire and brimstone from heaven. Some will not have *Siddim* a proper name, but translate it *ploughed lands*; in which this valley was very rich.

Ver. 4.] This shows he was the principal in this war: and if he had been king of all that country called Elam, we cannot think he would have passed through so great a part of the world as Assyria, Mesopotamia, and part of Arabia, to conquer five towns; all whose riches could not countervail the charge; though he had sent only one of his lieutenants, with a small force, to bring them under.

Ver. 5. *Smote the Rephains]* In their way to Sodom they subdued these warlike people, who, it is likely, opposed their passage into Pentapolis. And these Rephains, it appears by xv. 20, were a part of Canaan's posterity, situate (as one may gather from Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12) on the other side Jordan, in Bashan, or Batanea. They were of a giant-like stature; and therefore the LXX. here and in other places, instead of Rephaim, have giants.

Ashteroth Karnaim,] It is plain from the forenamed place, and from Deut. i. 4, that Ashteroth was a place in Bashan. Whether so called because the goddess Astarte, i. e. Diana or Juno, was here worshipped, nobody can resolve. They that are of this opinion, fancy that *Karnaim*, which in Hebrew signifies *two-horned*, denotes the *new moon*. But this word may as well denote that Ashteroth was a city in the form of a half moon.

And the Zuzims] Another warlike people thereabouts: who, some think, are the same with the Zamzummims (Deut. ii. 20).

The Emims] It appears from Deut. ii. 9, 10, &c., that these were also a gigantic people, and near neighbours to the Horites, mentioned in the next verse. For the Emims possessed Ar and the field of Kirjath-Jearim; and the Horites possessed Mount Seir; till the former were driven out by the Moabites, and the latter by the children of Esau: and then the country of the Emims was called Moab, and the country of the Horites was called Edom.

Ver. 7. *And they returned,]* From the conquest of the forenamed people.

And came to En-mishpat,] Fell upon this country, which was called afterward by this name, because God here judged the Israelites for their murmurings and contention with Moses. From whence also it was called Kadesh, because here the Lord was sanctified among them (Numb. xx. 13).

All the country of the Amalekites,] The country which was afterwards possessed by the Amalekites, who were not yet in being; for they were the descendants of Esau, as Moses shows (Gen. xxxvi. 16).

Hazezon-tamar,] Which is the same with Engaddi, near the Dead Sea (2 Chron. xx. 2).

(the same is Zoar;) and they joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim;

9 With Chedorlaomer the king of Elam, and with Tidal king of nations, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings with five.

10 And the vale of Siddim was full of slime-pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and fell there; and they that remained fled to the mountain.

11 And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, and went their way.

Ver. 10. *Full of slime-pits;*] Into which they hoped their enemies might fall, and so be broken: which made them draw up their army, and wait for them in this place.

And the kings—fled,] Were routed, as we now speak. Of the word *slime*, see xi. 3.

And fell there;] i. e. A great slaughter was made of their armies; for they themselves escaped it appears by the following part of the story. Some will have it, that many of them fell into those slime-pits, in which they hoped to have seen their enemies plunged. But the simplest sense is, many of them were slain, and the rest, as it follows, escaped to the mountain: but made such ill use of their preservation from being killed with their fellows, that they only lived to suffer a greater vengeance.

Ver. 11. And they took all the goods, &c.] This is a further proof that Chedorlaomer, and the rest of his confederates in this war, were but petty princes (like the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c.), for having broken the armies of the five kings, they rested contented, and marched away with the prisoners and booty; but took not one of their cities: which, if they had been such great kings as is imagined, they would have certainly sacked, and perhaps burnt, if they had not thought fit to keep them. But we read (ver. 17) the king of Sodom still reigned after this victory, and went out of his city to meet Abram.

Ver. 12. And they took Lot, &c.] Who is here called "his brother's son," and ver. 14 and 16, "Abram's brother." This was the foundation of Abram's quarrel with the four kings: whose war was just against the king of Sodom and his confederates: but they unjustly seized upon Lot and his goods, who was but a sojourner in that country, and had no hand in their revolt.

Who dwelt in Sodom,] In the country of Sodom, where he hired some ground for his cattle; but it is not likely he yet dwelt in the city (for then he had not been taken captive), but afterwards for more security betook himself thither.

Ver. 13. Told Abram the Hebrew:] So called from his ancestor Heber, as was before observed. To which may be added, that if he had been called by this name, as many think, only from his passing over the Euphrates (which the LXX. took to be the reason, when they translated it *ἑβραῖος*), it would not have descended to all his posterity, who did not come from beyond the river. So little a thing as that would not have given a name to a whole and eminent nation; who are usually denominated from some eminent progenitor.

And these were confederate with Abram.] The three forenamed families were near neighbours to Abram; who, it is likely, farmed (as we now speak) some ground of them: and so entered into a league of mutual defence, having the same interest. I should think also, that having the priest of the Most High God not far from them (ver. 18), they were good,

12 And they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed.

13 ¶ And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew; for he dwelt in the plain of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner: and these were confederate with Abram.

14 And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan.

15 And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night, and smote them, and

pious people (rather than conclude, as I find some do, that they were utter strangers to the true religion), which made Abram more forward to embrace, if not to court their friendship. For the sins of the Amorites being not yet full (xv. 16), there might be some remainders of true piety among them: and it is no argument that because these three families were of that nation, they were wicked idolaters.

Ver. 14. Armed his trained servants,] Drew forth a select number of his servants, whom he had instructed to handle arms, in case of any assault by robbers or injurious neighbours. We read before, (xii. 5) of the servants they brought with them from Haran; and now they were more increased, as their cattle were (xii. 16, xiii. 2, 6) so that he might well make a little army out of them.

And pursued them unto Dan.] As far as that place, where one of the heads or springs of Jordan breaks forth called Dan, as Josephus relates, where he speaks of this very history (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 10). This plain and short account of this word Dan, overthrows the argument which cavillers draw from hence to prove that Moses did not write this book.

Ver. 15. And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night,] The Vulgar Latin here reads, "His companions being divided, he fell upon them by night;" minding rather the sense than the words. For here is no mention of any but Abram and his servants: though it appears by the last verse of the chapter, that his confederates before mentioned (ver. 13), Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, joined with him in this expedition. Which they managed with great judgment (for stratagems in war were never wanting from the beginning), Abram and his servants making one troop or battalion (as they now speak), and the confederates making three more. Who, dividing themselves, fell upon the four kings, in the four quarters of their camp; that they might the more distract them, and make them apprehend their forces to be more numerous than indeed they were. They were put also into the greater confusion, because this assault was made in the night: when, perhaps, they were buried both in wine and in sleep.

Unto Hobab,] Which lay in the vale between Libanus and Antilibanus: called by Amos (i. 5), the valley of Aven, and Beth-Eden, or the seat of pleasure. In this vale was Damascus seated.

Ver. 16. He brought back all the goods, &c.] All the prey, whether in money, cattle, or other things, which the four kings had carried away.

The women also, and the people.] It seems they had carried away all the people of Pentapolis, who did not flee to the mountains or fenced cities; and women, in those days, were a special part of their booty.

Ver. 17. Went out to meet him] To congratulate his victory; and to desire his people might be restored to him.

The valley of Shaveh.] This seems to have been

pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus.

16 And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people.

17 ¶ And the king of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of

Chedorlaomer, and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale.

18 And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine : and he was the priest of the most high God.

19 And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be

a pleasant place, wherein the king (that is Melchizedek, I guess by what follows) took delight : whence it was called the King's Dale : in which the King of Sodom met Abram ; and Melchizedek entertained him with bread and wine.

Ver. 18. *And Melchizedek*] The Jews generally say this was Shem, the son of Noah. But we have reason to look upon this opinion as proceeding from their pride and vanity : which could not endure to think the father of their nation had any superior in another nation, especially among the Canaanites. And therefore they will have Abram to have been blessed by his great ancestor, Shem ; to whom also he paid tithes : which is a fancy so plainly confuted by the apostle to the Hebrews, that it is strange any Christian should follow it. For he saith expressly, that Melchizedek was not γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν (vii. 6), "his descent, or pedigree, was not counted from them;" which is not true of Shem. Nor could Shem be said to be without father or mother ; whose genealogy is evident from Adam. Nor was Shem's priesthood, if he had any, of a different order from Levi's ; who was in his loins, as well as in the loins of Abram. And therefore it could not be said that Levi paid him tithes in the loins of Abram, but it would be as true that he received tithes in the loins of Shem : for, according to this interpretation, he was in the loins both of him that received tithes, and of him that paid them ; and so the whole argumentation of the apostle falls to the ground. But setting aside these and other Christian reasons (which are strongly urged by Bochartus, lib. ii. Phaleg, cap. 1), there is no cause, that we can discern, why Moses should call Shem (whom he so often mentions) by any other name than his own ; nor is it likely that Shem reigned in the land of Canaan ; which now was in the possession of his brother's son ; nor could Abram be said to sojourn there as in a strange country, if his noble ancestor, Shem, had been a king there. Nor is this an ancient opinion among the Jews, at least not constantly believed : for Josephus says expressly, that Melchizedek was Χαναανῶν δυναστής, "a potentate of the Canaanites" (lib. vii. de Bello Jud. cap. 18). And yet it was so common, that it went to the Samaritans, as Epiphanius tells us, Hæres. lv. n. 6 (though not to the Arabians, who say he was the son of Peleg. See Hotting. Smegma Orient. 256, 269, 306), and many Christians have embraced it, merely (as far as I can discern) because they would not acknowledge any good man to have been then among the Canaanites. Some heretics held him to be μετὰ τὴν τῶν δυνάμεων, as Epiphanius tells us in the place forementioned (Numb. I.). Which was the opinion of Hieracas, a great scholar and famous physician in Egypt (Hæres. lxvii. n. 3). And some of the church took him to have been the Son of God himself, who then appeared to Abram, ἐν ἰδέᾳ ἀνθρώπου, "in the form of a man." (Hæres. lv. n. 7). But the plain truth is, he was a king and priest (for those two offices anciently were in the same person) in that country : where men were not as yet wholly degenerated, and fallen from the true religion.

King of Salem] It is a great error to think that this Salem was the same with Jerusalem. For it is plain, as Bochart observes (lib. ii. Phaleg, cap. 4),

that Salem was in the way which led from the valley of Damascus unto Sodom : which we learn from this very place of Scripture. And so St. Jerome says, that he learned from the Jews in his time, that it was seated on this side of Jordan : and it retained its name in our Saviour's days, as appears by the story of John's baptizing near Salem (John iii. 23). Several of the fathers are of the same mind, quoted by Mr. Selden in his Review of the History of Tithes, p. 452.

Brought forth bread and wine:] This he did as a king, not as a priest : for it was not an act of religion, but of hospitality. Thus heathens themselves understood this history, as we find by Eusebius (quoted by Eusebius, lib. ix. cap. 17), who saith he received Abram as they were wont to do strangers, in a city called *Argarizin*, which he interprets the *Mount of the Most High*. We know not in what language it so signifies, or whether it be misprinted for *Harellon* ; but I think the plain sense is, that he treated Abram and his followers, by causing provisions to be brought forth for their refreshment after the fight. For bread and wine comprehend all sorts of provision for their repast : as to eat bread with another, in this book, is to feast with him (xliii. 25). And thus Tertullian, it is certain, understood it ; who saith expressly, he brought them forth to Abram, and offered them to him, and not to God (lib. adv. Judeos, cap. 3). And Epiphanius observes, that the word in the Greek is not *κατένευκε*, but *ἐξέβαλε* ; not he offered, but brought out. So it seems his copy had it.

Ver. 19. *And he blessed him*,] This he did as a priest (which office is just before mentioned), as he did the other as a king.

Blessed be Abram] He prayed God to confirm the blessing which he had pronounced upon him.

Possessor of heaven and earth:] Rather *Creator*, as the LXX. and Vulgar Latin translate it. (See Dr. Spencer, lib. i. de Leg. Hebr. cap. 4, § 10, and Lud. de Dieu before him, in his notes on this place, and Hotting. Smegma Orient. p. 87). By this and the next verse, wherein he gives glory to the most high God for Abram's victory, it is apparent that he was a worshipper of the one only true God, and maker and governor of all things. To whom he also ministered in the office of a priest, who blessed men in his name.

Ver. 20. *And he gave him*] i. e. Abram gave to Melchizedek, as the apostle explains it (Heb. vii. 2). But the words are so doubtful as they lie here, that Eusebius (in the place above mentioned) thought Melchizedek had bestowed gifts upon Abram.

Tithes of all.] He doth not say of what all ; but that which goes before leads us to think he means tithes of all the spoil, which he had taken from Chedorlaomer, &c. For he had nothing else there to tithe, unless it were the remainder of the provision he had carried along with him in this expedition : all the rest of his own estate being many miles off, at Mamre. And thus Josephus interprets it, *δεκάτην τῆς λείας*, "the tithe of what was gotten by war." And thus the apostle himself seems to expound it (Heb. vii). For having said (ver. 2) he gave him the "tenth part of all;" when he comes to argue from this, he calls it "the tenth part of the spoils" (verse 4). And, indeed, it was a very ancient cus-

Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth:

20 And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him tithes of all.

21 And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the persons, and take the goods to thyself.

22 And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord, the

most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth,

23 That I will not take from a thread even to a shoelatchet, and that I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram rich:

24 Save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me, Aner, Eschol, and Mamre; let them take their portion.

tom to offer to God (whose priest Melchizedek was) the tenth part of what they took in war. Diodorus Siculus reports it of the Greeks, and many authors of the Romans. From whence we cannot infer, that they gave only tithes of such things; but rather that these were extraordinary acknowledgments of God's mercy to them, which it was usual to make out of those possessions which he had blessed them withal. For why should they give tithe of the spoils, if they were not wont to pay tithe of other things? And, therefore, St. Chrysostom makes this reflection upon this practice of Abram, that it should teach us to be willing and ready to offer unto God, ἀπαρχάς, "the first-fruits of all that he hath bestowed on us." This is confirmed by the story of Jacob, which, together with this of Abram, shows plainly the custom of paying tithes was before the law of Moses; and that not only of the spoils of war, but of their flocks, corn, and other fruit, which Jacob vowed unto God (xxxviii. 22). See there.

Ver. 21. *Give me the persons, &c.*] A truly generous disposition, becoming a king, to love the persons of his subjects better than their goods.

Ver. 22. *I have lift up my hand*] i. e. Sworn, as the phrase is used in many places (Exod. vi. 8; Numb. xiv. 30, &c.).

Possessor of heaven and earth,] See ver. 19.

Ver. 23. *I will not take from a thread, &c.*] i. e. The meanest thing.

I have made Abram rich:] He would have this to be only the work of God, who promised, a great

while ago, to bless him, and had now renewed his promise by Melchizedek. And he would not have it thought that love of spoil had carried him to the war; but only love of justice. In short, here is a most noble example (as Maimonides observes, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 50) of contentedness with what he had, of despising riches, and seeking praise rather from virtue.

Ver. 24. *Except only that which the young men* (i. e. the soldiers) *have eaten,*] For which he did not think it reasonable they should pay.

And the portion of the men which went with me,] He could not bind his confederates by his own act, but left them to deal with their countrymen as they pleased: in either keeping their share of the spoil, or parting with it, as he had done. The Jews truly observe, that they who stayed with the stuff and carriages, had their portion equal with those that fought: as we read in the story of David (1 Sam. xxx. 25). But it is not certain that this custom was as old as Abram's time; which they would gather from this place. For here they take the young men for those who fought and pursued the enemy; and Aner, Eschol, and Mamre, stayed to guard the carriage. But I see no ground for this, it being most probable, as I observed before, that they attacked the enemy as well as Abram's servants; and thereby acquired a title to part of the spoil. But whether we consider it this way, or the other, Abram could not give away their right, when he generously parted with his own.

CHAPTER XV.

1 God encourageth Abram. 2 Abram complaineth for want of an heir. 4 God promiseth him a son, and a multiplying of his seed. 6 Abram is justified by faith. 7 Canaan is promised again, and confirmed by a sign, 12 and a vision.

1 AFTER these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward.

CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *And after these things*] After this great victory, and his generous refusal of the king of Sodom's offer.

The word of the Lord came to Abram] God revealed himself more clearly to him. For this is the first time we read of "the word of the Lord" coming to him; and of his having a vision: that is, being made a prophet, and that in a high degree, God revealing his mind to him, not in a dream, but in a vision; when he was awake, but having his senses (as Maimonides explains it) bound up from their ordinary functions; during the time that the heavenly influence came upon his mind, and diffused itself to his imagination, where it represented several things to him. (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 41.)

2 And Abram said, Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus?

But these words may be understood of his having these things represented to him by the Divine Majesty, when he was perfectly awake, and used all his senses.

Fear not, Abram:] He heard these words, while he was in the ecstasy (according to Maimonides's explication), encouraging his hope in God, that he and Lot should be safe from any new invasion by these or any other enemies. For, perhaps, there were some rumours abroad of the Assyrians recruiting their forces, with an intention to renew the war.

I am thy shield,] I will protect and defend thee.

And thy exceeding great reward.] Will give thee far more than thou hast lately denied to take for my sake.

Ver. 2. *What wilt thou give me, &c.*] What good

3 And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house is mine heir.

4 And, behold, the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir.

5 And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be.

will all the riches in the world do me, if I have not a child to inherit my estate?

To go childless.] Is to die (to go out of the world without children), as Luke xxii. 22, "truly the Son of man goeth;" i. e. must die shortly. He doth not slight God's promise made in the foregoing verse; but only desires him to be so gracious as to give him a child for his reward.

And the steward of my house, &c.] He that takes care of all I have (and therefore deserves best of me), is not of my kindred.

Eliezer of Damascus.] Some think this signifies no more, but that he was born of a Syrian woman.

Ver. 3. And Abram said, &c.] He repeats the same again, out of a great concern to have God's promise fulfilled: which he did not disbelieve, but earnestly longed for, more than for all the riches in the world.

One born in my house is mine heir.] It is likely, that Eliezer was one of their souls (i. e. servants) gotten in Haran (xii. 5), and had been such a wise and faithful manager of all things committed to his care, that Abram intended, before the promise made to him, to have left him his heir: thinking he should have no child of his own, Sarah being barren, as we read, xi. 30.

Ver. 4.] A new assurance is given him, from the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, that he should have an heir begotten by himself.

Ver. 5. And he brought him forth abroad, &c.] Maimonides thinks (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 46) that all this which follows was done in a vision: but others will have it, that he was really conducted out of his tent into the open air, and looked upon the stars. The former opinion is more probable, because the sun was not yet gone down (ver. 12), and therefore the stars were not to be seen with the eye, but were represented only in a vision.

So shall thy seed be.] Nehem. ix. 23. He not only promises him an heir; but that this heir should have a numerous posterity. Which, as before (xiii. 16), he compared to the dust of the earth, so here he compares to the stars of heaven. Showing (say some of the Jews) by the former their humiliation; and by this their exaltation and advancement: and indeed, in this chapter, he speaks of both.

Ver. 6. He believed in the Lord.] Was fully persuaded that God both could and would perform his promise, though it seemed to be very difficult, if not impossible, according to the ordinary course of nature: he and Sarah both being very old.

And he counted it to him for righteousness.] The Lord esteemed it a most noble act, and high expression of a pious confidence in him (as that act of Phinehas was, in aftertimes, Ps. cvi. 31), and thereupon graciously owned him for a righteous person: though he was not free from all sin whatsoever; but was guilty of some that were not consistent with perfect righteousness.

It is here to be considered, that Abram believed

6 And he believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness.

7 And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it.

8 And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?

9 And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon.

10 And he took unto him all these, and di-

this promise before (xii. 1, 2, 3, 4), but now his faith was the more remarkable; because, notwithstanding some time had passed since the first making of the promise, and he had no issue, he still persisted in the belief that God would bestow a son upon him, though it grew every day more unlikely.

Ver. 7. I am the Lord that brought thee, &c.] He reminds him of what he had already done for him; that he might confirm him in the belief of what he promised farther to do.

To give thee this land, &c.] To bestow it upon thy children for their inheritance.

Ver. 8. Whereby shall I know, &c.] This is not spoken doubtingly; for the strength of his faith is highly commended; but he desires to have it more and more strengthened and confirmed: as some good men did in aftertimes, when they were put upon very difficult services. So Gideon, Judg. vi. 37, &c.

Ver. 9. Take me an heifer, &c.] i. e. Offer unto me (so it should be rendered, as Mr. Mede observes, book ii. p. 472) the following creatures: which are of four sorts. From whence the Hebrew doctors would persuade us, the rise and the fall of the four monarchies are signified in these words: but it is a better observation, that God hereby fore-signified their sins should be expiated by sacrifices. For these were the creatures, and these alone, which were appointed to be offered in sacrifice to God, by the law of Moses. And it justifies their opinion, who think there were clean and unclean beasts, with respect to sacrifice, before the law, though not with respect to meat.

Yet here is something singular, that God required Abram to offer an heifer of three years old, with a goat and a ram of the same age; whereas afterwards, under the law, they were commonly of one year old. I know not the reason of this difference; but certain it is, that a ram of three years old is in its full strength, and the vigour of its age, as Bochart observes. Whence it is that Lucian introduces Gany-mede proffering to offer unto Jupiter (if he would dismiss him), τὴν τριετηνὴν τὴν μίαν, &c., "a ram of three years old, a big one, the leader of the flock." Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 46.

A young pigeon.] The Hebrew word *gozal*, signifies the young ones of ring-doves, wood-pigeons, or any other of that kind, as he also observes.

Ver. 10. And he took unto him] Now we must suppose he was come out of his ecstasy; and really performed all that follows, until he fell into it more profoundly than before.

Divided them in the midst.] There is no footstep of this rite anywhere in the Scripture, save only in the prophet Jeremy (xxxiv. 18, 19). But this place shows it to have been very ancient: and St. Cyril, in his tenth book against Julian, derives this custom from the ancient Chaldeans. As others derive the very word *breth*, [בְּרִית] which signifies a *covenant*, from the word used both here and in Jeremy,

vided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another: but the birds divided he not.

11 And when the fowls came down upon the carcases, Abram drove them away.

viz. *בָּתָּר*, *batar*, which is the very same by a transposition of letters, and signifies to *divide*, or *cut asunder*. Because covenants were made by dividing a beast, and by the parties covenanting passing between the parts of the beast so divided: signifying that so should they be cut asunder who broke the covenant. Thus Mr. Mede, in the place forementioned, truly explains this rite, which was as much as if they had said, "Thus let me be divided and cut in pieces, if I violate the oath I have now made in the presence of my God."

We find in Zenobius, that the people called Molotti retained something of this custom; for they confirmed their oaths when they made their covenants, *κατακόπτοντες εἰς τὰ μέρη τοὺς βόους*, "by cutting oxen into little bits."

Laid each piece one against another:] So that there was a space left between them; through which the parties covenanting might pass. Which seems to be meant by Homer, when he says (*Iliad. α. ver. 461*), that after the priest had prayed to Apollo, the sacrifice was slain and flayed, and then they cut it up,

Διπλῆα ποιήσαντες,—

"making duplicates, which were exactly answerable one to the other."

But the birds divided he not.] Thus it was prescribed afterwards (*Levit. i. 17*), because they were but an appendage to the sacrifice, and their blood was not sprinkled upon the altar. It is likely, notwithstanding, that the birds were laid one against the other, as the pieces of the beasts were. And there being a prophecy of the state of Abram's family in future times (*ver. 13, 14*), some fancy that the division of these beasts represented the dispersion of his posterity into divers countries.

Ver. 11. And when the fowls came down, &c.] The birds of prey. For the Hebrew word *ajil* signifies *avix rapax* et *carnivora*, "ravenous birds, that feed on flesh." Whence Bochartus thinks an eagle is called in Greek *Ἀετός*, and *Αἰετός*, as the principal bird of prey (*Hieroic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 12*). And by these fowls some think the Egyptians are represented, who fell upon the Israelites, as rapacious birds do upon dead carcases, and endeavoured to hinder their offering sacrifices unto God.

Abram drove them away.] He sat by the pieces of flesh (as the LXX. translate it) to watch, lest vultures, or such-like creatures, should snatch them away. For he looking upon them as things hallowed, watched to see what God intended in them.

Ver. 12. A deep sleep, &c.] Some would have it, that he being tired with the great labour of fetching the sacrifices, cutting them up and watching them, naturally fell into a sleep. But Maimonides, more reasonably, looks upon this as the continuance of what was begun before in a vision: which at last was converted into a profound sleep, wherein things were represented to him in a dream. And therefore their wise men say, this was a prophetic sleep. More Nevoch. *par. ii. cap. 45*.

A horror of great darkness fell upon him.] Prophecy, says the forenamed author, begins sometimes in vision; afterwards that terror and vehement passion, which follow the high working of the imaginative faculty, being multiplied, it ends in a deep sleep, as it did here in Abram. Such a terror also possessed

12 And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him.

13 And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land

Daniel in some of his visions, while he was awake (*Dan. x. 8*), as the same Maimonides observes in the 41st chapter of that book.

This horror of great darkness, many think, signified the dismal condition of Abram's posterity in Egypt: which God now represented to him. And this horror coming upon him, at the going down of the sun, was, they think, a further signification of it. For we say a man's sun is set when he falls into great calamities. And it signified, some imagined, these calamities should come upon them a great while hence.

Ver. 13. And he said unto Abram, &c.] Here he informs him what the state of his family should be from the birth of Isaac (which he had promised to him, *ver. 5*), for the space of four hundred years.

Thy seed] This shows from whence the four hundred years were to commence; viz. from the time of his having a son.

Be a stranger in a land that is not theirs.] i. e. Sojourn partly in Canaan and partly in Egypt. There are those, indeed, who fancy Canaan cannot be said to be a land that was not theirs, God having bestowed it upon Abram. But God himself teaches us otherwise (*Exod. vi. 4*), where he calls it, "the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers;" because they were not at present possessed of it, though they had a good title to it.

And they shall afflict them four hundred years;] These four hundred years are not to be referred only to what immediately goes before [*they shall afflict them*], but to all the rest, their sojourning in a strange land, and their being in servitude. These three things were to come to pass within that space: so that it is as if he had said, "Thy seed shall not possess this land till four hundred years hence." During which time they shall be sojourners in this land and in Egypt; that is, some part of it, and also be no better than slaves, nay, endure sore affliction.

It must here be noted, that from the birth of Isaac, when these years began, to their deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage, was just four hundred and five years: but the five odd years are not mentioned; it being the manner of all writers to take no notice of broken numbers (as they call them) when they name a round sum. Thus the Greek interpreters of the Bible are commonly called the LXX. though there were seventy-two of them. And the Roman writers call those Centumviri, who were in all a hundred and five. And Moses in another place (*Num. xi. 21*), saith, "the Israelites were six hundred thousand;" not reckoning the three thousand five hundred and fifty above that number, as appears from *Numb. i. 46*, and *ii. 32*.

If it seems a difficulty, that their sojourning is said in *Exod. xii. 40*, to have been four hundred and thirty years, it is removed by considering, that in those years is comprehended the time of Abram's sojourning also, as well as his seed. And it was just twenty-five years from his coming into Canaan to the birth of Isaac, which, added to four hundred and five years before mentioned, make up the number of four hundred and thirty. And this is so exactly true, that if we divide the sum of four hundred and thirty into equal parts, it is computed by the best of the ancient as well as later writers, that the Hebrew nation sojourn'd just two hundred and fifteen years in

that is not their's, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years;

14 And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance.

15 And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age.

16 But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.

Canaan (reckoning that short time Abram was in Egypt, chap. xii.), and as many after they went into Egypt. See Usser. Chronol. Sacra, cap. 10.

Ver. 14. *Will I judge:*] i. e. Punish them.

Ver. 15. *Go to thy fathers*] i. e. Die, and depart to the other world.

In peace;] And see none of the forenamed calamities.

Ver. 16.] Abram now lived among the Amorites (xiv. 13). But under their name are comprehended all the other nations of Canaan. Who were very wicked; but God forbore them till their wickedness had overflowed the whole country, and that to the greatest height. Their most heinous iniquities were abominable idolatries, cruelty, beastly filthiness, a prodigious excess (Levit. xviii. 22, 23, &c.). See Theodoret upon Psalm cv. 44, and P. Fagius on Levit. v. 1.

But in Abram's time their iniquity was not full: i. e. there were several good men still remaining among them, as Mamre, Eschol, and Aner seem to have been, who were confederate with Abram; and Melchizedek certainly was, who, being priest of the most high God, had some people sure worshipped together with him: and therefore God stayed till there was a universal corruption, and they were all ripe for destruction. For we read of none but Rahab, whose faith saved her and her family, when the time of their destruction came.

Ver. 17. *Behold a smoking furnace,*] If the great horror (ver. 12) represented the extreme misery of the children of Israel in Egypt, then this seems to signify God's vengeance upon the Egyptians, for oppressing them in the furnaces wherein they wrought (Exod. ix. 8).

A burning lamp, or a lamp of fire] i. e. The Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared in great splendour (so Maimonides rightly explains it, par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 21), like to a flaming fire. So it appeared to Moses, when God came to deliver them from the Egyptian bondage (Exod. iii. 2, 6, &c.).

Passed between those pieces.] In token, as it follows (ver. 18), that he entered into a covenant with Abram and with his posterity: for passing between the pieces he consumed them (as St. Chrysostom rightly understands it), and thereby testified his acceptance of the sacrifices which Abram offered. I noted before, that there is no such rite we read of anywhere in Scripture, but in Jeremiah, of making a covenant in this manner. But there are those who think they find this custom in other nations: for if Dictys Cretensis do not lie, after the manner of the Cretians (as Bochart speaks), both the Greeks and Trojans, from the time of Homer, did make covenants in this fashion. Certain it is, the Boeotians and Macedonians passed, on some occasions, through the parts of a beast dissected; but it was for lustration, not for covenanting, as the same Bochart observes (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 46).

Ver. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land, &c.*] Here is the utmost extent of the donation made to Abram; which began to be fulfilled in David (2 Sam.

17 And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces.

18 In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates:

19 The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites,

viii. 3, &c.), for till then they did not enlarge their borders as far as Euphrates.

The river of Egypt] So Nile is commonly called, but cannot be here meant, because the Israelites never enjoyed all the land of Egypt on this side Nile. Therefore we are to understand by it, that little river which came out of that branch of Nile called Pelusiacum Barachium; from whence a small river, not navigable, ran towards Judea, falling into the Egyptian or Phœnician Sea. For this river was the bounds of Palestine, and is mentioned by Strabo and others, whom G. Vossius cites (lib. ii. De Idolol. cap. 74). It is called (Amos vi. 14) "the river of the wilderness," because it ran through the wilderness, which is between Egypt and Palestine, into the sea.

Ver. 19. *The Kenites, and Kenizzites,*] These are put into the number of the nations whose country God gave to Abram, but whether they were descended from any of the sons of Canaan we cannot tell: nor are we certain where they dwelt. Only Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, says, the Kenites dwelt about Libanus and Amanus; and the Kenizzites, it is likely, were their neighbours. But the names of these people were quite extinct between the times of Abram and Moses; for we find no mention of them by Joshua in the division of the land of Canaan, nor in the account he gives of the nations he conquered. We read, indeed, of the Kenezites (Numb. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, 14), but they were of the children of Israel; and of the Kenites (Judg. i. 16, iv. 11, 17), but they descended from the father-in-law of Moses. And therefore those whom Moses here speaks of, it is probable, lost their name; being incorporated into some of the seven nations who inhabited this country when Joshua subdued it.

The Kadmonites,] These are nowhere else mentioned; but are thought, by Bochartus, to be the same with the Hivites; who, living about Mount Hermon, toward the east of the land of Canaan, were thence called Kadmonites; i. e. Orientals. See x. 17.

Ver. 20. *Hittites,*] See x. 15.

Perizzites,] They were a people inhabiting the mountainous and woody country of Canaan, as appears from Josh. xi. 3, xvii. 13. From whence we may gather, they were a wild sort of people, who lived far from cities, in little villages; and thence, perhaps, had their name: for *Pherazoth*, in Hebrew, signifies *Pagi*, villages. But from which of the sons of Canaan they descended, there is not the least signification in Holy Scripture.

Rephaims,] They dwelt in Bashan, and, perhaps, in other countries thereabouts. See xiv. 5.

Ver. 21. *Amorites,*] These were the mightiest people in the land of Canaan. See x. 16.

Canaanites,] These were some of the posterity of Canaan, who peculiarly inherited his name, living upon the sea-coast, and upon the banks of Jordan (Numb. xiii. 30; Deut. i. 7, xi. 30). And it is a reasonable conjecture, that they sprang from such of Canaan's sons, as had, for a time, the greatest power and authority in that country; and therefore had the prerogative of being called by his name; or else they were

20 And the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims,

so called because they were merchants, and great traders by sea. For so the word is used in Scripture.

21 And the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girkashites, and the Jebusites.

Girkashites.] See x. 16.

Jebusites.] See there also.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *Sarai, being barren, giveth Hagar to Abram.* 4 *Hagar, being afflicted for despising her mistress, runneth away.* An angel sendeth her back to submit herself, 11 and telleth her of her child. 15 *Ishmael is born.*

1 Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children: and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar.

2 And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now, the LORD hath restrained me from bearing: I pray thee, go in unto my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3 And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar her maid the Egyptian, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife.

4 ¶ And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived: and when she saw that she had

conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes.

5 And Sarai said unto Abram, My wrong be upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived I was despised in her eyes: the LORD judge between me and thee.

6 But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face.

7 ¶ And the angel of the LORD found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to Shur.

CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1. *Sarai—bare him no children.*] Still the fulfilling of God's promise was deferred, for the greater trial of Abram's faith; which now had held out ten years (ver. 3), without seeing any fruit of it.

She had a handmaid, an Egyptian.] An Egyptian by nation, but a proselyte to the true religion. St. Chrysostom thinks Pharaoh bestowed her upon Sarai, when he took her into his house, or when he sent her away (xii. 15, 20). Which he learnt from the Jews, who say the same, as may be seen in Pirke Eliezer (cap. 26), who says also, as R. Solomon Jarchi doth, that she was Pharaoh's daughter, by his concubine. But it is more likely she was such a servant to Sarai as Eliezer was to Abram; born in his house of an Egyptian, as he was of a Syrian woman.

Ver. 2. *And Sarai said unto Abram, &c.*] It is likely, he having acquainted her with the promise, she grew impatient to have it fulfilled some way or other.

Go in unto my maid;] i. e. Take her to wife (ver. 3).

I may obtain children by her.] Being born of her bond-slave, they would be Sarai's children, according to the custom of those times (xxx. 3; Exod. xxi. 4).

And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.] Thinking, perhaps, that God might fulfil his promise this way, because he had only told him he should have seed, but had not, as yet, said by Sarai.

Ver. 3. *Gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife.*] A secondary wife (which was a liberty they took in those days), who was not to be mistress of the house, but only to bear children, for the increase of the family. Now I can see no good reason why Sarai herself should persuade her husband (contrary to the inclination of all women) to take another wife, which she herself also gave him, but only the eager desire she was possessed withal of having the promised seed. Which gives a good account also of Jacob's wives contending so earnestly as they did for his company.

Ver. 4. *Her mistress was despised in her eyes.*]

Hagar began to take upon her as if she had been mistress of the house; at least much more favoured by God, who had made her fruitful; which was accounted a great blessing and honour in those days, especially in a family that had no heir.

Ver. 5. *My wrong be upon thee:*] Thou art the cause of this injury (or these affronts) which I suffer by being too indulgent to my maid, and not repressing her insolence. Or, it is incumbent on thee to see me redressed of the wrong that is done me. See Lud. de Dien.

The LORD judge between me and thee.] Sometimes this phrase signifies an appeal to God, as the avenger of wrongs; but here it seems only to denote her committing the equity of her cause to the judgment of God.

Ver. 6. *Behold, thy maid is in thy hand;*] Is subject unto thee.

Do with her as it pleaseth thee.] Use her as thy maid, and not as my wife.

When Sarai dealt hardly with her,] Beat her, perhaps, or imposed on her too much, or too servile, labour.

She fled from her face.] Ran away, to avoid her cruel usage.

Ver. 7. *And the angel of the LORD, &c.*] This is the first time that we read of the appearance of an angel. By whom, Maimonides will scarce allow us to understand more than a messenger (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 42). But some Christians go so far into the other extreme, as to understand hereby, the Eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ, or Son of God. It seems to me more reasonable to think, that though the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, did not appear to her, as it had often done to Abram; yet one of the heavenly ministers, who were attendants upon it, and made a part of its glory, was sent to stop her proceedings. And a great favour it was, that the Lord would despatch such a messenger after her, who was sufficient to do the business.

In the way to Shur.] She was flying into Egypt, her own country (upon which the wilderness of Shur bordered), and only rested a while at this fountain to refresh herself.

8 And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence camest thou? and wither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.

9 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.

10 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.

11 And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; because the LORD hath heard thy affliction.

12 And he will be a wild man; his hand will

be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

13 And she called the name of the LORD that spake unto her, Thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?

14 Wherefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi; behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered.

15 ¶ And Hagar bare Abram a son: and Abram called his son's name, which Hagar bare, Ishmael.

16 And Abram was fourscore and six years old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to Abram.

Ver. 8.] He takes notice of her being Sarai's maid, rather than Abram's wife, to put her in mind of her duty, and that she could not honestly leave her mistress without her consent; for so it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 9.] It is the same word here translated *submit*, with that (ver. 6) where it is rendered *dealt hardly*; signifying that she should be patient, and endure the hardship of which she complained (or suffer herself to be afflicted by her).

Ver. 10.] I will make thee partaker of the promise I have made to Abram (xv. 5). The angel delivers this message to her in the name of God, who sent him.

Ver. 11. *Behold, thou art with child, &c.*] Do not doubt of what I say, for thou art with child of a son, who shall be the father of a great people. This promise was renewed to Abram in the next chapter (xvii. 20), and we find was performed (xxv. 12).

Shalt call his name Ishmael;] Some of the Jews take notice of the honour which was here done him, in calling him by his name before he was born; there being but six, they say, who were thus distinguished from others; the two first were the sons of Abram (Ishmael and Isaac), and the last was the Messias.

The Lord hath heard thy affliction.] Thy complaint under the affliction thou hast endured from thy mistress, and here in the wilderness. This passage shows it was an angel which appeared and spake to her from the Lord, and not the Lord himself.

Ver. 12. *A wild man;*] The Hebrew word *phere*, here joined with *man*, signifies a wild ass; and so is well translated by Bochart, tam ferus quam onager, "as wild as a wild ass." Which loves to ramble in deserts, and is not easily tamed to live in society.

His hand shall be against every man, &c.] He shall be very warlike; and both infest all his neighbours, and be infested by them.

He shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.] Be a nation by himself, near to all his brethren, whether descended from Isaac, or from the rest of Abram's sons by Keturah; who, though annoyed by him, shall not be able to dispossess him. This is such an exact description of the posterity of Ishmael throughout all

generations, that none but a prophetic spirit could have made it, as Doctor Jackson truly observes (book i. on the Creed, chap. 25). Wildness being so incorporated into their nature, that no change of times hath made them grow tame.

Ver. 13. *She called the name of the Lord, that spake unto her,*] By his angel, for she looked upon the presence of the angel as a token of the Divine presence, though she saw it not in its full glory.

Thou God seest me.] Takest care of me, wheresoever I am.

For she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?] There are various interpretations of these words: the plainest is that of De Dieu, who observes, that the word *halom* always signifies *place*, not *time*; or, that which is done in any place, and so we translate it by the word *here*. But there he makes a stop after that word, by way of admiration, in this manner: *And even here also! or, even thus far!* It had been less wonder, if God had taken care of me in my master's house; but doth he follow me with his favour even hither? This is wonderful! And then the next words, (*Have I looked after him that seeth me?*) carried this sense, Have I beheld God, who taketh care of me? What a favour is this, that he would so far condescend to me? It ought never to be forgotten; therefore she called his name, *Thou God seest me*.

Ver. 14. *Beer-lahai-roi;*] Some would have this refer both to Hagar and to God, in this manner: "The well of her that liveth, and of him that seeth" (i. e. who preserves me in life). So it was an acknowledgment that she owed her life and safety to God.

Ver. 15. *Abram called his son's name, &c.*] Hagar having told him at her return the foregoing story, he gave his son this name, in obedience to the angel's command (ver. 11).

Ver. 16. *Fourscore and six years old,*] He was seventy-five years old when he came into Canaan (xii. 4), and had been ten years there when he took Hagar to wife (ver. 3 of this chapter), and therefore was then eighty-five years old; and consequently eighty-six the next year, when Ishmael was born.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 God reneweth the covenant. 5 Abram his name is changed in token of a greater blessing. 10 Circumcision is instituted. 15 Sarai her name is changed, and she blessed. 17 Isaac is promised. 23 Abraham and Ishmael are circumcised.

1 AND when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD appeared to Abram, and

CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *When Abram was ninety years old and nine,*] Thirteen years after Ishmael's birth.

The Lord appeared to Abram,] In a visible majesty,

said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect.

to satisfy him that the promise made (xv. 4, 5) should not be fulfilled in Ishmael.

I am the Almighty God;] Or, All-Sufficient. This is the first time we meet with this name; which was most fitly used here, when he speaks of a thing very

2 And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.

3 And Abram fell on his face: and God talked with him, saying,

4 As for me, behold, my covenant *is* with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations.

5 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee.

6 And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee.

7 And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their

generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

8 And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God.

9 ¶ And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations.

10 This *is* my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised.

11 And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you.

difficult to be done, but not beyond the power of God, who can do all things, and needs none to assist him.

Walk before me,] Go on to please me.

Be thou perfect,] Till thou hast completed thy faith and obedience.

Ver. 2.] Establish and perform my covenant; for it was made before, and now only confirmed by a sign or token of it (ver. 11).

Ver. 3. *Abram fell on his face:]* Being astonished at the brightness of that Majesty which appeared to him (ver. 1).

Ver. 4. *As for me, behold, my covenant, &c.]* Be not afraid, for it is I, who am constant to my word, and now again engage myself unto thee.

Thou shalt be a father of many nations,] Not only of Jews, and Ishmaelites, and others, but, in the spiritual sense, of all the gentile world.

Ver. 5. *Neither shall thy name, &c.]* Abram is commonly interpreted *high father*; and Abraham, the *father of a multitude*. So the very text expounds the reason of this name: "For a father of many nations have I made thee." There are many ways of making out this meaning, but none seems to me so plain as that of Hottinger's; who makes it a composition of *Ab* (a father), and the old word *Raham*, which still in Arabic signifies a *great number*. Suetonia Orient. cap. viii. § 19.

Ver. 6.] I observed before (xii. 7), that Abraham's obedience was constantly rewarded in kind, &c. of which here is a new proof. For, upon his submission to be circumcised (wherein his obedience was next tried), which might seem to weaken the power of generation (as Maimonides affirms it doth, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49), God promises that he would make him so exceeding fruitful, that nations and kings should proceed from him; as there did both by Israel, Edom, and Ishmael, from whom the Saracens came, &c.

Ver. 7. *An everlasting covenant,]* The word *alam*, which we translate *everlasting*, hath often a limited signification, to the end of such a period (as, Exod. xxi. 6, a *servant for ever*, is, till the year of Jubilee), though, with respect to the thing signified, this covenant is absolutely everlasting, and continues now that the sign is abolished. The next words tell us that was signified in this covenant of circumcision.

To be a God unto thee, &c.] I think Maimonides hath truly observed, that in circumcision they covenanted with God, to have no other God but him; or, in his phrase, they covenanted concerning "the belief of the unity of God" (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 49), who promised to be their God: that is, to bestow all manner of blessings upon them, and at last to send the Messiah.

Ver. 8. *I will give unto thee, &c.]* Here he again renews his promise (xii. 7, xiii. 15, xv. 18), and confirms it by this covenant, to give him that land, wherein he

was at present a stranger, and to put his seed in possession of it.

An everlasting possession;] If they did not forfeit it by their disobedience to him.

Ver. 9. *Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, &c.]* Now follows Abraham's part of this covenant, which was mutual between God and him.

Ver. 10. *This is my covenant,]* Which the next verse explains, by the *sign or token of the covenant*. As the paschal lamb is called the passover of the Lord (Exod. xii. 11); that is, the memorial of the angel's passing them by, when he killed the Egyptian children (xiii. 9). But circumcision was such a sign, that they entered thereby into a covenant with God to be his people. For it was not a mere mark, whereby they should be known to be Abraham's seed, and distinguished from other nations: but they were made by this the children of the covenant, and entitled to the blessings of it: though, if there had been no more in it but this, that they who were of the same faith, as Maimonides speaks, should have one certain character, whereby they should be known and joined one to another, without the mixture of any other people, it had been a very wise appointment. And this mark was very fitly chosen, because it was such a token as no man would have set upon himself and upon his children, unless it were for faith and religion's sake. For it is not a brand upon the arm, or an incision in the thigh, but a thing very hard, and in a most tender part: which nobody would have undertaken but on the forenamed account (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 49).

It may be proper here to add, that covenants were anciently made in those eastern countries, by dipping their weapons in blood (as Xenophon tells us), and by picking the flesh, and sucking each other's blood, as we read in Tacitus; who observes (lib. ii. Annal.), that when kings made a league, they took each other by the hand, and their thumbs being hard tied together, they pricked them, when the blood was forced to the extreme parts, and each party licked it; which, he saith, was accounted Arcanum fœdus, quasi mutuo cruce sacramentum; "a mysterious covenant, being made sacred by their mutual blood." How old this custom had been, we do not know; but it is evident God's covenant with Abraham was solemnized on Abraham's part by his own and his son Isaac's blood, and so continued through all generations, by cutting off the foreskin of their flesh (as it follows in the next verse); whereby, as they were made the select people of God, so God in conclusion sent his own Son, who, by this very ceremony of circumcision, was consecrated to be their God and their Redeemer.

Ver. 11. *Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin;]* i. e. The foreskin of your flesh; for that

12 And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or

member, which is the instrument of generation, is peculiarly called by the name of *flesh*, in many places (Lev. xv. 2; Ezek. xvi. 26). In which part of the body, rather than in any other, God appointed the mark of his covenant to be made; that they might be denoted to be a holy seed, consecrated to him from the beginning. The pagans made marks in several parts of their bodies (some in one, some in another), whereby they were consecrated to their gods; but the character which God would have imprinted upon his people, was in one peculiar part and no other (from which they never varied), viz. in that part which served for the propagation of mankind. Of which some have given natural, others moral reasons; but the most plain and obvious is, that it might be an apt token of the Divine covenant made with Abraham and his posterity, that God would multiply their seed, and make them as the stars of heaven (xv. 5). It is probable, also, that this part was chosen, rather than any other, to make them sensible that this was a Divine sacrament; for nothing but God's institution could at first engage men to lay that part bare, which nature hath covered.

It is of late, indeed, made a question by some learned men, whether this were the original of circumcision; which they fancy the Jews borrowed from the Egyptians, and not the Egyptians from the Jews. Certain it is, that not only the Egyptians, but several other nations, did very anciently use circumcision. Now it is improbable, say they, that the Egyptians (who seem to have had it the most early of all nations who sprang not from Abraham) would borrow this custom from the Hebrews, whom they perfectly hated (shepherds being an abomination to them, xlii. 34), and therefore they give themselves the liberty to say, that God did not now enjoin Abraham a new thing, when he ordered him to be circumcised, but only made this a sign of his covenant with him, which it was not with other nations. But unless it can be proved that circumcision was in use before Abraham's time (which doth not appear from any good authors, though such as Celsus were so bold as to affirm it, as we find in Origen, lib. v.), such arguments as these will not persuade us to believe, that it came from the Egyptians, or any other nation; but they had it, if not from the Hebrews, yet from the posterity of Ishmael, or other people descended from Abraham: who, being highly beloved of God, it is not credible that God would set the mark of Ham's race upon him and his posterity; much less make it the token of his covenant with them. (See J. Ludolphus, lib. iii. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. cap. i. n. 5.) The only authority upon whom the brachers of this novelty rely, is Herodotus, who, in his second book, cap. 104, says, "The people of Colchis, and the Egyptians, were the only nations that were circumcised, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 'from the beginning;' the Syrians and Phœnicians who live in Palestine, acknowledging they had this rite from them." Which is just such a tale as he tells in the second chapter of that book, that the Egyptians were the first inhabitants of the earth, unless, perhaps, the Phrygians. This opinion proceeded from their own vain conceit, which made them loth to confess they received circumcision from any other people. Though I think there is a convincing argument of it in Moses himself, who tells us, in chapter x. 14, that the Philistim came from the Casluchim; i. e. the people of Colchis, as that people came originally from Egypt. (So Herodotus himself, Diodo-

russ, and abundance of other credible authors, testify.) This, it appears by what I noted there, was before the time of Moses, nay, before Abraham; for the Philistim had a king among them in his days, as we read in this book (xx. and xxvi). Now these Philistim were an uncircumcised people, and therefore the people of Colchis, no doubt, were so also, when they went out of their country, and drove the Avim out of Palestine. And, consequently, the Egyptians had no such rite among them, when the Casluchim came from Egypt, but put a gross cheat upon Herodotus when they made him believe they had been circumcised, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, "from the beginning." And in like manner they imposed upon him, who told him the inhabitants of Palestine (whom he calls Syrians and Phœnicians) confessed they received circumcision from the Egyptians: for there were no inhabitants of Palestine circumcised but the Jews, who always professed they received it from Abraham; who, we may be confident, was the first person in the world that was circumcised; there being nothing to induce anybody to use such a rite, unless they had been directed to it by God, as Abraham was; from whom the Ishmaelites received it, and from them the Arabians; and from those countries, or from Abraham's children by Keturah, it was derived (as seems most probable to me) to the Egyptians; from whom the people of Colchis, who knew themselves to be an Egyptian breed, embraced it, in imitation of their famous ancestors. But after Abraham's time, we find no such rite among the Philistim, a colony of theirs, to whom, in all likelihood, they would have communicated it, as the Egyptians did to them, if it had been then used in that country.

Ver. 12. *And he that is eight days old, &c.* Maimonides thinks, that if circumcision had not been performed in their infancy, it might have been in danger to have been neglected afterward. For an infant felt not so much pain as an adult person would have done; in whom the flesh is more compact, and his imagination stronger. The parents also (especially fathers) have not so strong an affection to a child when he is newly born as they have when he is grown up; and so more easily submitted to this harsh rite at their first appearance in the world than they would have done, after they were more endeared to them. But the child could not be circumcised before the eighth day after his birth; because till then he was looked upon as imperfect; and not yet sufficiently cleansed and purged; for which reason beasts were not accepted by God, till seven days were passed after their birth (Exod. xxii. 30). See More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49.

And, as the child was not to be circumcised before the eighth day, so he was not (unless, perhaps, in cases of great weakness) to be kept uncircumcised beyond that day. On which, if the parents did not cause it to be circumcised, the house of judgment, as the Jews speak, were bound to do it. And if they did not (being ignorant perhaps of the neglect), the child when he came of age (i. e. was thirteen years old) was bound himself to get it done. If he did not, the judges (if it were known to them) were obliged to take care of it: as Mr. Selden observes, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 6, p. 96, 97.

Ver. 13. *He that is born in thy house—bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised:]* Not whether they would or no: for men were not to be compelled to religion; which had been a profanation of this

is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.

14 And the uncircumcised man child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant.

15 ¶ And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah *shall* her name be.

16 And I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of people shall be of her.

17 Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?

18 And Abraham said unto God, O that Ishmael might live before thee!

19 And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with

him for an everlasting covenant, *and* with his seed after him.

20 And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.

21 But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.

22 And he left off talking with him, and God went up from Abraham.

23 ¶ And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's house; and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the selfsame day, as God had said unto him.

24 And Abraham was ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

25 And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.

covenant. But Abraham was to persuade them to it; and, if they consented not, to keep them no longer in his house; but to sell them to some other people. So Maimonides expounds it, in his Book of Circumcision, cap. 1, which is true both of servants born in the house, and bought with money: but as for the children of these slaves, they were to be circumcised whether their parents would or no; because they were the possession of their masters, not of their parents. For which cause, when the parents were set free, their children were left behind, as their master's goods, Exod. xxi. 4.

Ver. 14. *That soul shall be cut off from his people;* That is, if, when he came to the age of thirteen years, he did not cause it to be done.

What it is to be cut off, is very much disputed. The simplest sense seems to be, he shall not be accounted one of God's people. But the Hebrew doctors generally take this to have been a punishment inflicted by the hand of heaven; i. e. of God: though they be much divided in their opinions about it. Of which Mr. Selden treats, at large, in lib. vii. De Jure N. et G. cap. 9, and De Synedr. lib. i. cap. 6, and more briefly L'Empereur in his notes upon Chron. i. Bertram de Republ. Jud. p. 351. Some say it was the shortening of the man's life; others say it was the making him childless; so that his family and name perished in Israel. Maimonides would have it the extinction both of soul and body, like a brute. And Abarinel takes it for the loss of the happiness of the world to come. Some Christians would have it to be excommunication: which cannot be, because such a person was never a member of the church, which he was to be made by circumcision. The first of these opinions seems more probable than the rest: for God himself saith of several offenders, to whom he threatens this punishment, "I will cut him off, and I will set my face against him" (Lev. xvii. 10, xx. 5, 6, xxiii. 30). Yet, in other places, it must be confessed, this *ereth*, or cutting off, signifies more largely, a punishment by the judge, and not by the hand of God. And therefore the signification of it must be determined by the matter with which it is joined. Thus the violation of the Sabbath is threatened with cutting off (Exod. xxxi. 14), which was to be done

by stoning him: and so were incestuous persons, blasphemers, idolaters, and others, to be judiciously cut off by the rulers.

Ver. 15.] The same letter is added to her name, that was to Abraham's, and for the same reason; for in the next verse it is said, "she shall be a mother of nations."

Ver. 16.] Here now the promised seed is determined to spring from Sarah. See xvi. 2.

Ver. 17. *Abraham fell upon his face,*] Worshipped God with the humblest reverence.

And laughed,] Not doubting of the promise (for the apostle tells us quite contrary, Rom. iv. 19), but out of the exceeding great joy wherewith he was transported; and the admiration wherewith he was surprised. Which produced the following questions:

Shall a child be born unto him that is a hundred years old? &c.] As if he had said, Strange! that I and Sarah, at this age, should have a child! What joyful news is this! Accordingly, the Chaldee translates the word *laughed*, he rejoiced.

Ver. 18.] In his posterity; as appears by God's answer to this petition, verse 20.

Ver. 19.] He had this name from Abraham's, not from Sarah's laughter: for that was after this; and proceeded not from the same cause with Abraham's.

Ver. 20.] He shall have a numerous posterity. See Dr. Jackson's first book on the Creed, chap. 26, where he shows how the Hagarens grew a mighty nation: and at last (when they were called Saracens) became the scourges of all these parts of the world.

Ver. 21.] The great blessings I have promised in the covenant I have made with thee, shall come to thy posterity by Isaac, not by Ishmael: particularly the Messiah.

Ver. 22.] That visible majesty wherein he appeared to him (Ver. 1), called often, in aftertimes, "the glory of the Lord," went up to heaven from whence it came.

Ver. 25.] From hence it was, that the Saracens, descended from him, did not circumcise their children till they were thirteen years old. So it was in the days of Josephus (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 13). And the Saracens in Spain and Africa observed the same custom.

26 In the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son.

27 And all the men of his house, born in the

house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

Ver. 26.] The Jews will have this to be the same with the great day of expiation instituted in Moses's time: so that God every year remembered, say they, the covenant of circumcision. But this is an ungrounded fancy.

Ver. 27.] Maimonides understands by the *men of his house*, those whom Abraham had converted from idolatry, and made proselytes to the true religion. So do others among the Jews (see his treatise of the

Worship of the Planets, cap. i. § 9). But it is more proper to understand by the *men of his house*, all his family in general: who were either (as it follows) *born in his house* (and therefore it is likely were bred up in the true religion, and so easily persuaded to receive the mark of circumcision, or *bought with his money*; who submitted to Abraham's arguments, not to his authority; for religion is to be chosen, not compelled.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 Abraham entertaineth three angels. 9 Sarah is reproved for laughing at the strange promise. 17 The destruction of Sodom is revealed to Abraham. 23 Abraham maketh intercession for the men thereof.

1 AND the LORD appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre: and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day;

2 And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo,

three men stood by him: and when he saw *them*, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself toward the ground,

3 And said, My Lord, if now I have found

CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord appeared unto him*] The glory of the Lord, or the Divine Majesty, which the Jews call the Shechinah, as it had done lately (xvii. 1). And as the Lord then appeared to establish his covenant with him by circumcision, so some of the Jews imagine he again appeared to visit, comfort, and heal him, now that he was very sore of his circumcision: or rather, I should think, to testify, by his illustrious manifestation of his glory (ver. 2), his high approbation of Abraham's ready obedience to so harsh a command. So the Jews themselves esteem it, and therefore think that, by receiving it, Abraham fulfilled that precept which goes just before it (xvii. 1), "be thou perfect." Which may have some truth in it, if rightly understood: for his faith and obedience grew more perfect by submitting to this command; and was completed, when he sacrificed his son.

However this be, I think it is plain from verse 10, that this appearance of the Divine Majesty was not long after the former.

In the plains] Or, the oaks of Mamre, mentioned before (xiii. 18). This place continued famous till the time of Constantine; both Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, meeting here once a year, not only for traffic, but for religion: Christians here calling upon God; and there being an altar here also, on which the gentiles sacrificed, and invoked the angels. Of which superstition Constantine being informed by his mother, he caused that altar to be demolished, and a church to be built in its place. (See Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 4, Euseb. in vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 53.)

And he sat in the tent door] To observe what strangers passed that way.

In the heat of the day] In the afternoon, when travellers sought for places of refreshment.

Ver. 2. *And he lift up his eyes and looked*] Having fallen down on his face (I suppose), and worshipped the Divine Majesty, as he did xvii. 17, he beheld when he rose up again.

And, lo, three men stood by him] Three angels in the shape of men (for so the apostle to the Hebrews calls them, xiii. 2, and so Moses himself calls two of them, xix. 1), who were part of the heavenly retinue, as I may call it, waiting upon the Divine Majesty, mentioned in the verse foregoing. There is a maxim

among the Jews, that no angel performs two ministries (that is, is sent on two messages,) nor are two angels sent upon one embassy (as Maimonides speaks, More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 6), and therefore they think these three angels were despatched for different purposes; one of them, and the principal, to bring a confirmation of the birth of Isaac, another to bring Lot out of Sodom, and a third to overthrow the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. And therefore, when one of these angels had delivered that message to Abraham, there were but two that went to Sodom (xix. 1), and Lot speaks to one of them as taking a particular care of him (ver. 19, &c.); and then it is said, "The Lord rained fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven" (ver. 24); that is, that angel of the Lord, who was set by the Lord of heaven and earth over that work. Some of them, indeed, assign another work for one of them (as we find in that title of the Talmud called Bava-Metzia, cap. 7), but they agree in the main notion, that they had different offices with which they were intrusted. But some Christians, and those of great authority, have made a question whether they were all created angels; one of them, at least, seeming to be the Lord of all. Nay, St. Cyril, in his first book against Julian, thinks there was a representation of the blessed, undivided Trinity; for Abraham speaks to them (ver. 4), *ὡς εἰς ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς*, "as if the three were but one." But St. Hilary's opinion (and Eusebius's, lib. v. Demonstr. cap. 9) is more likely, that the Son of God only appeared with two angels attending on him: which many think is evident from ver. 22, and 25, of this chapter. Yet I think another account may be given of those verses: and if we should make that an argument that one of them was the uncreated Lord, another of them must be so also: for he is called likewise by the name of Jehovah, Gen. xix. 24. See St. Austin, lib. ii. de Trin. cap. 11, and lib. iii. cap. 11, where he confutes the forenamed opinion.

He ran to meet them] Was forward to invite them to refresh themselves with him: for he took them to be considerable persons, as appears by what follows.

Bowed himself toward the ground] After the manner of the eastern people; in token of the respect and honour he had for them. For this was a civil

favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant :

4 Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree :

5 And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts, after that ye shall pass on : for therefore are ye come to your servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said.

6 And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead *it*, and make cakes upon the hearth.

7 And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetcht a calf tender and good, and gave *it* unto a young man ; and he hasted to dress it.

action (not religious) it is manifest by this : that he did not know them to be angels ; but only persons of quality (as we now speak), their aspect and habit, I suppose, being extraordinary.

Ver. 3.] One of them appeared more honourable and superior to the other two ; and therefore he makes his address to him, as the chief : praying him, if he thought him worthy of such a favour, to honour him with their company.

Ver. 4. *And wash your feet.*] i. e. To wash your feet. For this was performed by servants, and not by the guests themselves.

And rest yourselves under the tree.] In an arbour under a great tree ; where they were wont to eat, for coolness' sake. See Dr. Hammond upon Psalm cxxviii. 3. St. Jerome sometimes calls this tree an oak : sometimes a turpentine tree (as J. Filescus observes, lib. i. Select. cap. 13), unless we will say, that he thought Abraham dwelt under the one, and entertained them under the other. And so Eusebius (lib. v. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 9) expressly relates it, that God appeared to him under the oak where he dwelt ; and that he entertained the angels under a turpentine tree, which was had in great honour in his time.

Ver. 5. *I will fetch a morsel of bread.*] Or rather a loaf of bread ; as De Dieu shows the word imports : under which is comprehended, all necessary provision at a meal.

Comfort ye your hearts ;] Refresh yourselves.

For therefore are ye come to your servant.] Divine Providence hath directed you to come this way, at this time of day, that I may have an opportunity to entertain you hospitably.

Ver. 6. *Make cakes upon the hearth.*] Many interpret it, upon the coals or hot embers, according to what we read 1 Kings xix. 6. But Bochartus thinks the word there signifies, as it doth here, upon hot stones ; others will have it, that they were laid upon the hearth, and covered with hot embers (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 34), and so they prepare them at this day, as Leon. Rawwolf tells us in his Travels, par. ii. cap. 9, where he saith, That as he went through a country that lies between Mesopotamia and Media, a woman presently made them cakes, about a finger thick, and of the bigness of a trencher : which she first laid upon hot stones, and turned them often ; and then threw ashes and embers over them : which, he says, were very savoury.

Ver. 7.] Which was a noble entertainment in those countries.

Ver. 8. *And he took butter.*] Though we read of cheese in Homer, Euripides, Theocritus, and others ; yet they never mention butter : nor hath Aristotle a word of it (as Bochart observes, Hierozoic. par. i.

8 And he took butter, and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set *it* before them ; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat.

9 ¶ And they said unto him, Where *is* Sarah thy wife ? And he said, Behold, in the tent.

10 And he said, I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life ; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard *it* in the tent door, which *was* behind him.

11 Now Abraham and Sarah *were* old and well stricken in age ; and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women.

12 Therefore Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also ?

lib. ii. cap. 41), though he hath sundry observations about cheese : for butter was not a thing then known among the Greeks ; though we see by this, and many other places, it was an ancient food among the eastern people.

And he stood by them] Waited upon them, and ministered to them. For he did not stand unmoving ; but as servants do that attend upon the table : who, as there is occasion, bring or take away, &c. (See P. Fagius on Deut. i. 38.)

Ver. 9. *And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife?*] One of them (the rest signifying some way their consent) asked him for his wife : not being ignorant, but to introduce the following discourse.

In the tent.] In her apartment ; for women had their apartments by themselves.

Ver. 10. *And he said,*] The principal of the three angels ; or rather, the Lord himself, as it is explained ver. 13. For, as Theodoric Hackspan judiciously observes, this appearance of the Divine Majesty was different from the foregoing : not being *immediate* by himself alone, like that xvii. 1, nor merely *mediate* by an angel, like that xvi. 7, 10, 11, 12, &c. : but *mixed*, the Lord himself (ver. 1) being conjunct with the angels, whom he employed in this embassy.

I will certainly return unto thee] To fulfil the promise which I made thee (xvii. 19).

According to the time of life.] Nine months hence ; which is the time of perfecting the life of a child in the womb. This appears to be the sense, from ver. 14, where he calls it the *time appointed*, or a set time.

In the tent door.] The angels sat with their backs to Sarah's tent : unto the door of which she was come to listen, having heard that they asked for her.

Behind him.] This shows the truth of what Hackspan notes, that this was a *mixed* apparition : for this word *him* plainly relates to the angel, whose words were in truth the Lord's, who was there present. For, as he observes in another place (Disput. ii. de Nominibus Divinis, n. 15), the Scripture relates these matters so, that sometimes it mentions the principal cause whose words are related ; sometimes only the secondary cause ; in which latter case, it must be understood, that when the words exceed the dignity of the minister, the Lord himself spake them. For the sacred writers mind more by whose authority any thing is spoken, than by whose ministry : so that it is not much material from whose mouth any message comes : but what is said must be attended. This will be made plainer, when I come to Gen. xxii. 11, 12, &c.

Ver. 11.] She was no longer capable of conception, according to the ordinary course of nature.

Ver. 12. *Laughed within herself.*] Not as Abraham,

13 And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old?

14 Is any thing too hard for the LORD? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.

15 Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.

16 ¶ And the men rose up from thence, and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way.

17 And the LORD said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do;

18 Seeing that Abraham shall surely become

for joy; but out of incredulity: not thinking it possible for an old woman to conceive by an old man. And her smiling at this was the more excusable, because she did not know them to be angels of the Lord, but took them only for some great men.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord said*] The Divine Majesty (mentioned ver. 1) said, Why doth she not believe my messenger? The angel spake these words, but the words were the Lord's (not his), who was now present with the angels, and in a little time appeared without them (ver. 17, &c.).

Ver. 14.] Take it from myself, that what hath been told thee by them shall be effected.

Ver. 15. *Sarah denied,*] Fear (as it follows) put her into a confusion: so that she did not mind what she said. Otherwise she would not have denied, what she might well think they knew. Therefore she is only made sensible of her fault, by a simple affirmation of what she denied; without any further reproof.

Nay; but thou didst laugh.] The person that speaks seems to have turned to her, and said, Do not deny what I know to be true.

Ver. 16. *Looked toward Sodom:*] As if they intended to travel that way.

And Abraham went with them] A piece of civility like the former: having entertained them, he accompanied them so far as to direct them in the road to Sodom.

Ver. 17. *And the Lord said,*] The Divine Majesty, mentioned ver. 1, began now to discourse plainly and openly with him; not by the ministry of angels, but by himself. For, I take it, the three angels had now left Abraham alone; who, returning towards his tent, saw the glory of the Lord, and heard him speak what follows.

Shall I hide from Abraham, &c.] These words seem to have been spoken to Abraham: otherwise, how came he to expostulate with the Lord, as he doth ver. 23, &c. unless we will conceive (as we may) ver. 20, 21, to be the declaration of God's intention to destroy Sodom: and these words and the next, to be his resolution within himself, to acquaint Abraham with that intention?

Ver. 18.] This is one reason why the Divine Majesty resolves to acquaint Abraham with his intended proceedings: because he had already revealed to him greater things and made him most gracious promises.

Ver. 19. *For I know, &c.*] This verse contains another reason; because he knew Abraham would approve himself so faithful to him, that he would not fail to enjoy all that he had promised.

Keep the way of the Lord.] Is to persist in the true religion and worship of God.

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a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him?

19 For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the LORD, to do justice and judgment; that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.

20 And the LORD said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is very grievous;

21 I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know.

22 And the men turned their faces from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before the LORD.

To do justice and judgment;] Includes in them all those virtues which were opposite to the sins of Sodom.

Ver. 20. *Because the cry*] Of their sins: which are said to *cry*; first, to show the enormous greatness and impudency of them: for “*grandis absque dubio clamor est, qui a terra ascendit ad cælum;*” as *Salvian* speaks. And, secondly, to show that the goodness of God could no longer bear with them; their sins compelling him, as one may say, to punish them: for “*Deus eos noluerit perdere, sed ipsi extorserint, ut perirent.*” They not only called, but cried to him for vengeance, as he also speaks (lib. i. de *Gubern. Dei*, p. 19, 20, edit. *Baluzii*; and lib. iv. p. 75, lib. v. p. 113).

Of Sodom and Gomorrah] As they were the principal and greatest cities, so they were the most wicked; and led the rest into all manner of impiety: who, therefore, also perished with them.

Very grievous;] Not to be tolerated any longer. There are prodigious stories related of the wickedness both of their judges and of the people, in the *Gemara Sanhedrim*, cap. xi. which are there alleged as an explication of this verse.

Ver. 21. *I will go down now, &c.*] He uses the language of a good judge (ver. 25), who never passes sentence, much less executes it, till he hath examined the cause.

Whether they have done altogether, &c.] Whether they are come to the highest pitch of wickedness; or (as *De Dieu*) whether they are so resolved to go on in sin, that there is no hope of them.

If not, I will know.] That so I may use means for their reformation.

Ver. 22. *The men*] The three men mentioned ver. 2. It is commonly said that only two of them went away from Abraham, and that the third remained and held discourse with him. But I see no reason for this: they that came in and ate with him, and rose up from the table (ver. 16), who no doubt were all three, being the persons that are here said now to have turned their faces from thence; i. e. from the place where they had been entertained by Abraham: or where he parted with them.

Went toward Sodom:] As they intended (ver. 16) *But Abraham stood yet before the Lord.*] Not before any of those three, but before the Divine Majesty: who appeared to him (ver. 1), and had spoken to him (ver. 13), and discoursed with him (ver. 17, 20), in whose presence he still continued. Some by *stood* understand he *prayed*: but that follows in the next verse.

Ver. 23. *Abraham drew near,*] Approached towards the Divine Majesty, to make his addresses by prayer and supplication to him. Perhaps the Divine Majesty

23 ¶ And Abraham drew near, and said, Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?

24 Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou also destroy and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that are therein?

25 That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?

26 And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes.

27 And Abraham answered and said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, which am but dust and ashes:

28 Peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city

for lack of five? And he said, If I find there forty and five, I will not destroy it.

29 And he spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it for forty's sake.

30 And he said unto him, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak: Peradventure there shall be thirty found there. And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there.

31 And he said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: Peradventure there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for twenty's sake.

32 And he said, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this once: Peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for ten's sake.

33 And the Lord went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place.

remained in the place where it first appeared (ver. 1), and Abraham, by conducting the three men some part of their way, being gone farther from it, now came nearer to it. Though the phrase doth not necessarily import it; to draw nigh to God, in the holy language, signifying no more but to worship him.

Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked? As much as to say, I know thou wilt not. For such questions strongly deny; as in ver. 17.

Ver. 24. *Fifty righteous within the city.* Of Sodom, which was the chief, and comprehended the rest of the country of Pentapolis; which one would guess, by Gen. xiv. 17, depended upon Sodom as the metropolis. So what is said here of it, I take to refer to the whole region.

Wilt thou—now spare the place for the fifty, &c.] He desires two things of God. 1. That he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. 2. That he would spare the wicked for the sake of the righteous; if any considerable number of them were found among the wicked.

Ver. 25. *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* This refers (as we translate it) only to the first part of his request, “not to destroy the righteous with the wicked.” Which was contrary to common justice, much more to that exact justice which is administered by the Supreme Lord of the world: from whom there lies no appeal. But, according to the Vulgar translation (which is this, “Thou who judgest all the earth, wilt by no means execute this judgment”), it refers to the other part also: that God would not be so severe as to destroy a whole country, whilst there were many good men still remaining in it: and so the word *right*, includes in it *clemency*. And, indeed, this passage

seems to relate to both parts of his request; and is to be interpreted thus: Shall not the Supreme Judge show mercy, as well as do justice?

Ver. 26.] This shows the foregoing interpretation to be right: God promising most graciously to be merciful to all, for the sake of a few, in comparison with the multitude of offenders.

Ver. 27. *Which am but dust and ashes.]* Very mean and vile.

Ver. 28.] A great argument of Abraham's modesty; who durst not presume to ask too much at once; but by degrees proceeds, in the following verses, to petition for greater abatements: and that with fear and trembling, lest the Lord should be angry with his importunity.

Ver. 32.] A wonderful representation of the tender mercy of the Most High; who condescended so low as to grant a reprieve to the whole country, for the sake of so small a number, if they could have been found in it. And his mercy was still greater, even beyond Abraham's desire; for he spared one of the five cities, for the sake of three or four persons, as we read xix. 30, 31.

We do not find that Abraham makes express mention of Lot in any of the foregoing petitions; but it is plain from xix. 29, that he was in his thoughts; which God knew: and he is comprehended in those words (ver. 23 of this chap.), “Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked?”

Ver. 33. *The Lord went his way.]* The Divine Majesty, or the glory of the Lord disappeared (and ascended perhaps towards heaven), after this communication with Abraham was finished.

Abraham returned unto his place.] In the plain of Mamre (ver. 1).

CHAPTER XIX.

1 Lot entertaineth two angels. 4 The vicious Sodomites are stricken with blindness. 12 Lot is sent for safety into the mountains. 18 He obtaineth leave to go into Zoar. 24 Sodom and Gomorrah are destroyed. 26 Lot's wife is a pillar of salt. 30 Lot dwelleth in a cave. 31 The incestuous original of Moab and Ammon.

1 And there came two angels to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot see-

ing them rose up to meet them; and he bowed himself with his face toward the ground;

CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *Two angels.]* There were three at the first (xviii. 2), but the chief of them was gone; having

despatched his message to Abraham; unto whom he was peculiarly sent (see xviii. 2).

At even.] They had been with Abraham in the

2 And he said, Behold now, my lords, turn in, I pray you, into your servant's house, and tarry all night, and wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early, and go on your ways. And they said, Nay; but we will abide in the street all night.

3 And he pressed upon them greatly; and they turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and he made them a feast, and did bake unleavened bread, and they did eat.

4 ¶ But before they lay down, the men of the city, *even* the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, both old and young, all the people from every quarter:

5 And they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where *are* the men which came in to thee this night? bring them out unto us, that we may know them.

6 And Lot went out at the door unto them, and shut the door after him,

beat of the day; and were now come to the gates of Sodom.

Lot sat in the gate of Sodom.] The Hebrew doctors will have it, that he was made a judge in this city; and the prime judge of all: for they adventure to name *five* (in Bereschith Rabba), and say Lot was the president of the court, which sat in the gate of the city. But this is only a fancy of theirs: he rather sat in the gate of this city, as Abraham did at his tent door; to invite strangers to his house (according to the hospitality of those days), which was the greater charity, because he knew the city to be so wicked, that (if we may believe the Hebrew doctors) they not only denied them all assistance, but abused them, and were cruel to them (see Gemara Sanhedrim, cap. 11, and Pirke Eliezer, cap. 15), for which last, they quote those words of Ezekiel (xxii. 29), "they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully." Which are spoken of Israel, whom (xvi. 49) he had compared with Sodom: one of whose sins, he says, was, want of compassion to "the poor and needy."

Rose up to meet them, &c.] Just as Abraham did; whose civility he imitates, as well as his charity. For the bowing himself so lowly was a token of the great honour he paid them: who had the appearance of great and noble persons. And therefore he calls them *lords* in the next verse.

Ver. 2. *Turn in,—and tarry all night, &c.*] It is late, and the night draws on; take up your lodging with me, and refresh yourselves; and go away as early as you please.

And they said, Nay, &c.] It was as great a civility in strangers, not to be forward to accept, as it was in him to invite: and therefore they refuse him at first, to try his kindness: but intending, no doubt, to embrace his offer, if he pressed them further. So the following words are to be understood.

We will abide in the street all night.] Unless you persist in your invitation. In those hot countries, it was not unusual to lie in the open air; especially in summer. And in a city, they were safe from being infested by wild beasts, or robbers.

Concerning washing the feet, see xviii. 4.

Ver. 3. *He pressed upon them greatly;*] Would not be denied, but was so earnest that they yielded. It is the same word with that ver. 9.

Bake unleavened bread,] Which would be soonest ready, that so they might, in good time, repose themselves.

Ver. 4. *Before they lay down,*] To take their rest.

7 And said, I pray you, brethren, do not so wickedly.

8 Behold now, I have two daughters which have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as *is* good in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; for therefore came they under the shadow of my roof.

9 And they said, Stand back. And they said *again*, This one *fellow* came in to sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we deal worse with thee, than with them. And they pressed sore upon the man, *even* Lot, and came near to break the door.

10 But the men put forth their hand, and pulled Lot into the house to them, and shut to the door.

11 And they smote the men that *were* at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied themselves to find the door.

Both old and young,] A manifest token of an universal depravation of manners, and dissolution of government.

From every quarter.] Or, as some understand it, from the most extreme parts of the city: as in Psalm xix. 4. One, it seems, told another, what goodly persons were come to their city: and all ran to the house where they heard they were, with the same wicked inclinations. This is a proof there were not *ten* righteous persons in Sodom.

Ver. 5. *That we may know them.*] A modest word for a lewd fact. Some, indeed, will have it understood simply, of their examining what they were, whence they came, and what their business was. Which might perhaps be their pretence; but Lot's answer to them (ver. 7, 8) interprets their meaning to be filthy.

Ver. 6. *Went out at the door*] To try if he could persuade them to depart. From whence, perhaps, the Jews gathered he was a man of authority among them.

Ver. 7. *Do not so wickedly.*] As to break the rights of hospitality, and violate the laws of nature.

Ver. 8. *Behold now, I have two daughters, &c.*] This must be understood to have been spoken, in a great perturbation and perplexity of mind; and out of a vehement desire to preserve the men whom he had entertained: which made him say, he had rather they should abuse his own daughters than those strangers.

For therefore came they under—my roof.] He pleads the laws of hospitality, which obliged him to protect them; though he himself suffered by it.

Ver. 9. *Stand back.*] Give way to us.

This one fellow, &c.] Here is one, and he but a sojourner; who takes upon him to be a *ensor morum*, and control the whole city. This shows he was no judge.

Now will we deal worse with thee, &c.] Abuse thee more than them. For it is the same word with ver. 7, "doing wickedly."

Ver. 11. *Smote the men—with blindness.*] Not with a total blindness (for then they would not have sought for the door of Lot's house, but rather have groped for the way home), but such a dimness that they could not see any thing distinctly, or in its right place: but there seemed to be a door, suppose, where there was none: or, there was such a confusion in their brain, that all things were turned topsy-turvy (as we speak) in their imagination; and appeared quite otherwise than they were.

12 ¶ And the men said unto Lot, Hast thou here any besides? son in law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whatsoever thou hast in the city, bring *them* out of this place:

13 For we will destroy this place, because the cry of them is waxen great before the face of the LORD; and the LORD hath sent us to destroy it.

14 And Lot went out, and spake unto his sons in law, which married his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for the LORD will destroy this city. But he seemed as one that mocked unto his sons in law.

15 ¶ And when the morning arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters, which are here; lest thou be consumed in the iniquity of the city.

16 And while he lingered, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; the LORD being merciful unto him: and they brought him forth, and set him without the city.

17 ¶ And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape

for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.

18 And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, my Lord:

19 Behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life; and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest some evil take me, and I die:

20 Behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (*is it not a little one?*) and my soul shall live.

21 And he said unto him, See, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow this city, for the which thou hast spoken.

22 Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come hither. Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar.

23 ¶ The sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered into Zoar.

24 Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and

Ver. 12. *Son-in-law, and thy sons, and thy daughters,*] Here the copulative *and*, must be expounded *or*; as it is used in many places (xiii. 8): "Let there be no strife between me and thee, or between my herdsman and thine." And so we translate it, Exod. xii. 5, "Thou shalt take it out of the sheep, or out of the goats:" and, Exod. xxi. 15, "He that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be put to death." And so it should be translated here, "Hast thou any here besides son-in-law, or thy sons, or thy daughters?" As much as to say, we are desirous to save all that are nearly related to thee for thy sake.

Ver. 14. *Which married his daughters,*] Had espoused them for their wives, but had not yet consummated their marriage; as some understand it. Others will have it, that, besides those two virgin daughters at home with him, he had other daughters, who were actually married in the city. Which they gather from the next verse, "take thy wife and two daughters, which are here:" as if he had more daughters elsewhere. And R. Jehuda (in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 25) names one of them married to one of the great men of Sodom, and calls her Pelothit. But this seems rather to have been the name of one of them who were saved by the angels, and thence so called: for it signifies *delivered*, or *snatched* from destruction.

He seemed as one that mocked] Who was not in earnest; but only made sport with them, and spake in jest. For it is the same word from whence Isaac is derived, which signifies *laughter*.

Ver. 15. *When the morning arose,*] At break of day: for the sun did not rise till Lot was got into Zoar (ver. 23).

Take thy wife, &c., which are here;] These last words, *which are here*, are not without emphasis: and are paraphrased thus by the Chaldee interpreter, "which are found faithful with thee:" are not corrupted by the common wickedness of this place; or, that believe what we threaten.

Ver. 16. *While he lingered,*] Being loth to leave his goods, or his sons-in-law, and children: or, as some think, praying God to spare the city.

The men laid hold upon his hand, &c.] One of the angels laid hold upon him and his wife; and the other upon his two daughters: whom they pulled out of the house with some kind of constraint; and led them out of the city.

Ver. 17. *He said,*] That angel who had a peculiar charge of preserving Lot and his family. (See xviii. 2.)

Escape for thy life;] Make haste, if thou lovest thy life.

Look not behind thee,] To see what becomes of thy goods; or, as if thou wast loth to leave Sodom. Make no delay, no, not so much as to turn about and look back.

Neither stay thou in all the plain;] Do not rest till thou hast got out of the plain: for every place in it is to be destroyed.

Ver. 18.] Both the angels were still with him: but he seemed particularly to speak to him that led him and his wife out of Sodom; who had spoken before to him, and bid him make haste (ver. 17). But there are those (Franzius, for instance) who would have the word *Adonai* translated, not *my Lord*, by *my Lords*, as if he spake to both.

Ver. 19.] He that lingered (before ver. 16), now thought he could not make haste enough. Either being crazy, or, tired with sitting up all night; or, fearing the destruction would overtake him, before he could reach the mountain; and desiring, perhaps, to have a better dwelling than that.

Ver. 20. *My soul shall live.*] Rejoice, and be exceeding thankful.

Ver. 21. *I have accepted thee*] Granted thy request.

I will not overthrow, &c.] A wonderful instance of the divine clemency: which in the midst of wrath remembered mercy.

Ver. 22. *Haste thee,*] Make no more delays: no, not to make any further petitions.

I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither.] Having made thee this promise, I must defer the vengeance till thou art safe there.

Called Zoar.] In aftertimes it had this name; from the smallness of it: which he twice mentions (ver. 20).

Ver. 24. *The Lord rained—from the Lord*] It cannot be denied that here is an intimation of a plurality of persons in the Deity; yet there are many, both ancient and modern interpreters, who think the meaning is no more, than the Lord sent this rain from himself; it being the manner of the Scripture phrase, to repeat the *noun* instead of the *pronoun* (as

upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven;

25 And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground.

26 ¶ But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.

grammarians speak); of which Cocceius (upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrim, cap. 4) gives these instances, Gen. ii. 20; 1 Sam. xii. 11; Zech. i. 16. And there are others, which come nearer to these words, Exod. xxiv., "And he (i. e. the Lord, ver. 3) said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord." Hos. i. 7, "I will save them by the Lord their God." Zech. x. 12, "I will strengthen them in the Lord," &c. The council of Sirmium, indeed, anathematizes those who thus interpret these words, and do not say, "the Son rained from the Father" (Soerat. lib. ii. cap. 30). Yet St. Chrysostom did not fear to say this is an idiom of the Scripture language, which intended only to show, ὅτι κύριος τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπέταξε, "that the Lord brought this punishment upon them." Others also have observed, that the Scripture phrase being very concise, by the Lord (in the beginning of the verse), may be meant, the angel of the Lord. For whosoever mention is made of the Lord, it is to be understood of him, וְיְהוָה, "and his house of judgment" (as the Jewish doctors speak); i. e. of the angels which attend his Divine Majesty. And thus I find Arethas (or Andreas Cæsariensis), in his Commentaries upon the Revelation, p. 729, understands these words. For he there compares that captain who was over the locusts (Rev. ix. 11), to the angel that was sent to cut off the army of Sennacherib, and to this angel, Ὁ τῶν Σοδόμων τὸν διάπυρον ὄλεθρον ἐπιστάσας, "who had the charge of executing the fiery destruction upon Sodom committed to him." For all angels, saith he, are not ministering spirits, εἰς διακονίαν αὐτῶν, "for men's preservation," but some serve, εἰς τιμωρίαν, "for punishment." And that they can bring fire from heaven, and raise storms and tempests, appears by the story of Job.

Out of heaven;] From the Lord whose seat is in heaven. The like expression we have, Rev. xx. 9.

Upon Sodom, and upon Gomorrah] And the neighbouring cities, Admah and Zeboim; as appears from Deut. xxix. 23.

Brimstone and fire] A most hideous shower, or rather storm, of nitre, sulphur, or bitumen, mingled with fire, fell upon this country from above; and, as the tradition was among the heathen, accompanied with a dreadful earthquake: which made an irruption of those bituminous waters, whereby this country was turned into the lake called Asphaltites, or the Salt, or Dead Sea. So Strabo, lib. xvi. in his description of that lake. And, indeed, it doth not seem improbable, that the earth quaked while the heavens did so terribly frown, and the Almighty's voice thundered from the clouds, as Doctor Jackson speaks, book i. on the Creed, chap. 15. For the word καταστροφή (which St. Peter uses, 2 Pet. ii. 6) may be thought to import some such subversion. But it was his ignorance of the sacred tradition in the Scriptures, which made Strabo wholly ascribe the desolation of that country to the earth; and not at all to the heavens. Whereas Tacitus, who was better informed, says these Judaical cities (as he calls them), fulminum jactu (or ictu) arsisse, "were burnt by the stroke of thunderbolts from heaven;" and, a little after, igne celesti flagrasse, "were set on fire and consumed by lightning" (lib. v. Histor.). With which fell such abundance of bituminous stuff, that the val-

27 ¶ And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord:

28 And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.

ley, which had only some pits of bitumen in it before (xiv. 3, 10), became a lake of it.

Ver. 25. And he overthrew those cities, &c.] Super impium populum gehennam misit e celo, as Salvia glosses (lib. i. et lib. iv. de Gubern. Dei), "he sent hell from heaven upon an impious people." Of whose destruction there remains an everlasting monument in the Salt Sea: into which that plain country is turned. The quality of which, and of the soil about it, is so contrary to the nature of all other seas, or inland lakes, that no philosopher can give an account of it, like that which Moses hath given us: as the same Doctor Jackson truly observes. He that will read Tacitus in the place forementioned, or Pliny, or Diodorus, may be satisfied of this. The country where these cities stood, being become a pan, or receptacle (as the forenamed doctor well calls it), of such a strange moisture, that it may be called liquid pitch, rather than water: for it is so stiff that no wind will move it: nor will a camel sink, if thrown into it; nor any fish, or bird, that uses the water, live in it: and therefore called the Dead Sea, and Salt Sea, as Salmasius thinks (Exerc. Plinian. p. 577, 614), because no creature can live there, and because the noise some steams that come from it blast all that grows of itself, or is sown in the earth about it. Nor do the rivers that run into it, at all alter it; but it infects all their waters, with the loathsome qualities of those dregs of God's wrath (to use Doctor Jackson's words once more) which first settled in it, at this overthrow; just like bad humours, when they settle in any part of our bodies, plant, as it were, a new nature in it, and turn all nourishment into their substance.

Ver. 26. His wife looked back] She not only lagged behind, as we speak, but turned about, and stood still awhile, bewailing perhaps the loss of all there: or, as some of the Jews fancy, to see what would become of her kindred, and whether they would follow her or no.

Became a pillar of salt.] Or, as some understand it, an everlasting monument: whence, perhaps, the Jews have given her the name of Adith (as they call her in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 35), because she remained a perpetual testimony of God's just displeasure. For she standing still too long, some of that dreadful shower, before mentioned, overtook her; and falling upon her, wrapped her body in a sheet of nitro-sulphureous matter: which congealed into a crust as hard as stone: and made her appear like a pillar of salt, her body being as it were candied in it. Kimchi calls it a heap of salt; which the Hebrews say continued for many ages. Their conjecture is not improbable, who think the fable of Niobe was hence derived: who, the poets feign, was turned into a stone, upon her excessive grief for the death of her children.

Ver. 27.] Where he prayed, say the Jews, or communed with God (xviii. 22, 33).

Ver. 28.] Some think, the Hebrew word signifies, like the smoke of a lime-kiln; or, of a boiling caldron. After the shower was over, the reek or steam of it remained; and made that country look dismally, which before was like "the garden of God" (xiii. 10), but now became a stinking puddle of filthy water, καὶ ὑπερβολὴν θοσῶδες, as Diodorus speaks, "noisome beyond expression."

29 ¶ And it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt.

30 ¶ And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters.

31 And the firstborn said unto the younger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to come in unto us after the manner of all the earth:

32 Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

Ver. 29. *Overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt.*] In one of which he dwelt: which is a usual manner of speaking in Scripture. Gen. viii. 4, "The ark rested on the mountains (i. e. on one of the mountains) of Ararat." Judg. xii. 7, "Jephthah was buried in the cities (i. e. one of the cities) of Gilead," which explains that of St. Matthew, xxvi. 8, "when his disciples (i. e. one of his disciples, Judas) saw it, he had indignation," &c.

Ver. 30. *And Lot went up out of Zoar, &c.*] It appears from hence, that this good man was very timorous, not having so strong a faith as his uncle Abraham. For he that had lately obtained a pardon for this place, because he was afraid he should not have time enough to get to the mountain, now forsakes it: for fear, I suppose, a new shower should come from heaven and destroy it, after the rest; because the inhabitants, perhaps, continued unreformed, though they had seen such a terrible example of the Divine vengeance upon their wicked neighbours. If his "fear to dwell in Zoar" proceeded from this cause, it was the more reasonable; because he might think, though God had spared them for the present, yet they, taking no warning by the calamity of their country, would shortly perish as the rest had done. And so Theodoret, and others, think this city was afterwards destroyed: of which there is no certain record: and if the tradition be true, it was not speedily swallowed up, as they report, but retained for some time the name of Zoar; being before called Bela (xiv. 2).

Dwelt in the mountain.] It is not said what mountain; but it is probable one of the mountains in the country afterwards called Moab; from one of his children, which he here begat. For Epiphanius (Hæres. liii.) describes this country of Moab as lying *πίπτον τῆς ἀναρχῆς*, &c., "beyond the Salt, or Dead Sea." (See Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 615.)

Ver. 31. *There is not a man in the earth*] Not one remaining of their kindred, that they knew: for they were not much acquainted, we may suppose, beyond that country which was destroyed; and those of Zoar were so wicked, that they looked upon them as beasts, rather than men.

(Ver. 32. *Let us make our father drink wine.*) Which they brought with them out of Sodom, to support their spirits in their flight; or else got at Zoar: of which they invited their father to drink liberally, and cheer himself under his extreme great sorrow.

That we may preserve seed of our father.] This fact of theirs being objected by Celsus against our religion, Origen gives this account of it (lib. iv. contra Cels.). That these two maids having learned something of the conflagration of the world, and seeing their own city and country destroyed by fire,

33 And they made their father drink wine that night: and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose.

34 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with him, that we may preserve seed of our father.

35 And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger arose, and lay with him; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she arose.

36 Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father.

imagined, *ἑστύοντο τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, "that the seminary of mankind remained only in their father and them." And if what they did was upon this supposition, that there was no other way to restore the world, they did no worse than the stoics thought their wise man might do, if the race of mankind were extinct, so that none but he and his daughter were left alive. Irenæus makes the same excuse for them, and says they did this innocently, and in their simplicity, believing all mankind were destroyed (lib. iv. cap. 51). But I take their conjecture to be highly probable, who conceive that the eager desire, which then possessed the hearts of good people, to fulfil the promise of the Messiah, was that which put them upon this, otherwise monstrous crime. For which there are these reasons: first, that they had lived so chastely in the midst of the impurities of Sodom, that one cannot think a spirit of uncleanness now entered into them, and carried them to this action: and, indeed, secondly, their joining together in this contrivance (whereas matters of this nature used to be carefully concealed from the nearest friends, or make them fall out, if they find themselves engaged in the same intrigue), shows that they were acted by counsel and design, and not by brutish lust: and, thirdly, their perpetuating the memory of this fact, in the names of their children, is a demonstration there was something extraordinary in it; and that they were not ashamed of it, but rather gloried in it; desiring it might be remembered that these children were descended from Lot. Who they thought, perhaps, might pretend to fulfil the promise as well as Abraham: being the son of Abraham's elder brother; and called out of Sodom by the ministry of angels, as Abraham was called out of Chaldea.

Ver. 33.] This seems hard to be understood: but it must be noted, that Moses only says he did not perceive when she came to bed to him, and when she got up again: not that he did not perceive when she lay with her, of which he could not but have some perception.

Though M. Montaigne, in his Essays, relates a story of a widow, who, being drunk, was abused by a hind in her house, and afterward finding herself with child, could not remember how it came to pass. But the fellow at last confessed his fact: of which, whatsoever sense she had then, she had perfectly forgot when she awaked.

Ver. 34.] If he had retained any remembrance of what he had done the night before, one cannot think he would have fallen into the same snare so soon again. For which reason, it is probable, he did not think he had been intoxicated, but only drank so freely as to make him sleep soundly, and forget his sorrow.

37 And the firstborn bare a son, and called his name Moab: the same *is* the father of the Moabites unto this day.

Ver. 37. *Moab:*] Most will have this word to signify, *from my father*. But Drisius, in Deut. ii. 8, takes the import of it to be, *Aqua Patris*.

Ver. 38. *Ben-ammi:*] This signifies as much as

38 And the younger, she also bare a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: the same *is* the father of the children of Ammon unto this day.

the son of my people. Which doth not acknowledge so plainly as the other, that this son was begotten by her father: but only that he was the son of one of her own nation, or kindred, not by a stranger.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Abraham sojourneth at Gerar, 2 denieth his wife, and loseth her. 3 Abimelech is reproved for her in a dream. 9 He rebuketh Abraham, 14 restoreth Sarah, 16 and reproveth her. 17 He is healed by Abraham's prayer.*

1 AND Abraham journeyed from thence toward the south country, and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar.

2 And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She *is* my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah.

3 But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou *art* but a dead man, for the woman which thou hast taken; for she *is* a man's wife.

4 But Abimelech had not come near her:

CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *Journeyed from thence*] i. e. From Mamre, where he had dwelt a great while, and where many remarkable passages had happened (xiii. 18, xviii. 1).

Toward the south country,] Toward Egypt: for some fancy the very stretch of the lake of Sodom was offensive to him in Mamre.

Sojourned in Gerar.] The metropolis of Palestine; and, as some compute it, not much above six miles from Mamre.

Ver. 2. *Abraham said of Sarah, &c.*] Just as he had done in Egypt (xii. 13), when there was greater reason for it, she being then thirty years younger than now, when she was no less than ninety years old. But it seems her beauty remained at this age, being beautiful, and having borne and suckled no children: and women in those days living so long, that they were as fresh at ninety as they are now at forty or fifty. When many that are of excellent constitutions, and naturally handsome, continue very lovely.

Abimelech] The name of all the kings of Palestine, as Pharaoh was of the kings of Egypt. It is not improbable, as the author of Tzemath David conjectures, that the succeeding kings took the name of him who was the first king of the country. Ad A. M. 2600.

Sent, and took Sarah.] By violence, some think; but I see no ground for it. He desired to have her, and might think Abraham would look upon it as a great honour to have his sister become wife to a king: and Abraham, it is likely, showed no unwillingness, not being in a condition to deny him.

Ver. 3. *But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night.*] Two differences are observed by Maimonides, between this manifestation, which God made of his mind to Abimelech, and that which he made to the prophets. For it is only said here, "God came to Abimelech," and that he came "in a dream by night." The very same is said of Laban, the Syrian, who doth not seem to have been so good a man as Abimelech (xxxi. 24). But of Jacob it is said, "God spake unto Israel," and he spake to him in the visions of the night (not in a dream), and said, "Jacob, Jacob,"

and he said, LORD, wilt thou slay also a righteous nation?

5 Said he not unto me, She *is* my sister? and she, even she herself said, He *is* my brother: in the integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this.

6 And God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart; for I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.

xlvi. 2. (See More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 41.) God was not a stranger to other nations, when he was peculiarly kind to Abraham: but spake to them in dreams, and sometimes in visions, as appears in Eliphaz and Elihu, Job iv. 13, xxxiii. 14, 15, &c.

Thou art but a dead man,] viz. If thou dost not restore Abraham his wife (ver. 7).

She is a man's wife.] Or, *married to a husband* (as we translate it in the margin) so completely, that he hath enjoyed her as his wife. For from this place the Jewish doctors prove, that the marriage contract was not perfected in these days till the parties had lain together: after which, if any other person lay with the woman, he was to be put to death as an adulterer; but not if he lay with her after the contract, before it was consummated by actual enjoyment. (See Mr. Selden, de Jure N. et G. lib. v. cap. 4, p. 551.)

Ver. 4. *But Abimelech had not come near her:*] To use her as his wife.

Wilt thou slay also a righteous nation?] He was afraid (as became a good man, and a good king) lest his people should suffer upon his account, who, in this particular, had no guilt upon them.

Ver. 5. *Said he not unto me, &c.*] The fault is in them, not in me: for I had both their words for it, that he was her brother, and he said nothing of her being his wife.

In the integrity of my heart] Not with any intention to defile her; but to make her my wife.

And innocency of my hands] I did not take her by violence from Abraham; but he and she consented to it.

Ver. 6. *God said unto him in a dream.*] The same expression is still retained, which we had (ver. 3) to show that this was a lower degree of Divine manifestation than was in Abraham's family.

I know that thou didst this in the integrity, &c.] i. e. That thou didst not design any evil.

For I also, &c.] Or, rather, "and I also withheld thee." I dealt well with thee, because of thy integrity. Some think he was withheld by a disease in the secret parts (ver. 17).

From sinning against me:] From committing adultery.

7 Now therefore restore the man *his* wife ; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live : and if thou restore *her* not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that *are* thine.

8 Therefore Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were sore afraid.

9 Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us ? and what have I offended thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin ? thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done.

10 And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing ?

11 And Abraham said, Because I thought,

Ver. 7. *He is a prophet.*] This is the first time we meet with the word *Nabi*, a prophet: and Abraham is the first that is honoured with this name. Which signifies one familiar with God, who might come to him to consult him upon all occasions, and be authorized to declare God's mind and will to others; and also prevail with him by his prayers for a blessing upon them. So it here follows: Obtain life and health to thee. The greater any prophet was, the more powerful he was in prayer, as appears by the stories of Moses, Elias, and Samuel. (See Psalm xcix. 6.)

It appears by this whole history of Abimelech, that he was a man of great virtue in those days: and not an idolater, but a worshipper of the true God, as Melchizedek, the high priest of that country, was: yet not so well acquainted with Divine revelations as Abraham was.

Ver. 8. *Abimelech rose early*] This is a further token of his goodness, that he delayed not to obey the Divine command.

Called all his servants.] His privy-council (as we speak), who were all of the same mind with him: that this was a Divine admonition, which it was not safe to disobey. From whence we may probably gather his court was not so corrupted as Abraham suspected.

Ver. 9. *What hast thou done unto us?*] Into what danger hast thou brought us?

Thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin?] Run me into the hazard of committing a great sin, or suffering a heavy punishment (for so *sin* is sometimes taken), in not telling me the truth.

Thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done.] This is not fair dealing, such as I might have expected from thee.

Ver. 10.] What didst thou observe in my country that made thee think we would meddle with thy wife? What tokens of injustice, or impurity, didst thou see among us?

Ver. 11. *Surely, &c.*] The word *rak*, which we translate *surely*, signifies *only*; and may be thus well translated here, "this only I saw wanting in your country, the fear of God:" i. e. a sense of religion, which restrains men from all manner of wickedness. It seems the people were not so good as their king.

Ver. 12. *And yet indeed she is my sister;*] Do not condemn me of telling a lie, for she is truly my sister. Such was the language of those days, to call their wives sisters, and their nephews brothers. As he calls Lot, xiii. 8, who was his nephew, and the brother of Sarah; as was observed upon xi. 29.

She is the daughter of my father.] i. e. His father's granddaughter, who are frequently in Scripture called the children of their grandfathers. For she was daughter to Haran, elder brother of Abraham.

Surely the fear of God *is* not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake.

12 And yet indeed *she is* my sister; *she is* the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.

13 And it came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This *is* thy kindness which thou shalt shew unto me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He *is* my brother.

14 And Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and womenservants, and gave *them* unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife.

15 And Abimelech said, Behold, my land *is* before thee: dwell where it pleaseth thee.

16 And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have

But not the daughter of my mother;] It seems Terah had two wives, by one of which he had Haran, the father of Lot and Sarah; and by the other he had Abraham. So Sarah was daughter to one who was his brother by his father's side, but not by his mother: and with such a niece they thought it not unlawful then to marry. No regard being had to consanguinity (if we may believe R. Solomon Jarchi) by the father's side, before the law of Moses, but only by the mother's.

The more received opinion, indeed, of the Hebrew doctors is (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2), that Sarah was indeed the daughter of Terah by his second wife, and so Abraham's half sister. And Said Batricides (patriarch of Alexandria above seven hundred years ago) in his Arabic History, tells us, the name of Terah's first wife was Jona; and the name of his second Tevitha, by whom he had Sarah. But there is no other authority for this.

Ver. 13. *When God caused me to wander*] The Hebrew word which we translate *wander*, being in the plural number, the LXX. render the word *Elohim* (God) the *angels*, who, by the command of God, led him from his father's house, through divers countries. But the Chaldee translates it, "when because of the idols of Chaldea," I was called away from my own country, &c. For so the gods, that is, the idol gods, might be said to cause him to wander: because it was by reason of them, that God would not have him stay any longer in his own country. But there is no need of these devices: nothing being more usual in the Hebrew language than for the plural number to be put instead of the singular, especially when they speak of God, as Bochart observes, in many places (Gen. xxxv. 7; Exod. xxxii. 4; Psalm cxlix. 2; Eccles. xii. 1). See Hierozole. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34. Nay, Hackspan hath rightly observed that there are nouns of the plural number in their termination, which, in signification, are singular, with which it is usual to join a verb of the plural number, because of the plural termination of the noun. A plain example of which we have, Gen. iv. 6, "Why is thy countenance (in the Hebrew, *faces*) fallen?" The like he observes in the Syriac language (John i. 4): "The life (in the Syriac, *lives*) was the light of men."

Ver. 16. *I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver:*] The word *pieces* is not in the Hebrew. But by *ceseph, silver*, all, in a manner, understood *shekels*: for anciently there were no shekels of gold or brass, but only of silver. Yet there are those who think he did not give him thus much in money, but in the goods before mentioned (verse 14), which were worth a thousand shekels. (See xxiii. 16.)

He is to thee a covering of the eyes, &c.] These words are very variously expounded, according as the first word *hu* is interpreted: which may relate either to

given thy brother a thousand *pieces* of silver: behold, he *is* to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that *are* with thee, and with all *other*: thus she was reproved.

17 ¶ So Abraham prayed unto God: and God

the gift before mentioned, and be translated *this*; or to Abraham, and be translated *he*, as it is by us. If they refer to the former, then the sense is, I have given him that sum of money to buy thee a veil, that all who converse with thee here, or in any other country (where thou shalt come), may know thee to be a married woman." For a veil was worn in token of subjection to the power of the husband: and that thereby their chastity might be preserved safe from the snares of others. As G. Vorstius observes upon Pirke Eliezer, cap. 32. Or, as others interpret it, "this money will be a covering to thine eyes (that is, a defence to thy modesty): it being a testimony that Abimelech paid dear for taking thee into his house."

If they refer to Abraham, then the meaning is, "Thou needest no other defence of thy modesty and chastity than he, nor hast any reason to say hereafter he is thy

healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maid-servants; and they bare *children*."

18 For the Lord had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

brother; for he is so dear to God that God will defend him, and he will defend thee, without such shifts as this thou hast used: nay, not only thee, but all that are with thee; and that even against strangers." I omit other interpretations, and refer the reader to L. de Dieu.

Thus she was reproved.] Or, *instructed* (as some translate it) not to dissemble her condition; or this was the reprehension he gave her, for saying Abraham was her brother.

Ver. 17. *So Abraham prayed unto God, &c.*] Beseeched God to restore them all to their health, now that his wife was restored to him (ver. 14).

Ver. 18. *For the Lord had fast closed up, &c.*] By such swellings (some understand it) in the secret parts, that the men could neither enjoy their wives, nor the women who were with child be delivered.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 Isaac is born. 4 He is circumcised. 6 Sarah's joy. 9 Hagar and Ishmael are cast forth. 15 Hagar in distress. 17 The angel comforteth her. 22 Abimelech's covenant with Abraham at Beer-sheba.

1 AND THE LORD visited Sarah as he had said, and the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken.

2 For Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him.

3 And Abraham called the name of his son that was born unto him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac.

4 And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac being eight days old, as God had commanded him.

5 And Abraham was an hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him.

6 ¶ And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh, so that all that hear will laugh with me.

7 And she said, Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should have given children suck? for I have born *him* a son in his old age.

8 And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a great feast the *same* day that Isaac was weaned.

9 ¶ And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the

CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *The Lord visited Sarah, &c.*] Bostowed upon her the blessing he had promised her; i. e. made her conceive. For so the word *visit* signifies, either in a bad sense to inflict punishment (Exod. xx. 5), or in a good sense to confer blessings; as here, and Exod. liii. 16, and many other places.

And the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken.] Performed his promise by making her bring forth a child: for so it is explained in the next verse, "Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son."

Ver. 2. *Sarah conceived, &c.*] God not only made her womb fruitful, but brought the fruit of it to perfection, and then brought it into the world.

At the set time [xviii. 14.] It is not said where Isaac was born: for we are not told here, whether Abraham departed from Gerar into any other part of this country, as Abimelech kindly offered and gave him liberty to do (xx. 15). But it appearing by the latter end of this chapter, that he continued a long time in Abimelech's country, though not at Gerar, it is probable Isaac was born at Beer-sheba (ver. 31).

Ver. 6. *God hath made me to laugh,*] i. e. To rejoice exceedingly.

So that all that hear will laugh with me.] All my friends and neighbours will congratulate my happiness and rejoice with me.

Ver. 7. *Given children suck?*] It is usual to put

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the plural number for the singular, as was observed before (xix. 29). Or, she hoped, perhaps, to have more children after this. And her giving him suck was a certain proof, that she had brought him forth of her own womb; and that he was not a supposititious child, as Menochius well observes. Others note, that the greatest persons in those ancient days suckled their own children: which Favorinus, a Greek philosopher, pressed as a duty upon a noble woman by many strong arguments: which are recorded by A. Gellius, who was present at his discourse (lib. xii. Noct. Attic. cap. 1).

Ver. 8. *The child—was weaned.*] At the age of five years old, as St. Jerome reports the opinion of some of the Hebrews.

Made a great feast the same day] Rather now than at his nativity, because there was greater hope of life, when he was grown so strong as to be taken from his mother's breast.

Ver. 9. *Sarah saw the son of Hagar, &c. mocking.*] He laughed and jeered, perhaps, at the great bustle which was made at Isaac's weaning: looking upon himself as the first-born, and by the right of that to have the privilege of fulfilling the promise of the Messiah. This gives a good account of Sarah's earnestness for the expulsion, not only of him, but of his mother also, who, it is likely, flattered and bare him up in those pretensions. Many think he did more than mock him, because St. Paul calls it per-

Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking.

10 Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac.

11 And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son.

12 ¶ And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.

13 And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he *is* thy seed.

14 And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba.

secution (Gal. iv. 29), which St. Jerome takes for beating Isaac; who, perhaps, resenting his flouts, might say something that provoked Ishmael to strike him. And it is very probable his mother encouraged him to this, or maintained him in his insolence, which was the reason Sarah pressed to have them both turned out of doors.

Some think he jested upon his name, and made it a matter of merriment. For so the word is used, xix. 14.

Ver. 10. *Cast out, &c.*] Let them not dwell here any longer, nor continue a part of thy family.

Shall not be heir, &c.] She judged, by what she had seen of his fierce and violent spirit, that it would not be safe for her son to let Ishmael have any share in his father's inheritance: for she was afraid he would make himself master of all.

Ver. 11.] His wife is not here mentioned, because his principal concern was for his son: but it appears, by the next verse, he had some consideration of her also.

Ver. 12. *God said unto Abraham, &c.*] By this he was satisfied that Sarah's motion proceeded not merely from her anger; but from a Divine incitation.

For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.] Here the blessing promised to Abraham's seed (xvii. 7, 8), is limited to the posterity of Isaac; and the meaning of the phrase is, they that descend from Isaac, and not they that descend from Ishmael, shall be owned by me for the children of Abraham; particularly the Messiah shall be one of his seed.

Ver. 13. *Also of the son of the bondwoman, &c.*] He renews the promise he had made him before (xvii. 20), that Ishmael should have a numerous posterity: because he was descended from Abraham.

Ver. 14. *Rose up early*] Delayed not to fulfil the Divine will.

Took bread, and a bottle of water,] Which includes all sort of provision for their present necessity, till they came to the place unto which, in all probability, he directed them to bend their course. For it is not reasonable to think, that he sent them to seek their fortune (as we speak) without any care what became of them. It may seem strange rather, that he did not send a servant to attend them, but let Hagar carry the provision herself: which I suppose was done to humble her, and to show that her son was to have no portion of Abraham's inheritance, nor of his

15 And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs.

16 And she went, and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bow-shot: for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept.

17 And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he *is*.

18 Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation.

19 And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad drink.

20 And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer.

21 And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran:

goods: of which servants were a part. Doctor Jackson (book i. on the Creed, cap. 25) thinks that Abraham would scarce have suffered them to go into a wilderness so poorly provided, when he had store of all things, unless he had been directed by some secret instinct, presaging the rude and sharking kind of life unto which his progeny was ordained. Yet, it is probable, he was as kind to him as he was to the sons he had by Keturah, and sent him some tokens of his love afterwards. (See xxv. 6.)

Ver. 15. *She cast the child under one of the shrubs.*] He being faint, and ready to die with thirst. A passage (saith the great man before named) that his posterity should be pinched with the like penury: scantiness of water (which was their best drink) straitening their territories in Arabia, as Strabo observes, lib. xvi. And after they had enlarged their bounds, even in Mesopotamia itself, they were still confined to the dry and barren places of it.

Ver. 16.] Her strength carried her further than he could go: but her affection still kept her within sight of the place where he was.

Ver. 17. *And God heard the voice of the lad.*] Who cried, it seems, as well as his mother: and it moved the Divine pity to send an angel to their relief.

Fear not.] Do not think I come to terrify thee: or, do not fear the death of thy child.

Ver. 18. *Lift up the lad, &c.*] It seems he was so faint that he was not able to stand without support.

Ver. 19. *Opened her eyes.*] Made her see what she did not observe before, by reason of her tears, or the great disturbance of her mind.

Ver. 20. *God was with the lad.*] Preserved and prospered him: so that he grew to be a man.

Became an archer.] A skilful hunter and warrior also, with bow and arrows. Am. Marcellinus, lib. xiv. tells us, that the Saracens, who were of the posterity of Ishmael, never set their hands to the plough, but got their living, for the most part, by their bow. For such as they were themselves, such was their food (*victus universis caro ferina, &c.*), they all lived upon wild flesh, or venison, and such wild fowl as the wilderness afforded, with herbs and milk. Dr. Jackson observes, that he compares them to kites, ready to spy a prey, but so wild withal that they would not stay by it (as crows or other ravenous birds do by carrion), but presently fled with what they caught into their nests.

Ver. 21. *Paran.*] Which was near to Arabia: in

and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.

22 ¶ And it came to pass at that time, that Abimelech and Phichol the chief captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, *God is with thee in all that thou doest* :

23 Now therefore swear unto me here by God that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son: *but* according to the kindness that I have done unto thee, thou shalt do unto me, and to the land wherein thou hast sojourned.

24 And Abraham said, I will swear.

25 And Abraham reproved Abimelech because of a well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away.

26 And Abimelech said, I wot not who hath done this thing: neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it, but to day.

which country all the Oriental writers say the posterity of Ishmael lived: particularly Patricides, who says he went into the land of Jathreb, which is that part of Arabia, in which is the city of Medina.

A wife out of—Egypt.] Out of her own country, where she was best acquainted. The Jewish doctors say he had two wives, whose names, they tell us, were Aiscab and Phatimah: the first of which received Abraham cherulishly, when he went to visit his son; and therefore he put her away and took the other, who proved more civil, when he made a second journey thither. Which, though it looked like a fable, yet I think it not improbable that Abraham might go to see how his son lived, and that Ishmael might sometimes wait upon him (as the author of Schalse. Hakab. and Pirke Eliezer affirm); for we cannot think they were so unnatural as never to have any correspondence: especially since we read that Ishmael, as well as Isaac, took care of Abraham's funeral, xxv. 9. After which, it is not improbable, Hagar might have another husband; which is the account Aben Ezra (upon Ps. lxxiii. 6) gives of the people called Hagarenes, who are there mentioned as distinct from the Ishmaelites: they were, saith he, descended from Hagar by another husband, not by Abraham.

Ver. 22. *Abimelech and Phichol, &c.*] It is plain by this that Abraham still lived, if not in the country of Gerar, yet very near it.

God is with thee in all that thou doest.] They saw him so thriving and prosperous, that they were afraid he might grow too strong for them, if he should have a mind to disturb them.

Ver. 23. *Swear—thou wilt not deal falsely, &c.*] That as there hath been a long friendship between me and thee, so thou wilt not violate it; but always preserve it, even when I am dead: according to thy frequent professions, and, perhaps, promises.

According to the kindness, &c.] Abimelech thought he might claim this oath from Abraham, by virtue of the obligations he had laid upon him.

Ver. 24. *I will swear.*] He was as forward to confirm his promises as to make them.

Ver. 25.] But before he sware, he thought it necessary to settle a right understanding between them: and therefore argued with Abimelech (as it may be rendered) about a well of water digged by Abraham's servants, which Abimelech's had injuriously taken from him. This was wisdom to complain of wrongs now, before they entered into a covenant, that, they being redressed, there might remain no occasion of quarrels afterward.

27 And Abraham took sheep and oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech; and both of them made a covenant.

28 And Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves.

29 And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast set by themselves?

30 And he said, For these seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me, that I have digged this well.

31 Wherefore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they sware both of them.

32 Thus they made a covenant at Beer-sheba: then Abimelech rose up, and Phichol the chief captain of his host, and they returned into the land of the Philistines.

33 ¶ And Abraham planted a grove in Beer-

Ver. 26.] This is the first time I heard of it: if thou hadst complained before I would have done thee right.

Ver. 27.] Some think they were a present he made to Abimelech, in gratitude for what he had bestowed on him (xx. 14), or in token of friendship with him. But others think they were designed for sacrifices, by which they made a covenant one with another. At least some of them served for that use.

Ver. 28.] The meaning of this is afterwards explained, ver. 30. That though they were part of the present he made him, yet they should be understood also (being set apart from the rest) to be a purchase of a quiet possession of that well.

Ver. 30.] By this token it shall be remembered hereafter, that I digged this well, and that thou didst grant me quiet possession of it.

Ver. 31. *Beer-sheba*] The Hebrew word *sheba* signifies, both an oath, and also seven: perhaps for both reasons this place had this name. We are sure for the first, which is here mentioned: because they sware to each other.

Ver. 32. *Thus they made a covenant, &c.*] By giving and accepting those sheep and oxen, mentioned ver. 27, and, perhaps, by offering sacrifices; or, at least, by eating and drinking together, as Isaac and Abimelech did in aftertimes (xxvi. 30).

Here some observe, it was not unlawful, by the law of nature, to make covenants with infidels and idolaters, for mutual defence and commerce, or such-like reasons; but I see no proof that Abimelech was such a person. In future ages the people of Canaan were so corrupted by this, as well as other sins, that God commanded them to be exterminated, and made it unlawful to enter into a covenant with them (Exod. xxxiv. 15). But as the Philistines were none of them, so it still remained lawful to make leagues with other gentiles who were not of the seven nations of Canaan, as we see by the examples of David, and Solomon, and others.

They returned into the land of the Philistines.] Into that part of the country where they dwelt; for both Abimelech and Abraham were now in that land, as appears from the last verse of this chapter.

Ver. 33. *Abraham planted a grove*] For a solemn and retired place wherein to worship God. For, as Servius says upon the ninth Æneid, *Nonquam est lucus sine religione*; "There never was a grove, in ancient times, without religion." And therefore here we may well suppose Abraham built an altar, which was fenced and bounded with an enclosure, and shaded with trees, as Mr. Mede (Discourse xix.) ob-

sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the everlasting God.

serves their *proseuchas*, or *places of prayer*, to have been in aftertimes. For, that this was intended for a place of prayer, appears by the following words—"and called there on the name of the Lord," &c.

From hence, some think, the custom of planting groves was derived into all the gentile world, who so profaned them by images, and filthiness, and sacrifices to demons, that God commanded them, by the law of Moses, to be cut down. But Abraham made use of a grove before this (xii. 6, 8), where we find he built an altar on a mountain, which, I question not, was compassed with trees. (See xiii. 18.) Therefore I take this only to have been the first grove that he planted himself.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Abraham is tempted to offer Isaac.* 3 *He giveth proof of his faith and obedience.* 11 *The angel stayeth him.*
13 *Isaac is exchanged with a ram.* 14 *The place is called Jehovah-jireh.* 15 *Abraham is blessed again.*
20 *The generation of Nahor unto Rebekah.*

1 AND it came to pass after these things that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, Behold, *here I am*.

2 And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a

34 And Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' land many days.

Called there on the name of the Lord,] I find that Maimonides, in several places of his *More Nevochim*, translates the last words, *The Lord God of the world, or the Lord the Almighty Creator of the world.* For this was the great article of faith in those days, that God made the world (Par. ii. cap. 30, et par. iii. cap. 29).

Ver. 34. *Many days, &c.*] The word *days* often signifies *years*, and, it is likely, signifies so in this place: for here Isaac was born, and here he was weaned; and after that Abraham found so much friendship from Abimelech, and so many conveniences of life, that they invited him to stay a long time in this country.

CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1.] That which follows fell out while Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba, or near it (ver. 19).

God did tempt Abraham,] Proved or tried his faith, in a very difficult instance. The Hebrews take great notice, that the name of Elohim (which they call *Nomen Judicii*) is here used, as it is in several of the following verses.

And said unto him, Abraham:] I suppose there was such a visible appearance of the Divine Majesty to him as he had often seen (xv. 1, xvii. 1, xviii. 1).

Here I am.] A phrase expressing readiness to hearken and to give answer (ver. 7, 12).

Ver. 2. *Take now*] Immediately.

Thy son,] A hard thing, had it been Ishmael.

Thy only son Isaac,] His only son by Sarah, and the child of the promise (xxi. 12).

Whom thou lovest,] Who was far dearer to him than any thing in this world: dearer than his own life; for men will venture that to preserve their children. According to an old saying in Euripides,

Ἅπανσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἔν τ' ἑλπίδι τέκνα.

"Children are to all mankind, their very life, or soul."

Whence it was that Pacatus Drepanius said in his panegyric to Theodosius the Great, *Instituente natura plus fere filios quam nosmetipsos diligimus*; "we are taught by nature to love our sons, in a manner, more than ourselves." But the love of God in Abraham was stronger than either.

Land of Moriah;] So it was called afterwards, from God's appearing there (ver. 14) for the deliverance of Isaac, as many think. Certain it is, that the temple of Solomon was built upon Mount Moriah (2 Chron. iii. 1); but this name belonged not only to that mountain, but to all the mountainous country thereabouts, which is here called *the land of Moriah*. Which Aquila translates *καταφανή*, "conspicuous;" for it is derived from the word *raah*, to see. And the LXX. translate it not amiss, *γῆν ὑψηλὴν*, "high

burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.

3 ¶ And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose

country;" which is very conspicuous. But Mount Zion, and Acra, and other neighbouring mountains, being also very high, this name of Moriah belonged to them, because they were very conspicuous. Inasmuch that Mount Zion is often used in Scripture for Mount Moriah; for all that mountainous country went by one and the same name.

And offer him there] The Hebrews observe the word is ambiguous, and may be translated, *make him to go up*; but Abraham understood it in the usual sense, that he should kill him, as they did the beasts for sacrifices. A very hard injunction, which some think God would not have laid upon Abraham, if he had not had a power thus to dispose of Isaac, inherent in him as his father. (See Dr. Taylor, *Duct. Dubit.* lib. iii. cap. 5, rule 2, n. 1.)

Upon one of the mountains] There were more hills than one thereabouts (Psalm cxv. 2), as I observed on the foregoing verse. And it may be further here noted, that in ancient times they chose mountains, or high places, whereon to worship God, and offer sacrifices (xii. 8): which God himself approved of, till they were profaned, as the groves were (see xxi. 33), and then he commanded Abraham's posterity not to worship in high places, but only in one certain mountain, where he ordered his temple to be seated. Nothing is plainer in the gentile writers, than that they chose mountains for places of worship: and herein Celsus, the Epicurean, compares them with the Jews; observing, particularly out of Herodotus, that the Persians offered sacrifices to Jupiter, going up, *ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν ὀρέων*, "to the top of the highest mountains," as his words are in Origen (lib. v. contra Cels.). It is well known, also, that these mountains were well shaded with trees; so that, commonly, groves and mountains are mentioned together, as places for religious worship.

Ver. 3. *Abraham rose up early*] Some here take notice of the readiness of his obedience, in several instances.

First, That he rose up early. Secondly, Saddled

up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.

4 Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.

5 And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you.

6 And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.

7 And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father,

and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?

8 And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering: so they went both of them together.

9 And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood.

10 And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.

his ass himself (though the phrase doth not certainly import so much). Thirdly, Carried wood ready cleft along with him, for the offering, lest he should find none there.

Isaac his son.] It is an inquiry among the Jews, how old Isaac was at this time. Some of them say seven-and-thirty, whom the Arabic Christian writers follow, Patricides and Elmacinus. Aben Ezra, more probably, saith he was thirty. But there is no certainty of such things: for I find in the Gemara Sanhedrim (cap. x. n. 4), it is said, this fell out a little after he was weaned (see ver. 9).

Went unto the place.] That is, toward the place; which he did not see till the third day after he set out.

Ver. 4. *On the third day.*] It was not much above one day's journey from Beer-sheba to Moriah; but an ass goes slowly, especially being loaded, as this was, with a burden of wood, and with provisions, we must suppose, for their journey; and Abraham, and his son, and servants, went on foot, and could not travel far on a day (Isaac being but young), for it doth not appear they had more than one single ass (ver. 5).

Saw the place afar off.] It is most reasonable to suppose, that God had given him some token or sign, whereby he should know it. And I cannot but think it highly probable, that the Divine glory appeared in the place where he was to make the oblation. Which conjecture I find confirmed by R. Eliezer, among other of the Jews, who says, that when God bade him go to the place he would tell him of (ver. 2), and there offer his son; he asked how he should know it? and the answer was, "Whosoever thou seest my glory, there I will stay, and wait for thee," &c. And accordingly, now, "he beheld a pillar of fire reaching from heaven to the earth," and thereby knew this was the place. (See Pirke Eliezer, cap. 31.)

Ver. 5. *Go yonder and worship.*] This confirms the forementioned conjecture, that, the Divine glory appearing upon the mountain, he went thither to worship God.

Come again to you.] He either speaks of himself alone, or believed God would restore Isaac to life, though he did slay him.

Ver. 6. *Laid it upon Isaac.*] A figure of Christ, who carried his own cross (John xix. 17), according to the Roman custom. Philo's reflection upon Isaac's carrying the wood for his own sacrifice is, that "nothing is more laborious than piety."

Ver. 7.] It appears, by this, that he had not hitherto acquainted Isaac with his intention.

Ver. 8.] It seems they stayed a while (as they were going together, ver. 6), till Isaac had finished this discourse with his father, and then they proceeded.

Ver. 9. *Built an altar.*] Of turf, some think; or of such stone as he could gather.

Bound Isaac.] Both his hands and his feet, as it is explained in Pirke Eliezer (cap. 31). When the

gentiles offered human sacrifices, they tied both their hands behind their backs, as appears from Ovid (lib. iii. de Pont. Eleg. 2), and other authors. Whether Isaac was thus bound, it matters not; but we cannot doubt that Abraham had now acquainted him with the will of God, and persuaded him willingly to comply and submit unto it: wherein he prefigured Christ the more exactly, who laid down his life of himself, and no man (without his consent) could take it from him, as he speaks, John x. 17, 18. We have reason to believe this of Isaac, because he, being younger and stronger, could have made resistance, had he been so minded. Josephus says he was twenty-five years old (lib. i. Antiq. 14); and Bochart makes him twenty-eight; the word *naar*, which we translate *lad*, being used for one of that age; nay, Joseph is called so when he was thirty years old (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 9). This is certain, that he was old enough to carry such a load of wood (ver. 6), as was sufficient to make a fire to offer up a burnt-offering. There are those, also, who think Isaac was laid upon the altar to be offered, in that very place where Christ was crucified. And thus much is true, that though Mount Calvary was without Jerusalem, and therefore different from Mount Moriah, on which the temple stood, yet they were so near, and it is likely only parts of one and the same mountain, that they were anciently both comprehended under the name of Moriah.

Ver. 10.] His obedience proceeded so far that it evidently appeared he was fully resolved to do as he was bidden; for the knife was just at Isaac's throat, ready to do the execution. Inasmuch that God made account of it, as if it had been actually done, and accepted his obedience as *ἀόκλητος καὶ παντελής*, "as entirely perfect, and absolutely completed," as Philo speaks. And yet there have been those who disparage this obedience, by endeavouring to make the world believe that the sacrificing of children was in use before Abraham's time. And the very first thing that hath been alleged as a proof of it, is the very objection in Philo, made by cavilling calumniators (as he calls them), who said, why should such praise be bestowed on Abraham, *ὡς ὑπερῆρξεν πεκαυνομένης πράξεως*, "as if he had attempted a thing altogether new, which private men, and kings, and whole nations, do upon occasion?" The learned reader cannot but know that one of our own countrymen (Sir J. Marsham, in Canon. Chronic. § v.) hath set this in the front of all his arguments, to prove that Abraham was not the first who sacrificed his son; without acquainting the reader with Philo's answer to this, which quite overthrows all his pretensions. For he says (lib. de Abrahamo, pp. 375, 376, edit. Paris), that some barbarians have done this, following the custom of their country, or being in great distress, &c. But nothing of this nature could move Abraham to it, for the custom of sacrificing children

11 And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham : and he said, Here *am* I.

12 And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the

lad, neither do thou any thing unto him : for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast notwithstanding thy son, thine only son from me.

13 And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and

was neither in Babylon, nor Mesopotamia, nor Chaldea, where he had lived a long time ; no, nor (as it follows a little after) in that country where he then lived ; but αὐτὸς ἑμελλε πρῶτος ἀρχιερεὺς καινοτάτου καὶ παρηλαγμένου παραδείγματος, "he was to be the beginner of a perfectly new and unusual example." What plainer confutation can there be of what the forenamed author pretends, than this, which he most disingenuously concealed ? Nor is there more strength in what follows in him out of Sanchoniathon, who says that Saturn offered his only son. For by *Saturn* it is evident he meant *Abraham*, as appears by the name of that son whom such like authors call *Jehud*, which is plainly the very same with *Jehid*, as Isaac is called in the second verse of this chapter. I omit the rest, which is of the like stamp.

Ver. 11. *The angel of the Lord called unto him, &c.* That is, the Lord himself, by his angel. See upon xviii. 10. To which I shall here add, that, whether it be said in these holy books the Lord said any thing, or an angel spake, we are always to understand both to have been present : for the angels ever attend upon the Divine Majesty, and, being ministers of his, do nothing but by his order. Therefore, when he is said to speak, it is *by* them, and when they are said to speak, it is *from* him. It is the Lord, therefore, that speaks, whosoever be the minister. Of which St. Austin gives a demonstration from this very place (lib. iii. de Trinitate, cap. 11), in the beginning of this chapter (ver. 1, 2) : "We read that *God tempted Abraham*, and bade him go and offer to him his son ; but here the *angel of the Lord* called to him, and bade him not to do it. What is the meaning of this ? Will they (whose opinion he there opposes) say that God commanded Isaac to be slain, and that his angel forbade it ; and that Abraham obeyed the angel who bade him spare his son, against the command of God, who bade him slay him ? This sense is ridiculous, and not to be endured. The plain meaning is, that God spake both times, in the one case and in the other : but by an angel, who was his minister. That is the reason angels sometimes speak as if they were the Lord, because they speak in his name : just as when a public crier pronounces the sentence of a judge, Non scribitur in gestis, ille præco dixit, sed ille judex, 'it is not written in the records, that the crier, but the judge, pronounced that sentence.'"

And thus R. Jehuda understood this passage, whose gloss is this (in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 31) : "He," i. e. the Lord, "made his voice to be heard from between the two cherubims, and said, Lay not thy hand upon the lad." I do not know whether it be worth observing, that God is not called in all this story (as the Jews note) by the name of Jehovah, till now ; which being, say they, *Nomen misericordie*, is most agreeable to this part of the story, as Elohim was to the former part (ver. 2).

Abraham, Abraham :] He ingeminates his name, that he might make him attend to what he said, and put a stop to his proceedings.

Ver. 12. *Now I know that thou fearest God, &c.*] Thou hast given sufficient proof of the regard thou hast to God and his commands. It is apparent from what thou hast done, and thou needest do no more to evidence it. And so Hackspar translates the word *know* in this place, *now I have proved, or approved*, as Psalm i. ult. Matt. vii. 23. Which proofs do not argue ignorance, no more than questions do (Gen. iii. 9 ; John vi. 5, 6).

Nobody (that I know of) hath better explained this whole matter than Moses Maimonides, whose words are these (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 24) : This story of Abraham makes good two great foundations of the law : "one is, to show us how far the fear and love of God extends itself. For here was a command to do that, with which the loss of money, or of life itself, is not to be compared ; nay, that from which nature abhorred ; viz. that a man very rich, and in great authority, who earnestly desired an heir, which was born to him when he had no hope of one, in his old age, should so overcome his natural affection to him (which could not but be exceeding great), as to forego all the expectations he had from him, and consent, after a journey of three days, to slay his son with his own hands. This is the greatest thing that ever was performed : for if he had done it in that moment when he was commanded, it might have been thought a sudden, precipitate, and inconsiderate act ; but to do it so many days after he received the command, upon mature deliberation, is the highest proof of his obedience, and that this act proceeded from nothing but from the fear and love of God : for he did not make haste to slay his son, out of any fright he was in lest God should have slain him, or taken away his estate, if he had disobeyed ; but took time to consider of it, that he might show to all men what one ought to do for the love and fear of God, and not for fear of punishment, or hope of worldly reward : for the angel said, 'Now I know that thou fearest God.'"

"The second thing we are taught by this history is, that the prophets were fully assured of the truth of those things which God spake to them, either in dreams, or in visions, or any other way ; which they believed as strongly as things of sense. For if Abraham had in the least doubted whether this were the will of God or no, which he received either in a vision, or a dream, he would never have consented to a thing which nature abhorred."

This very story is told by Alexander Polyhistor, as Eusebius relates out of him (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. § xix.).

Ver. 13. *Abraham lifted up his eyes,*] From looking upon Isaac, or upon the angel.

Looked,] He heard, we may suppose, a bustling noise, which the ram made when it was caught in the thicket ; which made him look that way from whence the noise came.

Behold, behind him a ram, &c.] Bochart gives many reasons to prove that the most ancient reading, and much better, was, *Behold, one ram : achar*, which we translate *behind*, being put for *achad, one*, or a singular ram (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 49). But it is not material which way we take it ; nor need we inquire how the ram came there. Nothing is more common than for sheep to go astray ; and by God's providence this ram was caught in a thicket not far from Abraham ; whereby he made good what Abraham had told his son, "God will provide a lamb for a burnt-offering." In which this ram was a notable type of Christ, who was a sacrifice provided by God, not by man, as this ram was brought by Divine Providence to be offered, not by Abraham.

Abraham—look the ram, and offered him up, &c.] Saying, as R. S. represents it, Lord, accept this sacrifice, as if my son himself were slain, and his blood shed, and his skin flayed off, and he were burnt and reduced to ashes.

looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.

14 And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.

15 ¶ And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time,

16 And said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son:

17 That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon

the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies;

18 And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.

19 So Abraham returned unto his young men, and they rose up and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20 ¶ And it came to pass after these things, that it was told Abraham, saying, Behold, Milcah, she hath also born children unto thy brother Nahor;

21 Huz his firstborn, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram,

22 And Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel.

And the ram being accepted instead of his son, may be thought to signify that the offering of the *blessed seed*, God's only Son, should be suspended till future times, and that in the mean season the offering the blood of beasts should serve as a pledge (to use the words of Mr. Mede) of that expiation which the blessed seed of Abraham should one day make (Discourse xxv.), where he observes, that the more lively to express this, God so disposed, that the very place where the ram was offered instead of Isaac, should be the place of sacrifice for Israel. For there it was, where the Lord answered David by fire from heaven (1 Chron. xxi. 26), and so designed it for the place he had chosen for his altar; there David pitched him a tabernacle (1 Chron. xxii. 1), and there Solomon built him a house (2 Chron. iii. 1).

Ver. 14. *Jehovah-jireh* :] The Lord will see or provide: that is, take care of their safety who steadfastly obey him.

It is said to this day. :] Which is thus called to this day: or, as others interpret it, now it is a proverbial speech when men are in great straits, "in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen:" where a double variation is observed, from what was said before; for here is Jehovah instead of *Elohim* (ver. 12), and then *Jeruch* instead of *jireh*; i. e. the passive instead of the active; signifying, that the Lord will not only see or provide, but make himself conspicuous by so providing, that all shall behold the care he takes of those that fear him.

Ver. 15.] This confirms what was noted on ver. 12, that it was God himself who called to Abraham to stay his hand, and now says, "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord," &c. What can be clearer, as Hacksan glosses (Disput. ii. de Nominibus Divinis, n. 16), than that we are to turn away our eyes from the angel, and fix them upon God, who blessed Abraham, and is called the Lord, for whose sake (ver. 12) Abraham spared not his only son? In all like cases therefore which exceed the angelical dignity, we are always to understand some such words as these here mentioned, *Neum Jehovah*, Thus saith the Lord.

Ver. 16.] I observed upon xii. 7, and xvii. 6, that God enlarged his mercies to Abraham, proportionably to his obedience; which is apparent in this great and last trial of all, the offering his son, which was rewarded by the ratification of God's former promise or covenant, by a most solemn oath: *By myself have I sworn, I will multiply thy seed, &c.* This was promised before, but not confirmed by an oath: and besides, the very promise is now more affectionate (if I may so style it); "in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thee," &c. In the latter end also of the blessing, there seems to be couched the highest of all blessings, that God would make his

own only Son such a sacrifice as Abraham was ready to have made his son Isaac; that "all the nations of the world (ver. 18), might be blessed in him;" i. e. all that would follow the faith of Abraham. So Abarbinel himself interprets it upon xii. 3.

Ver. 17. *Possess the gate* (that is, the cities) *of his enemies* :] And consequently their country: for the gates being taken, thereby they entered into their cities; and their cities being surrendered, the country was conquered.

Ver. 18. *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed* :] God promised to make Abraham's seed as numerous as the stars of heaven (xv. 5); which promise he assures him here should be fulfilled in Isaac (ver. 17). But moreover directs him to expect, after the multiplying of his posterity, one particular seed who should bring a blessing to all mankind. This singularity St. Paul observes, and presses very much (Gal. iii. 16), applying it to the Messiah. And it is further observable, that there is an increase of sense in these words, as there is in the former. For he doth not simply say, *נברך*, they shall be blessed, but *והברכו*, shall bless themselves, or count themselves blessed in him; to show, as Jacobus Altingius thinks, that this person should not stand in need of any blessing himself, as the rest of Abraham's seed did; but be the author of all blessings unto others, who should derive them from him alone (lib. ii. Schilo. cap. 2).

Because thou hast obeyed, &c. :] As a reward (the word in the Hebrew signifies) for obeying my voice.

Ver. 19.] *Went together to Beer-sheba* :] Where he had for some time settled his abode (xxi. 33).

Ver. 20.] The following genealogy is set down to show, whence Rebekah the wife of Isaac was descended. For she alone, of all Bethuel's daughters (which is probable were many) is mentioned, ver. 23.

Ver. 21. *Huz his first-born*, :] There were two others of this name. One, the son of Aram (x. 23), another of the posterity of Esau (xxxvi. 28). But this Uz here mentioned, is he from whom Job descended; whose country was called *Ausitis* (so the LXX. translate Uz, Job i. 1), and his posterity called *Ausite* by Ptolemy; who were a people of Arabia Deserta, near Chaldaea, not far from Euphrates.

Buz :] From whom came Elihu the Buzite (Job xxxii. 2), a people in some part of the same country, or near it.

Aram, :] Who inhabited, perhaps, some part of Syria which had the name of Aram from another, mentioned x. 23.

Ver. 22. *Chesed*, :] He was the father of the Chaldeans, who are called Chasdim in Scripture, from this Chesed, or Chasad, as some read it. Where the rest

23 And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight Milcah did bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother.

that follow settled, or whether they had any posterity or no, I cannot find. It is likely they never grew to make a nation or a family, and so left no name behind them.

Ver. 24. *And his concubine,*] This was not an ill name in these ancient times: but signifies a wife, who

24 And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, she bare also Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maachah.

was not the mistress of the family; but only taken for the increase of it, by procreation of children. Such wives were generally servants; whereas the prime wife was a free woman, or made so by being married to govern the family, and bring children to inherit the estate.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 *The age and death of Sarah.* 2 *The purchase of Machpelah,* 19 *where Sarah was buried.*

I AND Sarah was an hundred and seven and twenty years old: *these were* the years of the life of Sarah.

2 And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba; the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her.

3 ¶ And Abraham stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of Heth, saying,

4 *I am a stranger and a sojourner with you:*

give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.

5 And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him,

6 Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead.

7 And Abraham stood up, and bowed himself

CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1.] The whole verse may be thus translated, "And the years of the life of Sarah were (in the whole) a hundred twenty and seven years:" it being usual with the Hebrews to repeat a word (as *life* is here) when they would signify any thing to be complete. And Sarah is the only woman whose entire age is set down in Scripture.

Ver. 2. *Kirjath-arba;*] i. e. The city of Arba, who was a famous man among the Anakims (as we read, Josh. xiv. ult.), and either built this city, or made it the place of his residence; from whence it took his name.

It doth not appear when Abraham left Beer-sheba, and removed to this place.

The same is Hebron] A very ancient city, as appears from Numb. xiii. 22. When it assumed this name, instead of Kirjath-arba, is not certain: but some conjecture it might be after Abraham purchased a burial place in this country. (See xiii. 18.)

Abraham came] Some fancy he was in some other part of the country, when his wife died. And several of the Jews have a conceit, that he came from Mount Moriah (which is confuted by what we read, xxii. 19), where Sarah, hearing he was gone to sacrifice her son, died with grief. But Maimonides speaks better sense, when he says, Abraham came from his own tent, which was separate (as I noted before, xviii. 9), from his wife's: as appears further from xxiv. 67.

To mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her.] The first relates to private sorrow, the other to the public, especially at the funeral solemnities; when they made great lamentation. After Abraham had performed the former, he made preparations for the latter; but what the rites of mourning were in those days we do not know. It is likely they shut themselves up from company, neglected the care of their bodies, abstained from their ordinary food: which, with many others, were the customs of Abraham's posterity; who made it a part of their religion to mourn for the dead.

Ver. 3. *Abraham stood up from before his dead,*] By

this it seems to be apparent, that in Abraham's time they sat upon the ground while they mourned, as it is certain they did in future ages. In which posture they continued till they had satisfied natural affection, and the decent custom of the age and country where they lived. Then they rose up, as Abraham here did, to take care of the interment of his wife. Seven days, in after ages, were the common time of mourning: and for illustrious persons they mourned thirty days.

Spake unto the sons of Heth,] In whose country he now lived: concerning whom, see x. 15. *By the sons* are meant the principal persons of that nation.

Ver. 4. *I am a stranger and a sojourner with you:*] Though I am not a native of your country, yet I have lived long enough among you to be known to you.

Give me a possession of a buryingplace, &c.] I do not desire any large possessions among you, being but a sojourner; let me have only a place, which I may call my own, wherein to bury those of my family which die.

Ver. 5. *The children (or sons) of Heth answered, &c.*] By one of their body, who spake in the name of the rest: as appears by the first words of the next verse, "Hear us, my lord:" in which form they were wont to address themselves to great men (ver. 11, 13, 15, 16).

Ver. 6. *Thou art a mighty prince,*] We have a great honour for thee.

In the choice of our sepulchres, &c.] Make choice of any one sepulchre; and nobody will deny to let thee have it. Every family (at least great ones) had their proper place for burial: which, I suppose, were sometimes so large, that they might spare others a part of them; or, of the ground wherein they were made.

Ver. 7. *Abraham stood up,*] It seems they had desired him to sit down among them, while they treated this business: which when they granted, he stood up to thank them.

Bowed himself] The Hebrew word signifies the *bowing of the body*; and there are other words in that language proper to the *bowing of the head*, or of the knee.

to the people of the land, *even* to the children of Heth.

8 And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight; hear me, and entreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar,

9 That he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which *is* in the end of his field; for as much money as it is worth he shall give it me for a possession of a burying-place amongst you.

10 And Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, *even* of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying,

11 Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I

Ver. 8.] He desires them to mediate between him and this man (who, perhaps, was not then present in the assembly) for a purchase of a convenient place in his ground.

Ver. 9. *Cave of Machpelah.*] We take this word Machpelah for a proper name, as many others do: but the Talmudists generally think it to have been *speluncam duplicem* (as the Vulgar Latin also, with the LXX. understand it), a double cave. Yet they cannot agree in what sense it was so; whether they went through one cave into another, or there was one above another. For that by a cave is meant a vault arched over with stones or wood, which the ancients call *cryptæ*, nobody doubts. Salmasius hath described them in his Plin. Exercit. p. 1208, where he says this cave is said to have been double, in the same sense that the Greeks called theirs *σπήλαια ἀμφιδύναμα*, because they had a double entrance, so that one might go into them at both ends, as Hesychius expounds it. Which shows, as he adds, it was a large place, and would contain many bodies. And of this he is so confident as to say, *Non querenda est alia duplicis speluncæ interpretatio: "no other interpretation of this double sepulchre ought to be sought after."* But learned men will not hearken to such dictates; and particularly Theodorick Hackspan maintains Machpelah to be a proper name (as we take it) by these two reasons: first, because the field itself, wherein this cave was, is called the Field of Machpelah (ver. 19): which doth not signify sure that there was a double gate to this field, but that it was in that tract of ground called Machpelah. And, secondly, this Field in Machpelah, is said to be before Mamre (ver. 17), which plainly denotes it to be a place so called (Miscell. lib. i. cap. 10). For which last reason, Guil. Vorstius also takes it to have been the name of a country, or province, in which this field and cave lay (Animadv. in Pirke Eliezer, p. 179).

Which is in the end of his field.] Burying-places were not anciently in the cities, much less in their temples; but in the fields, in caves, or vaults made to hold a good number of bodies. And so they continued, it is manifest, in our Saviour's time, among the Jews; as appears by Lazarus's monument (John xi. 30, 31), and by the burying-places for strangers (Matt. xxvii. 7), and their carrying the widow's son out of the city (Luke vii. 12, &c.).

This seems to have been in the corner of the field before-mentioned; which, perhaps, was near the highway: for there they sometimes affected to bury their dead, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 8, 19; Josh. xxiv. 30.

Ver. 10. *Ephron dwelt*] The Hebrew word for

thee, and the cave that *is* therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.

12 And Abraham bowed down himself before the people of the land.

13 And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, But if thou *wilt* give it, I pray thee, hear me: I will give thee money for the field; take it of me, and I will bury my dead there.

14 And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him,

15 My lord, hearken unto me: the land *is* worth four hundred shekels of silver; what *is* that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead.

16 And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron;

dwelt signifies literally *sat*. Which hath made some think that Ephron was a great man (a ruler, or governor) among the children of Heth, who sat as a prince or judge in this assembly. And that this was the reason why Abraham (ver. 8) addressed himself to others of the same rank, that they would make way for him into his favour.

In the audience of the children of Heth, &c.] It is judiciously observed by Cornel. Bertram, that all weighty matters in those days were determined by the king (if they had any), or the elders, with the consent of the people (De Repub. Judaic. cap. 3). Marriages were a matter of public right (xxix. 22); as sepulchres were, it appears by this place: both of them being held to belong to religion.

Ver. 11.] Contracts, or grants, were wont to be made before all the people, or their representatives, till writings were invented.

Ver. 12.] Because, by their intercession, this favour was granted him.

Ver. 13.] This was the surest title, he thought, by purchase. And it was but reasonable he should buy it, if he would have any land in Canaan; for the time of possessing it, according to God's promise, was not yet come.

Ver. 15. *The land is worth four hundred shekels*] This is the first time we meet with the name of shekel. Mention was made of money before in general (xvii. 12, 13), and of pieces of silver, xx. 16 (which shows the use of money was found out in those early days, and they did not trade merely by the exchange of one commodity for another), but we have no name for the money till now; and cannot exactly tell of what value a shekel of silver was. But Josephus (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10) saith, Ἀπριχὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας, "it was as much as four Attic drachms; that is, half an ounce: which, in our money, wants not much of half a crown.

What is that between me and thee?] Some will have this to signify as much as, This is not worth speaking of between friends, and therefore I had rather thou wouldst accept it as a gift. But it is more reasonable to think, that he only pretended to use him kindly, and not to exact upon his necessity. It being as much as to say, This is no great price, but a friendly bargain: pay it, therefore, and bury thy dead.

Ver. 16.] They did not tell money as we do now, but weighed it: for it was not stamped anciently, as Aristotle observes: but in the beginning of the world was received, μεγέθει καὶ σβάθει, "by its bulk and its weight." Which being very troublesome, they learned in time to set a mark upon it, to free them from that inconvenience. Ὁ γὰρ χρυσὸς ἐκείνη τοῦ νόμου ση-

and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.

17 ¶ And the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure

18 Unto Abraham for a possession in the

μείον, "for that mark was set upon it to denote its quantity;" i. e. how much it was worth. For having the public stamp, that made it current, at a known value. Which must not be understood of foreign money, which was still weighed, though stamped: but of that of their own country, which they were assured was worth so much as the mark expressed. Yet it continued to be weighed among the Jews in David's time (1 Chron. xxi. 25); nay, till the captivity of Babylon (Jerem. xxxii. 9). And, indeed, the very word *shekel* comes from *shakal*, to weigh. And may be interpreted, as Waserus observes, *the weight*.

From all which Herm. Conringius well concludes, there is no truth in what the Jews say, in Bereschith Rabba, and other books; that Joshua, David, and Mordecai, nay, Abraham, coined money in their days. To support which fiction, they have counterfeited some coins with the inscription of "Senex et Anus" on one side, and "Juvenis et Virgo" on the other. As if Isaac and Rebekah were now married: or Abraham had power to coin money in a country where he did but sojourn, and was no sovereign.

presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city.

19 And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre: the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan.

20 And the field, and the cave that is therein, was made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the sons of Heth.

Ver. 17. *Which was before Mamre,*] Over against Mamre (see xiii. 18).

Were made sure] By a solemn contract, in a public assembly (ver. 11), where the money was tendered and accepted; and all there present desired to be witnesses to it.

Ver. 18.] See ver. 11.

Ver. 19.] It is not likely that Ephron had ever buried any of his family here, but had only begun to make a vault in this field which Abraham bought of him, with all the trees therein (ver. 17), or, if it were finished, he sold it before he had made use of it. For we cannot think Abraham would lay his wife's body among those of the Hittites: but in a vacant place where he intended to be interred himself: as his family after him also were (xlix. 30, 31).

Ver. 20. *Were made sure*] He repeats this, which had been said, ver. 17, because now the purchase was more confirmed, by the laying Sarah's body in this place: it being a kind of taking actual possession of it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 Abraham sweareth his servant. 10 The servant's journey: 12 His prayer: 14 His sign. 15 Rebekah meeteth him, 18 fulfilleth his sign, 22 receiveth jewels, 23 sheweth her kindred, 25 and inviteth him home. 26 The servant blesseth God. 28 Laban entertaineth him. 34 The servant sheweth his message. 50 Laban and Bethuel approve it. 58 Rebekah consenteth to go. 62 Isaac meeteth her.

1 And Abraham was old, and well stricken in age: and the Lord had blessed Abraham in all things.

2 And Abraham said unto his eldest servant

of his house, that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh:

3 And I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth,

CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *Abraham was old,*] Some of the Hebrews, and Christian writers also, refer this to his wisdom; as the next words [well stricken in years] unto his age: nobody being called *zaken* (though far more aged) in the Holy Scripture till now: and therefore they translate it *elder*; which is the name of a wise man (see Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14, p. 556, &c.). Certain it is, that Abraham was now a hundred and forty years old: for he was a hundred when Isaac was born (xxi. 5), and Isaac was forty when he married Rebekah (xxv. 20).

Ver. 2. *Abraham said unto his eldest servant of his house,*] Or, rather, as the LXX. translate it, "He said to his servant, the elder of his house:" that is, the steward, or governor of his family, as the Jerus. Targum translates it (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14, p. 550, and Dr. Hammond upon Acts i. not. b). All take this servant to have been Eliezer, mentioned xxv. 2.

Put—thy hand under my thigh,] Some will have this phrase to import no more than, Lift me up, that I may stand, and call God to witness. But Abraham,

no question, was now so vigorous as to be able to rise of himself: having many children after this. Others, therefore, follow the opinions of the Jewish doctors, which is this, in short; "Before the giving of the law, the ancient fathers swore by the covenant of circumcision." They are the words of R. Eliezer, in his Pirke, cap. 49. And it is not improbable, that this manner of swearing, by putting the hand under that part which was the subject of circumcision, had respect to the covenant God made with that family, and their right to accomplish the promise of the Messiah. But this was not a custom peculiar to Abraham's family, for we find it among other eastern people: and therefore, it is likely, more ancient than circumcision. For which cause, Aben Ezra himself thinks putting the hand under the thigh was a token of subjection and homage done by a servant to his lord: he sitting, and the servant putting his hand under him. Grotius imagines, that the sword hanging upon the thigh (Psalm xlv. 3), this was as much as to say, If I falsify, kill me. Which is very witty; but the other seems plainer, signifying as much as, I am under thy power, and ready to do what thou commandest.

Ver. 3. *Swear by the Lord,*] It was not lawful to

that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell :

4 But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac.

5 And the servant said unto him, Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land : must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest ?

6 And Abraham said unto him, Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again.

7 ¶ The Lord God of heaven, which took me from my father's house, and from the land of my kindred, and which spake unto me, and that sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land ; he shall send his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife unto my son from thence.

8 And if the woman will not be willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from

this my oath : only bring not my son thither again.

9 And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning that matter.

10 ¶ And the servant took ten camels of the camels of his master, and departed ; for all the goods of his master were in his hand : and he arose, and went to Mesopotamia, unto the city of Nahor.

11 And he made his camels to kneel down without the city by a well of water at the time of the evening, *even* the time that women go out to draw water.

12 And he said, O Lord God of my master Abraham, I pray thee, send me good speed this day, and shew kindness unto my master Abraham.

13 Behold, I stand *here* by the well of water ; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water :

swear by any creature ; but only by him that made them all. For they took the greatest care to declare that they worshipped him alone.

That thou shalt not take a wife unto my son] It seems he intended to leave the guardianship of his son to him (if he should die before he had disposed of him), as unto a wise and faithful servant, who had managed his affairs above fifty years ; and we do not know how much longer.

Of the daughters of the Canaanites,] For, though there were some good people among them, as appears by Melchizedek and Abimelech ; yet he saw them degenerating apace into all manner of wickedness ; especially into idolatry : which would bring them, he knew, to utter desolation when they had filled up the measure of their iniquity (xv. 16).

Ver. 4. *Go unto my country,*] i. e. Into Mesopotamia, where he lived for some time in Haran, after he came from Ur : which was also in that country, as I observed upon xi. 31. It seems, also, his brother had removed hither ; following his father Terah's and Abraham's example (see xi. 31).

My kindred,] The family of his brother Nahor, which he heard lately was increased (xxii. 20), who, though they had some superstition among them, retained the worship of the true God ; as appears from this very chapter, ver. 31, 50.

Take a wife unto my son Isaac,] Which, no doubt, was by Isaac's consent, as well as his father's command.

Ver. 5.] He desires (like a conscientious man) to understand the full obligation of his oath, before he took it. And his doubt was, whether, if a woman would not come with him into Canaan, he should be bound to go again, a second time, and carry Isaac to her.

Ver. 6.] He would by no means his son should go to that country, which God commanded him to forsake ; that command obliging not only himself, but his posterity (see ver. 8).

Ver. 7. *The Lord God of heaven, &c.*] He who rules all things above as well as below, who brought me from my own into this country, and hath promised, and confirmed that promise with an oath, that my posterity shall inherit it, will prosper thy journey, and dispose some of my kindred to come hither, and be married to my son.

Send his angel before thee,] Good men were ever very sensible of God's providence governing all things, and prospering their proceedings by the ministry of

angels : which Abraham's servant takes particular notice of, ver. 40.

Ver. 8.] If it fall out otherwise than I hope, thou hast done thy duty ; if thou bring not my son into that country again. He speaks (both here and ver. 6), as if Isaac had once been there ; because Abraham himself came from thence, and his servant also, and a great many of his family (xii. 5), who, if Isaac went to settle there, must have gone with him, as part of his substance.

Ver. 10. *The servant took ten camels, &c.*] Camels were of great use in those countries, as they are at this day : some of them being made for carriage of burdens : and others for swift travelling ; which latter sort were called by a peculiar name, *δρομαδεις*, *dromedaries*, as Salmasius observes in his *Plinian*. Exercit. p. 987. These, perhaps, were of that kind, for the greater expedition : like those we read of, 1 Sam. xxx. 17.

For all the goods of his master were in his hand.] He might choose what accommodations he pleased for his journey ; having every thing belonging to his master at his command : who being a great person, it was fit his principal servant should be well attended (as it appears he was, ver. 32), especially when he went upon such an errand, as to court a wife for his master's son. Most refer this to the presents he carried along with him : and R. Solomon will have it that he carried a writing with him under his master's hand (an inventory we call it), specifying all his goods and riches, that they might know what a great match his son was.

City of Nahor.] Which was Haran, from whence Abraham came (xi. 31), and to which Jacob went to find his kindred (xxviii. 10). How far it was thither we are not told, nor how long they were going to it : and Moses omits also whatsoever passed in the way, as not pertinent to his story.

Ver. 11. *Camels to kneel down*] The posture wherein they rest themselves.

Ver. 12.] He had observed the kindness of God to have been so great to Abraham, and Abraham to have such a peculiar interest in his favour ; that in confidence he would make good Abraham's words (ver. 7, and 40), he not only begs he might have good success in his journey, but desires a sign of it to confirm his faith ; and such a sign as was most apposite to denote the person that would make a good wife, by her courtesy, humility, condescension, hospitality,

14 And let it come to pass, that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also; *let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my master.*

15 ¶ And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel, son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her shoulder.

16 And the damsel *was* very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went down to the well, and filled her pitcher, and came up.

17 And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher.

18 And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hastened, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.

19 And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will draw water for thy camels also, until they have done drinking.

20 And she hastened, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels.

21 And the man wondering at her held his peace, to wit whether the Lord had made his journey prosperous or not.

22 And it came to pass, as the camels had

prompt and laborious charity: all which are included in what he desires and she did.

Ver. 14.] He had no confidence that God would do any thing for his own sake, but for his master's, whom God had most wonderfully blessed.

Ver. 15. *It came to pass, before he had done speaking, &c.*] This shows it was by a Divine suggestion that he made this prayer; which was answered immediately. Such is the divine goodness; or rather (to use the words of Sam. Bochartus, upon occasion of many such instances), Sic enim parata est obvia esse solent Dei beneficia, ita ut preces nostras non tam sequantur, quam occupant atque antecedant (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 49), "So forward is God to bestow his benefits upon us, that they do not so much follow our prayers, as prevent and go before them" (see ver. 45).

With her pitcher upon her shoulder.] Behold the simplicity, frugality, and industry of that age.

Ver. 20. *Drew for all his camels.*] There were ten of them (ver. 10), and they are a very thirsty sort of creatures: and therefore she took a great deal of pains to serve him, who was but a stranger, in this manner. Which showed extraordinary goodness, and a most obliging disposition; at which he might well be amazed, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 21.] He was so astonished at her kindness, readiness to do good, and laborious diligence, &c., and also at the providence of God in making things fall out so pat to his desires, that for the present he could not speak; having his mind employed in marking and observing every passage; whereby he might judge how to conclude whether this was the woman or no, whom God designed for his master's son.

Ver. 22. *The man took*] Gave her, as the phrase is

done drinking, that the man took a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold;

23 And said, Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee: is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in?

24 And she said unto him, I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she bare unto Nahor.

25 She said moreover unto him, We have both straw and provender enough, and room to lodge in.

26 And the man bowed down his head, and worshipped the Lord.

27 And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of his mercy and his truth: I being in the way, the Lord led me to the house of my master's brethren.

28 And the damsel ran, and told them of her mother's house these things.

29 ¶ And Rebekah had a brother, and his name was Laban: and Laban ran out unto the man, unto the well.

30 And it came to pass, when he saw the earring and bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood by the camels at the well.

31 And he said, Come in, thou blessed of the Lord; wherefore standest thou without? for I

often used. But he first asked her whose daughter she was, as appears from ver. 47.

Golden earring] Or rather (as the margin hath it) a jewel for the forehead. And so we translate the Hebrew word, Ezek. xvi. 12, and this person himself expounds it, ver. 47, "I put the earring (or jewel) upon her face," i. e. her forehead. For such ornaments were used in those times and countries, hanging down between the eyebrows, over the nose.

Two bracelets for her hands] i. e. Wrist.

Ver. 26.] Gave solemn thanks to God for hearing his prayer: and acknowledged that by his providence he was conducted to the execution of his desires; as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 27. *Mercy and his truth.*] Mercy in promising, and truth in performing: or, "hath truly been merciful to him according to his promise" (ver. 7). See ver. 49.

The house of my master's brethren.] i. e. His near kindred.

Ver. 28. *Told them of her mother's house*] The women in the eastern countries had their apartments by themselves; as was before observed, and appears again, ver. 67. Thither it was proper for Rebekah to go and acquaint her mother with what had passed.

Ver. 30. *When he saw the earring, &c.*] This was the reason why he ran to invite the man to their house.

He stood by the camels at the well.] Expecting to see the issue.

Ver. 31. *Come in, thou blessed of the Lord;*] Whom God favoureth, and I pray may still continue in his favour. For it refers both to the time past and future.

have prepared the house, and room for the camels.

32 ¶ And the man came into the house : and he ungirded his camels, and gave straw and provender for the camels, and water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that *were* with him.

33 And there was set *meat* before him to eat : but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand. And he said, Speak on.

34 And he said, I *am* Abraham's servant.

35 And the Lord hath blessed my master greatly ; and he is become great : and he hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold, and menservants, and maidservants, and camels, and asses.

36 And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was old : and unto him hath he given all that he hath.

37 And my master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife to my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell :

38 But thou shalt go unto my father's house, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son.

39 And I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me.

40 And he said unto me, The Lord, before whom I walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper thy way ; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my kindred, and of my father's house :

41 Then shalt thou be clear from *this* my oath, when thou comest to my kindred ; and if they give not thee *one*, thou shalt be clear from my oath.

42 And I came this day unto the well, and said, O Lord God of my master Abraham, if now thou do prosper my way which I go :

43 Behold, I stand by the well of water ; and it shall come to pass, that when the virgin cometh

forth to draw *water*, and I say to her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink ;

44 And she say to me, Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels : *let the same be* the woman whom the Lord hath appointed out for my master's son.

45 And before I had done speaking in mine heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder ; and she went down unto the well, and drew *water* ; and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee.

46 And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her *shoulder*, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also : so I drank, and she made the camels drink also.

47 And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter art thou ? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him : and I put the earring upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands.

48 And I bowed down my head, and worshipped the Lord, and blessed the Lord God of my master Abraham, which had led me in the right way to take my master's brother's daughter unto his son.

49 And now if ye will deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me : and if not, tell me ; that I may turn to the right hand, or to the left.

50 Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth from the Lord : we cannot speak unto thee bad or good.

51 Behold, Rebekah is before thee, take *her*, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the Lord hath spoken.

52 And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he worshipped the Lord, *bowing himself* to the earth.

53 And the servant brought forth jewels of

Ver. 32.] As the custom was in those countries (see xviii. 4).

Ver. 33.] An excellent servant ; who preferred his master's profit to his own pleasure.

Ver. 35.] Enriched him exceedingly ; so that he is become a person of great eminence (xxiii. 6).

Ver. 36. *Given all that he hath.*] Declared him his heir, and settled his whole estate upon him.

Ver. 40. *The Lord, before whom I walk.*] Whom I worship and study to please ; keeping a grateful remembrance of his benefits always in my mind. For so Abraham's own words are (ver. 7), "The God which brought me from my father's house," &c.

Ver. 41. *Then shalt thou be clear from this my oath.*] Or, *curse*, as the Hebrew word imports : for all oaths were made anciently with some imprecations upon themselves if they swore falsely.

Ver. 42.] He doth not relate just the very words which he said ; but the sense of them, and most of the words.

Prosper my way which I go.] The design in which I am engaged.

Ver. 48. *My master's brother's daughter*] The granddaughter of his brother Nahor.

Ver. 49. *If ye will deal kindly and truly*] Be really and sincerely kind.

That I may turn to the right hand, or to the left.] A kind of proverbial speech ; signifying, "that I

may take some other course (which way God shall direct) to fulfil my master's desire." It is the fancy of some of the Hebrew doctors that he meant, he might go either to the Ishmaelites, or the children of Lot.

Ver. 50. *Laban and Bethuel*] The chief manager of this affair was Laban ; for Bethuel is not mentioned till now ; because, perhaps, he was old, and unfit for business : but consents to all that is desired.

The thing proceedeth from the Lord.] It appears to be the Divine will and pleasure.

We cannot speak unto thee bad or good.] No way contradict it.

Ver. 51. *Rebekah is before thee.*] Is by us delivered to thee, to be disposed of according to thy desire : as the phrase is used, xx. 15.

As the Lord hath spoken.] Declared by those signs which thou hast related to us.

Ver. 52. *Worshipped the Lord—to the earth.*] Gave the most humble thanks unto the Almighty God, for his goodness to him.

Ver. 53. *Gave also to her brother and to her mother*] Here is no mention of the father : which hath made some think, as Josephus did, that the father was dead ; and Bethuel, mentioned, ver. 50, was her younger brother. But I take it to be more likely, that her father being infirm, had committed the care of his daughter to Laban and his wife : and so ap-

silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother precious things.

54 And they did eat and drink, he and the men that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, Send me away unto my master.

55 And her brother and her mother said, Let the damsel abide with us a few days, at the least ten; after that she shall go.

56 And he said unto them, Hinder me not, seeing the Lord hath prospered my way; send me away that I may go to my master.

57 And they said, We will call the damsel, and enquire at her mouth.

58 And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.

59 And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men.

peared no more than was just absolutely necessary, in this treaty of marriage; which was carried on principally by Laban, who is mentioned therefore before her mother.

Precious things.] Presents of great value.

Ver. 55. *Let the damsel abide with us a few days, at the least ten;*] There is nothing more common in Scripture, than by days to express a year. And therefore we have exactly translated these words in the margin, a full year, or ten months (see iv. 3, Lev. xxv. 29; 1 Sam. i. 3, compared with ver. 7, and 20). Some think this cannot be the meaning, because the servant was in such haste to return to his master. But it was as fit for them to show their love to Rebekah, as it was for him to show his concern for his master. Besides, there was something of decency in it, the custom being in all countries, for her that was espoused to her husband, to stay some time with her parents, before the consummation of the marriage. And one would think the custom then was, for to keep her a year, or near it; which makes them desire she might stay at least ten months, that they might not depart too far from the common usage, and that she might have the longer time to fit herself with the usual nuptial ornaments. Thus Onkelos it is certain understood it, and the paraphrase of Uzielides, and the Mauritanian Jews, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5.

Ver. 56. *That I may go to my master.*] Whom he would have to rejoice with him.

Ver. 57. *Enquire at her mouth.*] Let her resolve, how it shall be. St. Ambrose observes upon this passage, that they do not consult her about the marriage, "for that belonged to the judgment of the parents," but about the time of going to complete it. Upon which occasion he quotes the words of Hermione when she was courted by Orestes (in Euripides' Andromacha), which he thinks were taken from hence, *Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν Πατὴρ ἐμὸς Μήτηρ ἐγὼ ἐξεῖ, οὐκ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι κρίνουν τὰτα*. "My father will take care of my marriage: these things do not belong to my determination" lib. i. de Abrahamo Patriarcha, cap. ult.).

Ver. 58. *Wilt thou go with this man?*] That is, presently, as he desires. For that she should be Isaac's wife was agreed already between them: and we are to suppose she had consented. The only question was, whether so soon as the man desired?

60 And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.

61 ¶ And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and went his way.

62 And Isaac came from the way of the well Lahai-roi: for he dwelt in the south country.

63 And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide: and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, the camels were coming.

64 And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off the camel.

65 For she had said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant had said, It is my master: therefore she took a vail, and covered herself.

66 And the servant told Isaac all things that he had done.

She said, I will go.] I agree to go, without any delay: which, no doubt, very much endeared her to Isaac.

Ver. 59. *Her nurse,*] Whose name was Deborah (xxxv. 8) who did not suckle her, perhaps, but was (as we speak) her dry-nurse: for whom, it is likely, she had a great affection. It being a piece of ancient piety and gratitude to keep such persons as long as they lived, who had taken care of them in their infancy. It is probable also she was remarkable for prudence, and other eminent qualities; or else Moses would scarce have let her name, and her death and burial, had a place in his history (xxxv. 8).

Ver. 60. *They blessed Rebekah, &c.*] Her father and mother, with all the rest of their family and kindred, prayed God to make her exceeding fruitful: and to make her posterity victorious over their enemies; which were the great things they desired in those days. The Hebrews look upon this (as Mr. Selden observes in the place before named on ver. 55) as an example of the solemn benediction, which was wont to be given (even before the law of Moses) when the spouse was carried to her husband.

Thou art our sister.] Near cousin or kinswoman: for all that were near of kin called one another brothers and sisters.

Ver. 61. *Her damsels,*] Who waited upon her; and were given as part of her portion.

Ver. 62. *Well of Lahai-roi;*] Mentioned xvi. 14. By which it appears that Abraham, after the death of Sarah, returned to live at Beer-sheba, or thereabouts; for that was nigh this well: and it is probable Abraham and Isaac were not parted.

Ver. 63.] The cool of the evening and solitude are great friends to meditation.

Ver. 64. *She lighted off the camel.*] As they always did who met any person whom they honoured.

Ver. 65. *Took a vail,*] Not only out of modesty, but in token of her subjection to him. Many will have this to have been a peculiar ornament belonging to a bride, called by the Romans *flameum*, by the Greeks *Θάψτρον*, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5. Whence those words of Tertullian, de Veland. Virgin. cap. 2. *Etiam apud Ethnicos velatæ* (i. e. sponsæ) *ad virum ducebantur*: "Even among heathens brides are brought to their husbands with a vail over their faces."

Ver. 66.] How she had consented to be his wife.

67 And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she be-

Ver. 67. *Brought her into his mother Sarah's tent,*] That apartment wherein his mother dwelt: which was distinct from that of the husband.

Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.] The love he had to his wife, helped to alleviate the sorrow he had conceived at his mother's death: which

came his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.

was so great, that now it had continued *three* years. Such was the pious affection children had for their parents in ancient days.

Isaac was *forty* years old when he married Rebekah (xxv. 20), and, if we can believe the Jews (in Seder Olam), she was but *fourteen*.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 The sons of Abraham by Keturah. 5 The division of his goods. 7 His age, and death. 9 His burial. 13 The generations of Ishmael. 17 His age, and death. 19 Isaac prayeth for Rebekah, being barren. 23 The children strive in her womb. 24 The birth of Esau and Jacob. 27 Their difference. 29 Esau selleth his birthright.

1 THEN again Abraham took a wife, and her name was Keturah.

2 And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah.

CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *Abraham took a wife,*] Sarah being dead, and Hagar long ago sent away, and his son Isaac lately married, he wanted a companion in his old age. For, having given up Sarah's tent unto Rebekah (xxiv. ult.), it is probable he gave up his own to Isaac, and so dwelt in a tent by himself, where he found it necessary to have a wife to look after his family.

Her name was Keturah.] We are not told what family she was of; but it is not unlikely she had been born and bred in his own house, as Eliezer his steward was; and, perhaps, was chief among the women, as he among the menservants. Many of the Jews will have her to be Hagar, whom (Sarah, who was the cause of her expulsion, being dead) he now received again. So the Jerusalem paraphrase, and Jonathan also: but Aben Ezra confutes this opinion with good reason; for no account can be given of Abraham's having more concubines than one (ver. 6), unless we make Keturah distinct from Hagar. Nor can anybody tell why he should call Hagar by the name of Keturah here, when he calls her by her own name, ver. 12.

Ver. 2. *She bare him*] He was now a hundred and forty years old: but so vigorous as to beget many children. Which need not seem strange, considering the age to which they then lived (for he lived thirty-five years after this marriage, ver. 7), and that now, in our time, men have had children after they have been seventy, nay eighty years of age.

To the truth also of this history we have the testimony of pagan writers. For Alexander Polyhistor (mentioned by Josephus, and by Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 20) tells us, that Cleodemus (called by some Malchas) writing the history of the Jews, reports just as Moses doth, "*Οτι εκ Χερούρας Αβραάμ ειγένοντο παῖδες ἑξάσσι*:" "That Abraham had a good many children by Keturah;" three of which he mentions by name.

Zimran.] This son of his, with all the rest of his brethren, was sent by Abraham into the east country (as we read, ver. 6), and therefore we must seek for them in those parts; viz. in Arabia, and the countries thereabout, where some footsteps of them have remained for many ages, particularly of Zimran; from whom we may well think the Zamareni were descended, a people mentioned by Pliny, with their towns in Arabia Felix (lib. vi. cap. 28.)

3 And Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.

4 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and

Jokshan.] Concerning whom I can find nothing but only this: that Theophanes, a chronographer, in the beginning of the ninth century, after he hath treated of the Ishmaelites and Madianites (the latter of which came from one of Keturah's children), and the parts of Arabia where Mahomet was born, immediately adds, that there were other people, *ἐνδοτέροι*, more in the bowels of Arabia, descended from Jeetan, called Amanitæ, that is, Homeritæ. Perhaps it should be written Joeshan, not Jeetan: for Philostorgius expressly says of the Homerites, "*Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν ἐκ Χερούρας*," &c. "That they are one of the nations descended from Keturah and Abraham," lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. § 4, where he relates a famous embassy which Constantius sent to them to win them to Christianity, and the good success of it. And there is this strong proof of their descent from some of Abraham's family, that they retained the rite of circumcision, even when they were idolaters. For he says expressly, "that it was a circumcised nation," *κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν περιτεμνομένων ἡμεῶν*, "and circumcised also on the eighth day." Which was the custom of all the Arabians, if we may believe Josephus (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 23), and Eustathius in Hexæmeron, &c. who say the Arabians stayed till they were thirteen years old before they were circumcised.

Medan.] From whom the country called Madiana, in the southern part of Arabia Felix, it is likely had its name.

Midian.] From whom Midianitis, in Arabia Petræa, had its denomination.

Ishbak.] I can find no footsteps of his posterity, unless it be in Bacascami, which Pliny says was one of the towns of the Zamareni, who descended from his eldest brother Zimran. There were a people also hard by, called Bachilitæ, as he tells us, lib. vi. Nat. Hist. cap. 28.

Shuah.] Perhaps he had no children, or so few that they were mixed with some of their other brethren, and left no name behind them. Yet Pliny, in the next chapter, mentions a town called Suasa, in that part of Arabia which is next to Egypt, lib. vi. cap. 29.

Ver. 3. *Jokshan begat Sheba.*] I observed before upon x. 7, that there are four of this name, or near it, all comprehended by the Greek and Roman writers under the name of Sabæans. One of them, the son of Raamah had a brother called Dedan, as this Sheba here hath. But they were the fathers of a distinct people, as is evident from the Scripture story, and

Epher, and Hanoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah. All these *were* the children of Keturah.

5 ¶ And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac.

6 But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and

sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country.

7 And these *are* the days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, an hundred threescore and fifteen years.

8 Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died

from other authors. For, besides the Sabæi in the furthest parts of Arabia, near the Persian and the Red Sea, there were also a people of that name (descended, it is very probable, from this son of Jokshan), in the very entrance of Arabia Felix, as Strabo tells us; who says that they and the Nabatæi were the very next people to Syria; and were wont to make excursions upon their neighbours. By which we may understand (which otherwise could not be made out) how the Sabæans broke into Jacob's country, and carried away his cattle. For it is not credible they could come so far as from the Persian or Arabian Sea; but from this country there was an easy passage through the deserts of Arabia, into the land of Uz or Anshûs, which lay upon the borders of Euphrates (see Bochart in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 9).

Dedan.] There was one of this name (as I said before), the son of Rhegma (Gen. x. 7), who gave name to a city upon the Persian sea, now called Dedan. But besides that, there was an inland city, called Dedan, in the country of Idumea, mentioned by Jeremiah (xxv. 23, xlix. 8), whose inhabitants are called Dedanim (Isa. xxi. 13). And this Dedan, here mentioned, may well be thought to be the founder of it, as the same Bochart observes, lib. iv. cap. 6.

The sons of Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.] If these were heads of nations, or families, the memory of them is lost. For it is a mistake of Cleodemus (who mentions the first of these in Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 20), to derive the Assyrians from this Asshurim: they having their original from Asshur, one of the sons of Shem (x. 22).

Ver. 4. The sons of Midian; Ephah.] The name of Ephah, the eldest son of Midian, continued a long time; for these two are mentioned by Isaiah, as near neighbours (lx. 6). And not only Josephus, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, but the Nubienian geographer also, tells us of a city called Madian, in the shore of the Red Sea; near to which was Ephah, in the province of Madian. *Ἐφα, Ephā, or Hīphā,* is the same with that place the Greeks call *Ἰταρος*, and Ptolemy mentions both a mountain and a village of this name on the same shore, a little below Madiāne, which is the Madian here mentioned, as Bochart observes in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 3.

Epher.] I can find no remainders of his family, unless it be among the Homeritæ before mentioned, whose metropolis was called *Τάφαρον*; in which Theophilus (sent by Constantius to convert that country) built a church, as Philostorgius relates (lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. § 4). Which city is mentioned by many other authors, as Jacobus Gotofredus observes in his Dissertations upon Philostorgius; particularly by Arrianus, in his Periplus of the Red Sea, where he calls the metropolis of the Homeritæ expressly by the name of *Ἀφάρ*, which one cannot well doubt came from this *Epher*.

Hanoch.] In that part of Arabia Felix where the Adranitæ were seated, there was a great trading town called Cane, as Ptolemy tells us, and shows its distance from Alexandria; *Κάνη ἐμπορίον καὶ ἄρπον* (lib. viii.). Pliny also mentions a country in Arabia, which he calls *Regio Canauna*; which may be thought to have taken its name from this person and his posterity.

Abidah.] The relics of this name remain (if the

two last syllables, as is usual, be inverted) in the people called *Δαβνῶναι*, who lived in an island called *Δαβού*, or *Δαβούτ*, which lay between Arabia and India, and is by authors said to belong sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other. Philostorgius saith only they bare the name of Indians (in the place before named, where he saith, Theophilus, who was sent to convert the Homeritæ, was born here). But Pliny, reckoning up the tracts of Arabia, places the isle called *Devadæ* (which I take to be this) over-against the forenamed region called *Canauna* (lib. vi. cap. 28). And Strabo (as Gothoff observes), *Agatharchides*, and others call it *Δάβα*.

Eldaah.] I know not where to find any remains of this name, unless it be in the city *Elana* (which might easily be formed from *Eldaah*, by leaving out the *daleth*, and turning the *ain* into *nun*, than which nothing more common), which was seated in the *Sinus Arabicus*, toward the east, called by others *Αἰλάννα* (*Elana*), from whence the *Sinus* itself was called *Elanites*, and the people that lived in it *Elanitæ*, as Salmastius shows out of many authors (Exercit. in Solinum, p. 482).

Ver. 5. Gave all—unto Isaac.] As he designed long before (xxiv. 36.)

Ver. 6. Sons of the concubines.] Which were Hagar and Keturah, who were wives, but of an inferior sort, according to the manner of those times and countries. Keturah is expressly called his concubine, 1 Chron. i. 32, as she is above (ver. 1 of this chap.) called his wife. Which R. Bechai (in Mr. Selden, cap. iii. de Successionibus) thus explains: "She was his concubine, because of a servile condition; but his wife, because married with covenants, to provide for her and her children;" though they were not to heir his estate. The Talmudists, indeed, do not perfectly agree in this matter; for, though they all agree (and prove it evidently) that they were real wives, yet some say they were made so only by solemn espousals, without any marriage settlement in writing, as the principal wives had: others think they had a writing also, but not with such conditions as the principal wives enjoyed. Abarbinel hath an accurate discourse about this, which Buxtorf hath translated into his book *De Sponsalibus*, n. 17. And see also Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 7, p. 570, &c. and G. Sckickard, de Jure Regio, cap. 3, p. 70.

Gave gifts.] Some portion of his money, or movable goods; or, perhaps, of both; which, in all probability, he gave to Ishmael, as well as to these sons (though it be not mentioned, Gen. xxi. 14), because Moses here saith, he gave gifts to the sons of his concubines; of which Hagar was one.

Unto the east country.] Into Arabia and the adjacent countries, as was said before. For the Midianites are called the "children of the east," in Judg. vi. 3, 33, vii. 12, viii. 10.

Ver. 7.] This is spoken by anticipation (to finish the story of Abraham), for Esau and Jacob were born before he died, and were now fifteen years old. For Isaac was but sixty years old when they were born (ver. 26), and seventy-five when Abraham died; who was a hundred years old at Isaac's birth, and lived to the age of one hundred seventy and five.

Ver. 8. Abraham gave up the ghost,] Died of no disease, but old age.

in a good old age, an old man, and full of years; and was gathered to his people.

9 And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre;

10 The field which Abraham purchased of the sons of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife.

11 ¶ And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed his son Isaac; and Isaac dwelt by the well Lahai-roi.

12 ¶ Now these are the generations of Ish-

In a good old age,] Without pain or sickness.

Full of years;] The Hebrew hath only the word *full*; we add *years* to make up the sense: which some think rather to be this, that he was satisfied, and had enough of this world, desiring to live no longer. Like that expression in Seneca (epist. lxi.), "*Vixi, Lucili charissime, quantum satis est; mortem plenius expecto.*"

Gathered to his people.] It doth not relate to his body, which was not buried with them; and therefore must relate to his soul, which is supposed by this still to live in that place where his pious forefathers were gone. Or else it is a Hebrew idiom, signifying no more, but that he left this world as all his fathers had done before him.

Ver. 9. *His sons, Isaac and Ishmael, &c.*] By this it appears that Isaac and Ishmael were not strangers one to another. Nay, some of the orientals tell us that Abraham went to see Ishmael at his house, and that Ishmael came to see him after he was sent away; which is not at all improbable; for no doubt Abraham provided for him suitable to the condition of his birth: and Ishmael could not but be convinced that the inheritance of his father belonged of right to Isaac, who was the son of a freewoman, and he only of a bond-woman. Nor could he well be ignorant that Isaac was to be heir of Abraham's estate, by God's designation.

In the field of Ephron, &c.] See xxiii. 17.

Ver. 11. *Isaac dwelt by the well Lahai-roi.*] He continued, after Abraham's death, his former habitation, which he had when he married (xxiv. 62).

Ver. 12.] Having mentioned the blessing of God which went along with Isaac after his father's death (in the foregoing verse), he takes this occasion to show, that God was not unmindful of his promise made to Abraham concerning Ishmael also (xvii. 20).

Ver. 13. *Nebajoth;*] As he was the firstborn of Ishmael, so his posterity gave the denomination to the whole country of Arabia Petrea (in the best part of which, see ver. 3, they inhabited), which Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy, call *Nabataea*; and sometimes other authors call *Nabathis*; as the inhabitants were called *Nabataei*; who are mentioned also by Dionysius Periegetes, in his description of the world, and by Plutarch, in the Life of Demetrius; who, he saith, was sent to subdue the Arabs called *Nabatai* (τοὺς καλον- μίνους Ναβαταίους) where he was in great danger to perish, by falling εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρους, into places where there was no water. These are commonly called, in Scripture, Ishmaelites, as if they had been the sole heirs of their progenitor; and they dwelt near to the Midianites (their half-brethren; for in the story of Joseph, he is said in one place to be sold unto the Ishmaelites, in another to the Midianites (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28, 36), they being neighbours, and co-partners in traffic. The country of Moab also was near to these *Nabatai*, as appears from Epiphanius

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mael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bare unto Abraham:

13 And these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebajoth; and Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam,

14 And Mishma, and Dumah, and Massa,

15 Hadar, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah:

16 These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations.

(Hæres. liii.), where, speaking of the countries that lay beyond the Dead Sea, he mentions this, which he calls Ναβαταίων Χώρα, the region of Nebaioth, Ituræa, and Moabitis (see Salmasius, Plin. Exercitat. p. 615).

Kedar,] His posterity, called *Kedareni*, were also seated in Arabia Petrea, together with their elder brother: and their name also was so famous, that some authors call the whole country *Kedar*. For the language of Kedar is the Arabian language; and when David complains that he had dwelt long "in the tents of Kedar," the Chaldee expounds it, "in the dwelling of the Arabians." But those Arabians called *Scenitæ* were properly the people of Kedar: and yet not all the *Scenitæ* (i. e. all the Arabs who dwelt in tents), but those only who dwelt in Arabia Petrea. For there were divers kinds of them (all called Σαηίται), some near Euphrates, others in Arabia Felix, &c. as Salmasius shows in his Plin. Exercit. p. 484. Some take them to be the same with those whom Ptolemy calls *Pharanitæ*: for what the Psalmist calls dwelling among the "tents of Kedar," is called (1 Sam. xxvi. 1) "dwelling in the wilderness of Paran." Pliny only says, *Pharanitis* bordered upon the Arabs (in "ora contermina gentis Arabiae"), and so later writers make *Pharan* and Arabia Petrea to be near neighbours, as the same Salmasius shows, p. 485.

Ver. 14. *Dumah,*] He seems, by Isaiah xxi. 11, to have been seated near Idumea.

Ver. 15. *Hadar,*] Some think the *Athrîtæ* in Arabia Felix came from him. In which, likewise, there was a city called *Tema*, from the next son of Ishmael: and *Jetur*, the next son to him, may well be thought to have been the father of the *Ituræi* in Cælo-Syria: and *Kedemah*, the last of his sons, to have dwelt near his brother *Kedar*. For so Jacobus Capellus expounds these words (Jer. xlix. 28), "Go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of Kedem" (which we translate "the men of the east"). And there are some other people in those countries, whose names sound something like the rest of the sons of Ishmael, but not so like as these I have mentioned: which makes me omit all further search after them, enough having been said to show the truth of this account which Moses gives us of Ishmael's posterity.

Ver. 16. *These are their names, by their towns.*] Though some of them dwelt in tents (and thence were called *Scenitæ* Arabes), yet they did not live so scattering, but pitched them together and made a town.

Their castles;] They had even then places of defence; which may make it probable, that they had also walled towns, to which they resorted from their tents in the fields, when they were in any danger (Isa. xlii. 11). For it must be here noted, that as there were divers people of this name of *Scenitæ* Arabes; so there was this difference among them (as Salmasius observes in the forenamed place), that some of them were Nomades, who wandered from place to

¶ 17 And these are the years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred and thirty and seven years : and he gave up the ghost and died ; and was gathered unto his people.

18 And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria : and he died in the presence of all his brethren.

19 ¶ And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son : Abraham begat Isaac :

place; others of them were not. Particularly the Sabeen Scenitæ, and most of the rest, dwelt in tents, but were fixed in their habitations, and did not remove from one place to another, as those that dwelt in Mesopotamia did, who were both Scenitæ, and also Nomades. They, therefore, who were settled in tents, as the sons of Ishmael were, had reason to build fortresses for the security of their slender habitations.

Twelve princes according to their nations.] Or, rather (as Dr. Jackson well glosses, book i. on the Creed, cap. 25), twelve heads of so many several houses, tribes, or clans. Which kind of government they continued till four hundred years after Christ, and is better expressed by heathen writers than by many Christian interpreters, when they call them *ῥιζαὶ τῶν Ἀράβων*, "rulers of their tribes," as Strabo speaks (lib. xvi.), in his description of Syria. And so the later writers speak of the Saracens (who were the same people formerly called Scenitæ Arabes), whose governors they called Phylarchi Saracenorum, as may be seen in Sextus Rufus and Jornandes. See Salmas. as before, p. 484, 485.

Ver. 17. *Gathered unto his people.*] The same phrase being used here of the death of Ishmael, that was (ver. 8) of the death of Abraham ; it shows the meaning is no more, but that they left the world as others had done before them. We do not read where Ishmael was buried : it is likely in his own country, not in the cave of Machpelah ; for that had been to give his posterity a claim to a share in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 18. *They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, &c.*] See Gen. x. 7. Josephus (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 12), makes the Ishmaelites to have possessed the whole tract between Euphrates and the Red Sea ; which appears by this place not to be true. For between them and Euphrates were the Amalekites and Moabites, who did not reach to Euphrates neither. The Ishmaelites therefore possessed the country, which in that part eastward that was next to the Amalekites, was called *the wilderness of Havilah* ; and in that part next to Egypt was called *the wilderness of Shur* ; and in other places of Scripture is called *Kedar*, *the wilderness of Paran*, and *the wilderness o Sin*. All which was comprehended afterward under the name of Arabia. For Stephanus (as Salmasius observes, Plin. Exerc. p. 488) makes but two Arabias. One which he calls *the spicy*, between the Persian and the Arabian Sea ; the other on one end of it westward, was next to Egypt ; on the other end northward, next to Syria.

As thou goest toward Assyria.] The wilderness of Shur was over-against Egypt, and touched it in that part by which the way lay from Egypt to Assyria. Or, as some understand the whole verse, "The sons of Ishmael dwelt from Shur, which is towards Egypt, unto Havilah, which is towards Assyria, in the way from Egypt thither."

He died (Heb. fell) in the presence of all his brethren.] Of all his relations or kindred, which are called *brethren* in Scripture. But his death has been spoken of before ; and in this verse mention being made only of the situation of his country, some interpret it in

20 And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padan-aram, the sister to Laban the Syrian.

21 And Isaac intreated the Lord for his wife, because she was barren : and the Lord was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived.

22 And the children struggled together within her ; and she said, *If it be so, why am I thus ?* And she went to enquire of the Lord.

this manner, *His lot fell*, i. e. he had its portion in the presence of all his brethren, according to the promise made to his mother (xvi. 12), the children of Keturah lying on the east of his country, and Isaac's seed on the west. Or, if we take it to relate to his death, it may have the same sense : "Till death he dwelt in the presence of all his brethren, and was in a flourishing condition."

Ver. 19.] His principal design being to give an account of those descended from Abraham by Isaac ; Moses returns to that, after a short account of his other posterity.

Ver. 20. *The Syrian of Padan-aram, &c.*] Bethuel and Laban are called Aramites, or Syrians, not because they were of that nation, but because they lived in the country of Aram, or Syria, that is, in Padan-aram ; as it is here explained, and appears more fully from Rebekah's discourse with her son Jacob, when she sent him thither (xxviii. 2, 5), where he living twenty years with his uncle Laban, was upon that account called a Syrian, though born in Canaan (Deut. xxvi. 5).

Padan-aram was a part of Mesopotamia. I say a part of it, for Mesopotamia itself was called Aram-Naharam, that part of Syria (for there were many other Arams) which lay between the two great rivers of Euphrates and Tigris. Which country had two parts also ; one toward the north, from the mountains of Armenia to the river Chaboras, i. e. Araxes, (from whence Balaam seems to have been fetched, Numb. xxiii. 7), which was exceeding fruitful, and upon that account called *Padan*, which signifies in Arabic the same that *Seda* doth in Hebrew, i. e. a *field*. And therefore what Moses calls going to Padan-aram (Gen. xxviii. 2), the prophet Hosea calls fleeing to *Sedo-Aram*, into the country or field of Syria (Hosea xii. 12), this being a cultivated country, abounding with all plenty. The other part of Mesopotamia was southerly, from the aforesaid river unto Babylon ; and was very stony and barren. The Syrians lived in the former, and the Arabians in the latter, as Bochart observes (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 6).

Ver. 21. *Isaac intreated, &c.*] The Hebrew word *atar* doth not signify barely to entreat, or pray, but to beseech with earnestness, vehemence, and importunity. It is most likely he continued these importunate prayers several years, the desire of seeing the Messiah making them very uneasy under barrenness : and some of the Hebrews fancy, that she remaining barren twenty years, Isaac at last carried her with him to Mount Moriah (where he should have been offered), and there made most fervent supplications for a son ; as if he would remember God of the promise he had there made him, that he would multiply Abraham's seed as the stars of heaven (xxii. 17).

Ver. 22. *The children struggled together within her ;*] Some time before her delivery (ver. 24) she felt as if two were wrestling together in her womb ; and put her into pangs, by striving which should get out first.

If it be so, why am I thus ?] If I cannot be delivered, why did I conceive ?

She went] The struggling and pangs, we must sup-

23 And the Lord said unto her, Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger.

24 ¶ And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold, there were twins in her womb.

25 And the first came out red, all over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau.

26 And after that came his brother out, and his hand took hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: and Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them.

27 And the boys grew: and Esau was a

cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents.

28 And Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison: but Rebekah loved Jacob.

29 ¶ And Jacob sod pottage: and Esau came from the field, and he was faint:

30 And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage; for I am faint: therefore was his name called Edom.

31 And Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright.

32 And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and what profit shall this birthright do to me?

pose, ceased for some time; so that she was able to go and consult the Divine Majesty about this unusual contest.

To enquire of the Lord.] There were some places where the Divine Majesty used to appear, which was the settled place of worship (see iv. 3). Maimonides will have it, that she went to the school of Sem, or Heber, who were prophets, to desire them to consult the Divine Majesty about her case (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 41). And it is very probable, that there was some divinely inspired person attending the Shechinah, whosoever it was; such as Melchizedek was at Salem. Whom Patricides takes to have been the person to whom Rebekah resorted, for resolution of her doubt.

Ver. 23. The Lord said unto her,] By Melchizedek, saith the forenamed Patricides; By an angel, saith Maimonides: who tells us (in the place now mentioned) their masters are so settled in their opinion that she went to inquire of the forenamed prophets, and that by the Lord is meant his angel, that they will have Heber to be him that gave the answer (for prophets, say they, are sometimes called angels), or the angel that spake to Heber in this prophecy; but it is most reasonable to think, that the Lord spake to her by an angel, from the Shechinah.

Two nations are in thy womb,] The heads of two nations.

Two manner of people shall be separated] Greatly differing in their dispositions, manners, course of life, and country; which will make them perpetually disagree.

From thy bowels;] Shall issue from thee.

The elder shall serve the younger,] In his posterity, not in his own person.

Ver. 24. When her days to be delivered were fulfilled,] This demonstrates the time of her delivery was not come when the struggling first began.

Ver. 25. Red, all over] Some will have it with red hair, not only on his head, but all over his body.

Like a hairy garment;] As rough as hair-cloth; just as the poets describe satyrs. He was *hirsutus*; not only hairy all over, but those hairs as stiff as bristles; arguing great strength of body, and a rough, fierce temper.

They called his name Esau,] Which signifying made in Hebrew, this is commonly taken for the reason of his name, that he was as full of hairs when he was born as others are at man's estate. But I think it may as well denote his active genius, which they thought this presaged.

Ver. 26. Jacob,] He certainly had his name from his taking his brother by the heel at his birth; as if he would supplant him, as he afterwards did.

Was threescore years old] God exercised Isaac's faith and patience (just as he had done Abraham's) for the space of twenty years, before he gave him a

child; for he was forty years old when he married (ver. 20), and now sixty.

Ver. 27. Cunning hunter,] Had great skill in hunting, in which his active genius delighted.

Man of the field;] That took pleasure to be abroad, pursued wild beasts, in woods and mountains; where afterwards he had his habitation.

Plain man, dwelling in tents,] He loved not violent exercise, but kept at home; or looked after the flocks of sheep, and the breed of cattle.

Ver. 28. Isaac loved Esau, &c.] Not only because he was his firstborn, and because his love of hunting argued him to be a man of great activity and valour, who was likely to prove a great person, but because he also took care frequently to entertain his father with venison (which was of divers sorts), and afforded him such variety at his table, as gave his father frequent occasion to commend him.

But Rebekah loved Jacob,] Being a man of a more meek and quiet temper, suitable to her own disposition, and more at home also with her than Esau was, and designed by God to inherit the promise (ver. 23). It is likely Esau made great court (as we speak) to his father, and Jacob to his mother; whereby they won their affection.

Ver. 29. He was faint,] With too violent and long pursuit of his sports.

Ver. 30. Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red, &c.] It was made of lentiles, as we learn from the last verse of this chapter. And St. Austin, upon Ps. xli. saith they were Egyptian lentiles; which were in great esteem, and much commended by Athenæus and A. Gellius: and gave the pottage, it is probable, a red tincture. Some think Esau did not know what it was, and therefore calls it only by its colour; asking for that red, that same red, as it is in the Hebrew.

Therefore was his name called Edom,] This repeated eager desire of he knew not what, for which he sold his birthright, gave him the name of Edom: which signifies red. Whence the city which he built, and the whole country his posterity inhabited, was called by the same name; and by the Greeks, Idumea, bordering toward the south upon Judea, Arabia, and Egypt.

Ver. 31. Sell me this day thy birthright,] The eldest son had several privileges belonging to him above the rest: the chief of which was to have a double portion of his father's estate. As for the right of priesthood, there are many reasons to prove it did not belong thereunto. But whatsoever they were, Jacob cunningly made an advantage of Esau's necessity, to purchase them all for a small matter. In which some think he did not amiss: about which I shall not dispute.

Ver. 32.] He speaks very slightly, if not contemptuously of it: preferring the present satisfaction of his appetite, before his future dignity and greatness. For some are of opinion he pretended to be fainter

33 And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he swore unto him: and he sold his birth-right unto Jacob.

34 Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pot-

than really he was; out of a vehement longing for the pottage, which, perhaps, was a rarity.

Ver. 33. *Swear to me this day;*] That I shall peacefully enjoy the prerogative of the birthright.

Esau seems to have been very violent in all things; and to have pursued this as eagerly as he did his sports; Jacob, on the contrary, very sedate and crafty to make the best use of the opportunities he met with to promote his ends.

tage of lentiles; and he did eat and drink, and rose up, and went his way: thus Esau despised his birthright.

Ver. 34. *Rose up, and went his way;*] Well satisfied, and without any trouble for what he had done. Which the apostle censures as a piece of profaneness: parents being wont to give a special blessing to their first-born.

Despised his birthright.] He thought, perhaps, he could recover that by force which he had lost by his brother's craft.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *Isaac because of famine went to Gerar.* 2 *God instructeth, and blesseth him.* 7 *He is reproved by Abimelech for denying his wife.* 12 *He groweth rich.* 18 *He diggeth Esek, Sitnah, and Rehoboth.* 23 *Abimelech maketh a covenant with him at Beer-sheba.* 34 *Esau's wives.*

1 AND there was a famine in the land, beside the first famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar.

2 And the LORD appeared unto him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of:

3 Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these countries,

and I will perform the oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father;

4 And I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these countries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;

5 Because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws.

6 ¶ And Isaac dwelt in Gerar:

CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *There was a famine in the land, &c.*] Such a scarcity of provisions as was in Abraham's days (xii. 10), when he was newly come into Canaan, happened again in the days of Isaac.

Isaac went] It is not said from whence he went: but it is probable, after the death of Abraham, he went and dwelt where his father had often done, at Mamre, near Hebron. For he was not now at Beer-sheba, or the well Lahai-roi (which was the last place of his habitation that we read of, xxv. 11), for that was in this very country of Gerar to which he now went.

Unto Abimelech] The son, it is most likely, of him to whom Abraham went: for he is not to be thought the same; it being a hundred years since that time. And all the kings of that country were, for many ages, called by the name of Abimelech; as appears from the story of David: who fled to one of that name, called Achish in 1 Sam. xxi. 10, but Abimelech in the title of the xxxivth Psalm (see Gen. xx. 2).

Ver. 2. *And (or, for) the Lord appeared to him.*] He intended to have gone into Egypt, as Abraham his father had done in the like case (xii. 10). But God forbade him (appearing to him either in a vision or a dream, or as the glory of the Lord appeared afterward to Moses and the congregation of Israel upon several occasions), and directed him to stay in this country, which was in the way to Egypt: where he promises to provide for him.

Though Egypt was a most plentiful country, yet the king of it, at this time, was not so good a man, perhaps, as he that reigned in the days of Abraham.

Ver. 3. *Sojourn in this land, &c.*] He not only promises to take care of him at present, during the famine: but renews the promises made to Abraham his father at sundry times and in divers places (xii.

3, xv. 5, xvii. 2, 8), and at last confirmed by an oath (xxii. 16, 17).

I will be with thee, and will bless thee;] These, and such like words, Maimonides shows express a special providence over those to whom they are spoken, and over all belonging to them (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 18).

Unto thy seed I will give all these countries,] Which he repeats again in the next verse; having mentioned the vast multiplication of his seed.

Ver. 4.] In this is contained the promise of the Messiah, the highest blessing God could bestow: which he assured Abraham should spring out of his family (xxii. 18), and now assures the same to Isaac.

Ver. 5. *Because that Abraham obeyed my voice,*] In going out of his own country, when God called him; in circumcising himself and his family; but especially (xxii. 18) in offering his son Isaac.

Kept my charge,] i. e. Observed the sabbath-day, says Manassch Ben-Israel, out of the Hebrew doctors (L. de Creat. Problema viii.). But it seems more rational to understand by this word which we translate *charge*, all that he commanded him to observe: the particulars of which follow.

My commandments, my statutes, and my laws.] These are nicely distinguished by some of the Jews; especially Abarbinel: who, by *commandments*, understands not only that of circumcision, but of expelling Ishmael: and by *statutes* (Heb. *chukkothai*, which always relates to ceremonial things), not only binding his son Isaac to offer him in sacrifice, but his offering a ram afterwards in his stead; and by *laws* (which include the judicial part of Moses's writings), his taking a wife for Isaac out of another country; and bestowing gifts upon the children of his concubines, reserving the land for Isaac. But this may seem too curious: and so many words may be thought rather to be used, only to express his exact obedience to God

7 And the men of the place asked *him* of his wife; and he said, *She is my sister*: for he feared to say, *She is my wife*; lest, *said he*, the men of the place should kill me for Rebekah; because *she was fair to look upon*.

8 And it came to pass, when he had been there a long time, that Abimelech king of the Philistines looked out at a window, and saw, and, behold, Isaac *was* sporting with Rebekah his wife.

9 And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of a surety *she is thy wife*: and how saidst thou, *She is my sister*? And Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest I die for her.

10 And Abimelech said, What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife, and thou shouldst have brought guiltiness upon us.

11 And Abimelech charged all *his* people, saying, He that toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be put to death.

12 Then Isaac sowed in that land, and re-

ceived in the same year an hundredfold: and the Lord blessed him:

13 And the man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became very great:

14 For he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants: and the Philistines envied him.

15 For all the wells which his father's servants had digged in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped them, and filled them with earth.

16 And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we.

17 ¶ And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.

18 And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.

in every thing, whether belonging to religion, or to justice, mercy, or any other duty. According to what he required of him (xvii. 1), "Walk before me, and be thou perfect."

Ver. 6. *Isaac dwelt in Gerar*.] This is a fresh instance of his constant obedience: in trusting to God's providence here, and not going down into Egypt, as he was inclined.

Ver. 7. *She is my sister*.] Or, *cousin*, for so she was. He told part of the truth, but not all.

For he feared to say, &c.] He imitated his father; as children are apt to do.

Ver. 8. *Sporting with Rebekah his wife*.] Using such familiarity with her, and blandishments, as were not allowable between brethren and sisters, but common between man and wife, even openly. As embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, perhaps, very often; he having an exceeding great love to her (xxiv. 67).

Ver. 9.] It seems he took Isaac to be so good a man, that he looked upon the liberties he took with Rebekah, as tokens of conjugal love, not of incestuous desires.

Ver. 10.] It is likely the punishment inflicted upon his father and family (xx. 17), only for taking Sarah into his house, with an intention to make her his wife, was yet in memory among them.

Ver. 11.] This looks like a modest word, as it is used, xx. 6, and 1 Cor. vii. 1. But the Chaldee paraphrast and the Hebrew doctors interpret it of not doing them any injury: because he speaks of the man, as well as his wife, and so it is explained, ver. 29.

Ver. 12. *Then Isaac sowed in that land*.] Most take this to have been in the time of famine: which makes it the greater wonder that the ground should then bring forth so plentifully. But it seems more likely to me, that the death was at an end: for it is said (ver. 8) that he had been in that country "a long time" when Abimelech saw him sporting with his wife.

Hundredfold.] This, in itself, is not wonderful; though, at this time, it was a singular blessing of God, after there had been some time ago a dearth; and, perhaps, the soil not rich, which afforded so large a crop. Otherwise, Varro says (lib. i. de Re Rustica, cap. 44), that in Syria, about Gadera, and in Africa, about Byzacium, they reaped a hundred bushels for one (ex modio nasci centum); Pliny and Solinus say

the same of that country Byzacium: inasmuch that Bochartus fancies the metropolis of that rich country, viz. Adrumetum, had its name from hence; signifying in the Phœnician language as much as, *the region of a hundredfold* (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 24). Nay, some places in Africa were so rich, that they produced *two hundred*, yea, *three hundred-fold*, as he shows out of several good authors in the twenty-fifth chapter of that book. Whence he thinks Africa had its name; being as much as *Εἰσάγρυς γῆς*, terra spicarum, "a land of ears of corn." All which I have noted, that this passage may not seem incredible to any reader.

The Lord blessed him.] Or, for the Lord blessed him. This is the reason of the fruitfulness of that soil; which naturally would not have yielded so much.

Ver. 13.] I suppose he had many such fruitful years: so that his riches increased till he grew *very great*, and bought more cattle than he had before. For in them consisted the ancient riches, as Servius tells us on the first of Virgil's Eclogues, "Omne patrimonium apud majores peculium dicebatur, a pecoribus; in quibus universa eorum substantia constabat. Unde etiam pecunia dicta fuit, a peculio." The same also we find said by Columella.

Ver. 14. *Great store of servants*.] The margin hath, *store of husbandry*. Which is very likely; because he was encouraged in it by his great crops: which could not likewise but increase the number of his servants. The Arabic set forth by Erpenius hath only, *a great revenue*; or *vast increase*; which, among the eastern people, as I said, was principally from their cattle. But God blessed him with abundance of corn also.

Ver. 16. *Thou art much mightier than we*.] As the people envied him (ver. 14), so the king himself, it seems, began to fear him: and therefore desired him, in a friendly manner, to leave his country. For they were not yet grown so wicked, as to attempt to destroy those who lived quietly among them: when they apprehended they would become richer and stronger than themselves.

Ver. 17. *The valley of Gerar*.] Where that was is uncertain; but at some distance from the city where Abimelech dwelt, and near to which Isaac had inhabited before.

Ver. 18.] He chose to open the old cnes, rather than dig new; both because he was certain there to find a spring of water, and because it was most easy and less obnoxious to censure or envy; and because

19 And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water.

20 And the herdmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac's herdmen, saying, The water is our's: and he called the name of the well Esek; because they strove with him.

21 And they digged another well, and strove for that also: and he called the name of it Sitnah.

22 And he removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they strove not: and he called the name of it Rehoboth; and he said, For now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land.

23 And he went up from thence to Beer-sheba.

24 And the Lord appeared unto him the same night, and said, I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless thee, and will multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake.

25 And he builded an altar there, and called upon the name of the Lord, and pitched his tent there: and there Isaac's servants digged a well.

26 ¶ Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath one of his friends, and Phicol the chief captain of his army.

27 And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore

come ye to me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you?

28 And they said, We saw certainly that the Lord was with thee: and we said, Let there be now an oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee;

29 That thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace: thou art now the blessed of the Lord.

30 And he made them a feast, and they did eat and drink.

31 And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace.

32 And it came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, We have found water.

33 And he called it Shebah: therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day.

34 ¶ And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite:

35 Which were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

he would preserve his father's memory; for which reason he did not give them new names, but those they had in his father's days.

¶ Ver. 19.] In process of time, they found a necessity of more water; and so digged till they met with a new spring in the valley.

Ver. 20. *The water is ours.*] Because it was found in their soil, as Menochius observes. But they having let the ground to Isaac, the water was truly his, as long as the contract lasted.

Ver. 21. *They digged another well.*] I suppose, in the same valley: for, rather than contend, he receded from his right in the other well.

Ver. 22. *He removed from thence.*] To avoid strife, he quitted that part of the country, and went to another: where he was not disturbed in his pasturage.

¶ For now the Lord hath made room for us.] He was straitened before, for want of sufficient water for his flock; which now he enjoyed in abundance.

We shall be fruitful in the land.] Increase more than formerly: now that they could water their flocks quietly and plentifully.

Ver. 23. *Went—to Beer-sheba.*] Where he and his father had anciently lived (xxi. 31, xxv. 11).

The Lord appeared unto him] As he had done before he came to Gerar (ver. 2).

I am the God of Abraham] Who was so kind to him, and made a covenant with him.

I am with thee.] My special providence is over thee; as was explained before (ver. 3).

Ver. 25. *Builded an altar there.*] To offer sacrifice unto the Lord.

Called upon the name of the Lord.] As Abraham had done before him, in this very place (xxi. 33).

Pitched his tent there.] Resolved to settle in this place.

Ver. 26. *Phicol, &c.*] The same name and the same office that he had, who is mentioned xxi. 22, but he was not the same man no more than Abimelech the same king. It is probable this was a name of some dignity among them; like that of Tribune or Dictator among the Romans; which passed from one to another.

Ver. 28.] We have observed such a special providence over thee, that we come to establish a perpetual friendship with thee, by a solemn oath, if thou wilt consent to our desire. They were afraid, it seems, lest, being disobliged by their sending him out of their country, he should fall upon them one time or other; being mightier than they, as they acknowledged (ver. 18).

Ver. 29. *Have sent thee away in peace.*] They remember him how they dismissed him peaceably; and did not go about to seize upon his estate, while he lived among them: which they make an argument why he should contract a nearer friendship with such civil people.

Thou art now the blessed of the Lord.] This looks like a high compliment, or flattering expression.

Ver. 30. *He made them a feast, &c.*] So covenants were made, by eating and together.

Ver. 32. *Told him concerning the well which they had digged, &c.*] They had begun to dig before Abimelech and Phicol came (ver. 25), and now they came at a spring of water.

Ver. 33. *He called it Shebah.*] From the oath which was lately made between him and Abimelech. It had been called so before by Abraham (xxi. 31), but that name, perhaps, was forgotten, and so he revived it, as he had done others (ver. 18).

Ver. 34.] Josephus saith, these two men, Beeri and Elon, whose daughters Esau married, were *Dynastæ*, powerful men among the Hittites: which is not improbable. But his father sure had given the same charge to him, that Abraham had done concerning his own marriage (xxiv. 3), and then it was a very undutiful, nay, an impious action, to marry with those people, who were under the curse of God. The Scripture might well call him *profane*; who seems not to have regarded either the curse or the blessing of the Almighty.

Ver. 35. *A grief of mind*] His very marrying with them sorely afflicted his father and mother. Or, as others interpret it, their idolatry and bad manners extremely grieved them.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *Isaac sendeth Esau for venison.* 6 *Rebekah instructeth Jacob to obtain the blessing.* 15 *Jacob under the person of Esau obtaineth it.* 30 *Esau bringeth venison.* 33 *Isaac trembleth.* 34 *Esau complaineth, and by importunity obtaineth a blessing.* 41 *He threateneth Jacob.* 42 *Rebekah disappointeth it.*

1 AND it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his eldest son, and said unto him, My son : and he said unto him, Behold, *here am I.*

2 And he said, Behold now, I am old, I know not the day of my death :

3 Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me *some venison* ;

4 And make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me, that I may eat ; that my soul may bless thee before I die.

5 And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son. And Esau went to the field to hunt for venison, *and to bring it.*

6 ¶ And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying,

7 Bring me venison, and make me savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee before the Lord before my death.

8 Now therefore, my son, obey my voice according to that which I command thee.

9 Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats ; and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth :

10 And thou shalt bring *it* to thy father, that he may eat, and that he may bless thee before his death.

11 And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother *is* a hairy man, and I *am* a smooth man :

12 My father peradventure will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver ; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.

13 And his mother said unto him, Upon me *be* thy curse, my son : only obey my voice, and go fetch me *them.*

14 And he went, and fetched, and brought *them* to his mother : and his mother made savoury meat, such as his father loved.

15 And Rebekah took goodly raiment of her

CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *When Isaac was old,*] A hundred thirty and seven years old, as many have demonstrated.

My son, &c.] It appears by this and what follows, that though Esau had displeased him by his marriage, yet he retained his natural affection to him, which he had from the beginning.

Ver. 3. *Thy quiver*] Some take the Hebrew word to signify a *sword* ; which was as necessary for a huntsman as a bow and arrows.

Ver. 4. *Make me savoury meat, &c.*] To raise his feeble spirits, and enable him to deliver his last and solemn benediction with the more vigour.

My soul may bless thee before I die.] It seems Isaac did not understand the Divine oracle (xxv. 25) as Rebekah did ; or, she had not acquainted him with it. For he intended to bestow upon Esau the promised land ; which was that God told Abraham he would bless his posterity withal. For the last benediction of these great men was the settling of their inheritance ; and making those their heirs upon whom they bestowed their blessing. Now the birthright which Esau sold Jacob gave him right only to the greatest part of Isaac's estate ; but not to the land of Canaan, which was to be disposed of by Isaac, according to Divine direction.

Ver. 7.] These words show it was not a common blessing, but a solemn benediction, and by Divine authority or approbation, which Isaac meant to give his son Esau.

Ver. 8.] Rebekah, having just reason to conclude that Esau had forfeited the blessing which she was desirous to preserve in her family, by marrying with the people of Canaan, who were cursed by God, thought of this device to get Jacob preferred before him. And, indeed, it cannot be denied, that it was a profane thing (as I noted before) to marry with a daughter of Heth. And he seems afterwards to have had no good design in marrying with a daughter of

Ishmael (xxviii. 9), for it looks as if he went about to set up the pretensions of that family against Isaac's.

Ver. 9. *Two good kids of the goats ;*] Two fat sucking kids, as Aben Ezra expounds this phrase, " kid of the goats," (upon Exod. xxiii. 19), which, in old time, were accounted very delicious meat : a present fit for a king (1 Sam. xvi. 20), and which Manoaah prepared for the angel, whom he took for a noble guest (Judg. xiii. 15), and (which is most proper to be here considered) allowed to decayed and weak people, as an excellent nourishment.

Both these kids were not prepared for Isaac : but she took the most tender and delicate parts of both, and dressed them for him.

I will make them savoury meat,] Dress it so as to please his palate ; and not to be distinguished by him from venison. For we know the natural taste of things may be quite altered by various sorts of seasonings, as we call them ; and ordered in such manner, that Bochartus says he knew skilful huntsmen take a pasty made of beef for venison.

Ver. 11. *Hairy man,*] In the Hebrew, *isch sair*, a rough man, hairy like a goat. For the same word *sair*, signifies a goat, Gen. xxxvii. 31 ; Lev. ix. 15, and other places.

Ver. 12. *Deceiver ;*] One that cheats his father : imposing on his age, and on his blindness ; which, he wisely considers, would have been a high provocation if he had been discovered.

Ver. 13. *Upon me be thy curse,*] i. e. There is no danger : I will warrant the success.

Ver. 15. *Took goodly raiment, &c.*] His best clothes ; which most suppose were laid up in a chest, among odoriferous flowers, or other perfumes ; both to preserve them from moths, and to comfort the brain when they were worn : for their smell is mentioned ver. 27. It is a groundless fancy of the Jews, that these were sacerdotal garments (and the very same that Adam wore, which descended to Noah, &c.),

eldest son Esau, which *were* with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her younger son :

16 And she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck :

17 And she gave the savoury meat and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son Jacob.

18 ¶ And he came unto his father, and said, My father : and he said, Here *am* I ; who *art* thou, my son ?

19 And Jacob said unto his father, I *am* Esau thy firstborn ; I have done according as thou badest me : arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me.

20 And Isaac said unto his son, How *is* it that thou hast found *it* so quickly, my son ? And he said, Because the Lord thy God brought *it* to me.

21 And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou *be* my very son Esau or not.

22 And Jacob went near unto Isaac his fa-

for, as there was no sacrifice now to be made, so the primogeniture did not make him a priest, more than Jacob, as was noted before. One may rather say these were garments belonging to him, as heir of the family : between whom and the other sons, it is very probable, the affection of the parents was wont to make some difference in their apparel.

Ver. 16. *Put the skins of the kids of the goats*] It is observed by Bochartus, that in the eastern countries, goats' hair was very like to that of men (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 51), so that Isaac might easily be deceived, when his eyes were dim, and his feeling no less decayed than his sight.

Ver. 18. *Who art thou, my son ?*] He suspected him, from his voice, and returning so soon from hunting.

Ver. 19. *I am Esau, &c.*] Here are many untruths told by Jacob, besides this (for his father did not bid him go get him some venison, nor did God bring this meat to him, which he had prepared, &c.), which cannot be wholly excused : but it must be confessed, he and his mother were possessed with a false opinion, that they might deceive Isaac for the good of his family.

Arise,—and sit and eat, &c.] He was lying upon his bed, one would guess by this, being aged and infirm : and he entreats him to raise himself up and *sit* : for so they did in those days (as we do now) at their meals. This appears afterwards, when Joseph's brethren *sat down* to eat bread (xxxvii. 25), and sat when they ate with Joseph in Egypt (xliiii. 33). And so Homer makes all his heroes sit at their feasts, as Athenæus observes : which custom continued among the Macedonians in the days of Alexander, as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50.

Ver. 21. *Come near, &c.*] Isaac still suspected by this long discourse with him, wherein he observed his voice, that it was not Esau. And the Hebrews, in Bereschith Rabba, say, that he fell into a great sweat, and his heart melted in him like wax, while he talked to him : so that an angel came, to support him from falling down.

Ver. 23. *So he blessed him.*] After he had once more asked him whether he was his very son Esau, which Jacob affirmed (ver. 24), who was punished for this

ther ; and he felt him, and said, The voice *is* Jacob's voice, but the hands *are* the hands of Esau.

23 And he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands : so he blessed him.

24 And he said, *Art* thou my very son Esau ? And he said, I *am*.

25 And he said, Bring *it* near to me, and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought *it* near to him, and he did eat : and he brought him wine, and he drank.

26 And his father Isaac said unto him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son.

27 And he came near, and kissed him : and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said, See, the smell of my son *is* as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed :

28 Therefore God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine :

29 Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee : be lord over thy brethren, and let

deceit, when he was cheated himself by Laban, in the business of his wives, as well as in other things ; and (as the Hebrews observed) he that deceived his father by the skins of the kids of goats, was deceived himself into the false opinion that Joseph was killed, by his brethren dipping his coat in the blood of a kid of the goats (Gen. xxxvii. 31).

Ver. 26.] Some think he had a desire to be satisfied that way, whether he was Esau or not. But I take it rather to be a token of his great love and affection, wherewith he bestowed his blessing upon him.

Ver. 27. *He smelled the smell of his raiment.*] As he embraced him, he perceived the fragrant of his garments : which he could not before, while he stood remote ; his senses being weak and dull. The Jews, who fancy these to have been the garments wherein Adam ministered, imagine also that they retained the scent which they had in paradise. So Bereschith Rabba, and R. Sol. Jarchi, as Braunius observes, lib. i. de Vestib. Hebr. Sacerd. cap. 4.

See, the smell of my son] The apprehension of one sense is, in this language, often used for the apprehension of another (as Maimonides speaks, par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 46), as, " See the word of the Lord" (Jer. ii. 31), i. e. Hear his word. And so in this place, " See the smell," is as much as, Smell the odour of my son, &c. But it may simply signify, " Behold, or observe ; no field that God hath adorned with the greatest variety of the most fragrant flowers, smells sweeter than my son."

Ver. 28. *Therefore God give thee, &c.*] I take it for a sign that God will give thee (for so it may be translated, as a prophecy as well as a prayer) the greatest abundance : which proceeds from a rich soil, well watered from heaven. These two are the causes of plenty.

The dew of heaven.] Rain fell only at certain seasons in that country : but there was a recompense for it by large dews ; which very much refreshed the earth ; and are represented in Scripture as a Divine gift (Job xxxviii. 28 ; Micah v. 7), which God threatens sometimes to withhold, because of men's offences (1 Kings xvii. 1).

Ver. 29. *Let people serve thee, &c.*] As the former part of the blessing relates to wealth, so this to domi-

thy mother's sons bow down to thee: cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee.

30 ¶ And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarce gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, that Esau his brother came in from his hunting.

31 And he also had made savoury meat, and brought it unto his father, and said unto his father, Let my father arise, and eat of his son's venison, that thy soul may bless me.

32 And Isaac his father said unto him, Who art thou? And he said, I am thy son, thy first-born Esau.

33 And Isaac trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who? where is he that hath taken venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, and he shall be blessed.

34 And when Esau heard the words of his father, he cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father.

35 And he said, Thy brother came with subtilty, and hath taken away thy blessing.

36 And he said, Is he not rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birthright; and, behold, now

he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?

37 And Isaac answered and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with corn and wine have I sustained him: and what shall I do now unto thee, my son?

38 And Esau said unto his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and wept.

39 And Isaac his father answered and said unto him, Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above;

40 And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.

41 ¶ And Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him: and Esau said in his heart, The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I slay my brother Jacob.

42 And these words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah: and she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself, *purposing* to kill thee.

nion and empire: which was signally fulfilled in the days of David, when the Moabites, Ammonites, Syrians, Philistines, and Edomites also, were subdued under him.

Let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:] This is a third part of the blessing, giving him a prerogative in his own family: and in the next words he pronounces a blessing upon all that should be friends to him; as, on the contrary, a curse upon his enemies.

Ver. 33. *Isaac trembled very exceedingly,*] What the Hebrews say upon ver. 21 (see there), had been more proper here, that his heart melted, and he was ready to swoon away.

Who?] A broken form of speech.

Yea, and he shall be blessed.] He had blessed him so seriously, and with such affection, and (it is likely) extraordinary confidence of God's approbation, that he would not revoke it. For he felt, as I take it, the spirit of prophecy upon him, when he pronounced this blessing; and it enlightened him to understand the oracle formerly delivered (xxv. 23).

Ver. 35. *Taken away thy blessing.*] Which I intended to have bestowed on thee; looking upon it as thine, by the right of being my firstborn.

Ver. 37. *His brethren*] His kindred.

What shall I now do unto thee, my son?] Having given Jacob so much, it was but a small matter he could do for him.

Ver. 39.] Some have translated it, "Thy dwelling shall be without the fatness of the earth, and the dew from above; but by thy sword shalt thou live," &c. i. e. he prophesies that he should inhabit a poor country, but maintain himself plentifully by his sword. For otherwise (they think) his blessing would be the same with Jacob's, ver. 28. But if we retain our translation, there is a manifest difference between this and Jacob's benediction. For here he makes no mention of plenty of corn and wine: and gives him no such dominion as he did to Jacob (the Jews observe other differences); and whatsoever fatness was in the

soil of his country, it did not last, as appears by Mal. i. 3.

Ver. 40. *By thy sword shalt thou live,*] Live upon spoil. Or, as others interpret it, be in perpetual war to defend thy country.

Shalt serve thy brother;] Here Isaac speaks out the very words of the oracle mentioned before (xxv. 23), which was fulfilled in the days of David, 2 Sam. viii. 14, and 1 Chron. xviii. 15 (the circumstances of which conquest are more fully described, 1 Kings xi. 15, &c.). And again, after they had recovered some strength, Amaziah made great slaughters among them (2 Kings xiv. 7), as the Maccabees did afterwards (1 Mac. v. 65), and at last were utterly disabled by Hircanus, the son of Simon Maccabæus, as we read in Josephus, lib. xiii. Antiq. cap. 17.

When thou shalt have the dominion,] St. Jerome and the LXX. do not understand this of their having any dominion over the seed of Jacob (which we never read of), but only of their regaining power to shake off subjection to them, as it follows in the next words.

Thou shalt break his yoke] Which they did in the days of Joram, as we read, 2 Kings viii. 20, 22; 2 Chron. xxi. 8, &c.

Ver. 41. *Esau said in his heart,*] Designed and resolved within himself: and, as it should seem, was so full of it, that he could not contain his purpose within his own breast, but in his anger blurted it out to somebody, who told it to Rebekah.

The days of mourning for my father, &c.] He will die shortly (in which he was deceived, for he lived three-and-forty years after this), and then I will be revenged. He had some regard to his father still remaining (whom he would not grieve), but no consideration of his mother, who had helped Jacob to supplant him.

Ver. 42. *Tarry with him a few days,*] A year or two. But herein she also was mistaken, for he did not return in twenty years' time.

43 Now therefore, my son, obey my voice; and arise, flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran;

44 And tarry with him a few days, until thy brother's fury turn away;

45 Until thy brother's anger turn away from thee, and he forget *that* which thou hast done to him: then I will send, and fetch thee from

Until thy brother's fury] Time, in which various things happen, very much allays fury and rage.

Ver. 45. He forget, &c.] The memory of it be much worn out, and grown weak.

Why should I be deprived] She had reason to think, that if Esau killed Jacob, and the public justice did not punish it (according to the precept ix. 6, which had settled courts of judicature), God himself would prosecute Esau with his vengeance, as he did Cain.

Ver. 46. I am weary of my life, because of the daughters of Heth:] The two wives of Esau, who

thence: why should I be deprived also of you both in one day?

46 And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these *which are* of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?

were Hittites, were such a continual vexation to her, that she wished rather to die, than to live among them.

If Jacob take a wife, &c.] She pretends only this reason for sending Jacob among her kindred, and says not a word of the danger his life was in; for she would not afflict her husband, but only preserve her son.

What good shall my life do me?] I had rather die, than live in such perpetual vexation; therefore let him go and take a wife, as Abraham did for thee, of our kindred.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 Isaac blesseth Jacob, and sendeth him to Padan-aram. 6 Esau marrieth Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael.
10 The vision of Jacob's ladder. 18 The stone of Beth-el. 20 Jacob's vow.

1 AND Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan.

2 Arise, go to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother.

3 And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a multitude of people;

4 And give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest inherit the land wherein thou art a stranger, which God gave unto Abraham.

5 And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to Padan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother.

6 ¶ When Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padan-aram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan;

7 And that Jacob obeyed his father and his mother, and was gone to Padan-aram;

8 And Esau seeing that the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac his father;

9 Then went Esau into Ishmael, and took unto the wives which he had Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife.

10 ¶ And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went toward Haran.

11 And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place, and put

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ver. 1. Isaac called Jacob,] Sent for him to come to him.

Blessed him,] Renewed and confirmed the blessing he had already given him; that it might not be thought to be of less force, because produced by artifice and subtilty (xxvii. 35).

Ver. 2. To Padan-aram,] See xxv. 20.

Ver. 3.] This is the solemn blessing mentioned ver. 1, wherein he ratifies what he had done, and more fully and distinctly settles the land of promise upon him, and makes him the father of the promised seed.

Ver. 4.] The blessing of Abraham was, that he should inherit the land of Canaan, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed (Gen. xv. 13, xxii. 18). Both which he now confirms to Jacob.

Ver. 5. Isaac sent away Jacob:] In some haste, as the LXX. translate ver. 2, *Arise, flee*, i. e. depart without any delay. Which looks as if Rebekah had at last suggested something to him of the danger he was in.

He went to Padan-aram] Prepared himself to go and set forward. Or else it is spoken by anticipation; for he did not come thither till after several passages which are related in this and in the next chapter.

Son of Bethuel the Syrian,] See xxv. 20.

Jacob's and Esau's mother.] Now Jacob is put first, as being lately declared Isaac's heir, and heir of all the promises.

Ver. 9.] To the family of Ishmael, for he himself died fourteen years ago. And therefore Nebajoth (his eldest son, xxv. 13), is here mentioned as the present head of the family, whose sister Esau married. Whereby he showed himself not to have any great regard to the Divine revelation; otherwise he could not but have known, that this family, being descended from a bond-woman, was not to inherit the promises made to Abraham and Isaac.

Ver. 10. Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, &c.] Quite alone, without any servants to attend him, and without any presents to court a wife, or gain the kindness of Laban, neither of which were wanting, when Abraham sent Eliezer to take a wife for Isaac. But as he was sent away *in haste* (as I noted before,

them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep.

12 And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven : and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.

13 And, behold, the LORD stood above it, and said, I am the LORD God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac : the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed ;

14 And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west,

ver. 5), so hereby the anger of Esau was mitigated, who at present was left the sole possessor of all Isaac's riches, and saw Jacob depart in a poor condition. This also was an act of Divine faith, that God would take a singular care of him, and let him want nothing. And, as they could not but hope that Laban, being so near a relation, would be glad to see him and entertain him; so it is probable he might carry letters of credence with him, that he was to be heir to Isaac, as Eliezer assured them Isaac was to be to Abraham (xxiv. 36). We are to suppose, likewise, that he was not sent without money to bear his charges (as we speak), and had some provision with him, for we read of oil (ver. 18), which he poured on the top of the pillar.

Ver. 11. *He lighted upon a certain place, &c.*] A convenient place (shaded with lovely trees, see ver. 19) to lodge in; unto which he did not go by design, but happened (as we speak) upon it, when he did not think of it.

He took of the stones of that place,] One stone from among many others that were there, as appears from ver. 18. The same form of speech was observed before (xix. 29, xxi. 7).

Ver. 12. *He dreamed,*] He had the following representation made to him in a dream.

Behold a ladder, &c.] It is judiciously observed by Maimonides, in his preface to his More Nevochim, that there are two sorts of prophetic parables (as he calls them), in one of which every word hath some peculiar signification : in the other, the whole parable represents the thing intended, but every word hath not its weight; some serving only for elegance. Among the first sort he reckons this; in which the ladder may be thought to represent the Divine Providence, which governs all things, and particularly now directed Jacob in his journey, every step of which was under God's guidance. It being "set upon the earth" denoted, he thinks, the steadfastness of Providence, which nothing is able to shake. And "the top of it reaching to heaven," signifies that it extends itself all the world over; to every thing, great or small, high or low; and the several steps in the ladder, the motions and actions of Divine Providence. The angels which went up and down, signify that they are the great ministers of God's Providence, by whom he manages all things here below; and that they are never idle, but always in motion to serve those especially who serve God faithfully. Their *ascending* represents their going to receive the Divine orders and commands; and their *descending*, the execution of his orders. Or (with a peculiar respect to Jacob's present condition) the one signified their safe conduct of him in his journey to Padanaram; and the other, their bringing him safe home again.

This is infinitely more solid than the conceit of almost all the ancient rabbins, that God represented in this ladder the rise and the fall of the four great

monarchies. For where is there any mention in this dream of four angels? or, of seventy steps representing the seventy years' captivity in Babylon? or, of two-and-fifty steps representing the time of the reign of the four kings of Persia and Media, according to their computation? &c. All this is the pure invention of idle men, who dream upon the Holy Scriptures.

Ver. 13. *The Lord stood above it,*] Finally, he saw the Divine Majesty, or Glory (so the Targum here expounds it), as the immovable mover of all things : from whom all comes as the first cause, and to whom all returns as the last end.

I am the Lord God, &c.] This is the first time that we read of God's appearing to Jacob : and it was only in a dream. But it made such a deep impression upon him, that he doubted not of the truth of what was now expressly promised him by God himself; that he should have the *blessing of Abraham*, as his father had told him (ver. 4).

Ver. 15. *Behold, I am with thee,*] Or, will be with thee : i. e. My peculiar providence shall be over thee, and take care of thy safety, as Maimonides well expounds it, in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 18.

I will not leave thee, &c.] This shows the intent of the dream was to comfort Jacob in his solitary and poor condition, by an assurance that God's watchful providence should attend him till he had accomplished all his promises to him.

Ver. 16. *Surely the Lord is in this place;*] By his special extraordinary presence; for here he had manifested himself to him, and given him singular assurances of his favour, and that the very first night after he went from home : which made this place more acceptable to him than his father's house. For now he was become a prophet, as Maimonides observes (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 45), where he says, that they who prophesy in a dream, do not call it a dream after prophecy is come to them in a dream, but simply say, it was a prophecy. Thus the patriarch Jacob, after he awakened out of his prophetic dream (wherein he heard the Lord speak to him, ver. 13, 14), he doth not call it a dream, but roundly says, "Surely the Lord is in this place," &c.

I knew it not,] I did not expect to meet with such a Divine appearance and revelation to me.

Ver. 17. *He was afraid,*] Possessed with a religious, awful apprehension of God, which made him say,

How dreadful is this place!] With what reverence ought I here to behave myself!

This is—the house of God,] The Divine Majesty dwells here; this is not a common place, but a sacred, having a Divine presence in it.

The gate of heaven,] Here God keeps his court, attended by his holy angels, whom he had seen come from heaven hither, and go up from hence thither. So Mr. Mede explains it (book ii. p. 436). The presence of God in one place more than another, consists

ful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.

18 And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.

19 And he called the name of that place Beth-el:

in his train or retinue. A king is there, where his court is; and so God is there specially present, where the angels keep their station; which is the meaning of the *gate of heaven*, i. e. heaven's court; for the gate was wont to be the judgment-hall, and the place where kings and senators used to sit, attended by their guards and ministers.

Ver. 18. *Took the stone—and set it up for a pillar.*] Upon the top of some other stones, which he heaped up together, that it might remain as a monument of the Divine mercy to him, and preserve the memory of this heavenly vision; and that by this token he might know this place, when God brought him back again, and commemorate his goodness to him here.

This stone was held in great veneration by the Jews in future times, and translated to Jerusalem. After the destruction of which by Titus, they were wont (upon that day when it was taken, which was the only day they were permitted to come thither), with great lamentation and rending their garments, to go and anoint this stone. Such is the power of fond superstition (see Vossius, de Idolol. lib. vi. cap. 38).

Poured oil upon the top of it.] Not in honour of this stone (as Bonfrerius himself confesses), much less of any idol to which it was dedicated; but to consecrate it as a monument of God's great mercy to him in the before-mentioned celestial vision. Oil, it appears by this, was anciently used in consecrating things, before the law of Moses; and not only in this family, but in others also, it is probable: from whence the pagan custom came of anointing stones, which by Theophrastus are called *Δεσποῖοι Λίθοι*, upon which superstitious people were wont, when they met with them in the highways, to pour oil, and fall down and worship. A great many authors mention them, which are collected by Elmenhorstius in his observations upon Arnobius, p. 37. They that would be satisfied how wretchedly some of the Romish writers plead for the worship of images from this very place, may read Dr. Jackson's Treatise of the Original of Unbelief (chap. xxxv.), where he excellently explains this action of Jacob, n. 5, 6, 7.

Ver. 19. *Beth-el.*] From this word *Beth-el*, came the word *Betylus* (as Scaliger, in his Animadv. upon Euseb. p. 198, and others think) among the heathen; whereby they denoted rude stones, which they worshipped either as symbols of Divinity, or as true Gods, animated by some heavenly power. Of which worship, see Photius in his Bibliotheca (ccxlii.), but especially Bochartus (lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 1), where he shows the Phenicians (at least, as the Jews think) first worshipped this very stone which Jacob anointed; and afterwards consecrated others, which they called *Betylia*, and *Betyli*, in memory of this stone anointed at *Beth-el* (see p. 785, 786). Certain it is, this idolatrous practice came very early into the world; which made Moses forbid the erecting of such pillars, they being, in his time, converted to a profane use (Lev. xxvi. 1; Dent. xii. 3, xvi. 22).

But the name of that city.] Which was near to the place where this pillar was first set up.

Was—Luz at the first.] So called, perhaps, from the many almond-trees which grew there (for *Luz* signifies an *almond*, see xxx. 37), among which, it is

but the name of that city was called *Luz* at the first.

20 And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on,

21 So that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the Lord be my God:

probable, Jacob took up his lodging, because they were a kind of covering to him. Both this *Luz*, in the tribe of Benjamin, and the other among the Hittites, in the tribe of Ephraim (Judg. i. 26), Bochart doubts not had their name from this original (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 35).

Ver. 20. *Jacob vowed a vow.*] This is the first vow that we read of in Scripture; which all men allow is a part of religion, and so was acknowledged by the law of Moses (Dent. xxiii. 21; Ps. l. 12, lxv. 2, &c.).

Perhaps Jacob was the first that in this manner expressed his devout affection towards God.

If God will be with me, &c.] Perform his promise to me (ver. 15).

Give me bread to eat, &c.] Support and maintain me, which is the explication of the promise.

Ver. 21. *Then shall the Lord be my God.*] I will most righteously worship and serve him: which doth not imply that he would not worship him, if he did not bring him home in peace; but that, if he did, he would perform some special service to him, and worship him with extraordinary devotion; consecrating (as it follows) this place to his honour, offering him sacrifice, and giving him the tenths of all he had, to maintain his worship.

Ver. 22. *This stone, which I have set for a pillar.*] All pillars were not unlawful, but such only as were for idolatrous uses; as Maimonides resolves (lib. de Idol. cap. 6, § 8). And therefore the Jews so expound those words before mentioned, "Thou shalt not set thee up any statue (or pillar), which the Lord thy God hateth" (Dent. xvi. 22), concerning pillars set up for worship, not of those from memorial.

Shall be God's house.] Here will I set apart a place for God's solemn worship and service; build an altar, and offer sacrifice, &c. See xxxv. 3.

Give the tenth unto thee.] *Δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων*, saith Josephus, "the tithe of all his income," for the maintenance of burnt-sacrifices, and such-like pious uses, and, perhaps, for the relief of the poor. As for the priests, we do not yet read of any tithe given to them; though Mr. Selden (in his History of Tithes, p. 4, &c. and Review, p. 451) thinks they were paid to Isaac, who was then priest of the family. And so Bishop Montague, in his book against him (p. 199); who observes, that we read only of Abraham and Jacob paying tithe, not of Isaac; because Isaac was a more special type of Christ than either of these. And Abraham and Jacob were types of those two people who were to have part in the true Isaac; for Abraham was father of all the faithful, and Jacob was the type of the synagogue; as St. Ambrose handles these matters in the life of Abraham. Yet the same Bishop confesses, that many doubt whether Jacob paid the tenth of all to Isaac, or immediately to God; because Jacob also was a priest himself. See p. 205, &c.

This, I think, we may certainly conclude from this place, that Jacob, the grandchild of Abraham, vowing the tenth of *all*, as Abraham had given the tenth of the *spoil*, he was induced to it by the custom which was then among religious people. How they came to pitch upon this portion, rather than a fifth, sixth, or any other, is not so easily to be resolved. But they seem to speak with much reason, who observe,

22 And this stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all that thou

shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

that in this number ten, all nations in a manner end their account (Aristotle in his Problems, lib. 3, § xv.), and then begin again with compound numbers; or, as others phrase it, this is the end of less numbers, and the beginning of greater. So that it was looked upon as the most perfect of all other, and, accordingly, had in great regard. But, after all, it seems most likely to me, that they had some Divine direction for it, as they had for sacrificing. And it may be further noted, that what they gave to their kings was the tenth part, as well as what they gave to God.

And nothing more common among the gentiles than tenths paid to their kings, and that very anciently; for it appears from 1 Sam. viii. 14, 15, 17, that it was part of the *jus regium* among the eastern people. Aristotle himself mentions it under the name of Πασαός νόμος, "an ancient law in Babylon:" and it was also used in Athens, which was a commonwealth, as Dr. Spencer shows, in his learned work, de Leg. Hebr. Ritual. (lib. iii. cap. x. § 1). And Bishop Montague shows they were paid among the Romans, p. 248, &c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 Jacob cometh to the well of Haran. 9 He taketh acquaintance of Rachel. 13 Laban entertaineth him. 18 Jacob covenanteth for Rachel. 23 He is deceived with Leah. 28 He marrieth also Rachel, and serveth for her seven years more. 32 Leah beareth Reuben, 33 Simeon, 34 Levi, 35 and Judah.

1 THEN Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east.

2 And he looked, and behold a well in the field, and, lo, there were three flocks of sheep lying by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and a great stone was upon the well's mouth.

3 And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in his place.

4 And Jacob said unto them, My brethren, whence be ye? And they said, Of Haran are we.

5 And he said unto them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? And they said, We know him.

6 And he said unto them, Is he well? And they said, He is well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.

7 And he said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the cattle should be gathered to-

gether: water ye the sheep, and go and feed them.

8 And they said, We cannot, until all the flocks be gathered together, and till they roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep.

9 ¶ And while he yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep: for she kept them.

10 And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother, that Jacob went near, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's brother.

11 And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept.

12 And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son: and she ran and told her father.

13 And it came to pass, when Laban heard

those eastern countries, where the sun had great power in the summer-time, to bring their flocks towards noon into shady places, where there was water to refresh them; otherwise the extreme heat would have killed them. There they rested (it appears by many places of Scripture, particularly Cantic. i. 7), till the heat of the day was over, and then, having watered them again, they carried them out to feed till sunset.

Ver. 9. *For she kept them.*] It was a noble employment in those days to keep sheep; whence God himself hath the name of the *Shepherd of Israel*. She had those under her, we are to suppose, who took the greatest pains about them; but she was the chief shepherdess, who inspected them all.

Ver. 10. *Went near and rolled the stone.*] He was stronger, or more dexterous at such things, than anybody there; or, the meaning is, he assisted in this work; and, perhaps, was the first that set to his hand about it.

Ver. 11. *Jacob kissed Rachel.*] Having told her who he was, and satisfied her of the truth of it, then (after the custom used among near relations at their first meeting) he saluted her; and that with more than ordinary affection, for he wept for joy to see her. Laban in like manner kissed him.

CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1. *Then Jacob went on his journey.*] Because the Hebrew phrase for *went on*, is *lift up his feet*, some will have it, that he proceeded most cheerfully in his journey, after this glorious vision; which we may believe to be true, though not signified by this manner of speaking.

Of the people of the east.] To Mesopotamia, which lay eastward from Canaan.

Ver. 2. *A great stone was upon the well's mouth.*] To keep the water clean and cool.

Ver. 5. *Laban the son of Nahor?*] Grandson of Nahor, who is mentioned rather than Bethuel, because he was the head of the family.

Ver. 6. *Rachel his daughter.*] Her name in Hebrew signifies a *sheep*. For it was anciently the manner to give names, even unto families, from cattle, both great and small. So Varro tells us (lib. ii. de Re Rustica, cap. 1).

"Multa nomina habemus ab utroque pecore, &c. a minore PORCUS, OVILIUS, CAPRIIUS; a majore, EQUITUS, TAURUS," &c. See Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 43.

Ver. 7. *It is yet high day, &c.*] A great deal of the afternoon yet remains. It was the custom of

the tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house. And he told Laban all these things.

14 And Laban said to him, Surely thou art my bone and my flesh. And he abode with him the space of a month.

15 ¶ And Laban said unto Jacob, Because thou art my brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me for nought? tell me, what shall thy wages be?

16 And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel.

17 Leah was tender eyed; but Rachel was beautiful and well favoured.

18 And Jacob loved Rachel; and said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.

19 And Laban said, It is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me.

20 And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her.

21 ¶ And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me

my wife, for my days are fulfilled, that I may go in unto her.

22 And Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and made a feast.

23 And it came to pass in the evening, that he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and he went in unto her.

24 And Laban gave unto his daughter Leah Zilpah his maid for an handmaid.

25 And it came to pass, that in the morning, behold, it was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did I not serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou beguiled me?

26 And Laban said, It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born.

27 Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years.

28 And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife also.

29 And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her maid.

30 And he went in also unto Rachel, and he

Ver. 12. *Her father's brother.*] So all near relations are called (ver. 15).

Ver. 13. *He told Laban all these things.*] Which are mentioned in the foregoing and this chapter. The reason of his coming from home, God's providence over him in his journey, and his happy meeting with Rachel.

Ver. 14. *Surely thou art my bone and my flesh.*] So very near of kin to me that I can deny thee nothing.

Ver. 15. *Because thou art*] Or, as De Dieu translates the word *Haci* (and gives many instances of it), *Art thou not my brother?* Is it fit then that thou shouldest serve me for nothing?

Ver. 17. *Leah was tender eyed;*] Some translate it, *had delicate eyes.* So the Chaldee; and then the meaning is, *All her beauty lay in her eyes.*

Beautiful and well favoured.] Was very amiable, being well shaped, having good features, and a fine complexion.

Ver. 18.] He had not brought money enough with him to purchase a wife (as the manner was in those days), and therefore offers his service for seven years, instead of it.

Ver. 19.] He seems to answer cunningly; and yet one cannot but take it for a contract, as it appears to have been by ver. 21.

Ver. 20. *They seemed unto him but a few days.*] He valued Rachel so much, that the price at which he purchased her seemed inconsiderable.

Ver. 21. *Give me my wife.*] So she had been by contract ever since it was made (ver. 19), and he doth not now demand that he might have her to wife, but that he might enjoy her; being already his wife by that solemn agreement made seven years ago.

Ver. 22.] All such private contracts were completed by the elders or governors of the place, in the presence of all the people. We had an instance of this before in Abraham's purchase of a sepulchre for his family (xxiii. 11, 18); which was a sacred and religious thing, as well as the rites of marriage; and therefore both of them *publici juris*, as Cornel. Bertram speaks, part of the public care.

Ver. 23. *In the evening.*] At bed-time.

Brought her to him;] The modesty of those times made them bring the bride to her husband's bed veiled, and without lights; so that it was the easier for Laban to deceive Jacob by bringing Leah to him; whom he could not hope so readily to dispose in marriage as Rachel, because she was homely.

Ver. 24.] A very poor portion; yet all that he gave to Rachel afterward (ver. 29): which made them say, that he used them as strangers, not as his children; putting them off without any portion (xxxi. 14, 15).

Ver. 26.] We do not read of any such ancient custom; and, therefore, this seems a mere shift, or a jest: or if it had been true, he should have told it Jacob beforehand.

Ver. 27. *Fulfil her week, &c.*] Perfect this marriage with Leah, by keeping a seven days' feast (as the custom was), and then thou shalt have Rachel also. For he doth not speak of a week of years, but of days, as Mr. Selden shows out of many authors (lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. v), where he hath this plain commentary upon these words:

"Marriages are to be celebrated, according to custom, by a seven days' feast: complete this marriage thou hast begun with Leah, and then, upon condition of another seven years' service, thou shalt marry Rachel also, and keep her wedding-feast seven days."

Ver. 30.] After he had solemnly married Rachel, and bedded her (as we speak), for that he did seven days after his marriage with Leah was accomplished. So this verse begins, "And he went in also unto Rachel," and then began his other seven years' service. There was no positive law, as yet, against such marriages as this (with two sisters), which were afterwards expressly condemned; but at present indulged; as the marriage of a man's own sister was in the beginning of the world. Whence that saying of the Jews in the Gemara Hierosol. upon the title Sanhedrin, "The world was built by indulgence." And Jacob, it is very likely, thought there was an unavoidable necessity for his marrying these two sisters.

loved also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years.

31 ¶ And when the LORD saw that Leah *was* hated, he opened her womb: but Rachel *was* barren.

32 And Leah conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben: for she said, Surely the LORD hath looked upon my affliction; now therefore my husband will love me.

33 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Because the LORD hath heard

For Rachel was his true wife; Leah being imposed upon him by a cheat. But, having known her, he concluded he could not honestly leave her; no more than he could Rachel, to whom he was first contracted.

Ver. 31. *Leah was hated,*] Comparatively, not absolutely. For Leah having joined with her father to

that I *was* hated, he hath therefore given me this son also: and she called his name Simeon.

34 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said, Now this time will my husband be joined unto me, because I have born him three sons: therefore was his name called Levi.

35 And she conceived again, and bare a son: and she said, Now will I praise the LORD: therefore she called his name Judah; and left bearing.

deceive him, he could not love her so well as Rachel; to whom he had engaged his first affection.

Ver. 32. *Reuben.*] The name of this son, and of all the rest that follow, are derived from the Hebrew tongue: which shows that Laban's family spake the same language with Abraham's with some little variation, as appears afterwards, xxxi. 47.

CHAPTER XXX.

1 *Rachel, in grief for her barrenness, giveth Bilhah her maid unto Jacob.* 5 *She beareth Dan and Naphtali.* 9 *Leah giveth Zilpah her maid, who beareth Gad and Asher.* 15 *Reuben findeth mandrakes, with which Leah buyeth her husband of Rachel.* 17 *Leah beareth Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah.* 22 *Rachel beareth Joseph.* 25 *Jacob desireth to depart.* 17 *Laban stayeth him on a new covenant.* 37 *Jacob's policy, whereby he became rich.*

1 AND when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister; and said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else I die.

2 And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, *Am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?*

3 And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her; and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also have children by her.

4 And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife: and Jacob went in unto her.

5 And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son.

6 And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and

hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore called she his name Dan.

7 And Bilhah Rachel's maid conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son.

8 And Rachel said, With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed: and she called his name Naphtali.

9 When Leah saw that she had left bearing, she took Zilpah her maid, and gave her Jacob to wife.

10 And Zilpah Leah's maid bare Jacob a son.

11 And Leah said, A troop cometh: and he called his name Gad.

CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *Envied her sister,*] Was so grieved, that it made her fret into impatience and rage, for it is a frantic speech which follows.

Give me children, or else I die.] I shall make myself away (as we now speak), or die with grief. See here the great danger of too eager and impatient desires: the fulfilling of which was her death indeed.

Ver. 2. *Jacob's anger was kindled*] He conceived a just indignation against her impatience, which he expresses with some heat.

Am I in God's stead, &c.] Is it in my power to give what God thinks fit to deny? Thus he puts her in mind of what the Psalmist said afterwards, "Children are a gift that cometh of the Lord," as the old translation hath it, cxxvii. 3.

Ver. 3. *Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her,*] She followed the steps of Sarah, Jacob's grandmother (xvi. 1), in adopting the son of her maid-servant; whom she gave to Jacob out of the same principle, that Sarah gave Hagar to be Abraham's wife; a vehement desire to fulfil the promise, that their seed should be as the stars of heaven: and especially the promise of the Messiah; which made them so extremely troubled at barrenness.

She shall bear upon my knees,] Bring me a child,

whom I may set upon my knees, as my own. For so it follows.

That I may also have children] Though not by my own body, yet by her. For she being Rachel's servant, the children that were born of her, were Rachel's children, not her own.

Ver. 4. *She gave him Bilhah,*] Of such kind of wives as this and Zilpah, ver. 9, see xxv. 6.

Ver. 6. *God hath judged me,*] Decided the controversy between me and my sister; and given sentence on my side.

She called his name Dan,] The mothers sometimes gave names to their children (as Leah had done to hers, mentioned in the foregoing chapter); but with the approbation of the father, who sometimes controlled them (xxxv. 18).

Ver. 8. *With great wrestlings, &c.*] I have struggled exceeding hard (i. e. in incessant, vehement desires, and perhaps in prayers to God) to have another child, before my sister; and have prevailed.

Ver. 9. *Took Zilpah her maid,*] Imitating her sister, and perhaps out of the same principle; hoping some or other of her children might be the father of the Messiah: and therefore the more children she had, the more likely some of them might be so happy.

Ver. 11. *A troop cometh,*] The Hebrew writers generally expound it, "Good fortune cometh:" as Mr

12 And Zilpah Leah's maid bare Jacob a second son.

13 And Leah said, Happy am I, for the daughters will call me blessed: and she called his name Asher.

14 ¶ And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes.

15 And she said unto her, *Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband?* and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he shall lie with thee to night for thy son's mandrakes.

16 And Jacob came out of the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me; for surely I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes. And he lay with her that night.

Selden shows in his Syntagm. de Diis Syris, cap. 1. And the LXX. translate it *ἐν τύχῃ*, "in a lucky hour;" and other Greek versions *τιτυχησα*, as in St. Chrysostom (Hom. lvi. on this book), who expounds it *ἐκτύχον τοῦ σωτηρίου*, "I have obtained my sim." Others have *ἐντύχησα*, which is the same: whence the Latin anciently had it, *beata facta*, or *fulix sum*, as in St. Austin, Q. xci. in Gen. And this seems to some to be nearer to the Hebrew than any other translation; because, what other way soever we expound the word *gad*, either for a *troop*, or *fortune*, we must make two words of *bagad*, as the Masorites do, and take *ג* to signify as much as *נ*, according as we translate it. *A troop cometh*, or *Good fortune cometh*. But I see no necessity of this; for, taking *gad* for a troop, it may be simply translated, *With a troop*; a troop shall follow this, i.e. a great many more children. And it must be confessed that Jacob in his blessing (xlix. 19), doth allude to this signification of the word, which I doubt not is the truest. For *gad*, or *gada*, never denotes *fortune* anywhere but in the Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan, and among the rabbins who follow them: and therefore this may be looked upon as a later, not the ancient signification of the word.

Ver. 14. *In the days of wheat harvest.*] Which began at Pentecost, when the first-fruits of it were offered; as barley harvest began at the passover.

Mandrakes] In the Hebrew the word is *duda'im*: which here signifies the *fruit* of a tree or plant (whatsoever it be); and in the book of Canticles, vii. 13, it signifies the *flowers*; and these are the only two places where this word is found in the Bible. Which Job Ludolphus gives many reasons to prove, cannot signify a *mandrake*: for the flowers of that have a bad smell, and the fruit of it a bad taste. And therefore, after great variety of opinions, he concludes it to be that which in Syria they call *mauz*: which is an excellent sort of fruit, growing upon a plant, in the top of which there are great bunches of it like a cucumber. From whence he fancies this fruit was anciently called *duda'im*; from the Hebrew word *dud*, which signifies, propinquus, cognatus, amicus; which signifies a *neighbour*, *kinsmen*, or *friend*. Such were these *duda'im*, which he calls cognatos aut patruales ab una stirpe profectos (vide Comment. in lib. i. Histor. Ethiop. cap. xix. n. 72).

Ver. 15. *Taken my husband?*] It seems he had estranged himself, for some time, from Leah's bed, out of his great love to Rachel, or because he took little delight in her. Or Rachel's envy at her having

17 And God hearkened unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob the fifth son.

18 And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I have given my maiden to my husband: and she called his name Issachar.

19 And Leah conceived again, and bare Jacob the sixth son.

20 And Leah said, God hath endued me with a good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have born him six sons: and she called his name Zebulun.

21 And afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name Dinah.

22 ¶ And God remembered Rachel, and God hearkened to her, and opened her womb.

23 And she conceived, and bare a son; and said, God hath taken away my reproach:

24 And she called his name Joseph; and said, The Lord shall add to me another son.

25 ¶ And it came to pass, when Rachel had

so many children, when she herself had none, made her contrive ways to keep him from Leah.

Ver. 16.] I cannot think of any good reason, either of this contention among Jacob's wives for his company, or their giving him their maids to be his wives, or for Moses's taking such particular notice of all this; but only the earnest desire they had to fulfil the promise made to Abraham, That his seed should be as the stars of heaven for multitude; and that in one seed of his (the Messiah) all the nations of the earth should be blessed. It had been below the dignity of such a sacred history as this is, to relate such things, if there had not been something of great consideration in them. And what can that be, but chiefly the birth of the blessed Seed? which was the object of the hopes of all pious people in those days. For it is evident, both by Rachel and her sister, that it was children they desired, and not merely the company of their husbands: as it here follows, ver. 17.

Ver. 17. *God hearkened unto Leah.*] To her earnest prayer, or vehement desire: and gave her another son.

Ver. 18. *Given me my hire.*] I purchased my husband's company, and God hath repaid me, by the gift of another son. Unto which she adds a further reflection; as if this was the reward of her kindness to her husband, in bestowing her maid upon him to be his wife.

Ver. 19. *Conceived again.*] The birth of this son begat a greater kindness between them; and made him less a stranger to her bed.

Ver. 20. *God hath endued me with a good dowry.*] By restoring her husband to her, and bestowing new fruitfulness upon her: for she had ceased to bear (xxix. ult.)

Ver. 21. *Dinah.*] No reason is given of her name: but it seems to have the same with that of Rachel's firstborn by Bilhah (ver. 6). For, as if she had now got the better of Rachel, she calls this child by a name importing judgment.

Ver. 22. *God remembered Rachel.*] He would not have Leah insult over her, nor triumph too much; and therefore blessed Rachel with a son out of her own womb, for that was to *remember* her.

Ver. 24. *Joseph.*] His name seems to have been taken both from *ending* her reproach, which she mentions before, ver. 23, "The Lord hath taken away (*asaph* the Hebrew word is) my reproach," and from *adding* another son to this.

The Lord shall add to me another son.] This was a great expression of her faith; more than we find in all the former births.

born Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, Send me away, that I may go unto mine own place, and to my country.

26 Give me my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my service which I have done thee.

27 And Laban said unto him, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thine eyes, tarry: for I have learned by experience that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

28 And he said, Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it.

29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy cattle was with me.

30 For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude; and the Lord hath blessed thee since my coming: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also?

31 And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me any

[Ver. 25. *Send me away.*] It is plain, by this, that the seven years' service for Rachel was now finished, just when Joseph was born; and therefore he desires to be dismissed, having lived with him fourteen years,

Unto mine own place and unto my country.] i. e. To his father's house in Canaan: which was his country, because he was born there.

Ver. 26. *For thou knowest my service.*] He appeals to himself whether he had not served him with all diligence and fidelity: and therefore deserved to be dismissed after such long labours.

Ver. 27. *I have learned by experience.*] Or, as the ancients understood the word *nichasti*, I have found by divination: and Aben Ezra thinks he learnt it by consulting with his Teraphim. But there needed no such advice with them; the thing was plain in itself, that he had brought prosperity along with him into his house.

Ver. 29. *Thou knowest how I have served thee.*] With how much care and fidelity, as he had admonished him before (ver. 26).

How thy cattle was with me.] How they prospered under my care.

Ver. 30. *Blessed thee since my coming.*] So St. Jerome explains the Hebrew phrase, at my foot: ever since I set my foot within thy doors; or, since I entered into thy service. Others expound it, *whenever I went, or by my leading thy flock.* But Maimonides says this phrase, *keragli (at my foot)* signifies *because of me; for my sake.* And so he explains the like phrase, xxxiii. 14, par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 28.

Ver. 31. *Thou shalt not give me any thing, &c.*] I will take nothing of thee at present; but make this following bargain with thee, for the future.

Ver. 32. *All the speckled and spotted.*] In this place, and in xxxi. 10, there are four distinct words used to express what should be his. The first of them is *nakod*, which we well translate *speckled*. For the word signifies little points or pricks, which the Greeks call *στίγματα*: as many have observed; particularly Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. The next is *talui*, which signifies broader and larger spots; which we frequently see in cattle. The next is *akod*, which signifies, spotted with divers colours: but most properly spots, or rather circles, or rings about the feet or legs (which we translate ring-straked): so Symmachus renders it λευκόποδας, white-footed: and Onkelos and Jonathan, having marks on their feet; rather lists round their legs or feet; for the word de-

thing: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed and keep thy flock:

32 I will pass through all thy flock to day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and of such shall be my hire.

33 So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me.

34 And Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to thy word.

35 And he removed that day the he goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she goats that were speckled and spotted, and every one that had some white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave them into the hand of his sons.

36 And he set three days' journey betwixt notes, binding or twisting about any thing. And then the last word *barud* signifies, whitish spots like hail. For *barud*, in Hebrew, is hail.

Of such shall be my hire.] He doth not mean that those cattle which were already speckled and spotted, &c. should be given him: for that doth not agree with what went before, "thou shalt not give me any thing" (i. e. I will take nothing that is now thine); and besides, it would have been no wonder, if those that were spotted already should bring forth others like to themselves. Therefore the sense is, that he would separate all the spotted sheep and goats; and then out of those which were of one colour, he would have all that should prove hereafter at all marked with any of the forementioned variety. Now this was a thing so unlikely to happen, that Laban, in the next verse, embraces the motion very greedily: thinking that white or black cattle would bring forth none but such as were like themselves.

Ver. 33.] This separation being made, it would appear, that if he had any spotted, they were not taken from Laban's flock; but given to him by God out of them, as a reward of his honest diligence.

Ver. 34.] He thought this so good a bargain, that he was afraid Jacob would not stand to it.

Ver. 35.] *Into the hand of his sons.*] i. e. Of Laban's sons, who were now grown up; though, perhaps, when Jacob first came to him, they were so little as not to be able to look after the flocks; which his daughter therefore fed (xxix. 9); as for Jacob's sons, the eldest of them was scarce seven years old; and therefore could not be fit for such employment. Laban therefore went and separated the spotted cattle from the rest; and then, lest Jacob should get any of them to mix with those of one colour, he committed them to his own sons, to be fed apart by themselves. And, as it follows in the next verse, made a distance of three days' journey between the one and the other; that none might be in danger to stray to the flock which was fed by Jacob: unto whose care were committed all that had no spots at all.

Ver. 36. *Set three days' journey, &c.*] That they might be sure not to come near, so much as to see one another.

Ver. 37. *Of the hazel.*] The Hebrew word *luz* signifies an almond, as Bochart proves at large, out of a great many authors. And therefore St. Jerome here rightly translates it, *virgas amygdalinas*. And

himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks.

37 ¶ And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chesnut tree; and piled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which *was* in the rods.

38 And he set the rods which he had piled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink.

39 And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted.

40 And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set

the faces of the flocks towards the ringstraked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle.

41 And it came to pass, whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods.

42 But when the cattle were feeble, he put them not in: so the feeblers were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's.

43 And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maidservants, and men-servants, and camels, and asses.

the Hebrew interpreters, who will have it signify a *hazel-tree*, confess that herein they depart from the opinion of those that went before them. So Aben Ezra and Kimchi, who both acknowledge that the ancient doctors expound it, *almond-rods*.

Piled white strakes in them.] He had three artifices to compass this end. The first was this: to peel off the bark from the rods, at certain distances, till the white appeared between the bark, which was of a different colour. And these rods, thus discoloured, he laid in the channels of water, at that time when the cattle were wont to couple (as it follows in the next verse), that their fancies might be painted with such divers colours as they saw in the rods (see ver. 40, 41.)

Ver. 39. *The flocks conceived before the rods, &c.*] The Greek fathers ascribe this to the miraculous operation of God, as Bochart observes in his *Hierozoic*, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 49). But the Latin fathers, particularly St. Jerome, look upon it as done by the natural operation of the imagination. For which he alleges the like thing done in Spain among horses and mares; and brings Quintillian and Hippocrates to justify the like conceptions in women. Which he backs with a great number of authorities, out of Galen and other writers; who have observed indelible marks to have been impressed upon children, by the objects that were presented to their mother's imagination at the time of her conception.

And St. Austin says, the Egyptians, by the like device with this of Jacob's, had still a new *apis*, or *pied-bull*, to succeed that which died: to whom they gave divine honour. But whatsoever power there might be in natural imagination to produce such effects, it must be acknowledged that God gave an extraordinary blessing to this contrivance: as appears by the vision which Jacob says he had, wherein God (who had directed him to this invention) promised to give it success (xxxi. 10—12). For beasts have very rarely such a strong and vehement imagination as produces such effects; unless it be moved by some unusual passion. And therefore we must confess that God excited and stirred up their imagination; which otherwise would not have wrought in that manner; at least, not in all the cattle. For, let any shepherd now try this device, and he will not find it do what it did then by a divine operation (vide G. Vossius, lib. iii. de Idolol. cap. 22).

Ver. 40. *Jacob did separate the lambs, &c.*] One species is put for all: and the meaning is, that those young cattle (whether lambs or kids of the goats, &c.) which were thus brought forth spotted, he did not suffer to remain with the flock of Laban; lest he should say that he did him wrong by letting them mix together, and so bring forth spotted cattle (and perhaps he might also think that they, looking upon Laban's one-coloured cattle, might bring forth young

ones like to them). But, instead of this way of entrenching himself, he had a second artifice; which was to put the spotted cattle (produced by the former device) foremost; so that Laban's flock should always look upon them, and thereby be the more apt to conceive the like. And then it follows, in the end of this verse,

He put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle.] Which looks like a repetition of what was said in the beginning of the verse: but the meaning is, that those which brought forth spotted, by this second artifice, he also put by themselves; and suffered them not to be mingled with Laban's cattle: as before he had separated those that were brought forth spotted, by looking upon the rods.

Ver. 41.] This was his third artifice: which is thus expounded by the Chaldees and a great number of other authors (which may be seen in Bochart, par. i. *Hierozoic*, lib. ii. cap. 46), that he laid the rods before the cattle only in the spring-time, when the sun was ascending, and the cattle lusty and vigorous: but let them alone when the cattle came together in September, or the declension of the year (for they bred twice a year in those countries), at which time they were become more feeble. If he had always laid the rods before the cattle, there might have been none but spotted, and so Laban have been quite impoverished. Therefore he chose to do it only in their first and prime copulation, which was in the spring-time; and omitted it in the later, which was in the autumn. Our famous Mr. Mede follows this interpretation (*Discourse* xlv. p. 355). But there is no certainty in it: for Pliny and Columella prefer those begot in autumn to those begot in the spring. And therefore our translation is most proper, which represents Jacob as using this artifice of laying the rods before them, only when the stronger cattle came together, and not when the weaker. And so the LXX. understood the words, without respect to the former or later breed: and so the Hebrew words import, as Bochartus shows in the place before named (p. 514).

Ver. 43. *The man increased exceedingly, &c.*] Some have made it a question, whether he got all these riches honestly; because Laban did not think of his using any art, but only of bare casual productions. But as what was not directly against the contract, may be thought to be allowed by it; so it is certain that Jacob might lawfully take what God bestowed upon him; who seems to have directed him by an angel to use this artifice; or, at least, testified his approbation of it: intending to transfer unto Jacob the wealth of Laban, as he gave the riches of the Egyptians to the Israelites. For the world is his, and the fulness thereof: and he may dispose of every thing in it as he pleases.

Maidservants, &c.] To look after his cattle; and after his camels and asses, which he also purchased.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 Jacob upon displeasure departeth secretly. 19 Rachel stealeth her father's images. 22 Laban pursueth after him, 26 and complaineth of the wrong. 34 Rachel's policy to hide the images. 36 Jacob's complaint of Laban. 43 The covenant of Jacob and Laban at Galeed.

1 AND he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken away all that *was* our father's; and of *that* which *was* our father's hath he gotten all this glory.

2 And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it *was* not toward him as before.

3 And the LORD said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred; and I will be with thee.

4 And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock,

5 And said unto them, I see your father's countenance, that it *is* not toward me as before; but the God of my father hath been with me.

6 And ye know that with all my power I have served your father.

7 And your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me.

8 If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy hire; then bare all the cattle ringstraked.

9 Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given *them* to me.

10 And it came to pass at the time that the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the rams which leaped upon the cattle *were* ringstraked, speckled, and grisled.

11 And the angel of God spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob: And I said, Here *am* I.

CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1. *He heard the words of Laban's sons,*] Who uttered such discontented or threatening speeches, as made him fear they would fall upon him and do him mischief. This was the first cause of his resolved flight.

Hath taken away all that was our father's;] They speak of him as if he had been a thief: which made him suspect they would use him accordingly.

All this glory,] All these riches (ver. 16).

Ver. 2.] This was the second cause of his resolution to be gone; that he saw by Laban's looks things were not likely to go well with him, if he stayed any longer.

Ver. 3.] This was the third cause, the Divine Majesty appeared to him, and bade him be gone. And as he had his warrant, so he seals it with his promise to protect him in his return to his own country.

Ver. 4. *Jacob sent and called Rachel*] Rachel is first mentioned as his chief wife; for so she was in his designment; and so the posterity of Leah afterward acknowledged, naming her first in the blessing of Ruth, iv. 11.

To the field] That he might discourse with them privately: fearing also, it is likely, that he might be seized by Laban and his sons, if he went to the house.

Ver. 5. *God—hath been with me.*] Hath appeared to me (ver. 3), and bid me not fear your father.

Ver. 6. *With all my power*] I have omitted nothing that I could do to promote his interest.

Ver. 7. *Hath deceived me.*] Dealt unjustly with me, in not standing to his agreement.

Changed my wages ten times;] i. e. Very often; as many interpret it from the like expression in other places, particularly Levit. xxvi. 26, where *ten women* are put for a great number of women. But others think that he really changed his wages *just ten times*. For he served him six years, after he made the agreement with him, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 31, &c. And the first year he stood to his bargain; but seeing him thrive exceedingly, he altered the form of their covenants, at the end of that year. And in like manner, every half-year, when the ewes brought forth young ones (which they did twice a-year) and he saw them spotted, he broke his con-

tract, and made a new one, less advantageous to Jacob, sometimes restraining it to one sort of cattle, sometimes to another; and not letting him have the whole benefit of his contract. Which is not at all improbable; for Jacob mentions his ill dealing with him in the very same words (ver. 41). And in the next verse to this he relates how Laban would sometimes let him only have the *speckled*; at another time, none but the *ring-straked*; and so we may suppose of the rest. See this explained by St. Jerome in Quæst. Hebr. and by St. Austin, Q. xev. in Gen.

God suffered him not to hurt me.] To defraud me of my wages, by these changes which he made in them.

Ver. 9.] He prudently conceals his own artifice, and only relates what hand God had in the business (which indeed was the chief, for without his blessing it could not have prospered), for fear perhaps that they should any way divulge it, and bring him into danger with Laban. For everybody cannot keep a secret (the Hebrews make too severe and foolish reflections on women upon this occasion); and his whole estate depending on this, he thought it best to keep it to himself for the present.

Ver. 10.] To confirm them in the opinion, that the hand of God had transferred all the riches of their father unto him, he relates what was represented to him in a dream.

The rams that leaped, &c.] He beheld them such as he had agreed to have for his hire; and therefore likely to produce others *spotted*, and *straked*, like themselves. According to the common observation of the poet:

"Sic catulos canibus similes, sic matribus hædos."

For in the Hebrew, the words *ring-straked* and *speckled*, may be referred to the ewes as well as to the rams. And it is probable he had this vision before he made this agreement with Laban; whereby he was directed to the artifice of which he made use: or else God represented to him afterward that he approved it, and would make it successful.

Grisled.] This word (*borud*) is not used before; but I took notice of it in the foregoing chapter (ver. 32), that it signifies as much as *great white* or *gray spots*, like to *hailstones*. It is just the quite contrary to *nakod*, speckled or sprinkled with little black spots, which were upon the sheep that were white: as they

12 And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the rams which leap upon the cattle are ringstraked, speckled, and grised: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee.

13 I am the God of Beth-el, where thou anointedst the pillar, and where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred.

14 ¶ And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto him, *Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house?*

15 Are we not counted of him strangers? for

were whitish or grised spots upon those that were black.

Ver. 11. *The angel of God spake unto me, &c.*] In the name of God, as his ambassador: God being supposed to be present, where his angels, who are his retinue, are said to appear; as I have often noted (see xxviii. 17).

Ver. 12. *Lift up now thine eyes,*] He said (ver. 10), that he did lift up his eyes: therefore the meaning here is, *Observe now, and mark what thou seest.*

I have seen a' that Laban doeth unto thee, &c.] Taken such notice of it that I will do thee right.

Ver. 13. *I am the God of Beth-el,*] It is plain by this, that though the angel only appeared (ver. 11), yet God himself was present and remembered him, how he had appeared unto him in Bethel (xxviii. 11, 12, &c.), and how "Jacob had anointed the pillar, and vowed a vow unto him." So Maimonides expounds it; for Jacob, no doubt, saith he, made the vow to God, and not to the angel: and therefore the angel (as he understands it) speaks here in the name of God and not of himself (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 27). See ch. xxii. 11, 15. But I see no reason why we should not suppose the Divine Majesty himself to have appeared also, as he did at Bethel: when Jacob saw the angels ascending and descending upon the ladder, and the Lord himself standing at the top, and speaking to him, as he doth here. For upon a serious consideration of all the circumstances, this vision, here mentioned, seems to me to be distinct from what was represented by an angel in a dream (ver. 11). For he had *that*, it is evident, at the beginning of his last six years' service: *this*, at the conclusion of them; but he puts them both together, because they belong to the same matter.

And God now remembers his vow, to show him that he was well pleased with it; and to excite him to perform it, when he had brought him (as he assures him he would) to that place again.

Ver. 14.] They immediately consented to go along with him; and not so much as to acquaint their father with it; for they knew he would give them nothing.

Is there yet any portion, &c.] We shall get nothing by staying with him: the reason of which follows.

Ver. 15. *Are we not counted of him strangers? &c.*] He hath not dealt with us as if we were his children: but as if we were of some other family; whom he had bought and sold again.

Sold us,] Not so much giving us in marriage, as selling us for the price of Jacob's labour.

Quite devoured also our money.] Kept to himself all the money he got by thy service; and given us not a farthing of it.

Ver. 16. *For all the riches, &c.*] God hath but given us that which was our own; and therefore thou mayest lawfully keep it, and go away with it.

Ver. 17. *Jacob rose up,*] Prepared himself for the journey.

he hath sold us, and hath quite devoured also our money.

16 For all the riches which God hath taken from our father, that is our's, and our children's: now then, whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do.

17 ¶ Then Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon camels;

18 And he carried away all his cattle, and all his goods which he had gotten, the cattle of his getting, which he had gotten in Padan-aram, for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.

19 And Laban went to shear his sheep: and

And set his sons] As was but needful: Reuben, his eldest, being scarce fourteen years old; and Joseph, his youngest, scarce six.

Upon camels;] They used to ride upon camels in the east country; especially when they made long journeys (see xxiv. 10.)

Ver. 18. *He carried away all his cattle,*] But nothing of Laban's, as Josephus, without any reason, fancies.

Ver. 19. *Laban went to shear his sheep;*] Which gave Jacob the better opportunity to escape, whilst he was busy about that; and feasting, perhaps, his shearers.

And Rachel had stolen] In all likelihood his wives returned to the house, to fetch what they had left there, when Jacob sent to speak with them in the field (ver. 4), and then Rachel took away these images.

The images that were her father's,] These images in the Hebrew are called *teraphim*: of which we read very often afterward, in the Holy Scripture. Mercer and Simeon de Muis take it for an exotic word; but others derive it from the Hebrew word *rapha*, which signifies, *to cure or heal*; as if these were looked upon as *salvatores*, saviours and deliverers, or preservers from mischief.

There are other derivations, of which there is no certainty; but most agree they were a kind of *penates*, as the Romans called them, *household gods*; in which style Laban speaks of them, when he says (ver. 30), "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" But it is a great question among the Hebrew doctors, whether in these ancient times they worshipped them as gods, or only used them as instruments of divination; as Mr. Selden observes (de Diis Syris Syntagm. i. cap. 2), where he shows, that several of the Hebrew doctors take them to have been figures in human shape (1 Sam. xix. 13), made by astrologers to be capable (as they fancied) of the heavenly influences. And for this reason, they think, Rachel stole them—that Laban might not inquire by them, which way Jacob and his family were gone. Hottinger also hath many ingenious arguments to prove, that they were the same with the Arabian talismans in aftertimes: which were images made under such or such constellations, to receive the heavenly influences; either to be a phylactery, or an oracle (see lib. i. Histor. Orient. cap. 8).

But the conjecture of Lud. de Dieu upon this place seems to me far more probable, that they were the representations of some angelical powers (teraphim and seraphim being the very same, by the change only of a letter), who, they imagined, declared the mind of God by them. For, in those countries where the Shechinah, or presence of the Divine Majesty, did not appear, as it did in Abraham's family, they had at least some tradition of it, and of the angels that were its attendants: the resemblance of which they made, in hope they might by that means have a communica-

Rachel had stolen the images that *were* her father's.

20 And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.

21 So he fled with all that he had; and he rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face *toward* the mount Gilead.

22 And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled.

23 And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and they overtook him in the mount Gilead.

24 And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

25 ¶ Then Laban overtook Jacob. Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mount: and Laban with his brethren pitched in the mount of Gilead.

26 And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou

tion with them, and gain intelligence from heaven. Of which evil spirits made their advantage; and abused mankind by the lying answers they gave to their inquiries. For there is no reason to think that God allowed, much less appointed, the making of these teraphim; which Gaffarel adventures to say, were piously used before the law of Moses, and God manifested his mind and will by them. This had been to lead men into idolatry, by image worship: unto which they were too prone of themselves.

Expositors differ very much about Rachel's intention in stealing them. Some fancy, she still retained a taint of superstition: but I take it to be more likely, that Jacob, who loved her extremely, and was no less beloved by her, had brought her off from the false notions and bad customs of her country. And then she did not carry them away, for fear Laban should inquire by them which way they were gone (for she knew they were but vain idols, which could give no direction): but rather designed to convince her father of his superstition; by letting him see, that his gods (as he called them) could not preserve themselves, much less do any service to him. Or, perhaps, she intended to give herself some portion of his goods, which she thought justly belonged to her; and so took these teraphim, which were of some value (though small images) because they are generally supposed to have been made of silver.

Ver. 20. *Jacob stole away unawares*] Without the knowledge of Laban. For the word *heart* (as it is in the Hebrew) is here put for the *understanding* and *will*.

Laban the Syrian,] There being no necessity of mentioning his country (which was well known from the preceding story), some think he is here called the *Syrian*, to denote that, as cunning as he was, Jacob was too hard for him. For the Syrians, in ancient authors, are observed to have been a very crafty, subtle people. But there is no certainty of this: there being a frequent redundancy very obvious in this language (see ver. 25).

Ver. 21. *So he fled, &c.*] Packed up his baggage (as we now speak) and made all ready for a speedy flight: and (as it follows) *rose up*, and made all the haste he could to get over the river.

And passed over the river,] i. e. Euphrates, frequently called in Scripture, *the river*, in regard of its eminence.

Mount Gilead.] So called afterward from what Jacob and Laban did there (ver. 48). It joined to Mount Libanus.

done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters, as captives *taken* with the sword?

27 Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp?

28 And hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? thou hast now done foolishly in so doing.

29 It is in the power of my hand to do you hurt: but the God of your father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.

30 And now, *though* thou wouldest needs be gone, because thou sore longedst after thy father's house, yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?

31 And Jacob answered and said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Peradventure

Ver. 22. *On the third day*] There was such a distance between Jacob's flock and his (xxxii. 36), that he could not hear sooner; especially when he was taken up with other business (ver. 19), and did not make inquiry.

Ver. 23. *Thou kiss thy brethren*] Some of his near kindred.

They overtook him] The Hebrew word imports, *they came close up to him*.

Ver. 24. *And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream, &c.*] See concerning this expression, xx. 3.

Speak not to Jacob either good or bad,] About his return to thee. Unto which God charges him he should neither allure him by promises, nor affright him by threats.

Ver. 25. *Then Laban overtook Jacob*] This is a different word from that in ver. 23, signifying he came near, or approached just to him; so that they might confer one with another.

Now Jacob had pitched his tent, &c.] For Jacob and Laban had both pitched their tents in the same mount; not far from one another. This Josephus thinks they had done in the evening; when Laban came up so close to him, that if the night had not parted them, they might then have discoursed together; which they did next morning, when they came nearer one to another; after God had warned Laban not to stop his journey.

Here *Gilead* is redundant, as the word *Syrian* was before in ver. 20, 24.

Ver. 26. *As captives taken with the sword?*] As prizes in war, which are wont to be carried off with force and violence.

Ver. 28. *Thou hast now done foolishly in so doing.*] He seems to pretend, that he would have been very kind to him, if they had parted with mutual consent: and would have him think he had lost, by stealing away, not only the music and merriment (beforementioned, ver. 28), but such gifts as he would have bestowed upon him.

Ver. 29. *The God of your father spake unto me, &c.*] There is no ground to think that the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared to him; for we do not read either here or ver. 24 of his seeing any thing, but hearing one speak to him, and that in a dream: who told him, I suppose, that he was the God of Isaac, and of Abraham. Or, if he saw a glorious appearance it was in his sleep only; not when he was awake.

Ver. 30. *Stolen my gods?*] See ver. 19.

Ver. 31. *Because I was afraid:*] This is an answer

thou wouldest take by force thy daughters from me.

32 With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live : before our brethren discern thou what is thine with me, and take it to thee. For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them.

33 And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the two maidservants' tents ; but he found them not. Then went he out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent.

34 Now Rachel had taken the images, and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban searched all the tent, but found them not.

35 And she said to her father, Let it not displease my lord that I cannot rise up before thee ; for the custom of women is upon me. And he searched, but found not the images.

36 ¶ And Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban : and Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my trespass ? what is my sin, that thou hast so hotly pursued after me ?

37 Whereas thou hast searched all my stuff, what hast thou found of all thy household stuff ? set it here before my brethren and thy brethren, that they may judge betwixt us both.

to the first part of Laban's expostulation (ver. 26, 27, &c.)

Ver. 32. *With whomsoever thou findest, &c.*] This is an answer to the last part of it. From which some gather, that theft was punished with death in those days. Sacrilege perhaps was.

Ver. 33. *Laban went into Jacob's tent, &c.*] This shows that men and women had every one of them their distinct tents, apart by themselves : as was noted before, xxiv. ult.

Ver. 34. *Camel's furniture,*] The saddle upon which they rode, or laid their carriage.

Searched all the tent,] Except that place where she sat.

Ver. 35. *Let it not displease, &c.*] She begs his pardon that she did not stand up to do him reverence, as became a child to her father : and excuses it, by an infirmity which was upon her.

And he searched,] He looked all about the place where she sat.

Ver. 36. *Jacob answered and said, &c.*] He proceeded farther in his answer ; and expostulates with Laban, as he had done with him : setting forth the causelessness of his pursuit, the injustice of charging him with theft, and all his unkind usage of him, from the time he came to him, till his departure ; notwithstanding his faithful services, which he represents most admirably.

Ver. 38. *Thy ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young,*] I looked so carefully after them, and such was the blessing of God upon my care, none of them miscarried. A most high commendation of his service. Who would not have valued such a servant, for whose sake God bestowed such an unwonted fecundity upon Laban's flock ?

The rams of thy flock have I not eaten.] Under rams are comprehended the lambs also : for if he had eaten any of them, it had been no great commendation to abstain from the rams. But he contented himself with pulse, or such-like mean diet, to promote his master's profit.

Ver. 39. *That which was torn of beasts, &c.*] And that also which was stolen by theft, was not brought to Laban's account ; but Jacob made them good. Which was not only an unjust exaction, but an inhu-

38 This twenty years *have I been* with thee ; thy ewes and thy she goats have not cast their young, and the rams of thy flock have I not eaten.

39 That which was torn of *beasts* I brought not unto thee ; I bare the loss of it ; of my hand didst thou require it, *whether* stolen by day, or stolen by night.

40 *Thus* I was ; in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night ; and my sleep departed from mine eyes.

41 Thus have I been twenty years in thy house ; I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle : and thou hast changed my wages ten times.

42 Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away now empty. God hath seen mine affliction and the labour of my hands, and rebuked thee yesternight.

43 ¶ And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, *These daughters are* my daughters, and *these children are* my children, and *these cattle are* my cattle, and all that thou seest is mine : and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or unto their children which they have born ?

man : for the most careful shepherd in the world could not have his eye everywhere to prevent such things, especially in the dark : as it follows.

Whether stolen by day, or stolen by night.] A most barbarous usage of a nephew and a son-in-law, to make him pay for that which wild beasts devoured, or thieves stole, against his will ; when nobody could see their approach in the night. Some question where Jacob got money to pay for them. But it is to be considered, that he did not come quite unprovided from his father's house ; with which also, we may reasonably think, he still held some correspondence.

Ver. 40. *Thus I was ; in the day the drought, &c.*] While I served thee, the heat consumed me in the day-time, and the frost nipped me by night. For in those countries shepherds were wont to watch their flocks ; especially about the time that ewes were likely to yearn : as we read Luke ii. 8 (see Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44).

My sleep departed from mine eyes.] Many times he took no rest ; being awakened by wild beasts, or by thieves, or kept awake by his great solicitude for his flock.

Ver. 41. *Thus have I been twenty years in thy house,*] This hath been my manner of life, for no less than twenty years, that I have been a servant in thy family.

Ver. 42. *The fear of Isaac,*] The God whom Isaac feared ; that is, worshipped : as the Chaldee interprets it.

Thou hadst sent me away now empty.] Without goods, wives, or children : for he seems to have been so barbarous, that if he had been left to himself, he would have made them all his slaves.

God hath seen mine affliction] How ill thou hast treated me ; and taken care to relieve me. For so the word *seen* signifies in many places ; particularly xvi. 13.

Ver. 43. *These cattle are my cattle, &c.*] Because they belonged to his daughters, and their children, therefore he calls them his. That is, now he is in a good mood, and pretends the same care of every thing that Jacob had, as if it were his own. So it follows.

And what can I do this day unto these my daughters,

44 Now therefore come thou, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be for a witness between me and thee.

45 And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar.

46 And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made an heap; and they did eat there upon the heap.

47 And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called it Galeed.

48 And Laban said, This heap is a witness between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called Galeed;

49 And Mizpah; for he said, The LORD watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another.

50 If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.

ters, &c.] How can I do them any harm, when they are so very dear to me!

Ver. 44. *Let us make a covenant, &c.*] Enter into a strict league, by some monument or other: that shall remain as a testimony of our friendship.

Ver. 45. *Set it up for a pillar.*] For a monument of what Laban desired.

Ver. 46. *Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones, &c.*] He prays every one whom Laban had brought with him, to bring a stone; and they did so, and laid them together on a heap; which was flat at the top like a table: so that they did eat upon it the next morning (ver. 54).

Ver. 47. *Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha, &c.*] One of them gave it a Syriac name, signifying *the heap of testimony*: the other a Hebrew, signifying *the heap of witness*. For *gal* is a heap in Hebrew, and *ed*, a witness. These two languages were different; but not so much as that they did not understand one another, as appears by the whole story.

Ver. 48. *This heap is a witness between me and thee this day.*] It shall remain as a monument, that we agree not to transgress these bounds; as it is explained, ver. 52.

Ver. 49. *Mizpah*:] A watch-tower. This shows that Laban understood Hebrew as well as Syriac: or, rather, that these were two dialects; which differed in pronunciation, and in many words (as those mentioned ver. 47), but in most had the same common to them both.

The Lord watch between me and thee.] Observe how we behave ourselves, when we cannot see one another. Here he uses the name of Jehovah; which shows he was acquainted with the religion of Jacob, as well as his language: and worshipped, it is likely, the Lord of heaven and of earth; though not without some superstitious mixtures.

Ver. 50. *If thou shalt afflict my daughters, &c.*] It seems to be a short form of speech, importing, God who observes all things will punish thee for it.

If thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters,] Which might have been worse for them and their posterity; and therefore he lays this restraint upon him.

No man is with us, &c.] Though here be no man beside ourselves, to be witness of this agreement; yet consider that God (which is infinitely more) knows it, and will punish him that transgresses it.

In these two last verses he discourses very religiously; which revived also his natural affection to his children.

Ver. 52. *This heap be witness, and this pillar be*

51 And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold *this* pillar, which I have cast betwixt me and thee;

52 This heap *be* witness, and *this* pillar *be* witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.

53 The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge betwixt us. And Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac.

54 Then Jacob offered sacrifices upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount.

55 And early in the morning Laban rose up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place.

witness, &c.] It seems that Laban and his company set up a heap, made of the stones which every one brought; and Jacob set up one single large stone (ver. 45) in the form of a pillar. And it is likely his pillar looked towards the land of Canaan; and their heap towards Haran.

That I will not pass over this heap, &c.] As stones were set in the confines of fields to be boundaries, and landmarks (as we call them) to distinguish men's possessions, and limit them from encroaching one upon another; so were this heap and this pillar intended to be in the nature of such boundaries; beyond which neither of them should pass armed, to offend the other.

Ver. 53. *The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor,*] These two were brethren (for he doth not mean, sure, their grandfather, the father of Terah, xi. 24), and before Abraham was called out of Ur, they both worshipped other gods (Josh. xxiv. 2). But then Abraham renounced those gods, and worshipped only the Creator of heaven and earth; as Nahor, I have formerly conjectured, also did, when he followed him to Haran. Therefore, I think, we need not make a question by which of Abraham's gods Laban now swears: for I take him to have been bred up in the true religion, which made Abraham desire his son should have a wife out of this family; for which reason Isaac also sent Jacob hither.

The God of their father,] As much as to say, by the God of our ancestors; who, after God's appearing to Abraham and calling him out of his own country, became the worshippers of the Lord of heaven and earth alone (see xi. 31).

Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac.] By Him whom Isaac worshipped (ver. 42). He mentions the fear of Isaac rather than the God of Abraham, to declare more plainly and undoubtedly by what God he swears. For Abraham had been an idolater; but Isaac never was.

Ver. 54. *Jacob offered sacrifice*] Peace-offerings (as they were afterward called), part of which were eaten by him that offered them, and by his friends. This further shows they were of the same religion, by their partaking of the same sacrifice; which Jacob no doubt offered to the true God.

Called his brethren to eat bread.] Invited them to feast with him upon that sacrifice; whereby they confirmed the covenant lately made between them.

Ver. 55. *Laban—blessed them;*] Prayed God to preserve and prosper them.

Returned unto his place.] viz. Haran.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *Jacob's vision at Mahanaim.* 3 *His message to Esau.* 6 *He is afraid of Esau's coming.* 9 *He prayeth for deliverance.* 13 *He sendeth a present to Esau.* 24 *He wrestleth with an angel at Peniel, where he is called Israel.* 31 *He halteth.*

1 And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him.

2 And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host: and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.

3 And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of Seir, the country of Edom.

4 And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye speak unto my lord Esau; Thy servant Jacob saith thus, I have sojourned with Laban, and stayed there until now:

5 And I have oxen, and asses, flocks, and menservants, and womenservants: and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may find grace in thy sight.

CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1. *The angels of God met him.*] To encourage and comfort him, with the assurance that God was with him. This is a remarkable passage, showing the singular care God had of him; who, as he appeared to him when he went from Canaan, so now appeared to him again in his return thither, that he might depend upon the promise he then made him (xxviii. 13-15).

Ver. 2. *This is God's host.*] Which attend upon the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, to execute his commands.

Mahanaim.] i. e. Two hosts, or camps, as it is in the margin. Either, because there were several squadrons (as we speak) of the angels, drawn up like an army, ready for his defence; or, because, besides his own family, which was pitched here in order like a camp, there was that of the angels also. The former seems most probable, because this name relates to God's host, mentioned before; which consisted of several troops of angels.

Ver. 3. *And Jacob sent messengers before him, &c.*] As he was about to pass over Jordan (ver. 10), he sent some to wait upon his brother.

Unto the land of Seir.] Which Esau, it seems, had conquered in Jacob's absence, according to the blessing of his father (xxvii. 40), "By thy sword shalt thou live." This Jacob thought fit to congratulate to him; and at the same time to try how he stood affected towards himself.

The country of Edom.] So it was called in Moses's time.

Ver. 4. *Thus shall ye speak to my lord Esau;*] He calls him his lord, that he might mollify his anger, if any remained, by humble language. Which sounded as if he had no thoughts of the birthright he had purchased of him. This also was the style wherein others addressed themselves to Esau, after he had won the principality of Seir.

Thy servant Jacob.] These are submissive words also; importing his inferiority.

I have sojourned with Laban, &c.] This hath the same design with the foregoing words; to insinuate that he was much inferior to Esau; having been a servant a long time to Laban.

Ver. 5. *And I have oxen, &c.*] Yet he adds this,

6 ¶ And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and also he cometh to meet thee, and four hundred men with him.

7 Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed: and he divided the people that was with him, and the flocks, and herds, and the camels, into two bands;

8 And said, If Esau come to the one company, and smite it, then the other company which is left shall escape.

9 ¶ And Jacob said, O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, the Lord which saidst unto me, Return unto thy country, and to thy kindred, and I will deal well with thee:

that he was plentifully provided for, lest Esau should think he came a begging, and might prove a burden to him; so the Hebrews understand it. And Maimonides observes, that he mentions only oxen, asses, and flocks (i. e. of sheep and goats), because these were the common possessions of all men, and in all countries that had any thing. But horses and camels were not ordinary goods, but the possessions of a few great persons, and in some countries only (More Nivochim, par. iii. cap. 39). Jacob indeed had camels (ver. 7, 15, and xxxi. 17); but, it is likely, they were not many, and he had no great breed of them.

Menservants and womenservants.] These were a part of their possessions, as oxen and sheep were; which they bought and sold; and were nowhere more plentiful than in Syria (from whence Jacob came), if it were then such a country as it was in aftertimes, when the Roman writers say, they were "servituti nati," born to slavery.

That I may find grace in thy sight.] He courts his friendship, and desires he would favour him, and not hinder him in his passage to their old father.

Ver. 6. *We came to thy brother Esau, and also he cometh to meet thee.*] They reported, no doubt, what he replied to Jacob's message; and this coming to meet him signifies, that he gave them a civil reception, and pretended, at least, to be glad to hear of his brother's return; and therefore prepared to come and welcome him into his own country.

Four hundred men with him.] Nobly attended; partly to show his greatness, and partly to do honour to Jacob by a public salutation.

Ver. 7. *Then Jacob was greatly afraid, &c.*] Being conscious to himself what cause Esau had not to love him. He interpreted his coming to meet him, with such a number, otherwise than it was represented. The vision of angels, indeed, who met him (ver. 1), might have fortified him against all fear of Esau's meeting him: but the first motions of such passions cannot always be prevented.

He divided the people that was with him, &c.] Put his family and all belonging to him in as good a posture as he was able.

Ver. 9. *O God of my father Abraham, &c.*] As he had prudently disposed of all things for the preservation of his family, at least of some of them, so he addresses himself to God (of whose goodness both Abraham and

10 I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two bands.

11 Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, and the mother with the children.

12 And thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.

13 ¶ And he lodged there that same night; and took of that which came to his hand a present for Esau his brother;

14 Two hundred she goats, and twenty he goats, two hundred ewes, and twenty rams,

15 Thirty milch camels with their colts, forty kine, and ten bulls, twenty she asses, and ten foles.

16 And he delivered *them* into the hand of his servants, every drove by themselves; and said unto his servants, Pass over before me, and put a space betwixt drove and drove.

17 And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother meeteth thee, and ask-

eth thee, saying, Whose *art* thou? and whither goest thou? and whose *are* these before thee?

18 Then thou shalt say, *They be* thy servant Jacob's; it is a present sent unto my lord Esau: and, behold, also he is behind us.

19 And so commanded he the second, and the third, and all that followed the drives, saying, On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him.

20 And say ye moreover, Behold, thy servant Jacob is behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see his face; peradventure he will accept of me.

21 So went the present over before him: and himself lodged that night in the company.

22 And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two womenservants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford Jabbok.

23 And he took them, and sent them over the brook, and sent over that he had.

24 ¶ And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day.

Isaac had very long experience), without whose favour he knew the angels themselves could do nothing for him: for they are his *host* (ver. 2), and act only by his command.

Return unto thy country.] He represents to God that he was in the way of obedience to his orders; and then remembers him of his gracious promise, "I will deal well with thee."

Ver. 10. *I am not worthy, &c.*] Next, he acknowledges what God had done for him already; and how unworthy he was of the smallest part of it.

With my staff] As a poor traveller, having no more than I could carry about me. Travellers used staffs then, as they do now, for their ease, and for their defence.

Ver. 11. *The mother with the children.*] i. e. My whole family: which could not consist with God's promise, mentioned in the next verse.

Ver. 12. *As the sand of the sea.*] The words of God's promise are, *as the dust of the earth* (xxviii. 14). But that signified the same with what God had said to Abraham (xxii. 17), which this promise authorized him to apply to himself, as the seed whom he intended to bless.

Ver. 13. *He lodged there*] i. e. In Mahanaim, or thereabouts: where he hoped God would command the angels, which he had seen, to protect him.

And took of that which came to his hand, &c.] According to this translation, he took what he first lighted upon, without any choice; being still in a passion of fear. But that the Hebrew phrase *וּמִכָּל*, *that which was in his hand*, signifies what was in his power to present him withal, viz. such cattle as are after mentioned; though he had no jewels or precious raiment. And it appears that he chose them with great consideration, in exact proportions: for having commended himself, upon such good grounds, to the protection of the Almighty, his fear vanished.

Ver. 14. *Two hundred she goats, and twenty he goats, &c.*] The males bare the proportion of one to ten females. And so it was in the rams and bulls; which was the proportion Varro saith was observed in his days and country (see Bochart in his *Hierozaic*. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 54).

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Ver. 15. *Milch camels*] Who had lately foaled: for nothing was more delicious in those countries (as Bochart observes out of Aristotle, Pliny, and many other authors, Ib. lib. ii. cap. 2) than camels' milk.

Ver. 18. *It is a present*] With which he hoped to sweeten him; there being a great power in gifts to win men's hearts, even when they are disaffected: as the wise man observes in many places (Prov. xvii. 8, xviii. 16, &c.).

And, behold, also he is behind us.] He would not have Esau think that he was afraid to see him.

Ver. 19. *And so commanded he the second, &c.*] He therefore distributed them into several drives, that they might make a greater appearance; and that he might still be more and more pleased with the respect which was shown him, and the present intended him. For every new drove and new speech made a new impression upon him.

Ver. 21. *Lodged that night in the company.*] Or, camp, i. e. where he pitched the tents for his family.

Ver. 22. *He rose up that night.*] Before it was day; in the last watch of the night.

His eleven sons.] i. e. All his children: for the daughter is comprehended.

Passed over the ford Jabbok.] This was a little river flowing from the country of the Ammonites, and falling into Jordan, where it comes out of the lake of Genesareth. It was in one place fordable; and there Jacob first passed over himself, to try the depth of it.

Ver. 23.] Having tried the ford, he returned; and caused them all to pass over; and so (as it follows) *was left alone*, on the east side of the brook.

Ver. 24. *There wrestled a man with him*] He stayed alone, in all likelihood, that he might commend himself and his family to God, by earnest prayer: which seems to be confirmed by the prophet Hosea, xii. 4. And as he was praying, or when he had done, a man encountered him, with whom he grappled; taking him, perhaps, for some of Esau's attendants come to surprise him. For it was so dark, that he could not see what kind of countenance he had; or, if he could, angels were wont to appear so like to men, that at the first they did not discern the differ-

25 And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him.

26 And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.

27 And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob.

28 And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou

power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.

29 And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.

30 And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.

31 And as he passed over Peniel the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh.

32 Therefore the children of Israel eat not of

ence. Maimonides fancies all this was done in a prophetic vision (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 42): but the whole narration confutes this. The only question is, whether this was a created angel, or the Eternal ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, as many of the ancient fathers understood it. Whose opinion is opposed by St. Austin (as I observed upon the 18th chapter) and seems to me not so probable, as that this angel was one of God's host, mentioned ver. 2, sent from the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty: by whose order, and in whose presence, he strove with Jacob, in such manner as is here described. In short, I take him to be one of those, whom the Jews call *angels of the presence*; that wait continually upon the Divine Majesty, and make a part of his retinue (see xxxv. 10).

Ver. 25. *When he saw that he prevailed not against him,*] Though Jacob, no doubt, was extraordinarily strengthened by God in this combat (Hosea xii. 5), yet the angel who represented God could have prevailed against him, if his orders had not been to let Jacob have the better.

He touched the hollow of his thigh;] The angel gave over the combat; but made him know, by this light touch, what he could have done, if he had pleased, i. e. quite overthrown him, as easily as he had made him go limping. This discovered to Jacob that he was more than a man who wrestled with him: and that he had not prevailed against him by his own strength; but by the power of God.

The hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint,] The thigh-bone slipped out of the cavity, or socket, into which it was inserted.

Ver. 26. *He said, Let me go,*] Though the angel ceased to wrestle any longer, yet Jacob would not let go his hold: and, the more to set off his victory, the angel seems not to be able to break from him without his consent.

For the day breaketh.] It is time for thee to follow thy family over the brook.

I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.] By this it plainly appears, Jacob began to understand who he was.

Ver. 27. *What is thy name?*] The angel doth not yet own his quality: but speaks as if he were unacquainted with Jacob.

Ver. 28. *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel:*] i. e. Not only Jacob (as this expression is used 1 Sam. viii. 7), or not so much Jacob as Israel. Which name abolished the other, in his posterity: who were called Israelites, but never Jacobites.

For as a prince hast thou power with God and with men,] These words explain the end and intention of this combat; which was to show, that he, having such power with God as to prevail over one of his ministers, needed not fear his brother Esau. So the Vulgar Latin expresses it: *If thou hast been strong against God, how much more shalt thou prevail with men?* And it is the sense of our translation, which more literally renders the Hebrew words, *Thou hast behaved thyself like a prince* (so the word *Scharitha*

imports) *with God, and with men, &c.* That is, hast showed such an heroic spirit (as we speak) in this combat, that thou needest not fear Esau and all his followers: this victory is an assurance that thou shalt get the better of him.

There is nobody skilled in the original language, but easily sees no other derivation of the name of Israel is to be sought for, but what is contained in this word *Scharitha*: which gives the reason of it. For *sar*, as St. Jerome observes, signifies a *prince*; and the *jod* in the beginning, is the common note of a proper name. So the meaning of Israel is as much as a *prince with God*.

Ver. 29. *Jacob asked him and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name.*] Jacob having told him his own name, desires him to requite him in the same kind: that thereby he might more certainly know whether he was an angel or a man. For these words seem to demonstrate, he did not think him to be God himself.

Wherefore—dost thou ask after my name?] Do not inquire after it. Rasi thinks angels changed their names according to the offices and functions to which they were assigned.

He blessed him there.] Renewed the blessing which God had promised to Abraham and his seed; whereby Jacob was fully satisfied who he was: for he pronounced this blessing in the name of God, from whom he came.

Ver. 30. *I have seen God face to face,*] Been admitted to the nearest familiarity with him. For he looked upon this angel as a part of the Shechinah; which now also, it is likely, visibly appeared, and made him call this place Peniel, *the face of God*. Which doth not import that the Shechinah appeared in a human figure (for it never did), but that he looked upon it as a token of the Divine Presence, and that it approached very near him; as when one friend speaks to another *face to face*, as the ancient phrase was.

My life is preserved.] This is commonly interpreted by the opinion, which was in old time, that if they saw one of the heavenly ministers, they were to be no longer men of this world, but die presently. But it may refer (as Menochius observes) to the principal scope of the combat, which was to confirm Jacob against the fear of Esau: and so the meaning is, *I doubt not, I am safe, God will preserve me from any hurt by Esau.*

Ver. 31. *He halted upon his thigh.*] Because the hip-bone was out of its place. Many think this lasted only for a time; and some will have it, that the angel cured him before he got to Esau. But there is no certainty of either of these conjectures.

Ver. 32. *The children of Israel eat not of the sinew.*] That sinew (or tendon) which fastens the hip-bone in its socket: which comprehends the flesh of that muscle which is connected to it. He that ate of this was to be beaten, as the Jewish masters tell us (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedris, p. 552. Hottinger de Leg. Hebr. § 3. Vorstius upon Pirke Eliezer, p. 221).

the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew that shrank.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 The kindness of Jacob and Esau at their meeting. 17 Jacob cometh to Succoth. 18 At Shalem he buyeth a field, and buildeth an altar called El-elohe-Israel.

1 AND Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him four hundred men. And he divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and unto the two handmaids.

2 And he put the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost.

3 And he passed over before them, and bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.

4 And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him: and they wept.

5 And he lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children; and said, Who are those with thee? And he said, The children which God hath graciously given thy servant.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1. *Jacob lifted up his eyes, &c.*] Being come to his family (whom he sent before him over the brook, xxxii. 23), and looking about him, he beheld Esau and his train at some distance: and put himself, his wives, and children, in good order to meet him.

Ver. 2. *Joseph hindermost.*] As more dear to him than any of the rest: for he did not yet know that the Messiah was to proceed from Judah, one of the sons of Leah.

Ver. 3. *He passed over before them.*] Put himself in the front of them.

Bowed himself to the ground seven times.] At some convenient distance he began to bow: and so, at every other step, or more, he bowed again (seven times) till he came near to his brother. This was to testify the great honour he had for him: and to take out of Esau's mind all suspicion, that he looked upon himself as the elder brother.

Ver. 4. *Esau ran to meet him.*] This declares the forwardness of his affection: which would not let him proceed so ceremoniously as Jacob did.

Kissed him.] This word is marked in the Hebrew text (as fourteen other words in the Bible are) with four unusual points over it: to denote, as the Hebrew doctors think, some remarkable thing; which some of them take to be, the sincerity of Esau's reconciliation to his brother. And truly, if he heartily pardoned the injury, which he conceived Jacob had done him, it is much to be noted; and ought to be looked upon as a sign he was become a good man. And so Mart. Bucer, I remember, understood it, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans: where he makes this an argument that Esau was not a reprobate, as some are apt to imagine. If it be said that God deterred him from doing his brother any hurt, it is more than can be proved. For it is recorded indeed that God threatened Laban in such a manner, that he durst not meddle with him: but no such thing is said of Esau, though it would have been of more concern to have recorded the same here, if Moses had known of any such Divine apparition to him.

6 Then the handmaidens came near, they and their children, and they bowed themselves.

7 And Leah also with her children came near, and bowed themselves: and after came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed themselves.

8 And he said, What meanest thou by all this drove which I met? And he said, These are to find grace in the sight of my lord.

9 And Esau said, I have enough, my brother; keep that thou hast unto thyself.

10 And Jacob said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand: for therefore I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me.

11 Take, I pray thee, my blessing that is

Ver. 7. *Joseph near and Rachel.*] The Hebrew doctors here observe, that Joseph goes before his mother; but the mothers of all the rest went before their children: of which, I think, it is not needful to seek a reason. For it is likely Moses did not take care to place his words exactly. Or, if he did, no more ought to be made of it than this; that Joseph being a goodly child, his mother put him before her; as we commonly do, when we would show a child to advantage. Or, he being very young and a forward child, stepped before his mother, as children are wont to do, when some fine show appears which they eagerly desire to behold.

Ver. 8. *What meanest thou by all this drove, &c.*] The servants, no doubt, had told him (as their master had ordered, xxxii. 17, &c.), but he asks Jacob, that he might have an opportunity to declare how little he needed or desired such a present.

These are to find grace in the sight of my lord.] To testify my respect to thee, that I may obtain thy favour and good-will towards me. For inferiors were wont to approach to their superiors with presents, to make themselves the more kindly accepted. And it is observable, that as he and all his made such obeisance to Esau, as signified he was his servant (as he calls himself ver. 5), so he still honours Esau by the name of his lord.

Ver. 9. *I have enough, my brother, &c.*] In this he shows himself not to be of a covetous humour: but as free from that vice as from revenge.

Ver. 10. *If now I have found grace in thy sight.*] If thou lovest me.

As though I had seen the face of God.] For Esau's kind reception of him, he could not but look upon as a token of the Divine favour towards him. Some think by *God* may be meant an angel, or great man: into whose presence, inferiors, as I said, were wont to approach with presents.

Thou wast pleased with me.] Received me kindly.

Ver. 11. *Take—my blessing*] i. e. My present, as we expound it in the margin of 1 Sam. xxv. 27.

I have enough.] It is a larger word in the Hebrew than that used by Esau, ver. 9, signifying that he had

brought to thee; because God hath dealt graciously with me, and because I have enough. And he urged him, and he took it.

12 And he said, Let us take our journey, and let us go, and I will go before thee.

13 And he said unto him, My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and the flocks and herds with young are with me: and if men should overdrive them one day, all the flock will die.

14 Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant: and I will lead on softly, according as the cattle that goeth before me and the children be able to endure, until I come unto my lord unto Seir.

15 And Esau said, Let me now leave with thee some of the folk that are with me. And

enough to spare of all sorts of things: and therefore Esau needed not fear his impoverishment, by accepting this present.

Ver. 12. *And he said, Let us take our journey, &c.*] Esau invites him to go along with him, to the land of Seir, and there refresh himself.

I will go before thee.] Show thee the way, and conduct thee.

Ver. 13. *He said unto him, &c.*] i. e. Jacob said this in excuse, that he could not go so fast as Esau; and therefore desired to follow after by easy journeys.

Children are tender,] Joseph was not above six or seven years old.

Flocks and herds with young.] The Hebrew word *aloth* (in 1 Sam. vi. 7), signifies kine that had sucking calves. Unto which sense Bochart inclines in this place; and so do Jonathan, Onkelos, and other ancient interpreters (see his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 30).

Are with me:] Must be looked after very carefully. *All the flock will die.*] i. e. All that are big with young; or, have newly brought forth young.

Ver. 14. *I will lead on softly,*] Follow thee with a gentle pace; such as the flocks and children can bear.

According as the cattle that goeth before me] It was observed before (xxx. 30), that Maimonides interprets this phrase, *leregel, for the sake*: and so he understands it here, *with respect to the cattle and children* (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 28). Or, *because of the cattle, &c.* that they may not be overdriven.

Until I come unto my lord, unto Seir.] Moses omits this journey to Seir, as he doth his visit to his father; which one cannot think he deferred for so many years, as were between his return to Canaan, and the mention of his coming to Mamre (xxxv. 27). Or, Jacob was hindered, perhaps, by something which he could not foresee, from performing this promise to his brother: of which, no doubt, he gave him an account, that he might not be thought to break his word.

Ver. 15. *Let me now leave with thee, &c.*] He would have left some of his followers with Jacob, to show him the way, and to be a guard to him; or honourably attend him.

Let me find grace in the sight of my lord.] In this also he was so kind as to gratify my desire (xxxiv. 11).

Ver. 16. *Esau returned that day*] The same day they met together; because he would not be a burden to Jacob.

Ver. 17. *Journeyed to Succoth,*] After he had been with his brother in Seir, if he did follow him thither;

he said, What needeth it? let me find grace in the sight of my lord.

16 ¶ So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seir.

17 And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called Succoth.

18 ¶ And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-aram; and pitched his tent before the city.

19 And he bought a parcel of a field, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money.

20 And he erected there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Israel.

as it is likely he did, though not here mentioned: no more than the entertainment he gave him, and such-like things; which one cannot think were wanting at this meeting.

Build him an house,] Intending to make some stay in this place.

Ver. 18. *Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem,*] Or, he came safe and sound (so the Hebrews generally understood the word Shalem) to that city called Shechem. And it may refer either to the soundness of his leg; which was perfectly well, so that he halted no longer: or, to the safety of his person; in that he was not at all hurt by Esau: or, rather, to the safety of every thing he had: no evil accident having befallen him, of any sort, since he left Laban. Which is the rather now mentioned, because in the next chapter Moses gives a relation of a very sad misfortune which befel his family.

When he came from Padan-aram:] Some think this needed not to have been added: whereas it expresses more fully what was said before, that he came safe all the way from thence hither.

Pitched his tent before the city.] Because it was the Sabbath-day, saith Manasseh ben Israel, out of the Hebrew doctors (Probl. viii. de Creatione), which made him stop and rest here, and not enter the city, till it was ended. But this is a mere fancy, for the rest from all labours on this day was not commanded to be observed till they came out of Egypt: and the true reason of pitching his tent here, was for the convenience of pasturage.

Ver. 19. *He bought a parcel of a field,*] He made a small purchase, that he might be the less imposed upon by the inhabitants of that country: who had disturbed Abraham and Isaac, about the wells they digged in the ground they hired of them.

For a hundred pieces of money.] The margin hath a hundred lambs. But this is the right translation, as appears from Acts vii. 16. And Bochart hath taken a great deal of pains to show that *kesita* doth not signify a lamb, but some sort of money: though of what value is uncertain (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 2, and lib. ii. cap. 43). For a great while before this time money was in use; with which they trafficked, and not by exchanging one commodity for another (see xxxiii. 16).

Ver. 20. *Called it El-elohe-Israel.*] This altar is dedicated to God, the God of Israel; who had delivered him from Laban and Esau, and lately honoured him with a new name, importing his great power with him.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *Dinah is ravished by Shechem.* 4 *He sueth to marry her.* 13 *The sons of Jacob offer the condition of circumcision to the Shechemites.* 20 *Hamor and Shechem persuade them to accept it.* 25 *The sons of Jacob upon that advantage slay them,* 27 *and spoil their city.* 30 *Jacob reproveth Simeon and Levi.*

1 AND Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to see the daughters of the land.

2 And when Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, prince of the country, saw her, he took her, and lay with her, and defiled her.

3 And his soul clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spake kindly unto the damsel.

4 And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this damsel to wife.

5 And Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter: now his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob held his peace until they were come.

6 ¶ And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with him.

7 And the sons of Jacob came out of the field when they heard it: and the men were grieved,

and they were very wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter; which thing ought not to be done.

8 And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you give her him to wife.

9 And make ye marriages with us, and give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters unto you.

10 And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get you possessions therein.

11 And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give.

12 Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.

13 And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem

CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1. *Went out*] From her mother's tent, which was without the city (xxxiii. 18).

To see the daughters of the land.] Into the city of Shechem, to look about her with the young women (as the Hebrew word imports), who, as Josephus relates, celebrated a festival at this time, where some fine spectacles were presented.

Ver. 2. *When Shechem*] From whom the city, perhaps, had its name.

Prince of the country.] Or one of the prime nobility of the country (ver. 19).

Took her, &c.] By force (as both the Targums and many others understand it), and ravished her. From whence we learn, that this was done some years after Jacob's return into Canaan: for then Dinah was not much older than Joseph; and now we must suppose her at least fifteen. And indeed the bloody fact of her brethren shows as much, who must be grown up to be men: which they were not when Jacob returned to Canaan; the eldest of them being then scarcely a stripling of fourteen years old.

Ver. 3. *His soul clave unto Dinah*] He could think of nothing else but her: for he loved her extremely, as it follows in the next words.

Spake kindly unto the damsel.] Courted her to marry him, with such professions of sincere affection, as might gain her heart, notwithstanding the injury he had done her.

Ver. 4. *Get me this damsel to wife.*] Treat with her father about our marriage.

Ver. 5. *Jacob heard, &c.*] By some of Dinah's servants or companions; for it is not to be thought, that she went out alone.

His sons were—in the field.] Which he had lately purchased (xxxiii. 19), or, in some hired ground remote from the city.

Held his peace, &c.] Took no notice of what he heard; till he could have their advice and assistance.

Ver. 6. *And Hamor—went out*] Of the city, to treat with Jacob in his tent (xxxiii. 18).

Ver. 7. *The sons of Jacob, &c.*] As they were

treating, in came Jacob's sons: who, hearing how their sister had been abused, were very much afflicted, and no less angry.

Wrought folly in Israel] Or, against Israel. Committed a wickedness, highly to the disgrace and injury of Israel's family.

Which thing ought not to be done.] Contrary to the law of nations; that a virgin should be violated without punishment. So Rasi.

Ver. 8. *Hamor communed with them.*] With the whole family, Jacob, Leah, and Dinah's brethren.

Longeth] Is extremely in love.

For your daughter.] The daughter of Jacob and Leah; unto whom he speaks in the presence of her brethren.

Ver. 9. *Make ye marriages with us, &c.*] Become one people with us (ver. 16).

Ver. 10. *Ye shall dwell with us.*] Settle yourselves among us.

The land shall be before you.] In any part of our country.

Dwell] He repeats it again, to beget in them a confidence of a settlement among them; in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges; as much as if they had been natives.

Trade ye] Exercise what traffic you please up and down the country, without any let or impediment.

Get you possessions therein.] Purchase land.

Ver. 11. *Let me find grace in your eyes.*] Grant this petition, which my father makes in my behalf (xxxiii. 15).

What ye shall say unto me, &c.] Make your own terms, I will agree to them.

Ver. 12. *Ask me never so much dowry and gift.*] This shows more fully, that the custom of those times was (as was noted upon xxix. 18) for men to give money for their wives. But there was a greater reason for a dowry now, and a large one too; that he might make compensation for the wrong he had done. For there was a natural equity in those laws of Moses (Exod. xxii. 16; Dent. xxii. 28), by which men were bound to make satisfaction to the fathers;

and Hamor his father deceitfully, and said, because he had defiled Dinah their sister :

14 And they said unto them, We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised ; for that *were* a reproach unto us :

15 But in this will we consent unto you : If ye will be as we *be*, that every male of you be circumcised ;

16 Then will we give our daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us, and we will dwell with you, and we will become one people.

17 But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised ; then will we take our daughter, and we will be gone.

18 And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son.

19 And the young man deferred not to do the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter : and he *was* more honourable than all the house of his father.

20 ¶ And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and communed with the men of their city, saying,

21 These men *are* peaceable with us ; therefore let them dwell in the land, and trade therein ; for the land, behold, *it is* large enough for them ; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters.

22 Only herein will the men consent unto us for to dwell with us, to be one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they *are* circumcised.

23 *Shall* not their cattle and their substance and every beast of their's *be* our's ? only let us consent unto them, and they will dwell with us.

24 And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his city ; and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city.

25 ¶ And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly, and slew all the males.

26 And they slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went out.

if, either by incitement or violence, they had abused their daughters.

Dowry and gift seem to be distinct things : the dowry being given to the parents, the *gift* to the kindred.

Ver. 13.] Hence some infer, that, by the custom of those days, the consent of the brethren was required rather than the parents : for the sons of Jacob here make the contract, as Laban had done with Abraham's servant (xxiv. 50). But it is more reasonable to think, that Jacob left it to them to consider what was fit to be done in a matter which required great deliberation, and then to report their opinion to him, who had the greatest interest in her, and right to dispose of her.

Ver. 14. *He cannot do this thing.*] It is against our religion. Which was partly true ; for though Jacob himself had married one whose father was uncircumcised (as Isaac had done before him), yet by degrees this opinion prevailed among them, till it was established by the law of Moses.

For that were a reproach unto us :] They plead honour as well as conscience.

Ver. 15. *In this will we consent unto you :*] Upon these terms we will agree to the match.

Ver. 17.] By this it appears they treated in their father's name, as was noted before, ver. 13.

Ver. 18.] It may seem strange they should so easily consent to be circumcised, till we consider how passionately Shechem loved Dinah, and the great affection Hamor had to Shechem : who was his beloved son (ver. 19). Besides, this was but a poor prince, and his city little and mean : which he thought to enrich and strengthen by Jacob's family (who were very wealthy) being incorporated with them (ver. 23).

Ver. 19. *He was more honourable*] In greater esteem with his father, and all the family, than any other belonging to it.

Ver. 20. *Came unto the gate of their city,*] Where all public affairs were transacted.

And communed with the men of their city,] Such great matters could not be concluded without the public consent (see xxiii. 18, xxix. 22).

Ver. 21. *These men are peaceable*] They use many

arguments to persuade the people to consent : and the first is, that the Israelites had hitherto lived offensively among them.

Let them dwell in the land, and trade therein ;] By a public decree, or law.

For the land—is large enough] This is the second argument, there was land enough in their country uncultivated, which these men would improve.

Ver. 23.] This is the greatest argument of all ; taken from the profit they should have by them ; the gain of no less than all they had. Which is not to be understood as if they intended to overpower them, and seize upon all their stock ; but that by intermarriages, their estates would be inherited by them, as much as by the Israelites.

Ver. 24. *All that went out of the gate of his city ;*] i. e. All the citizens (xxiii. 18) who were met together in the common-hall (or place of public assemblies), and were soon persuaded to yield to the reasons which had persuaded their rulers.

Ver. 25. *On the third day, when they were sore,*] And began to be a little feverish. For the greatest pain and anguish, the Jews observe, was upon the third day after circumcision, which very much indisposed them (see Pirke Eliez. cap. 29, and Vorstius's Annotations, p. 195). And indeed Hippocrates observes the same of all wounds and ulcers ; that they are the most inflamed, by a conflux of sharp humours to them.

Two of the sons of Jacob, &c.] With their servants : for they two alone could not destroy a whole city, though but small.

Slew all the males.] The women and children in those days were always spared in the most deadly wars : as when the Midianites were killed, Numb. xxxi. 7, 9, and the Edomites, 1 Kings xi. 16. And so Moses commanded they should do even with the Canaanites, Deut. xx. 13, 14. See Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 56 ; Selden de Jure N. and G. lib. vi. cap. 16, p. 745, and de Synedr. lib. i. p. 81.

Ver. 26. *Took Dinah out of Shechem's house,*] Where it seems she remained, after the rape he had committed, in hope of a marriage.

Went out,] Carried her home.

Ver. 27. *The sons of Jacob]* The rest of his sons

27 The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister.

28 They took their sheep, and their oxen, and their asses, and that which *was* in the city, and that which *was* in the field.

29 And all their wealth, and all their little ones, and their wives took they captive, and spoiled even all that *was* in the house.

(who were able to bear arms) came after the slaughter, and helped to plunder the city. Thus they were all involved in the guilt, which was very great and manifold; as Bonfrerius, and, out of him, Menochius, have observed.

Because they had defiled] Their prince had defiled her: whose fact, it seems, they did not disapprove: and therefore it is imputed to them all, as the cause of their slaughter.

Ver. 28. *They took their sheep, &c.*] It is a reasonable conjecture of Bonfrerius, that Jacob caused all these to be restored to the wives and children of the slain, whom he set at liberty.

Spoiled even all that was in the house.] Of Hamor and Shechem: which, perhaps, they kept to themselves, in compensation of the wrong he had done; and none of the family, perhaps, surviving to own them.

Ver. 30. *Ye have troubled me*] Disturbed my quiet, and made it unsafe for me to live in this country; where I hoped to have settled.

30 And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and *I being* few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.

31 And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

Made me to stink, &c.] Made me odious to all the country, as a murderer, a robber, and a breaker of my faith.

Ver. 31. *Should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*] As with a common whore, that prostituted herself to his lust? If she had done so, there had been no ground for their quarrel (according to the Hebrew doctors), because Shechem had not then offended against the laws of the sons of Noah (as they speak), i. e. the right of nations: which was not violated by a man's lying with a single woman, by her free consent. But Dinah being forced and violently ravished (as they take the sense of ver. 2 to be), they tell their father they might right themselves by making war upon them. For there was no other way to deal with princes, whom they could not implead in any court; and therefore betook themselves to arms (see Mr. Selden, lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. juxta Hebr. cap. 5).

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 God sendeth Jacob to Beth-el. 2 He purgeth his house of idols. 6 He buildeth an altar at Beth-el. 8 Deborah dieth at Allon-bachuth. 9 God blesseth Jacob at Beth-el. 16 Rachel travaileth of Benjamin, and dieth in the way to Edur. 22 Reuben lieth with Bilhah. 23 The sons of Jacob. 27 Jacob cometh to Isaac at Hebron. 28 The age, death, and burial of Isaac.

1 AND God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there: and make there an altar unto God, that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.

2 Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that *were* with him, Put away the strange

gods that *are* among you, and be clean, and change your garments:

3 And let us arise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went.

CHAP. XXXV.

Ver. 1. *God said unto Jacob,*] There were several ways, as Maimonides observes, whereby God communicated himself to the prophets. Unto whom he is said sometimes, to speak by an angel in a dream, as he did to Jacob, xxxi. 11. Sometimes by an angel, without any mention how it was, whether in a dream or vision, or not: of which he takes this place to be an instance; and verse the tenth of this chapter, and xxii. 15. Thirdly. In other places there is no mention of an angel, but of God alone speaking; yet in a vision, or dream, xv. 1. And, lastly, God is said to speak absolutely, neither in a dream, nor vision, nor by angel, xii. 1, xxxi. 3 (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 42). In which classes I think he might have put this apparition to Jacob, as well as that last mentioned; for there is no difference between them but this, that in the former place (xxx. 3) it is said, *The Lord said unto Jacob*; and here, *God said unto Jacob*.

Go up to Beth-el, and dwell there:] By this advice God showed he still took care of him; and delivered him from the fear he was in of the Canaanites and Perizzites, who, one would think, detested the fact

of Shechem; or, else it may seem strange that they did not immediately cut off Jacob and his family, who had taken such a terrible revenge for it; but let them remove quietly to Bethel. But Moses gives us the true reason of this, ver. 5.

Make there an altar] Perform a vow which thou madest in that place (xxviii. 20—22). Some wonder Jacob made no more haste to this place, after his return to his own country (for now he had been about nine years in Canaan), and some of the Hebrew doctors fancy God punished him for deferring so long to go thither (where he promised to worship him, if he prospered his journey and brought him back again in safety), by suffering his daughter Dinah to be ravished. But it is more probable that he met with obstructions, which made it not safe for him, as yet, to go thither; or, that he waited till God, who had conducted him hitherto, should direct him to take his journey to that place. For, it is very probable, he inquired of him about his removal.

Ver. 2. *Then Jacob said unto his household, &c.*] Being to perform a solemn sacrifice to God, he calls upon his family to prepare themselves for it.

All that were with him,] Hired servants who lived with him.

4 And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which *were* in their hand, and *all their* earrings which *were* in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which *was* by Shechem.

5 And they journeyed: and the terror of God was upon the cities that *were* round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.

6 ¶ So Jacob came to Luz, which *is* in the land of Canaan, that *is*, Beth-el, he and all the people that *were* with him.

Put away the strange gods] Rachel had her father's teraphim, which now, it is to be supposed, she confessed. And he suspected there might be some among the men-servants and maid-servants he brought with him out of Mesopotamia (xxxii. 5), where there was much superstition; and that in the sacking of Shechem they might bring away some images with them (for the sake of the silver and gold) which they kept secretly among them.

Be clean.] Wash your bodies, as Aben Ezra truly interprets it: for this was the ancient rite of cleansing. Wherein he seems to have followed Jonathan, who thus paraphrases it, "Purify yourselves from the pollution of the slain, whom ye have touched;" referring it to the foregoing slaughter of the people of Shechem.

Change your garments.] Put on clean clothes. Which was but a reasonable injunction, being to appear before the Divine Majesty; in whose presence it was rudeness to be seen in sordid raiment; especially in those wherein they had newly defiled themselves by a bloody slaughter. These two, I doubt not, were pious customs, which their godly ancestors had observed, from the beginning of offering solemn sacrifices. It being very unseemly to appear before a great man in dirty apparel, or with a sweaty body. And I do not see why we should not look upon these as an external profession of the like purity in their minds and hearts. All nations retained these *washings* and *white raiment*, when they performed the solemn offices of religion: which were not derived from idolaters, but from the purest antiquity.

Ver. 4. *They gave unto Jacob all the strange gods*] Which, it seems by this expression, were numerous.

Their earrings which were in their ears.] In the ears of the idols; for there was no harm in the earrings they wore themselves. So some interpret it; not considering that, besides the earrings which were ornaments, there were others worn in the nature of amulets; or for some other superstitious uses, having the effigies of some god or other; or some symbolical notes, in which they fancied there was some power to preserve them from several mischiefs. Maimonides, in his book of Idolatry, cap. 7, mentions such idolatrical rings, as were utterly unlawful to be used; and vessels marked with the image of the sun, the moon, or a dragon: which were symbols of divinity among the heathen; who made marks also in several parts of their bodies.

Jacob hid them.] Buried them in the earth; after he had first broken them in pieces (as some think), or melted them, as Moses and Hezekiah did, Exod. xxxii. 30; 2 Kings xviii. 4. Which, if it be true, it is but a tale which is told of the Samaritans; that they digged up these idols and worshipped them (see Hottinger, Smegma Orient. p. 359).

Under the oak which was by Shechem.] It was so unknown under what oak this was, that there is no ground for their opinion, who think this was the same oak mentioned in Josh. xxiv. 26. For he intended to abolish the memory of these idols; and therefore hid them where he thought nobody would find them.

7 And he built there an altar, and called the place El-beth-el: because there God appeared unto him, when he fled from the face of his brother.

8 But Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she was buried beneath Beth-el under an oak: and the name of it was called Allon-bachuth.

9 ¶ And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-aram, and blessed him.

10 And God said unto him, Thy name *is* Ja-

It took up some time to do all this; and yet the people of the land did not fall upon Jacob's family; the providence of God watching over him, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 5.] Here is the true reason why the country did not at least fall upon the rear of Jacob's family, when they marched away; because God made a panic fear to fall upon them. Who otherwise (one would guess by this) had an inclination to be revenged for the destruction of Shechem. For though they could not justify the fact of Shechem; yet they might think Jacob's sons too cruel in the punishment of it: for their own father was of that opinion. ¶

Ver. 6. *So Jacob came to Luz.*] See xxviii. 19.

Ver. 7. *Built there an altar, &c.*] And offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, for performing his promise to him, beseeching him still to continue his care of him.

Ver. 8. *Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died.*] She went to attend Rebekah, when she was married to Isaac: which troubles the Jews to give an account how she came here, into Jacob's family. R. Solomon solves it thus: that Rebekah having promised Jacob when he went away, to send for him (xxvii. 45), she performed this promise by Deborah: whom she sent to Padan-aram to invite him home, and in her return she died here. But it is more reasonable to suppose that Jacob had been at his father's house before this time; and Rebekah being dead (whether before or after is uncertain), Deborah was desirous to live with his wives, who were her countrywomen: and that her death is here mentioned (though we read nothing of Rebekah's) to give an account how this oak came by the name of Allon-bachuth, in aftertimes.

Under an oak.] There were many about Bethel, near to which there was a wood, or forest; out of which the bears came, which devoured the children that cursed Elisha (2 Kings ii. 23). And under an oak also the old prophet found the man of God sitting, as he went from Bethel (1 Kings xiii. 14).

Ver. 9.] The Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, who bade him go to Bethel (ver. 1), appeared to him when he came there, in a most glorious manner: as he had done when he lodged there in his journey to Padan-aram (xxviii. 13).

Ver. 10. *Israel shall be thy name.*] This is a far more honourable name than that of Jacob: and therefore by it thou shalt be commonly called. For the name of Jacob was given him from the supplanting of his brother, and getting the advantage of him: but this of Israel from his prevalence over the angel of God.

He called his name Israel.] He solemnly confirmed that name, which was given him before by his angel (xxxii. 28).

This seems to me to prove that it was no more than an angel who wrestled with Jacob, and told him his name should be changed. For, if it had been God himself, Jacob was as much satisfied then, as he could be now, that Israel should be his name. But I take it, God reserved the declaration of it from his own mouth, till this time: when he ratified what he had before spoken by his angel.

cob: thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel.

11 And God said unto him, I *am* God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins;

12 And the land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.

13 And God went up from him in the place where he talked with him.

14 And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he talked with him, *even* a pillar of stone: and he poured a drink offering thereon, and he poured oil thereon.

And thus I find (since I noted this) St. Jerome understood this passage: whose words are these: *Dudum nequaquam ei nomen ab angelo imponitur, &c.* "This name was not heretofore imposed on him by the angel; who only foretold that God would impose it on him: that therefore which was there promised should be, we are here taught was fulfilled."

Ver. 11.] Here God renews his promise to him, as he had often done to Abraham. He had first blessed him by Isaac (xxviii. 3), when he sent him from home. Then he himself blessed him, when he appeared to him, the first night of his journey (ver. 13, of that chapter); and now again, when he was come back to the very same place, where he blessed him before. And he speaks to him by the name of El-Shaddai, i. e. *God all-sufficient*: the very same whereby his father had blessed him (xxviii. 3), and whereby God blessed Abraham (xvii. 1).

Ver. 13. *God went up from him*] It is evident by this, that a visible majesty, or glory, appeared to him at this time: from whence the foregoing words were spoken to him; which being done, it went up towards heaven. In the Hebrew the words are, *went up from upon him*, or *over him*; and the very same is said of Abraham (xvii. 22), as if the Shechinah appeared over his head in great lustre; whilst he perhaps lay prostrate on the ground.

Ver. 14. *Set up a pillar*] To be a monument of the Divine Goodness; who there appeared to him; and made him such gracious promises, as those before-mentioned (ver. 11, 12). And to serve for an altar whereon to offer sacrifice. For so the word *matzebah* signifies (Hosea iii. 4). And therefore Isaiah seems to make an altar and a pillar the same thing (xix. 19).

Poured a drink offering thereon.] To consecrate it unto the solemn service of God. For which end he poured oil upon it, as he had done upon the stone (xxviii. 18), which, in all likelihood, was a principal part of this pillar. And having done all this, we are to suppose he not only offered sacrifice, but paid the tenth of all that God had given him, according to his vow (xxviii. ult.).

Ver. 15. *Called the name of the place*] Or, rather, *of that place*; that famous place, which God hath made so remarkable by his goodness to him. For the Hebrews, not without reason, make the *he* before *makom* to add an emphasis to that word.

Beth-el.] i. e. The house of God. So he said he would make this place (xxviii. 22), and now he is as good as his word, by renewing the name he had given it thirty years before, when he first went into Mesopotamia.

Ver. 16. *There was but a little way to come to Ephrath.*] When they were come within a little of

15 And Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him, Beth-el.

16 ¶ And they journeyed from Beth-el; and there was but a little way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had hard labour.

17 And it came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the midwife said unto her, Fear not; thou shalt have this son also.

18 And it came to pass, as her soul was in departing, (for she died) that she called his name Ben-oni: but his father called him Benjamin.

19 And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Beth-lehem.

20 And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.

Ephrath. The Hebrew word for a little is *chibrath*; whose precise signification is uncertain. Benjamin Tudelensis saith, this place was within half a mile and a little more of Ephrath (see his Itinerar. p. 47, and Const. L'Empereur on the place, p. 176).

Ver. 17. *Fear not; thou shalt have this son also.*] The midwife seems to comfort Rachel with her own prediction (xxx. 24).

Ver. 18. *She called his name Ben-oni.*] Rachel seems to give her former hopes of a second son for lost; at least, she expected no comfort from him, being ready to expire. And therefore she called him a son of sorrow: his birth being her death.

But his father called him Benjamin.] To comfort Rachel in her sorrow, and to avert the sinister omens, Jacob immediately changed his name into *Benjamin*; signifying the son of his right hand or of his strength, as it is commonly interpreted. Though others will have it, the son of years, i. e. of his old age: or, putting both together, the support and stay of his old age.

Names are oftentimes strangely adapted to things; and the presages of parents have anciently been observed to be fulfilled.

"—Heu nunquam vana parentum
Auguria—"

Which is in no instance more verified than in this child of Jacob's, who did not bear either of these names for naught. There being two very different fates of his posterity (as Dr. Jackson observes in a discourse of his upon St. Matt. ii. 17, 18), answerable to the contrary importance of the names given him by his father and his mother. No tribe in Israel more valorous, yet none so subject to sorrowful disasters as this tribe of Benjamin. It was almost extirpated in the time of the Judges (xx. 25, &c.), and yet before the conclusion of that age, Benjamin became the head of his brethren: the first king of Israel being chosen out of that late desolate tribe: and though that king proved at last but a *Ben-oni*; yet this tribe stuck close to Judah, when all the rest revolted to his brother Joseph.

Ver. 20. *Jacob set a pillar upon her grave.*] After that law was made (Deut. xvi. 22) against erecting pillars, the Jews did not think all pillars unlawful; but only those for superstitious uses: not those which were in memory of something; as Maimonides's words are, lib. de Idolol. cap. 6.

Ver. 21. *Israel journeyed.*] This is the first time that Moses calls him Israel after this name was given him by God, which he repeats twice in the next verse; and then calls him Jacob again, in the latter end of it. It is in vain to search for a reason. Some of the Jews will have it, that he calls him Israel, because he

21 ¶ And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar.

22 And it came to pass, when Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine: and Israel heard it. Now the sons of Jacob were twelve:

23 The sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's first-born, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun:

24 The sons of Rachel; Joseph, and Benjamin:

25 And the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's hand-maid; Dan, and Naphtali:

bare the death of his beloved wife with admirable patience and submission to God's will. But they cannot give so good a reason, why he immediately alters his style, and calls him Jacob again (see ver. 22).

Beyond the tower of Edar.] i. e. *The tower of the flock*, as some translate it; who think there was such a tower near Jerusalem, because of those words of Micah (iv. 8), "O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughters of Zion." Which, if it be true, it doth not prove there was no tower in Jacob's days called by that name; but rather that in future ages this tower was renewed, in the same or a neighbouring place; and called by the ancient name which it had in the days of Jacob.

Ver. 22. *Went and lay with Bilhah*] She is called his wife, xxx. 4, and, according to the laws of those times, was truly so; as I have often observed all those called concubines were: though not the principal wives, but of a lower rank (see Mr. Selden, de Jure N. and G. lib. v. cap. 7, p. 570, 571, &c.).

Israel heard it.] And highly resented it, as we find xlix. 4. But in this short history Moses passes over Israel's censure of his incest till he came to die: which shows sufficiently how he was affected when the fact was committed. Or perhaps these words, *Israel heard it*, may signify, that though Reuben thought to have committed this sin so secretly, as to have concealed it from his father, yet he came to the knowledge of it; and gave him such private rebukes, as were fitting; but proceeded not to public punishment, to avoid scandal.

26 And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's hand-maid; Gad, and Asher: these are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-aram.

27 ¶ And Jacob came unto Isaac his father unto Mamre, unto the city of Arbah, which is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.

28 And the days of Isaac were an hundred and fourscore years.

29 And Isaac gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people, being old and full of days: and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him.

Now the sons of Jacob were twelve.] Their number being now completed by the birth of Benjamin, after whom he had no more children, Moses thought good here to enumerate them. And they being all born (save Benjamin alone) before he had the name of Israel, it may be the reason, perhaps, why he calls him Jacob.

Ver. 26. *Which were born to him in Padan-aram.*] All except Benjamin, who (as was said just before, ver. 18) was born in Canaan.

Ver. 27. *Jacob came unto Isaac his father, &c.*] To dwell with him, and to be the comfort of his old age. For, it is not to be doubted, he had been with him before, since he came from Mesopotamia: but now came to stay with him, till death parted them.

Unto the city of Arbah, &c.] Called Kirjath-arba (xxiii. 2), from a great man (Josh. xiv. 15), among the Anakims, whose name was Arba, and either was born, or dwelt, or ruled here. It was afterwards called Hebron, where Abraham dwelt a long time (xiii. 18), and where he bought a buryingplace for his family (xxiii. 19).

Ver. 28.] He lived five years longer than his father Abraham (xxv. 7).

Ver. 29. *Esau and Jacob buried him.*] As Isaac and Ishmael had done Abraham (xxv. 9), and no doubt in the same place: he sojourned there (as we said before) as his father had done before him. By this it appears, the friendship between Esau and Jacob continued, after the interview they had at Jacob's return into this country.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *Esau's three wives.* 6 *His removing to Mount Seir.* 9 *His sons.* 15 *The dukes which descended of his sons.* 20 *The sons and dukes of Seir.* 24 *Anah findeth mules.* 31 *The kings of Edom.* 40 *The dukes that descended of Esau.*

1 Now these are the generations of Esau, who is Edom.

2 Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite,

and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite;

3 And Bashemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ver. 1. *These are the generations of Esau.*] Which are here set down to show how effectual his father's blessing was (xxvii. 29), and, as Maimonides thinks (par. iii. cap. 50, More Nevoch.), to prevent the destruction of any of the family of Esau, but only those of Amalek: who descended from the firstborn of Esau by a concubine, the sister of Lotan, a Horite, one of the ancient inhabitants of Seir (ver. 12 and 22). His descendants were to be destroyed, by an express precept, for a particular offence (Exod. xvii.);

but the Divine justice took care of the rest by distinguishing them thus exactly from him; that they might not perish under the name of Amalekites.

Ver. 2. *Esau took his wives, &c.*] The names of these wives are not the same with those he is said to have married, xxvi. 34. Therefore it is probable his former wives died without issue: and so he took another daughter of Elon (when Judith was dead) called Adah: and the daughter of a man called Anah; by whom he had such children as here follow.

The daughter of Zibeon] The word *daughter* here signifies *niece*; or, she is called Zibeon's daughter,

4 And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz; and Bashemath bare Reuel;

5 And Aholibamah bare Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah: these *are* the sons of Esau, which were born unto him in the land of Canaan.

6 And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substance, which he had got in the land of Canaan; and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob.

7 For their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle.

8 Thus dwelt Esau in mount Seir: Esau *is* Edom.

9 ¶ And these *are* the generations of Esau the father of the Edomites in mount Seir:

10 These *are* the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of Bashemath the wife of Esau.

11 And the sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.

12 And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these *were* the sons of Adah Esau's wife.

13 And these *are* the sons of Reuel; Nahath,

and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons of Bashemath Esau's wife.

14 ¶ And these were the sons of Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.

15 ¶ These *were* dukes of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the first-born *son* of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz,

16 Duke Korah, duke Gatam, and duke Amalek: these *are* the dukes that came of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these *were* the sons of Adah.

17 ¶ And these *are* the sons of Reuel Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these *are* the dukes that came of Reuel in the land of Edom; these *are* the sons of Bashemath Esau's wife.

18 ¶ And these *are* the sons of Aholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jaalam, duke Korah: there *were* the dukes that came of Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife.

19 These *are* the sons of Esau, who *is* Edom, and these *are* their dukes.

20 ¶ These *are* the sons of Seir the Horite, who inhabited the land; Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah,

because he bred her; as the children of Michal are mentioned (2 Sam. xxi. 8), though she had none at all; but only educated the children of her sister, as Zibeon, perhaps, did his brother Anah's daughter (ver. 20).

Ver. 3. *Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter.*] She is called by another name, xxviii. 9. But it is likely Esau changed her name from *Mahalal*, which signifies *sickly and infirm*, into this of *Bashemath*, which signifies *aromatic and fragrant*: either because the name better pleased him, or he thought would better please his father: or, she grew more healthy after marriage; or perhaps she had two names given her at first.

Ver. 6. *Went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob.*] Into another country out of the land of Canaan: into which he lately came to bury his father, as we read in the latter end of the last chapter. Which being done, he and Jacob, no doubt, agreed about the division of Isaac's estate, out of which a large share came to Esau: who had something also of his own there before (all his sons before mentioned being born to him in Canaan, ver. 5), besides what he had in Seir.

His brother Jacob.] He knew of no other name his brother had; that of Israel, it is likely, being not yet published and commonly used.

Ver. 7.] There was not room enough in the land of Canaan (where they were but sojourners, and could have no more than the present possessors would let to them) for such a vast stock as they had between them; and therefore were constrained to separate, as Abraham, for the same reason, had done from Lot (xiii. 6, &c.). And Esau having begun before to settle in Seir, did not think fit to bring what he had there hither: but carried what his father left him thither. Where he had enlarged his dominion, since Jacob's return to Canaan.

Ver. 8. *Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir.*] It is a question how he could be said to have gone to dwell in Seir, upon this occasion; seeing we find him there before, when Jacob came out of Mesopotamia (xxxii.

3). But the answer is easy, that then he had only some part of the country, and not the best of it neither; and therefore, perhaps, had some of his estate still in Canaan, while the rest of it was in Seir. And it seems remarkable to me, that he is not said till now to dwell in Mount Seir, but only in the land of Seir, or barely in Seir, to which he invited Jacob at his return (xxxii. 3, xxxiii. 14, 16). This mountainous country, which was richer than the other, he got into his possession after that time.

Esau is Edom.] The father of the Edomites, as it follows, ver. 9.

Ver. 12. *She bare to Eliphaz Amalek.*] This was necessary to be set down (as I observed on ver. 1), that there might be a distinction between the Amalekites, who were to be destroyed, and the rest of the posterity of Esau: concerning whom it is said, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, because he is thy brother" (Deut. xxiii. 7). Thus Joseph Albo. For though they made a distinct people from the Edomites, and lived in a neighbouring country; yet they possessed that part of Mount Seir which was near Kadesh Barnea, as may be gathered from Num. xiii. 29, and xiv. 43.

Ve. 15. *These were dukes.*] The word *allouph*, if we may believe R. Solomon Jarchi, signifies *heads, chiefs, or rulers of families*, who may be called princes; though their government was not yet regal, but a kind of aristocracy in the beginning.

Ver. 16. *Duke Korah.*] He is not reckoned among the sons of Eliphaz (ver. 11), but called the son of Aholibamah (ver. 14), and accordingly said to rule over a family descended from hers (ver. 18). We must suppose, therefore, there were two Korahs; one the son of Aholibamah, the other a nephew of Eliphaz, by some of his sons or grandsons; who came to be a great ruler, and to get the government of some of these families: and according to the style of Scripture is reckoned for Eliphaz's son.

Ver. 20. *These are the sons of Seir the Horite.*] From this Seir the country had its name: but from whom he descended is not recorded.

21 And Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan : these are the dukes of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom.

22 And the children of Lotan were Hori and Heman; and Lotan's sister was Timna.

23 And the children of Shobal were these; Alvan, and Manahath, and Ebal, Shepho, and Onam.

24 And these are the children of Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah : this was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father.

25 And the children of Anah were these; Dishon, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah.

26 And these are the children of Dishon; Hemdan, and Eshban, and Ithran, and Cheran.

27 The children of Ezer are these; Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Akan.

Who inhabited the land;] Who were the ancient inhabitants of this country before Esau conquered it, and perhaps were the first that possessed it after the flood; whose genealogy, I suppose, is here mentioned, because Esau's posterity married with some of them; particularly his eldest son Eliphaz took Timna, sister of Lotan (one of Seir's sons), for his concubine (ver. 22). Yea, Esau himself seems to have married one of this family, viz. Aholibamah, whose father and uncle are said to be Hivites (ver. 2), but here plainly called Horites; being descended from Seir the Horite, though dwelling then among the Hivites.

Ver. 21. These are the dukes of the Horites,] The heads of their families, who governed the country before Esau and his posterity dispossessed them; and settled themselves in the same form of government which they found among these Horites.

In the land of Edom,] So it was called in the days of Moses.

Ver. 24. This was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness,] Not by accident, but by his art and industry he invented (as we speak) this mixture, and produced this kind of creature. So it is commonly interpreted. But the word *found*, though used four hundred times in Scripture, never signifies (as Bochart hath observed, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. cap. 21), the invention of that which was not before; but the finding that which already is in being. Nor doth *jemim* signify asses in Scripture; and therefore others have read the Hebrew word as if it had been written *jamim* (as St. Jerome observes), imagining that as Anah fed his father's asses, he found a great collection of waters (see Vossius, lib. iii. de Idolol. cap. 75), which some fancy to have been hot water, or baths, as the Vulgar Latin interprets it. But then we must read the Hebrew quite otherwise than we do now: and Bochart gives other reasons against this interpretation; and endeavours to establish another opinion: That by *jemim* we are to understand *emim*, a gigantic sort of people, mentioned in Scripture, and next neighbours to the Horites. These Anah is said to find, i. e. to meet withal and encounter: or, rather, to have fallen upon on a sudden and unexpectedly; as this phrase he shows signifies in Scripture. This opinion he hath confirmed with a great many reasons; to which another late learned writer (Wagenseil) thinks an answer may be given: though he inclines to it, if one thing were not in the way; which makes him think, here is rather meant some herb or plant, called *jaquir*, which word the LXX. retain, not knowing how to translate it. And thus Aben Ezra affirms many interpreters of the Scripture have understood it: which seems to be the most probable conjecture of all others

28 The children of Dishan are these; Uz, and Aran.

29 These are the dukes that came of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah,

30 Duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan : these are the dukes that came of Hori, among their dukes in the land of Seir.

31 ¶ And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.

32 And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom : and the name of his city was Dinhabah.

33 And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead.

34 And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of Temani reigned in his stead.

35 And Husham died, and Hadad the son of

(see Wagenseil in his Annot. upon that title of the Talmud called Sota, p. 217, 218, &c.).

He fed the asses of Zibeon his father,] The sons of princes were wont to follow this employment in ancient times, as Bochart shows out of many authors, particularly the scholiast upon Homer's *Odysseys*. Το παλαιόν καὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες ἐποιμαῖον (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44).

Ver. 28. The children of Dishan are these: Uz, &c.] From this man the whole country, or a great part of it, is called by the name of Uz (Lament. iv. 21), which was in Arabia Petrea, in the borders of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 30. These are the dukes that came of Hori,] This Hori was the ancestor of Seir, by whom this country was first planted.

Among their dukes] Or according to their families, or principalities.

Ver. 31. These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom,] It appears by this, that after several dukes (as we translate it) had ruled the country; the Edomites changed their government into a monarchy. And here follows a catalogue of their kings. For I can find no ground for the opinion of the Hebrew doctors, that *aluph*, a duke, differed in nothing from *melech*, a king; but that the latter was crowned, the former not crowned.

Before there reigned any king] Moses having a little before this (xxxv. 11), mentioned the promise of God to Jacob, that "kings should come out of his loins;" observes, it is a thing remarkable, being a great exercise of their faith, that Esau's posterity should have so many kings: and there was as yet no king in Israel when he wrote this book, nor (as it is commonly interpreted) a long time after. This Moses might well write without a spirit of prophecy; nor is there any reason to say, this passage was inserted by somebody else after the death of Moses. We might rather affirm, if it were needful, that Moses's meaning is, "All these were kings in Edom, before his own time;" who was the first king in Israel (Deut. xxxiii. 5). For he truly exercised royal authority over them, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1, 2.

Ver. 32. The name of his city was Dinhabah,] Of which he was governor, perhaps, before he was made king; and wherein he reigned.

Ver. 33. Of Bozrah] Which was afterward the principal city of the whole country; as we read in the prophet Isaiah, xxxiv. 6, and Jeremiah xlix. 3, and Amos i. 12.

It seems, by this list of their kings, that the kingdom at this time was elective; for the son did not

Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Avith.

36 And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead.

37 And Samlah died, and Saul of Rehoboth by the river reigned in his stead.

38 And Saul died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his stead.

39 And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Pau; and his wife's name was

succeed the father: which may have been the reason, perhaps, why it lasted but a while, before their government was altered again (ver. 40). Maimonides hath an opinion different from all others, that none of these kings were of the race of Esau, but strangers, who oppressed the Edomites; and are here set down by Moses to admonish the Israelites to observe that precept (Deut. xvii. 15), "Not to set a stranger to be king over them, who is not their brother," i. e. one of their own nation.

Ver. 35. *Who smote Midian in the field of Moab,*] The Midianites, perhaps, came to invade them; and Hadad marched out and met them in the frontiers of their country, which joined to that of Moab: where he got a great victory over them.

Ver. 37.] If by the river we should understand Euphrates (as it usually signifies), near to which stood the city of Rehoboth (Gen. x. 11), it may seem strange that one should be chosen from so remote a country, to be king of Edom: unless we suppose him to have been born there, but to have lived in Edom; and by his great achievements to have got into the throne. Otherwise we must take this for some other city, which stood by the most known river of this country.

Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Mezahab.

40 And these are the name of the dukes that came of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth,

41 Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon,

42 Duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar,

43 Duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession: he is Esau the father of the Edomites.

Ver. 38. *Baal-hanan*] This name is the reverse (as I may call it) of Hani-ball.

Ver. 39. *His wife's name was Meheteabel, &c.*] None of their wives, much less their pedigree, are named besides this alone: which shows she was an eminent woman in those times and that country; either for wisdom, or parentage, or estate, or some other excellence.

Ver. 40. *These are—the dukes that came of Esau,*] They seem now to have returned to their first constitution; and kings were laid aside for some time. But in future ages we find they changed again, and then kings reigned successively, the son after the father, as they did in Israel. Some think, these were the great men, who ruled in Edom, in Moses's time.

According to their families, &c.] They were the heads of different families, and lived in different places; and, perhaps, reigned at the same time, in several parts of the country: so the words seem to import.

Ver. 43. *In the land of their possession.*] In their own country; whilst the seed of Jacob sojourned in a strange country, and possessed no land of their own.

He is Esau, &c.] He ends as he began. This is the account of Esau, the father of the people who are now called Edomites.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

2 Joseph is hated of his brethren. 5 His two dreams. brethren conspire his death. 21 Reuben saveth him. deceived by the bloody coat, mourneth for him. 36

13 Jacob sendeth him to visit his brethren. 18 His 26 They sell him to the Ishmeelites. 31 His father, He is sold to Potiphar in Egypt.

1 AND Jacob dwelt in the land wherein his father was a stranger, in the land of Canaan.

2 These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding

the flock with his brethren; and the lad was with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives: and Joseph brought unto his father their evil report.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Ver. 1.] Having given us an account of Esau's removal to Seir (xxxvi. 6, 7), and of the prosperity of his family there, he now goes on to tell us, that Jacob still continued in the country where his father had sojourned, in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 2. *These are the generations of Jacob,*] These words are to be connected with the latter end of xxxv. 23, 24, &c. where he relates how many sons Jacob had; and then gives an account of the family of Esau (in the 36th chapter), which being ended, he returns to finish the history of Jacob.

The lad was with the sons of Bilhah, &c.] These words *vehu naar*, signify he was very young, in the simplicity of his childish years; and come in by way of a parenthesis, in this manner. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren (and he was but a youth, inexperienced, and

therefore called a child, ver. 30), with the sons of Bilhah, &c. Which last words are an explication of the former, showing with which of his brethren he was. Not with the sons of Leah, but with the sons of Jacob's handmaids: particularly with Bilhah's, whom we may look upon as a mother to him now Rachel was dead, having waited upon her. And Zilpah's sons are also mentioned in the second place, as those, it is likely, who were thought to have less emulation to him than the sons of Leah. But we see by this, how much our greatest prudence often fails: for Reuben and Judah, the children of Leah, had more kindness for Joseph than any of the rest.

Their evil report.] What evil lives they led.

Ver. 3. *Because he was the son of his old age.*] Benjamin was more so than he; and the rest were born not many years before him. But he is so called because he had been married a good while to Rachel before he had him: and he was the greatest comfort

3 Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he *was* the son of his old age : and he made him a coat of *many colours*.

4 And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him.

5 ¶ And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it his brethren : and they hated him yet the more.

6 And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed :

7 For, behold, we *were* binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright ; and, behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf.

8 And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over us ? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us ? And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and for his words.

9 ¶ And he dreamed yet another dream, and

told it his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed a dream more ; and, behold, the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me.

10 And he told it to his father, and to his brethren : and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What *is* this dream that thou hast dreamed ? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth ?

11 And his brethren envied him ; but his father observed the saying.

12 ¶ And his brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem.

13 And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the *flock* in Shechem ? come, and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here *am I*.

14 And he said to him, Go, I pray thee, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well

of his old age ; Benjamin not being yet grown up to give any proof of his future worth.

[*A coat of many colours.*] It is commonly thought to signify a garment wrought with threads of divers colours ; or made up of pieces of silk or stuff, which had much variety in them ; or wrought, as some think, with figures of fruit, or other things (see Salmasius upon Flav. Vopiscus, p. 396). But Braunius (*de Vestib. Sacerd.* Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17) hath proved, I think, that the Hebrew word *passim* here signifies a long garment down to the heels or ankles, and with long sleeves down to the wrists ; which had a border at the bottom, and a facing (as we speak) at the hands, of another colour, different from the garment (see ver. 23).

Ver. 4. *Could not speak peaceably unto him.*] In a kind and friendly manner ; but churlishly, and with evident signs of hatred. Aben Ezra fancies they would not so much as salute him, or wish him peace (as the phrase then was, Peace be to thee), or ask him how he did, as our custom is.

Ver. 5. *Joseph dreamed a dream.*] This was usual among the ancient patriarchs, and others also, as appears by Elihu : who shows that all dreams were not illusions of evil spirits (Job xxxiii. 14, 15, &c.). And long before his time Abimelech was warned by God in a dream, chapter xx. of this book, ver. 3, 6, 7. Upon which consideration (as Dr. Jackson well observes) we should not mistrust the reports of several ancient historians, who tell us how princes and fathers of families have had forewarnings of future events ; either concerning themselves, their kingdoms, or posterity (book i. upon the Creed, chap. 9).

He told—his brethren.] This argues his great innocence and simplicity ; that he had not yet understanding enough, to consider how ill this dream might be expounded : or not prudence enough to conceal what might be ill interpreted by them.

They hated him yet the more.] The first ground of their hatred was their father's great love to him ; and then, his informing their father of their bad behaviour ; which was still increased by the fine clothes his father bestowed on him ; and now most of all by this dream, which they interpreted to signify his superiority over them.

Ver. 7. *Your sheaves stood round about.*] Or, gathered round about mine : which was fulfilled when he came for corn into Egypt ; of which these sheaves, some think, were an apt representation.

Ver. 8. *Shalt thou indeed reign over us ?*] It seems

they could readily interpret the meaning of a dream, which shows how common they were in those days.

[*For his dreams, and for his words.*] This seems to import, that he had more dreams of like nature, and was wont to talk of them, which they thought favoured of arrogance.

Ver. 9. *He dreamed yet another dream.*] Which confirmed the former ; by repeating the same thing, under different figures. For as the former was taken from the earth, so this from heaven ; and is more comprehensive than the former ; for it concerns his father, as well as his brethren.

Behold, the sun and the moon, &c.] They seemed to descend to him, or he to be carried up to them ; where they bowed, and lay at his feet.

Ver. 10. *His father rebuked him.*] Gave him a check ; that Joseph might not grow conceited of himself, and his brethren might not be provoked to hate him.

What is this dream that thou hast dreamed ?] What an idle dream is this !

Shall I, and thy mother, and thy brethren, &c.] Who can believe this ! Thy mother is dead (which is sufficient to show the vanity of this dream), and thy father sure is not to truckle unto thee ; no, nor thy elder brethren.

Ver. 11. *His brethren envied him ;*] Though Jacob seemed to slight what he said, it incensed his brethren against him.

But his father observed the saying.] He did not look upon it as a mere fancy ; but thought there might be something in it. And therefore, though he thought fit publicly to slight it, yet he took such notice of it privately, that he preserved it in mind, and laid it up in his heart ; as the Scripture elsewhere speaks.

And it really was fulfilled, when he went down into Egypt ; and, no doubt, showed that respect which was due to the viceroy of the country ; and so did his mother Bilhah, and all his brethren.

Ver. 12.] As his flocks increased, so they enlarged their pasture ; and they often removed to find fresh pasture. Besides, he had made a purchase in this place ; where they fed his flocks in his own ground.

Ver. 13. *Come, and I will send thee unto them.*] Make thyself ready, that I may send thee to inquire of thy brethren's welfare. About which he was now the more solicitous, because they were gone to a place where they had, some years ago, given great provocation to the country by their barbarous cruelty.

with the flocks; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.

15 ¶ And a certain man found him, and, behold, *he was* wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou?

16 And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed *their flocks*.

17 And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.

18 And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him.

19 And they said one to another, Behold, this dreamer cometh.

20 Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.

21 And Reuben heard it, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, Let us not kill him.

22 And Reuben said unto them, Shed no

blood, *but* cast him into this pit that *is* in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again.

23 ¶ And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph out of his coat, *his* coat of many colours that *was* on him;

24 And they took him, and cast him into a pit: and the pit *was* empty, *there was* no water in it.

25 And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.

26 And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit *is* it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood?

27 Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmeelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he *is* our brother *and* our flesh. And his brethren were content.

28 Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out

Ver. 15. *A certain man found him,*] Some take this to have been an angel, who took care of him, when he was at a loss which way to go. So Maimonides, par. ii. More Nevochim, cap. 42, where he makes this passage the very same with that xvi. 7, "The angel of the Lord found her," &c.

Ver. 18. *They conspired against him*] The Hebrew word signifies, they took subtle and crafty counsel against him to slay him. Laid their heads together (as we now speak) to kill him, so that the murder might be concealed from their father.

Ver. 19. *Behold, this dreamer cometh.*] In the Hebrew, *This master of dreams*, or a frequent dreamer; one that had dreams at command.

Ver. 20. *Cast him into some pit,*] Which they were wont to dig frequently in those countries, to hold rain-water for their cattle, when they could not find a spring, or were near no river.

Ver. 21. *He delivered him out of their hands,*] Preserved him from being murdered by them, as they intended; which he did by the following counsel, which seemed to have something of humanity in it, and yet would effect what they resolved.

Ver. 22. *Cast him into this pit*] That he might perish with hunger.

Lay no hand upon him, &c.] Let us not kill him. This he said that he might save his life, intending secretly to draw him out of the pit, and restore him safe to his father. By which piece of good service, Reuben, perhaps, hoped to reconcile his father to him, who was justly angry with him for defiling his bed (xxxv. 22).

Ver. 23. *His coat of many colours*] By this it seems he was distinguished from the rest of his brethren; being not yet grown up to such laborious employments as they followed abroad; and therefore indulged to wear a richer sort of garment with his father at home. For, according to the common notion, it was wrought, or embroidered, with flowers: which was accounted noble, as well as beautiful, in ancient times. As appears by Plato, who, commending the government then admired in Greece, compares it to such a garment that hath variety of colours in it (lib. viii. de Republ. p. 557). Καθαρύνει καλλίστη αὐτὴ τῶν πολιτικῶν εἶναι ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον

ποικίλον πᾶσιν ἀνδρῶσι πεποικιλμένοι, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη πᾶσι ἡδὲσι πεποικιλμένη καλλίστη ἂν φανοίτο.

Ver. 24.] This shows the use of such pits was to hold water, which at this time was dried up for want of rain.

Ver. 25. *Company of Ishmeelites*] In the language of these times it is called a *caravan*: merchants not daring to travel alone, in small numbers, in those eastern countries, through the deserts, for fear of robbers, or of wild beasts.

From Mount Gilead] They came from parts beyond that, but passed that way to traffic there.

With their camels] Which were, and still are, the most proper beasts for carriage in those countries: being able to travel a great way in the deserts without drink. And the Midianites (who are here the same with the Ishmaelites, ver. 28) had as great a breed of them as any other country: as Bochart observes (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 3).

Bearing spicery] The word *nechoth*, which we, and a great many others, translate *spicery* in general, seems to signify some particular sort of spicery, as the following words do. A great many conjectures there are, what sort; and Bochart most probably concludes it to be *storax* (see the forenamed book, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 12).

Balm] So Kimchi, whom the modern interpreters generally follow, expounds the Hebrew word *zeri*, which the ancients interpret *resin*; and Bochart justifies them by such reasons as these: that there was no balm in Gilead in these days; but it was brought thither out of Arabia Felix in the reign of King Solomon: and then it grew on this side Jordan, about Engaddi and Jericho; not beyond Jordan in the land of Gilead (Ib. par. lib. ii. cap. 51).

Ver. 26. *What profit is it if we slay our brother, &c.*] We shall get nothing by letting him die in the pit: had we not better make money of him?

Conceal his blood?] Though we should be able to conceal his murder, which is not easy to do.

Ver. 27. *For he is our brother,*] Natural affection persuaded to this, rather than to the other.

His brethren were content.] As many of them as were then present; for Reuben was not among them at this consultation.

of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty *pieces* of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt.

29 ¶ And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.

30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child is not; and I, whither shall I go?

31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood;

32 And they sent the coat of many colours, and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.

Ver. 28. *Midianites.*] They are called Ishmaelites just before (ver. 25), and so they are immediately in this very verse [*Sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites*]; for they were very near neighbours, and joined together in trade, making now one caravan, with a joint stock, as this story intimates. Read Judg. viii. 1, 3, 22, 23, 24, 26, and it will appear the Scripture speaks of them as one and the same people, in aftertimes.

For twenty pieces of silver:] Most understand so many shekels, which was a very small price; but therefore demanded, and no more, that the bargain might be clapped up the sooner.

Ver. 29. *Reuben returned unto the pit;*] He, pretending some business, had withdrawn himself from the company, with an intention, when his brethren were gone from the pit, to come privately and take Joseph out, and carry him to his father. Upon that design he now came thither.

Rent his clothes.] As they used to do, when they mourned for the dead; whereby he expressed his real grief for his brother.

Ver. 30. *The child is not;*] He is dead, as this phrase commonly signifies.

Whither shall I go?] I know not whither to flee, to hide myself from my father's anger: who might justly expect the eldest son should take the greatest care of him.

Ver. 31.] His brethren it seems persuaded Reuben also to join with them, in concealing the sale of Joseph; and making their old father believe he was devoured by some wild beast.

Ver. 32.] They first sent it by a messenger; and immediately followed themselves, with the tale which is here related.

Ver. 33. *An evil beast*] Some wild beast, of which there were great stores in those countries (such as lions and bears), for he could not suspect his brethren would kill him.

Ver. 34. *Rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins.*] This was the highest degree of mourning in those days. We read often of putting on sackcloth in future ages, upon such sad occasions; but this is the first time we meet with it, which shows the great antiquity of such customs.

Mourned for his son many days.] Beyond the ordinary time of mourning. *Many years* (as the word *days* sometimes signifies), perhaps, till he heard he was alive. So the following verse seems to denote; that he resolved not to cease mourning for him as long as he lived.

Ver. 35. *All his sons and all his daughters*] He had but one daughter: therefore the meaning is, his sons' wives, or their daughters.

I will go down into the grave, &c.] If *sheol* here be expounded *grave*, then the next words must be thus translated, *mourning for my son*; as R. Solomon in-

33 And he knew it, and said, *It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him*; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces.

34 And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him.

36 And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard.

terprets them. For Joseph was not buried in a grave; and therefore he could not think of going down to him thither. And thus Christophorus à Castro, upon the Second of Baruch, acknowledges *sheol* signifies in this place, and interprets it in this manner: "Lugere non desinam, donec me sepulturæ demandetis;" *I will not cease to mourn till you lay me in my grave.* But if we follow our translation, which is most common, *I will go down to my son*, then *sheol* must signify the state or place of the dead; as it often doth: and particularly Isaiah xiv. (where the King of Babylon is expressly denied the honour of a grave, ver. 19, 20), *sheol* is said to be moved for him, and to meet him, and to stir up the dead for him (ver. 9).

Thus his father wept for him.] Continued his mourning; not only by wearing sackcloth, but in such passionate expressions as these.

Ver. 36. *The Midianites*] In the Hebrew the word is *Medanim* (a distinct name from those ver. 38), who were a people derived from Medan, one of the sons of Keturah, and brother to Midian (xxv. 2). They and the Midianites lived near together in Arabia, not far from the Ishmaelites: who all joined together in this caravan, and made one society of merchants; consisting of Medanites, Midianites, and Ishmaelites.

Officer] The Hebrew word *saris*, oftentimes signifies an eunuch, by whom the eastern queens were attended. But it likewise signifies all the great courtiers (as the Chaldee here translates it), such as the *bed-chamber-men*, the *lord chamberlain* (as we now speak), and such-like officers of state: and therefore is rightly translated here, for Potiphar had a wife. The truth is, this was the prime signification of the word; till, in aftertimes, the depravation of manners, and the jealousy of the eastern kings, made them set none but slaves, who were castrated, to attend their queens; by whom they were preferred to great offices, and so came to enjoy this name.

Pharaoh's,] This was a common name to all the kings of Egypt (see xii. 15).

Captain of the guard.] The LXX. translate it, *master cook*: and so Epiphanius calls his wife. Τῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιμαγειροῦ (Hæres. xxxvi. n. 17). Our margin hath it, *chief of the slaughter-men, or executioners.* But the word *tebachim* may better be translated *soldiers*, than *butchers or executioners*: and here, some think, may denote him whom we call the *provost-marshal*: others will have it the *master of the horse*. But I see no more proper translation than ours, *captain of the guard*: or, rather, chief commander of the king's guard; such an one as Nebuzaradan was (2 Kings xxv. 20); for *schar* is more than one whom we now call a *captain* (see xl. 3). This phrase *schar-hatebachim* is explained by Hottinger, out of the Ethiopic tongue (see Smegma Orient. p. 85).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *Judah begetteth Er, Onan, and Shelah.* 7 *Er marrieth Tamar.* 8 *The trespass of Onan.* 11 *Tamar slayeth for Shelah.* 13 *She deceiveth Judah.* 27 *She beareth twins, Pharez and Zarah.*

1 AND it came to pass at that time, that Judah went down from his brethren, and turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name *was* Hirah.

2 And Judah saw there a daughter of a certain Canaanite, whose name *was* Shuah; and he took her, and went in unto her.

3 And she conceived, and bare a son; and he called his name Er.

4 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and she called his name Onan.

5 And she yet again conceived, and bare a son; and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, when she bare him.

6 And Judah took a wife for Er his firstborn, whose name *was* Tamar.

7 And Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD; and the LORD slew him.

8 And Judah said unto Onan, Go in unto thy brother's wife, and marry her, and raise up seed to thy brother.

9 And Onan knew that the seed should not be his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground, lest that he should give seed to his brother.

10 And the thing which he did displeased the LORD: wherefore he slew him also.

11 Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in law, Remain a widow at thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown: for he said, Lest peradventure he die also, as his brethren *did*.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Ver. 1. *At that time*] It is uncertain whether he mean at the time Joseph was sold (which is just before mentioned), or at the time Jacob returned from Mesopotamia to live in Canaan (xxxiii. 18), or when he went to settle with his father at Mamre (xxxv. 27). But, take it any of these ways, there was time enough for all the events following, before they went into Egypt; supposing Judah's children to have married very young: as may be seen in most interpreters.

Judah went down from his brethren,] Either upon some business, or in some discontent.

Adullamite,] A citizen of Adullam; which was a famous town, or city, that fell afterwards to the tribe of Judah, whose king was slain by Joshua (xii. 19), and where there was a famous cave, in which David hid himself (1 Sam. xxii. 1).

Ver. 2. *Judah saw there*] So as to fall in love with her. For, according to the old saying, Ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν τὸ ἐρᾶν.

Daughter of a certain Canaanite,] It was not so bad for a man circumcised to marry the daughter of one uncircumcised, as it was to give their daughters in marriage to an uncircumcised husband (xxxiv. 14). For an uncircumcised man was accounted unclean, though he had renounced idolatry: but a woman born of uncircumcised parents was not so accounted, if she embraced the worship of the true God. Whence Salmon, a great man in the tribe of Judah, married Rahab who was a Canaanite. Such an one we must suppose this woman, whom Judah married, to have been; or else he had offended his father, as much as Esau did Isaac by marrying the daughters of Heth.

Whose name was Shuah;] Her father's name was Shuah (ver. 12).

He took her,] To be his wife (ver. 12).

Ver. 5. *He was at Chezib when she bare him.*] Some think this town the same with Achzib, belonging to Judah (Josh. xv. 44). But why Moses mentions his absence when this child was born, and why he sets down the place where he then was, we cannot give an account; though there was, no doubt, some special reason for it. Perhaps it is to show, why she gave the name to this and to her former son (whereas he himself named the first, ver. 3), because he was not at home when they were born.

Ver. 6. *Tamar,*] She seems also to have been a woman of Canaan; but not an idolater.

Ver. 2. *Was wicked*] i. e. Exceeding impious; and that notoriously (see Gen. x. 9). What particular sins he was guilty of is but conjectured. Some fancy they were of the same nature with his next brother's (see Bonfrere, or Menochius out of him).

The Lord slew him.] Cut him off suddenly, by some unusual stroke.

Ver. 8. *Go in unto thy brother's wife, &c.*] This (say the Hebrew doctors) was an ancient custom, in force before the law of Moses, which only enacted what had been formerly practised (Maimon. par. iii. cap. 49, More Nevoch.), that when a man died without issue, his next brother should marry his wife (Deut. xxv. 5). Which custom afterwards extended to the next cousin, if no brother remained.

Raise up seed to thy brother.] Preserve thy brother's name and family; by begetting a child, which may be accounted his, and inherit his estate. For so the law was; that the firstborn of such a match was not to be looked upon as the child of him that begat him; but as his brother's, who was the mother's first husband. All the following children were to be his own.

Ver. 9. *Onan knew that the seed should not be his;*] i. e. The firstborn should be reputed his brother's child.

Lest that he should give seed to his brother.] Or, *lest a child should be born in the name of his brother*, as the Vulgar Latin interprets it very exactly, according to the opinion of the Hebrews: as Mr. Selden observæs (lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 3).

Ver. 10. *The thing which he did displeased the Lord:*] This made his sin the more heinous, that he acted against the Divine promise made to Abram, concerning the multiplying of his seed: especially against the belief of the promise of the Messiah; that seed for which all good men longed.

Ver. 11. *Remain a widow at thy father's house, &c.*] It seems the contract of marriage at first was so understood in those days, that if the husband died without issue, the woman must marry his next brother; and as long as any of his brethren remained, they were bound to marry his wife, and preserve their brother's memory: or else solemnly renounce her, to their great infamy and disgrace. This was so well known, that there is nothing in the law that enjoins any new solemn contract in such a case: because the first husband being dead, she and the next brother

And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's house.

12 ¶ And in process of time the daughter of Shuah Judah's wife died; and Judah was comforted, and went up unto his sheepshearers to Timnath, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite.

13 And it was told Tamar, saying, Behold thy father in law goeth up to Timnath to shear his sheep.

were man and wife, without any further agreement, by virtue of the original law: until he renounced her. Yet, by the constitutions afterwards made by their elders, it was ordained, that he should espouse and endow her solemnly before witnesses: as Mr. Selden shows in his Uxor Hebr. lib. i. cap. 12, and lib. ii. cap. 2 and 10.

But Judah thought Shelah was too young to perform this contract, and therefore desired her to stay till he was grown up, and to abide in her own father's house rather than in his; that Shelah might not think of marriage too soon.

For he said, *Lest peradventure he die also,*] This some make an argument that he never intended to give her his son. But it is more agreeable to ver. 24, and 26, to think that, according to the custom of those days, he could not refuse it. And therefore he thought it was their youthful folly which made his two other sons perish: which made him resolve to keep this till he had more discretion, and was better instructed in his duty. Or, if we imagine their sin was known to none but Tamar, the meaning may be, that he thought their marrying too young was the cause of their death. And therefore he determined to keep this only remaining son till he was of a riper age.

Ver. 12. *In process of time*] In the Hebrew the words are, *the days were multiplied*, i. e. after some years.

To Timnath,] A town not far from Adullam, it is probable, for it was also within the lot of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 57).

He went up—do Timnath,] Some have made a difficulty about this phrase: for Samson is said to have gone down to Timnath (Judg. xiv. 5). But they should have considered (as Bochart observes, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 4), that these were two different places, one called Timnah, the other Timnath; this in the tribe of Judah, the other in the tribe of Dan. To this they went up, because it was in a mountainous country; to that they went down, because it was in a valley.

To his sheep-shearers] It was the custom at such times to make a feast (as we do now), and to invite their kindred and friends to it (as he doth his friend Hirah), which appears sufficiently from the story of Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 23). For in those countries, where they had vast flocks, sheep-shearing was a kind of harvest, which made that time to be observed with such joy as there used to be in harvest: whence David's servants said to Nabal, that they were come to him on a good day; for he was shearing sheep (1 Sam. xxv. 8). Accordingly Judah, having finished the time of mourning for his wife, went to recreate himself, with his friends, at this festival season.

Ver. 14. *She put her widow's garments off*] In which, it seems, such persons continued, till they were married to the next brother. But she, at this time, laid them aside, that he might not have the least suspicion she was the person whom he courted.

Covered her with a vail,] As all women did, in the eastern countries, when they went abroad: and there

14 And she put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place, which is by the way to Timnath; for she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife.

15 When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot; because she had covered her face.

16 And he turned unto her by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in unto

are examples of it in the western parts of the world; as Mr. Selden at large shows, in his Uxor Hebraica, lib. iii. cap. 17, where he produces several passages out of the Alcoran requiring this.

Wrapped herself,] Muffled her face with it, as we speak, that she might not be known.

And sat in an open place,] Where two ways met, as the Hebrew words seem to import: unless we take it for a proper name, as it is in the margin of our Bibles. Either way it signifies in a public place, where everybody might see her. It is commonly noted, that there was so much modesty left in those ancient days, that harlots both went veiled, and also sat without the cities (see Origen, lib. iv. contra Celsum, p. 206). But, however the latter part of this observation be, the former part of it is not true. For, as Bochartus observes (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 46), *Proprium fuit meretricum non velari, sed revelari*, "it was proper for harlots not to be covered, but to go barefaced;" as appears from Isa. xlvii. 3; Nahum iii. 5, &c. All that can be answered to this is, that it might be otherwise in very ancient times. Which I do not take to be true: for all women, as I observed before, were covered; and therefore harlots were distinguished only by their sitting in the highways, not by their veils.

For she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given, &c.] She resolved, if she could, to have a child by one of this family; and hoped, perhaps, that Shelah might come along with his father, and have the same desires his father had; and in those days (as I noted before) there were no such solemnities required, as the Jews afterwards used (though the law did not enjoin it) to the making a marriage with one's brother's wife. Which was to be contracted, they say, before two witnesses, and by giving a piece of money, or a writing: but this was ordained only by their elders, not by the original law (see ver. 11). And therefore she thought if she could have caught Shelah by this device, it would have been held lawful; but this plot failing her, she so far transgressed as to admit Judah himself to lie with her.

Ver. 15. *Because she had covered her face,*] This is not the reason why he took her for a harlot; but why he did not know her to be his daughter-in-law (as Mr. Selden observes in the place before named, ver. 14), because he could not see her face; and he thought her to be a harlot, because she sat in *trivia*, in the highway; where she publicly exposed herself.

Ver. 16. *Let me come in unto thee;*] There was an express law that there should be no *kedeschah* (or *whore*) among the daughters of Israel, i. e. none who should prostitute her body without marriage (Deut. xxiii. 18; Levit. xix. 29). But before the giving of the law (saith Maimonides), if a man found a single woman in a public place, and they agreed on certain terms to lie together without being married, they were not punished (see Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 4).

What wilt thou give me,] That which made such facts not to be punished, was (saith the same Maimonides) because of the contract which passed between

thee; (for he knew not that she *was* his daughter in law.) And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come in unto me?

17 And he said, I will send thee a kid from the flock. And she said, Wilt thou give me a pledge, till thou send it?

18 And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet, and thy bracelets, and thy staff that is in thine hand. And he gave it her, and came in unto her, and she conceived by him.

19 And she arose, and went away, and laid by her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood.

20 And Judah sent the kid by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive his pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not.

them. This reward which he gave the harlot for the use of her body, being like the dowry a man gave his wife when he put her away; which being paid, it was thought he did her no wrong (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49). They that would now have their wicked practices warranted by such examples, should consider that every thing not punished by men was not allowed by God: and that we now live under another dispensation, which expressly forbids such uncleanness; and declares, that not only adulterers, but whoremongers, *God will judge*, i. e. punish (Heb. xiii. 4. See ver. 23).

Ver. 17. *A kid from the flock.*] Which was looked upon as a valuable present in those days; as I have observed before (xxvii. 9).

Wilt thou give me a pledge, &c.] A pawn, as we now speak, to be returned when he sent what he promised.

Ver. 18. *Thy signet.*] His ring, wherewith he sealed. *Thy bracelets.*] The Hebrews generally understand by this word his *cloak*, or some such garment; others, his *girdle*.

Thy staff, &c.] Which, it is likely, had something in it to distinguish it from other men's staffs. And she asks so many things, that by some or other of them (if not by all) it might be certainly known who was the father, if she proved with child.

He came in unto her.] Not publicly; but in some bye-place, to which they retired.

She conceived by him.] Though he did not know her, yet she knew him; which aggravated her crime, and made it incest in her, though only fornication in him. Unto which, one would think, she was tempted, by her vehement desire to have a child by one of this family; unto which the promise of the Messiah belonged. For though she seems to have been one of the seed of Canaan (as I said before, ver. 6), yet embracing the religion of Jacob, she renounced the impiety of the Canaanites: and so is mentioned in the genealogy of our Saviour, as well as Rahab and Ruth.

Ver. 19. *Laid by her veil from her, &c.*] Retired into her father's house (for within doors they did not wear veils) where she clothed herself again like a widow.

Ver. 21. *Where is the harlot.*] By this it is apparent that the word *kedeschah* signifies a *common whore* (as we speak), who publicly prostituted herself for hire; as the Hebrew doctors observe upon this place, and upon Deut. xxiii. 17. But whence this name should be given to *harlots* is a great doubt; it coming from a root, which signifies that which is *sacred*. Which hath inclined some learned men to think, that the *women-priests* consecrated to the service of Baalphegor, or Priapus, were no better than whores: and the *men-priests* who served Ashteroth, mentioned 2 Kings

21 Then he asked the men of that place, saying, Where is the harlot, that *was* openly by the way side? And they said, There was no harlot in this *place*.

22 And he returned to Judah, and said, I cannot find her; and also the men of the place said, *that* there was no harlot in this *place*.

23 And Judah said, Let her take it to her, lest we be shamed: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her.

24 ¶ And it came to pass about three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and also, behold, she is with child by whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.

25 When she *was* brought forth, she sent to

xxiii. 7, made all whores be called *kedeschim*, which was the name for those devoted to such impure ministries (see Mr. Selden, de Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 5, and Syntag. ii. cap. 2). But such beastly idolatry, surely, was not so old as the days of Jacob: and it seems more reasonable to me to think, that the original word signifying *separation*, was applied either to those who were separated unto holiness, or unto uncleanness, as harlots were.

They said, there was no harlot in this place.] They knew of none that publicly professed to be a prostitute: nor had they seen any one sit publicly to invite customers.

Ver. 23. *Let her take it to her.*] Keep the pledge to herself.

Lest we be shamed.] Though the fact he had committed was in those days lawful (saith Maimonides), that is, was not punished by the judges; yet men did not publicly boast of it, nor were willing to own it; but were ashamed it should be known (which was a sign they were sensible there was a moral turpitude in it), and therefore endeavoured to hide and conceal it; even with the loss of those goods which were of greatest value. For the sense, saith he, of Judah's words, is this: "It is better to lose what she hath of ours, than, by inquisition after it, to divulge the business, and increase our shame" (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49). Where he bids his reader observe, this is the moral virtue which ought to be learnt from this history; together with justice and equity: which appears in his performing the agreement he made of sending a kid; of which he desires his friend to be a witness, that he might not lie under any suspicion of having offered violence to her.

Ver. 24. *Bring her forth.*] Out of her father's house, into the place of judgment; where he would have her sentenced to the severest punishment.

Let her be burnt.] Not presently (for that had been the highest injustice and cruelty, to burn the child in her belly), but after she was delivered; till which time he would have kept her in such safe custody, that this execution might be done upon her. Some think *burning* was the punishment for adultery in those days. Others think the punishment depended on the will of the supreme governor, whosever he was: whom some also take to have been Judah himself; as chief in his own family: and that he was so severe against her because she had disgraced his family, and he was glad to be rid of her, that he might not give his son Shelah to her. But there are those, who think by *burning* is meant no more but *branding* her in the forehead, to denote her to be a whore (see Mr. Selden, lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5). If Judah did mean *burning* her at a stake (as we now speak), it was a punishment

her father in law, saying, By the man, whose these *are*, am I with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose *are* these, the signet, and bracelets, and staff.

26 And Judah acknowledged *them*, and said, She hath been more righteous than I; because that I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he knew her again no more.

27 ¶ And it came to pass in the time of her travail, that, behold, twins *were* in her womb.

28 And it came to pass, when she travailed,

not then commonly used, but inflicted (as his words are, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 12), ex more seu lege aliqua singulari; "by some singular custom or law."

All this proceeds upon a supposition, that she really was Shelah's wife, though not solemnly married (as the Jews pretend it was necessary, after the law was given), by virtue of the first contract with his eldest brother: which was the reason of her being kept at her father's house; that nobody else might pretend to her, but she be reserved for him; otherwise there could have been no ground for proceeding against her as an adulteress.

Ver. 26. *She hath been more righteous than I;*] These words do not signify that she had in this matter committed a less sin than he (for she had committed a greater), but that in another matter, which was the occasion of this, he had broken his word with her, when she had, till now, kept her faith with him; and lived a widow honestly in expectation of his son. Besides, she committed this fact out of desire to have a child; he, to satisfy his lust.

He knew her again no more.] Which some have translated quite the contrary, *and he ceased not to know her*, i. e. he solemnly married her, and took her to be his wife: which was unlawful after the law of Moses was given, but as lawful before, as many other things which they practised. And two of the Chaldee paraphrasts have feigned a *bath-coll* to have come from heaven, to countenance the fact (see Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9, and lib. vii. cap. 5). But it is not likely he would take his son's wife to

that *the one* put out *his* hand: and the midwife took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying, This came out first.

29 And it came to pass, as he drew back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out: and she said, How hast thou broken forth? *this* breach *be* upon thee: therefore his name was called Pharez.

30 And afterward came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon his hand: and his name was called Zarah.

be his own. And likewise having known her, though by an error, most think Shelah himself afterward had her not to wife; but she rather did penance (as we now speak) in widowhood all her days. For Shelah, we find, had children by another (Numb. xxvi. 19).

Ver. 28. *This came out first.*] Perceiving there were twins struggling in her womb, the midwife, to distinguish this from the other, as the first-born, bound this thread about his wrist.

Ver. 29. *How hast thou broken forth?*] What is the cause of this? Or, what a violence is this? Speaking as one astonished at his eruption. For it was without example; and therefore the novelty of the thing made her break out into this exclamation. Though, if it be true which a learned anatomist affirms, that where twins are of the same sex, they are wrapped in the very same *secundines*, as they call them (whereas those that are of a different, are separated by distinct enclosures), the other son being stronger and more vigorous, might force his way the more readily, when his brother was nearer to the birth (Fernelius, lib. vii. Physiolog. cap. 12).

This breach be upon thee.] Take thy name from this breach. Be thou ever called *eruption* or *breach*; as Bochart interprets it (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 30).

Ver. 30. *Called Zarah.*] Which most think signifies as much as *he ariseth* (being used commonly of the sun's rising), because this child appeared first, by putting out his hand before the other.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 Joseph advanced in Potiphar's house. 7 He resisteth his mistress's temptation. 13 He is falsely accused. 20 He is cast in prison. 21 God is with him there.

1 AND Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmeelites, which had brought him down thither.

2 And the LORD was with Joseph, and he

CHAP. XXXIX.

Ver. 1. *Joseph*] Having ended this story of Judah, he returns to that of Joseph, which he had begun before in the thirty-seventh chapter; repeating, where he left off, how he was sold to Potiphar.

Brought down] It is a descent from Judea to Egypt: which lies very low.

Ver. 2. *The Lord was with Joseph,*] To guide him in his deportment, and in the management of all affairs committed to him: so, that, as it follows, "he was a prosperous man."

He was in the house of his master] One of his domestic servants.

was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian.

3 And his master saw that the LORD *was* with him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper in his hand.

4 And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he

Ver. 3. *His master saw that the Lord was with him, &c.*] Found by observation and experience that he was an extraordinary person. It is not likely that Potiphar knew God by the name of Jehovah: but the meaning is, he observed the happy fruits of Joseph's service; which Moses, not he, ascribes to the Lord's peculiar blessing.

Ver. 4. *He served him.*] Found such favour with his master, that he took him to wait upon his person.

He made him overseer.] In time he advanced him to a higher station, to be (as they now speak) his major domo, to whom all the servants in the family were wont to be obedient.

All that he had he put into his hand.] Committed all

served him : and he made him overseer over his house, and all *that* he had he put into his hand.

5 And it came to pass from the time *that* he had made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake ; and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had in the house, and in the field.

6 And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand ; and he knew not ought he had, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph was a goodly *person*, and well favoured.

7 ¶ And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph ; and she said, Lie with me.

8 But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master wotteth not what *is* with me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand ;

9 *There is none greater in this house than I ; neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his wife : how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God ?*

10 And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, or to be with her.

11 And it came to pass about this time, that

Joseph went into the house to do his business : and there was none of the men of the house there within.

12 And she caught him by his gurnent, saying, Lie with me : and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out.

13 And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth,

14 That she called unto the men of her house and spake unto them, saying, See, he has brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us ; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice :

15 And it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled, and got him out.

16 And she laid up his garment by her, until his lord came home.

17 And she spake unto him according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me :

18 And it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled out.

19 And it came to pass, when his master

his estate, both within doors and without (as appears by the next verse), to his care and management.

Ver. 6. *He left all that he had in Joseph's hand ;*] Did not call him to a daily account nor concerned himself about any business : but trusted entirely to his prudence and fidelity.

He knew not ought he had, &c.] This is the highest expression of confidence ; signifying, that he was utterly careless about any thing that concerned his estate : not minding what his expense or receipts were : but, taking his ease, left all to Joseph's honesty. In short, he thought of nothing, but only to enjoy what he had without any care or trouble.

Joseph was a goodly person,] Being the son of a beautiful mother.

Ver. 7. *Cast her eyes upon Joseph ;]* Looked upon him amorously, or rather lasciviously : he being young as well as handsome.

Ver. 9. *How then can I do this great wickedness, &c.]* Here are three *he hajedias*, as the Hebrews call them ; pointing us to so many remarkable things. How shall I commit such a wickedness as adultery ? such a great wickedness ! against so kind a master, who so entirely trusts in my integrity ? especially, since it cannot be committed without the highest offence to God.

Ver. 10. *Day by day,]* Took all occasions to solicit him.

Or to be with her,] He avoided, as much as was possible, to entertain any discourse with her, shunning her company, &c.

Ver. 11. *About this time,]* The phrase in the Hebrew (where there are again two *hes* of the same kind with the former) signifies some remarkable day. R. Solomon and Josephus think it was some festival, when the master and the rest of the family were gone to the temples ; and she stayed at home, feigning herself not well. But the Vulgar translates it simply, *upon a certain day*. Or it may signify, *having the like opportunity*, as formerly, and Joseph being about his business in the house she caught him, &c.

To do his business ;] To cast up his accounts, saith the Chaldee interpreters.

None of the men—within,] In that part of the house where he was.

Ver. 12. *Left his garment in her hand,]* If he had struggled to get the garment away from her, the accusation might have been more specious, that he went about to ravish her. Epiphanius hath made a good reflection upon this example. Καταλαμβάνει τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἀπολλύσιν. Ἀποδιδάσκει τὴν πόρνην, ἵνα μὴ πείσῃ τῇ παρῑδί, &c. (vid. Hæres. lxxix. n. 9). "He left his garment, that he might not lose his body : and shunned the place, that he might not fall into the snare." And indeed it was dangerous to adventure himself in her company ; much more to touch her, lest he should fall into temptation.

Ver. 14. *She called unto the men]* Cried to them who were in her apartment to come and help her.

He hath brought in] In her rage she reflects upon her husband, as accessory to her danger, that she might the more incense him against Joseph. There is something like this in Apuleius's story, (lib. x. Metamorph.) of the step-mother's love to her son-in-law, which was turned into hatred, and made her contrive just such a lie as this, when he would not yield to her.

To mock us ;] To abuse our family.

I cried with a loud voice,] An improbable story (for nobody heard it), but was easily believed against a servant ; whom they all, perhaps, envied. If she pretended it was done in Joseph's apartment, the question might have been asked her, What she did there ?

Ver. 17. *Came—to mock me,]* To offer violence to me (as the Hebrew phrase signifies), and rob me of my chastity.

Ver. 18. *He left his garment with me,]* Philo observes, that this was an argument rather that she laid hands on him : for he could have easily taken his garment from her, if he had not fled hastily from her importunity. But her husband's jealousy made him credulous.

heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled.

20 And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison.

21 ¶ But the Lord was with Joseph, and shewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison.

Ver. 20. *Joseph's master took him, &c.*] Caused him to be apprehended, and carried to prison. During his anger he would not hearken to the apology, which we cannot but think he offered to make for himself. Unless we suppose (which is not unlikely) that his master would not so much as see him; but ordered him immediately to be hurried to the jail.

A place where the king's prisoners were bound.] Where the king himself caused those who had offended him to be committed. This shows Potiphar was a great man (see xl. 3), and that he looked upon the crime as very great: for this prison, we must think, was most strictly guarded, that they who were thrown into it might not escape punishment. And it appears by what the Psalmist says (cv. 18), that the prisoners were hardly used; and that Joseph (xl. 15) was thrust into the lowest part of the prison, which was the most dismal, as well as of greatest difficulty to make an escape out of it.

22 And the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it.

23 The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand; because the Lord was with him, and that which he did, the Lord made it to prosper.

He was there in the prison.] His master proceeded no further against him, but there he left him. Perhaps Joseph found means to let him know the truth; which made him not form any process to take away his life, or inflict any other punishment on him: and yet, to save his wife's credit, he let him lie in the prison.

Ver. 21. *The Lord was with Joseph.*] The same wisdom and virtue appeared in him, now he was in prison, that his master discerned, when he came first into his house (ver. 2).

Gave him favour.] So that he had more liberty than the rest, after some short confinement.

Keeper of the prison.] The under-keeper it appears from xl. 4.

Ver. 22.] His favour increased so much (as it had done in his master's house, ver. 4) that he, in effect, was the keeper of the prison, not a prisoner.

CHAPTER XL.

1 The butler and baker of Pharaoh in prison. 4 Joseph hath charge of them. 5 He interpreteth their dreams. 20 They come to pass according to his interpretation. 23 The ingratitude of the butler.

1 AND it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker had offended their lord the king of Egypt.

2 And Pharaoh was wroth against two of his officers, against the chief of the butlers, and against the chief of the bakers.

3 And he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound.

4 And the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and he served them: and they continued a season in ward.

5 ¶ And they dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, which were bound in the prison.

6 And Joseph came in unto them in the morn-

CHAP. XL.

Ver. 1. *Had offended their lord*] In the Hebrew is a word of the plural number for lord, viz. *adonim*; "ratione dignitatis," saith Bochartus; because of his high authority. And so it is used not only when he speaks of the king, but of great men; particularly of Joseph's master (xxxix. 2).

Interpreters do but guess at their offence; which might as well be an attempt upon his life (by poison, or other ways), as any thing else.

Ver. 2. *Wroth against two of his officers.*] They are called by the same name of dignity (viz. *saris*) which we met withal before (xxvii. 36). For in all courts such officers had a principal place (see ver. 4).

Chief of the butlers] Or, cup-bearer to the king, (ver. 13). He simply named the butler and baker in the foregoing verse: but now the *schar* (as the Hebrew word is), which in the next verse we translate captain, i. e. the principal officer of those kinds: which would incline one to think, that some under butler and baker were accused of a great fault for which the head butler and baker were to answer: who, perhaps, were discovered to have ordered them to do what they did.

Chief of the bakers.] Who took care of all baked meats and confections, &c. (ver. 17).

Ver. 3. *He put them in ward, &c.*] To be kept close prisoners.

In the house of the captain of the guard, &c.] In that prison, of which Potiphar had the chief custody. Who by this appears to have been such an officer as we call lieutenant of the Tower.

The place where Joseph was bound.] Into that very place where Joseph had been bound. For now he was at liberty, in the prison.

Ver. 4. *The captain of the guard charged Joseph, &c.*] By this it appears Potiphar's anger was mitigated towards him (having heard the truth, it is likely, before this time), and was of the same mind with the under-keeper of the prison: who intrusted all in Joseph's hand.

He served them.] Attended upon them (which shows they were great persons) to provide them what they wanted, &c.

They continued a season] The Hebrew word is, *jammim*, i. e. days: which frequently signifies a year; as hath been observed before (xxiv. 55).

Ver. 5. *Each man according to the interpretation of his dream.*] Suitable to the office which he had.

ing, and looked upon them, and, behold, they were sad.

7 And he asked Pharaoh's officers that *were* with him in the ward of his lord's house, saying, Wherefore look ye so sadly to day?

8 And they said unto him, We have dreamed a dream, and *there is* no interpreter of it. And Joseph said unto them, *Do not* interpretations belong to God? tell me *them*, I pray you.

9 And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine *was* before me;

10 And in the vine *were* three branches: and it *was* as though it budded, and her blossoms shot forth; and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes:

11 And Pharaoh's cup *was* in my hand: and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pha-

raoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.

12 And Joseph said unto him, *This is* the interpretation of it: The three branches *are* three days:

13 Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thy place: and thou shalt deliver Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former manner when thou wast his butler.

14 But think on me when it shall be well with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house:

15 For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.

held; and to the events which were shortly to befall them.

Ver. 6. *Joseph came in unto them in the morning,*] To see that they were safe and to know what they wanted.

They were sad.] It was very extraordinary, that they should both of them dream, in the same night, such dreams as had a great resemblance one to the other; and seemed to import a great change in their condition: which made such a deep impression upon them, that they were solicitous to know the meaning.

Ver. 8. *We have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it.*] i. e. Here in prison, we have not the opportunity of getting them interpreted. If they had been at liberty, there were men in those countries who pretended to the skill of interpreting dreams, which for the most part were not to be regarded; but some dreams carried such lively representations in them, and so suitable to their present condition, and make likewise so great a commotion in their spirits, that they could not but attend to them; nay, think God had sent them, and therefore desire to know the meaning of them.

Thus we find Achilles advising Agamemnon (in Homer's *Iliad*. i.) to consult with the interpreters of their gods, for what offence they had sent the plague among them; saying, "To what priest, or to what prophet shall we go?"

Ἡ καὶ ὀνειροπόλοι, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἰστέρι.
"Or to what vender of dreams? For even dreams come from Jupiter."

Do not interpretations belong to God?] Who can show the meaning of dreams, but he that sent them? viz. God. This shows that God did sometimes admonish other nations (as we saw, xx. 6, xxxi. 24), as well as the Jews by dreams; until they forgot (as Dr. Jackson judiciously speaks) that *interpretations were from God*, and laboured to find out an *art of interpreting*. Then they either ceased, or were so mixed with delusions, that they could not be discerned: or, if their events were in some sort foreseen, yet men, being ignorant of God's providence, commonly made choice of such means for their avoidance, as brought upon them the events which they feared (Book i. on the Creed, chap. 9).

Ver. 12. *The three branches are three days;*] i. e. Signify *three days*. So he understood their meaning to be, rather than *months or years*; because of the sudden budding, blossoming, knitting, and ripening of the grapes (ver. 10).

Ver. 13. *Shall Pharaoh lift up thine head,*] i. e. Advance thee; or as it is in the margin, *reckon* thee; *number* thee among his servants (as the phrase is used,

Exod. xxxi. 12). For there being a roll, or catalogue of all the officers of the court, with their several salaries, they were all called over on some certain day (it should seem, by ver. 20, before the king's birthday) and summoned to give their attendance. And then such as the king was offended withal, were struck out, and punished according to their deserts; or pardoned and graciously restored to their places. This exposition best agrees with the event (ver. 20), where the heads of both these officers are said to be *lifted up*: though one of them only was advanced to his former station.

Ver. 14. *But think on me, &c.*] When my prediction is come to pass, I ask no other reward of thee, but that thou wilt be an instrument of delivering me from my imprisonment. Joseph was not only grown expert in interpreting dreams (which he was not before he came into Egypt, xxxvii. 6, &c.), but fully assured he knew the right meaning of them: as appears by this passage. And such kinds of predictions by dreams were frequently in ancient times, among the heathen as well as among the Hebrews: though in after ages they grew rare in both. For (as Dr. Jackson admirably speaks, in the place before named) the increase of wickedness in the world; multiplicity of business; solicitude of mind about worldly affairs; and men's too much depending on politic devices to accomplish their ends; caused the defect of true dreams, and of other Divine admonitions, for the welfare of mankind.

Ver. 15. *I was stolen*] Carried away by violence, without the knowledge of my father; and sold for a slave. His brethren, in selling him, committed that crime, which the Latins call *plagium*. For, "Qui hominem liberum vendit, plagarius est."

Out of the land of the Hebrews:] Some men would have it thought, that these words were added by Joshua, or some other, after Moses's time: because Canaan was not called the *land of the Hebrews* in his days, much less in Joseph's. But they should have considered, that Joseph doth not call all the land of Canaan by this name; but only that part of it where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had very long lived, viz., about Hebron. There Abraham (who was the first that is called a Hebrew) settled with his family when he came out of Chaldea (xiii. 17, 18). There Isaac dwelt also (xxxv. 27), and Jacob (xxxvii. 1, 14), where it is said indeed, they were *strangers or sojourners*, in this country: but they were strangers of great note and name (as Jacobus Altingius hath well observed), who were treated as princes (xxiii. 6), lived by their own laws; made leagues, not only with private men,

16 When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and behold, *I had three white baskets on my head* :

17 And in the uppermost basket *there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh* ; and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head.

18 And Joseph answered and said, *This is the interpretation thereof* : The three baskets *are three days* :

19 Yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a

tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee.

20 ¶ And it came to pass the third day, *which was Pharaoh's birthday*, that he made a feast unto all his servants : and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and of the chief baker among his servants.

21 And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again ; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand :

22 But he hanged the chief baker : as Joseph had interpreted to them.

23 Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him.

but with cities and with kings (xxi. 22, 23, xxvi. 28, xxxiv. 6), and the fame of them could not but be spread abroad, both by the victory which Abraham got in a battle, over several kings ; and by the sacking of Shechem, which the neighbours durst not revenge. All which might well make that part of the country wherein they had resided for three generations be called *the land of the Hebrews* : where they were at first planted by the consent of the natives ; who were confederated with Abraham (xiv. 13).

That they should put me into the dungeon.] Into which he was thrown at the first, as a great malefactor ; for this was the lowest and darkest place in the prison, being under ground. So the Hebrew word commonly signifies, a *pit* either with or without water in it ; and thence, this part of a prison ; which Bochart well translates cryptum subterraneum ; and sometimes signifies a *grave* (Psalm xxviii. 1 ; Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 4).

Ver. 16. *The chief baker saw that the interpretation was good.*] It was well the chief butler propounded his dream first, which had a good signification : for if this man had spoken first, the other, it is likely, would not have proposed his dream.

Three white baskets] Or, as we now speak, three wicker baskets, and (as the margin hath it) the twigs so twisted, that they were full of holes ; as ours many times are wrought.

Ver. 17. *In the uppermost basket*] They were set one upon another : in the lowermost of which, we may suppose, was bread ; in the middlemost pies ; and in the highest, the finer sort of pastes of all sorts, biscuit, tarts, &c.

Ver. 19. *Lift up thy head*] The same phrase, which was used of the other (ver. 13), but with this addition, *from off thee*. To signify, that his name should be called for another purpose ; that he might not only

have his name struck out of the roll, but his head struck off from his body. Though there is no necessity so to understand it ; but only simply, that he should lose his life.

Shall hang thee on a tree :] They that fancy his head was first cut off, will have the body only hanged on a gibbet. But it is more likely he was hanged by the neck, as malefactors are now among us upon a gallows.

The birds shall eat thy flesh] He was left there, to be devoured by birds of prey.

Ver. 20. *Pharaoh's birthday*,] Either the day on which he was born, or the day on which he came to the crown : which was *natalis imperii*, the *birthday of his empire*. Both of them were wont to be celebrated with rejoicing and great feasts, in ancient time as well as now (see the commentators upon Matt. xiv. 6).

Ver. 21. *He gave the cup*] His fault, we may suppose, was of a smaller nature ; or, there was not evident proof against him ; or, he had better friends, who interceded for him : so that he was not only pardoned, but restored to his office.

Ver. 22. *But he hanged the chief baker* :] Ordered him to be hanged, being found guilty of what he was accused, &c.

Ver. 23. *Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph*,] He repeats it, to show how very unmindful he was of him ; after the manner of those vain courtiers, who have no value for wisdom or virtue, but are wholly given up to their pleasures. It would have cost him nothing to mention Joseph to Pharaoh : but he seems to have been one of those who will spend their interest, as we now speak, for nobody but themselves. Or, as it may be interpreted, he did not, as soon as he came to his place, call him to mind, who foretold his good fortune ; and so, in process of time, he quite forgot him.

CHAPTER XLI.

1 *Pharaoh's two dreams.* 25 *Joseph interpreteth them.* 33 *He giveth Pharaoh counsel.* 38 *Joseph is advanced.*
50 *He begetteth Manasseh and Ephraim.* 54 *The famine beginneth.*

1 AND it came to pass at the end of two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed : and, behold, he stood by the river.

2 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven well favoured kine and fattished ; and they fed in a meadow.

CHAP. XLI.

Ver. 1. *At the end of two full years*,] It is uncertain whether two years after Joseph was first put in prison, or after the chief butler was taken out of prison. It seems to relate to the latter, being connected immediately with that history.

Pharaoh dreamed :] Had an extraordinary dream, sent from God.

He stood by the river,] Where they were wont to recreate themselves ; especially in hot weather, and when they expected its rise to such a degree, as to give hopes of a plentiful year.

Ver. 2. *Behold, there came up out of the river*] This

3 And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the *other* kine upon the brink of the river.

4 And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh awoke.

5 And he slept and dreamed the second time: and, behold, seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, rank and good.

6 And, behold, seven thin ears and blasted with the east wind sprung up after them.

7 And the seven thin ears devoured the seven rank and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, *it was* a dream.

8 And it came to pass in the morning that

is a most apt and lively figure; representing things exactly conformable to the state of that country: which was enriched by the yearly overflowing of the river Nilus. Without which the beasts would have had no grass to feed them, much less to fatten them. But Bochart thinks the Hebrew word *jeor* (which we translate *river*) properly signifies, a *cut*, as we speak, or a *canal* out of Nile: of which there were many, for the drawing its water into several parts of the country (Hierozioc. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 42).

Well favoured kine, &c.] Or, *oxen*. By which the fields being ploughed, and all the business of husbandry managed, their fatness was a proper token of fertility; as their leanness was of famine. So Bochart observes; and see Vossius de Idolol. lib. i. cap. 29.

They fed in a meadow.] This represented Nile as having overflowed a great way; to the enriching of a pasture, at a distance from the river.

Ver. 3. *Stood by the other kine*] This signified the events denoted hereby to be near one to the other.

Upon the brink of the river.] Not feeding in a meadow (as the former did), but picking up grass here and there near the river. For this was a sign, it had not overflowed at all, or very little: there being no food for the cattle, but on the river's bank: where, perhaps, he saw them eat the flags.

Ver. 5. *Came up upon one stalk,*] A token of great plenty.

Ver. 6. *Blasted with the east wind*] To this wind (which the Hebrews call *kadim*) is ascribed, in Scripture, all the mischief that was done to corn, or fruit; by blasting, smutting, mildews, locusts, &c. and was more pernicious in Egypt than other places, because it came through the vast deserts of Arabia.

Ver. 7. *Behold, it was a dream.*] Or, *behold, the dream* continued to run in his mind. When he was awake, he could not put it out of his thoughts, but it perpetually presented itself to him, as it had done when he was asleep. This showed it to be one of those dreams which the Greeks called *Θεοματεύματα*, sent from God; as the interpretation and the event showed afterward more evidently. Bochart notes out of Josephus (lib. xvii.), a dream of Archelaus (mentioned Matt. ii. 22), composed of both these figures: for he saw *ten* ears of corn very plump and ripe, devoured by oxen; which Simon Essæus interpreted to signify, that he should live *ten* years; and then there should be a great turn of affairs (because oxen turn up the ground by the plough), and accordingly it came to pass (Hierozioc. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 41).

Ver. 8. *His spirit was troubled;*] He could not rest satisfied till he understood the meaning of these dreams, which he thought imported some great alteration in the state of his country.

Called for all the magicians of Egypt,] The word

his spirit was troubled; and he sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but *there was* none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh.

9 ¶ Then spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh, saying, I do remember my faults this day:

10 Pharaoh was wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the captain of the guard's house, *both* me and the chief baker:

11 And we dreamed a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream.

12 And *there was* there with us a young man, an Hebrew, servant to the captain of the guard; and we told him, and he interpreted to us our

in Hebrew (or rather Chaldee) for *magicians*, had a bad signification in aftertimes; but what kind of men they were now, we do not know; whether they professed to interpret dreams and expound things secret by natural observations; or such rules as are now found in the books of *Oneirocriticks*; or by consulting demons; or only by the foolish art of astrology, to which they were much addicted in future ages.

Our learned Nic. Fuller (lib. v. Miscell. Sac. cap. 11), thinks the Hebrew word *chartummin* imports, such as divined by certain superstitious characters, pictures, images, and figures; which they engraved with magical rites and ceremonies.

All the wise men thereof.] These were the same, I suppose, with those who were called *philosophers* in Greece; from whence several great men went to learn of the Egyptian priests, who were famous for wisdom before it came into Greece.

Told them his dream;] He told them both his dreams, as appears from what follows; but Moses speaks in the singular number, because they were, in effect, but one and the same dream.

But there was none that could interpret them] Either they were amazed, and did not attempt an exposition, as beyond their skill; or what they said gave no satisfaction to the king. *The seven kine and the seven ears*, it is likely, they thought had a great mystery in them; if the worship of the planets was then among them. Which they invoked with secret or unutterable invocation, *Κληροῖσι ἀρδύγυτοις* (as the oracle mentioned by Porphyry speaks) which were invented by that "most excellent of all magicians (saith the same oracle), the king of the seven sounds, whom all men know," i. e. Ostanes, or Hostanes.

— Ἄς εἴρε Μάγων ὅς' ἄριστος
Ἐτραφόμενον Βασιλεὺς ὃν πάντες ἴδασιν.

By which *seven sounds* (of which he was the inventor and governor) Mr. Selden thinks is meant the harmony, which the ancients supposed the seven planets to make; whom these magicians called upon *ἐτραφόμενοι*, with seven invocations to each planet, upon its proper day. As he shows, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 19. But the more they laboured to find out this mystery, the more they were puzzled and perplexed in their thoughts: nor could their prayers (if they went that way to work) help them to disclose the secret.

Ver. 9.] Call to mind the offences I committed against Pharaoh: or, as some will have it, my ingratitude to one, who was in prison with me.

Ver. 11. *Each man according*] Just according to the event was each of our dreams.

Ver. 13. *As he interpreted to us, so it was;*] He re-

dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret.

13 And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; me he restored unto mine office, and him he hanged.

14 ¶ Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon: and he shaved *himself*, and changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh.

15 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I have dreamed a dream, and *there is* none that can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, *that* thou canst understand a dream to interpret it.

16 And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, *It is not in me*: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.

17 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, In my dream, behold, I stood upon the bank of the river:

18 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in a meadow:

19 And, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness:

20 And the lean and the ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine:

21 And when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they *were* still ill favoured, as at the beginning. So I awoke.

22 And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good:

23 And, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them:

24 And the thin ears devoured the seven good ears: and I told *this* unto the magicians; but *there was* none that could declare *it* to me.

25 ¶ And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh *is* one: God hath shewed Pharaoh what he *is* about to do.

26 The seven good kine *are* seven years: and the seven good ears *are* seven years: the dream *is* one.

27 And the seven thin and ill favoured kine that came up after them *are* seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine.

28 *This is* the thing which I have spoken unto Pharaoh: What God *is* about to do he sheweth unto Pharaoh.

29 Behold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt:

30 And there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land;

31 And the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that famine following; for it *shall be* very grievous.

32 And for that the dream was doubled unto

peats the thing often, to show how exactly Joseph hit the truth in his interpretation.

Me he restored unto mine office, &c.] He told me, that on such a day I should be restored to my office; and he told the other he should be hanged.

Ver. 14. *Brought him hastily]* With all speed; that Pharaoh might not continue in suspense.

Out of the dungeon:] It is reasonable to think, that, though he was thrown into the dungeon at the first (xl. 15), he did not continue there, when he looked after all the prisoners, and did the whole business of a keeper (xxxix. 23, 23). Therefore this part, as is usual, is put for the whole; signifying no more, than that they brought him out of prison, where he had been in the dungeon.

He shaved himself, &c.] It was the custom in most countries, when men were in a mournful condition, to neglect their hair, both of the head and the beard: and not to shift their clothes, as in prosperity; but to continue in a rueful dress, whereby they expressed the sense they had of their calamity.

Ver. 16. *It is not in me:]* A modest answer. I do not pretend to more wisdom than those thou hast already consulted.

God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.] But God, I doubt not, will direct me to give the king a satisfactory answer: nay, an answer that shall be serviceable to him and to his kingdom.

Ver. 17.] We may well suppose that Joseph desired to know the dream: which Pharaoh repeats in this and the following verses something more fully than it is set down before.

Ver. 21.] An emblem of a very grievous famine, which is represented, not only by the lean kine devouring the fat (as much as to say, the barren years consuming all the growth of the fertile), but by their remaining lean, as if they had eaten nothing: which

represents what often happens in famine, that men eat greedily, but are not satisfied, because God breaks the staff of bread (Lev. xxvi. 26): i. e. takes away its nourishing virtue; as Bochart expounds it, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 41. But this seems to be a straining of that phrase, *break the staff of bread*, which signifies no more, than want of bread to support man's life. And all that can be gathered from this part of the dream, is, that there should be such exceeding great scarcity, that men should have but just enough to keep them alive.

Ver. 25. *The dream of Pharaoh is one:]* One and the same thing is represented by two several figures.

God hath shewed Pharaoh what he is about to do.] God hath in these dreams revealed to Pharaoh, what he intends shortly to bring to pass.

Ver. 26.] He represents in this, and in the following verse, how one thing is signified by two dreams. Seven good kine, and seven good ears, representing seven years of plenty; and seven lean kine, and seven empty ears, as many years of scarcity.

Ver. 28.] I have told the king in short, what the Divine providence is about to effect.

Ver. 29.] I will repeat it more at large. Take notice then that, in the next seven years to this, there shall be very great crops of corn, everywhere, throughout the whole country.

Ver. 30.] And immediately after they are ended, shall follow seven years as barren as the former were fruitful, the earth bringing forth little or no corn; which will make so great a famine, that there shall be no memory of the foregoing plenty; for there shall be no corn left, but all eaten up, throughout all the land of Egypt.

Ver. 31.] I say, there shall be no mark remaining of the foregoing plenty; by reason of the extreme scarcity in the following years, which will be very heavy.

Pharaoh twice; *it is* because the thing *is* established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.

33 Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.

34 Let Pharaoh do *this*, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plentiful years.

35 And let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities.

36 And that food shall be for store to the

land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine.

37 ¶ And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants.

38 And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find *such a one* as this *is*, a man in whom the Spirit of God *is*?

39 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, *there is* none so discreet and wise as thou *art*:

40 Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou.

Ver. 32. *The dream was doubled, &c.*] The repetition of the dream signifies the certainty of what I say: God having so determined; who will shortly justify the truth of my predictions. Both here and in the foregoing discourse (ver. 25, 28), he directs Pharaoh to look up unto God, as the author of all these events; and that, not in an ordinary, but extraordinary manner. For such fertility and such famine did not proceed from mere natural causes; but from an overruling Providence. It is observed by Pliny (lib. v. Nat. Hist. cap. 9), that when Nile rose only *twelve* cubits, a famine followed: when *thirteen*, a great scarcity; when *fourteen*, they had a good year; when *fifteen*, a very good; and if it rose *sixteen*, it made *delicias*, luxuriant plenty; and the greatest increase they ever knew, was to *eighteen* cubits. Now that this river should overflow so largely for seven years together, as to make vast plenty; and then for the next seven years not to overflow its banks at all or very little, and so make a sore and long famine; could be ascribed to nothing but an extraordinary hand of God; it being quite out of the course of nature. And indeed the dream seems to signify something beyond that; for it is unnatural for oxen to devour one another.

Ver. 33. *Look out a man discreet and wise.*] One fit to manage so great an affair. He that could foretell such events, was fit to advise what was to be done upon the foresight of them; but, it is probable, he did not presume to give such directions, till he was asked his opinion.

Ver. 34. *Let Pharaoh do this.*] When this is done. *Let him appoint officers*] Let that chief ruler appoint officers under him, in the several provinces of the kingdom: such as the Romans called *præfectos*, *annonæ*.

Take up the fifth part] Some have asked, why not the *half*, since there were to be as many years of famine as of plenty. To which such answers as these have been given by interpreters:—that the greater and richer sort were wont in time of plenty to fill their storehouses: as a provision against a scarcer year, which sometimes happened. And, secondly, that, in time of famine, men are wont to live more frugally; and not spend so much as they do in better times. And, thirdly, that even in those years of greatest famine, something might be sown; at least near the banks of Nile. But the plainest answer is, that *ten* parts being the tribute due to kings in many countries, and it is likely here (as I observed upon xxviii. ult.) Pharaoh was advised to double this charge, in the years of extraordinary plenty: when the *fifth* part was not more than the *tenth* in other years. Or (which is rather to be supposed from a good king and a good counsellor), to buy as much more as was his tribute; which he might do at an easy rate, when vast plenty made corn very cheap.

Ver. 25. *Gather all the food.*] The *fifth* part of the growth of the next seven years.

Lay up corn] In places provided for that purpose. *Under the hand of Pharaoh.*] Not to be meddled withal, but kept by Pharaoh's order, to be dispensed hereafter, as need shall require.

Let them keep food in the cities.] Let this food be reserved in the several cities of the kingdom.

Ver. 36. *That food shall be for store*] Shall not be spent; but laid up and preserved against the time of famine.

That the land] The people of the land do not perish.

Ver. 37.] The king and all the court were pleased with this advice. But some may wonder that Pharaoh and his ministers should so readily believe a young man, and a stranger; of a nation whom they did not converse withal, and lately accused of a great crime. But they may be satisfied by considering, that Joseph had cleared himself in the opinion of the keeper of the prison; where he had been known already to have interpreted dreams exactly according to the events in two notorious cases, which the chief butler had reported (ver. 12, 13). And besides, his exposition in the figures which Pharaoh saw in his dream, was so natural, that it was apt to beget belief, if he had not been an expounder of dreams before. And above all it is to be considered, that God who sent the dreams, and made them stick in Pharaoh's thoughts, disposed his mind also to receive the interpretation, with a deep sense of its truth.

Ver. 38. *Pharaoh said unto his servants.*] The great ministers of the kingdom and officers of the court, who stood about him.

In whom the Spirit of God is?] Without which he could not foresee and foretell such things.

Ver. 39. *Pharaoh said unto Joseph.*] It seems all his servants were of Pharaoh's mind, and consented to what he said, being amazed at the wisdom which appeared in Joseph.

Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this.] God wrought in him the highest opinion of Joseph, as a man divinely inspired.

There is none so discreet—as thou art.] Thou thyself art the only person, whom thou advisest me to set over the land (ver. 33).

Ver. 40. *Thou shalt be over my house.*] Be the chief minister in my court: for that is meant by his house.

According unto thy word] As thou shalt give orders.

Shall all my people be ruled.] The margin translates it *armed*; as if he put the whole militia of the kingdom into his hands: but this seems too narrow a sense; nor was there any thoughts of war at this time, but of the government of the kingdom in time of peace. And therefore we also translate it *kiss*, i. e. obey, as the LXX. and Vulgar well translate it; and as it signifies in Psalm ii. ult. *Kiss the Son*, i. e. submit to him, and obey him.

41 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.

42 And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck;

43 And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him,

Only in the throne will I be greater than thou.] Thou shalt have no superior, but only myself.

Ver. 41.] He had advised Pharaoh only to set a man to be the chief inspector of the stores of corn, ver. 33 (for which Pharaoh thought none so fit as Joseph himself, ver. 39), but he now constitutes him chief governor, under him, in all affairs of the whole country.

Ver. 42. *Took off his ring, &c.*] This is well explained by Vossius (lib. i. de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. cap. 9), in these words: Tum ut symbolum dignitatis, tum ad literas et diplomata publico nomine signandas: "both in token of the dignity to which he was preferred, and that he might seal letters and patents in the king's name."

Vestures of fine linen.] So the Hebrew word *schesch* signifies, rather than *silk* (as it is translated in the margin), though not the common linen, but that which the ancients called *byssus*: which Pollux saith was *λίον τε ἴδος*, a sort of linen, very pure, and soft; and very dear; because it did not grow everywhere. *Linum tenuissimum et pretiosissimum*, as Braunius shows (lib. i. de Vestib. Sacerdot. Hebr. cap. 6). In garments made of this, great men only, not the vulgar people were clothed: kings themselves, it appears by Solomon, being arrayed in such vestures.

Put a gold chain about his neck;] Another token of the highest dignity.

Ver. 43. *Made him to ride in the second chariot*] In the best of the king's coaches (as we now speak) except one, which Pharaoh reserved for himself; and attended, no doubt, with a suitable equipage, of footmen and horsemen, perhaps, for a guard to his person.

Bow the knee:] They that went before his chariot, to make way for him, required all to do him such reverence as they did to the king himself, when he appeared: which was by bowing their knees or their body. The word they used to this purpose, as they went along, was *abrech*: which we translate *bow the knee*, deriving it from the Hebrew word *barach*, which hath that signification. Though others will have it to signify the *father of the king*: for *rach*, in the Syrian language, signifies a *king*, if we may believe R. Solomon. Others translate it, a *tender father*, of the country which he had preserved (see Vossius, lib. i. de Idol. cap. 29). And Hottinger will have it as much as *God save the king*; or, *A blessing light on you* (see Smegma Orient. p. 131). But unless we understood the old Egyptian language, I think we had as good rest in the Hebrew derivation as in any other; according to our own translation.

He made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.] After this manner he constituted him supreme governor of the whole country, under himself: according to his resolution, ver. 41.

Ver. 44. *I am Pharaoh.*] This is my will and pleasure; who am king of Egypt.

Without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot, &c.] A proverbial speech. Let no man presume to do the smallest thing, in public affairs, without thy order.

Ver. 45. *Pharaoh called Joseph's name*] He gave him a new name; partly, because he was a foreigner;

Bow the knee: and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.

44 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.

45 And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On.

and partly, to honour him; and yet to denote him to be his subject, though ruler of everybody else. We find Nebuchadnezzar did the same in Babylon (Dan. i. 7), and it is still the custom in the eastern countries: where the Mogul never advances any man, but he gives him a new name; and that significant of something belonging to him. As, not long ago, he called his brother-in-law *Asoph-Chan*, the gathering, or the rich lord: and his physician *Macrob Chan*, the lord of my health, &c., as Peter de la Valle relates in his travels, p. 465, where he observes the same of his wives, p. 470.

Zaphnath-paaneah;] Which St. Jerome interprets, the *Saviour of the world*. But the whole stream of interpreters carry it for another signification, which is, the *interpreter of secrets*, or the *revealer of future things*. See SIXT. Amama, and Athan. Kirker's Prodomus, cap. 5, and our countryman, J. Gregory, cap. xvi. of his Observations, who, with Mr. Calvin, thinks it is ridiculous to attempt to make this sense out of the Hebrew language; and yet there are those who think they have done it with success. *Tzaphan* being to *hide* or *cover*; whence *tzaphnath*, that which is *hidden* or *secret*; and *panah*, signifying to *look into* or *contemplate*. So that Campeg. Vitringa thinks Josephus and Philo not to have ill interpreted this word, *Ὁραιοποιῆτης* and *ἀποκρυφὸν εἰρητής* (Observ. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 5), an *interpreter of dreams*, and a *finder out of things hidden*. But as Jachiaides observes upon Dan. i. 7, that the Egyptian and Persian kings gave names, for *honour* and *glory* (in token of their supreme greatness and authority), so it was most for their glory, to give them out of their own language. And therefore if this be the meaning of *Zaphnath-paaneah*, the Egyptian tongue and the Hebrew had a great affinity one to the other.

He gave him to wife] Either the king then disposed of the great noblemen's daughters, when their parents were dead (as our kings lately did of their wards), or Asenath was of Pharaoh's kindred, and so he provided her a husband, and gave her a portion. Or, the meaning simply is, he made this match for him.

The daughter of Poti-pherah] This is a different name from his who was captain of the guard; and was of a different quality. And therefore there is no reason, from some likeness in their names, to think that Joseph married the daughter of him who had been his master: for he would have abhorred to match with one that was born of so lewd a woman as his mistress; as Vossius well observes in the place forenamed.

Priest of On.] Or, prince of On (as the margin hath it); for the word *cohen* signifies both *priest* and *prince* (see 2 Sam. viii. ult.), priests being anciently the prime men of the kingdom; for kings themselves were priests.

On was a famous city in Egypt, called afterwards Heliopolis, which gave name to one of the Νόμοι, i. e. provinces of Egypt; whereof this Poti-pherah was governor, or lieutenant. Concerning which province, and Asenath, and Poti-pherah, see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedriis, p. 406.

Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt.] To see what places were fittest for stores.

And Joseph went out over *all* the land of Egypt.

46 ¶ And Joseph *was* thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt.

47 And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by handfuls.

48 And he gathered up all the food of the seven years, which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field, which *was* round about every city, laid he up in the same.

49 And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for *it was* without number.

50 And unto Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On bare unto him.

51 And Joseph called the name of the first-born Manasseh: For God, *said* he, hath made

me forget all my toil, and all my father's house.

52 And the name of the second called he Ephraim: For God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction.

53 ¶ And the seven years of plenteousness, that was in the land of Egypt, were ended.

54 And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread.

55 And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.

56 And the famine was over all the face of the earth: And Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt.

57 And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy *corn*; because that the famine was *so* sore in all lands.

Ver. 46. *Joseph was thirty years old*] So he had been out of his country thirteen years; for he was but seventeen years old (xxxvii. 2), when he was sold into Egypt. In which time, we may well think, he had learned the language of that country, and gained much experience; but never sent to his father; in which there is visibly a special providence of God; for his father might have used means for his deliverance, and then he had never come to this greatness.

When he stood before Pharaoh] When Pharaoh made him his prime minister. For the great counsellors and ministers alone were admitted into the king's presence (in the eastern countries, and it is likely, the same state was kept here), and are said to *stand before the king* (Dan. i. 19), and to *see the king's face* (Esther i. 14).

And went throughout all the land] He seems to have only taken a general view of the country before (ver. 45), but now a more particular; to give orders for the building of storehouses, against the plenteous years came.

Ver. 47. *Brought forth by handfuls.*] Such large ears that a few of them would make a sheaf; which our translation seems here to mean by *handfuls*: for sheaves are bound up with men's hands. And so it may be interpreted, it brought forth *sheaves*, or *heaps*; or, more literally, *handfuls upon one stalk*, i. e. vast abundance. Some conceive the corn was laid up in sheaves, heaped up very high: and not thrashed out: for so it would keep the longer.

Ver. 48. *He gathered up all the food*] The fifth part, as he had proposed (ver. 34), i. e. he bought it; which he might do at a small price, when there was unusual plenty.

Laid up the food in the cities] It is very probable he laid it up, as it was gathered, unthrashed: that there might be food for the cattle also. So the Vulgar, "In manipulos reductæ segetes congregatæ sunt in horrea." And what was laid up in the first year of plenty, it is reasonable to think was dispensed in the first year of famine, &c.

Round about every city,] This was very wisely ordered; for it was less charge to Pharaoh for the present, and more easy to the country when they wanted provision.

Ver. 49.] The following words explain this hyperbolical expression. And the reason of his heaping up so much was, that there might be sufficient to supply the necessities of other countries, as well as of Egypt.

Ver. 51. *God—hath made me forget all my toil,*] The great affliction and hard labour he endured in prison.

All my father's house.] The unkindness of his brethren, who were the cause of all his trouble. By imposing this name on his firstborn, he admonished himself in the midst of his prosperity of his former adversity, which he now thought of with pleasure.

Ver. 52. *In the land of my affliction.*] In the country where I have suffered much affliction.

Ver. 53.] It was beside the intention of Moses to relate any of the affairs of that country, but what belonged to this matter; and therefore he passes over all other transactions of these seven years; as he doth all the things that happened in Jacob's family, ever since Joseph came from it.

Ver. 54. *All the dearth was in all lands;*] In all the countries thereabouts, Canaan, Syria, &c. It seems there was a general want of rain.

But in—Egypt there was bread.] They did not feel the famine presently, because they had much to spare from the former years of plenty.

Ver. 55. *When all the land—was famished,*] When they had eaten up all their own stores, which, we may suppose, failed in two years' time.

The people cried to Pharaoh, &c.] Made earnest petitions to the king, for relief of their necessities.

Ver. 56. *The famine was over all—the earth:*] Grew still greater in all the neighbouring countries.

The famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt.] For the Egyptians themselves, having spent all their own stores, were sorely pinched.

Ver. 57. *All the countries came—to buy corn, &c.*] i. e. The neighbouring countries, as was said before (ver. 54). For if the most distant had come, the storehouses had been soon emptied.

Because that the famine was so sore] It increased more and more, in those countries before named, which were grievously afflicted by it.

CHAPTER XLII.

1 *Jacob sendeth his ten sons to buy corn in Egypt.* 16 *They are imprisoned by Joseph for spies.* 18 *They are set at liberty, on condition to bring Benjamin.* 21 *They have remorse for Joseph.* 14 *Simeon is kept for a pledge.* 25 *They return with corn, and their money.* 29 *Their relation to Jacob.* 36 *Jacob refuseth to send Benjamin.*

1 Now when Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye look one upon another?

2 And he said, Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; that we may live, and not die.

3 ¶ And Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn in Egypt.

4 But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure mischief befall him.

5 And the sons of Israel came to buy corn among those that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan.

6 And Joseph was the governor over the land, and he it was that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and

bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth.

7 And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly unto them; and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy food.

8 And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him.

9 And Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.

10 And they said unto him, Nay, my lord, but to buy food are thy servants come.

11 We are all one man's sons; we are true men, thy servants are no spies.

12 And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.

CHAP. XLII.

Ver. 1. *When Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, &c.*] He saw, perhaps, some pass by laden with corn, which they had bought there. Or, one sense (as is frequent in Scripture) is put for another: *seeing for hearing*; as it is expressed, ver. 2.

Why do ye look one upon another?] As idle people use to do, while none of them will stir to seek relief. Or, rather, as men that know not what course to take, expecting who would begin to advise for their preservation.

Ver. 2.] He excites them to make no further delay, by the great necessity wherein they were; no less than danger of perishing.

Ver. 4.] He being, as yet, but young, and not used to travel, Jacob was afraid the journey might be hazardous to him. Besides, he could not but desire to have some of their company: though this was not his principal reason.

Ver. 5.] People came from all parts thereof, upon the same business; and Jacob's sons among others; whom, perhaps, they met withal upon the road.

Ver. 6. *Joseph was the governor*] The Hebrew word *shalit* signifies, sometimes, one that hath absolute power: and seems to be used here to set forth the high authority which Joseph exercised under Pharaoh.

He it was that sold to all the people] Appointed at what rates corn should be sold, in every part of the country. For it is not to be supposed that he in person could treat with every man that came to buy; but he by his deputies, who observed his orders.

Joseph's brethren came,] It should seem by this, that all foreigners were ordered to come to him; in the royal city, where he resided; or, at least, their names were brought to him, that he might speak with such as he thought fit: and thereby get the better intelligence of the state of their several countries; and be sure to see his brethren, who, he knew, would be constrained to come thither.

Bowed down themselves before him] Unwittingly fulfilled his dream. This seems to have been done after the manner of their own and other eastern coun-

tries; not of Egypt, where they only bowed the knee (xli. 40).

Ver. 7. *Spake roughly unto them;*] Gave them hard words, as we speak. Or, spake in a harsh tone to them, and with a stern countenance.

Ver. 8. *But they knew not him.*] They had not seen him in twenty years: in which time a youth alters far more than grown men do; so that though he knew them, they might not know him; who appeared also in such pomp and state, that it made them not think of him; and he spake also to them by an interpreter (ver. 23,) which represented him as a stranger to them.

Ver. 9. *Ye are spies;*] He did not think they were such persons, but said this to provoke them, to give an account of themselves, and of his father. Nor is there any reason to look upon this as a lie. For they are not words of affirmation, but of probation or trial: such as judges use, when they examine suspected persons, or inquire into a crime, of which men are accused. And therefore have the force of an interrogation: *Are ye not spies?* or, I must take you for spies till you prove the contrary.

To see the nakedness of the land] The weak places of the country, which are least defensible. Or, as others will have it, *the secrets of the land*; for it is the same word that is used to express the privy parts.

Ver. 11. *We are all one man's sons;*] There needed no more than this to take off his suspicions. For no man would have sent his sons, but rather his servants, if they had come upon an ill design: or, at least, not all his sons: or not all of them together in a company: but dispersed them rather about the country. Nor was it probable, that one man could have a design upon Egypt; but all the great men of Canaan must have joined in it: and then they would have sent men of different families, not all of one alone.

We are true men,] This was a good argument that they said true, when they told him (ver. 10), they had no other business in Egypt but to buy corn.

Ver. 12.] Unless you have better arguments than this, I must take you for spies. He slights their argument, as great men sometimes do, when they know

13 And they said, Thy servants *are* twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest *is* this day with our father, and one *is* not.

14 And Joseph said unto them, That *is* it that I spake unto you, saying, *Ye are* spies:

15 Hereby ye shall be proved: By the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither.

16 Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether *there be any truth* in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely *ye are* spies.

17 And he put them all together into ward three days.

18 And Joseph said unto them the third day, This do, and live; *for* I fear God:

not presently how to answer it. He had a mind also to have them give a further account of their family, that he might be informed what was become of his brother Benjamin.

Ver. 13.] They enforce their former argument, by relating their condition more fully and distinctly. But still it amounts to no more than this; that it was not likely a parent would venture all his children, in such a design, as they were suspected to come about.

The youngest *is* this day with our father,] This was the thing he desired to know.

One *is* not,] Is dead. So they thought, because they had heard nothing of him in twenty years' space.

Ver. 14.] This confirms what I said, and gives me just ground for suspicion, that ye are spies: because you pretend to have another brother, which is not likely; for why should not your father send all, as well as so many? This was but a cavil; but served to compass his end, which was to see his brother.

Ver. 15. *Hereby ye shall be proved.*] By this very thing shall you be tried: whether you be honest men, or no.

By the life of Pharaoh, &c.] As sure as Pharaoh lives; or, *ita salvis sit*, so let Pharaoh be safe and in health, as I will keep you here, till I see your younger brother. Others expound it, If Pharaoh have any authority here, i. e. be king of this country, you shall not stir from hence, &c. But most authors take this for an oath: the original of which is well explained by Mr. Selden, in his Titles of Honour, p. 45, where he observes, that the name of gods being given to kings very early, *δὲ ἀρετῆς υπερβολὴν* (as Aristotle speaks, lib. vi. Ethic. cap. 1), from the excellence of their heroic virtue, which made them anciently great benefactors to mankind, thence arose the custom of swearing by them, which Aben Ezra saith continued in his time (about 1170) when Egypt was governed by caliphs. If any man swore by the king's head, and was found to have sworn falsely, he was punished capitally. And when Seach Ismael, the first sophi, got the Persian empire, no oath was held so sacred (as Leucavius reports), as to swear by his head, i. e. in effect, by his life.

But St. Basil will not have this to be an oath: but a solemn asseveration, to persuade belief. *For*, saith he (tom. i. Hom. in Ps. xv. p. 155), *Εἰσὶ τινες λόγοι σχήματα μὴ ὄρκων ἔχοντες, οὐχ ὄρκιοι δὲ ὄντες, &c.* "There are certain speeches which have the fashion of oaths, and yet are not oaths:" but *ὑπακοὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας*, "serve only to persuade the auditors." Such he takes this to be; and that of St. Paul, *Ἡ τὴν ἡμετέραν χαράναι, by our rejoicing*, 1 Cor. xv. 31, where he saith the apostle was not unmindful of the evangelical commandment, *not to swear*: but by a

19 If ye *be* true men, let one of your brethren be bound in the house of your prison: go ye, carry corn for the famine of your houses:

20 But bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die. And they did so.

21 ¶ And they said one to another, We *are* verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.

22 And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required.

23 And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for he spake unto them by an interpreter.

speech, in form of an oath, he would have them believe that his glorying in them (or rather in Christ) was dearer to him than any thing else. And the truth is, Judah seems to have taken these words of Joseph only for a solemn protestation (xliii. 3), wherein he exposed the life of Pharaoh (which was most dear to him) unto execration, if he was not as good as his word. So G. Calixtus understands it.

Ver. 16.] At first he proposed that only one of them should return home, to bring their brother to him; and all the rest remain, in the mean time, prisoners in Egypt.

Ver. 17. *He put them all together into ward,*] That they might consult one with another, which of them should go to fetch Benjamin; about which, it seems, they could not agree; every one fearing to be the messenger of such sad tidings to their father; who might suspect they were all lost.

Ver. 18.] I have no mind to destroy you: for I know there is a God, who will punish all injustice and cruelty. Therefore I make this new proposition to you.

Ver. 19.] This shall be the proof of your honesty. Instead of sending one of you to your father, you shall all go but one, who shall remain bound in prison, till you bring your younger brother; and in the mean time carry provision for your families.

Ver. 20.] Fail not to let me see your youngest brother: and so shall you justify yourselves to be no spies: and suffer nothing.

They did so.] They consented to this proposal.

Ver. 21. *They said one to another,*] They that had the chief hand in the conspiracy against Joseph, began upon this occasion to make the following reflections on it.

We are verily guilty] See the power of conscience, which flies in their face, and reproaches them for a fact committed above twenty years ago.

In that we saw the anguish of his soul,] We would have no pity, when he besought us with tears; and now nothing that we can say will move this man. They observe their guilt in their punishment. For, as they had thrown Joseph into a pit, so they had been thrown into a prison themselves; and as nothing he could say would incline them to spare him, so now they found Joseph inexorable to them. This anguish of his soul and his entreaties are not mentioned before (chap. xxxvii.), but could not but be supposed, if they had not been mentioned here.

Ver. 22. *Reuben answered them, &c.*] You should have hearkened unto me, and then you had not come into this distress.

His blood is required.] You killed him, and now you must pay for it with the loss of your lives. For he thought him to be dead.

24 And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes.

25 ¶ Then Joseph commanded to fill their sacks with corn, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the way: and thus did he unto them.

26 And they laden their asses with the corn, and departed thence.

27 And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn, he espied his money; for, behold, it *was* in his sack's mouth.

28 And he said unto his brethren, My money is restored; and, lo, it is even in my sack: and their heart failed them, and they were afraid, saying one to another, What is this that God hath done unto us?

29 ¶ And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that befell unto them; saying,

30 The man, *who is* the lord of the land, spake roughly to us, and took us for spies of the country.

31 And we said unto him, *We are true men; we are no spies:*

32 *We be* twelve brethren, sons of our father; one *is* not, and the youngest *is* this day with our father in the land of Canaan.

33 And the man, the lord of the country, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye *are* true men; leave one of your brethren *here* with me, and take *food* for the famine of your households, and be gone:

34 And bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye *are* no spies, but that ye *are* true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffick in the land.

35 ¶ And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money *was* in his sack: and when *both* they and their father saw the bundles of money, they were afraid.

36 And Jacob their father said unto them, *Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is* not, and Simeon *is* not, and ye will take Benjamin *away*: all these things are against me.

37 And Reuben spake unto his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will bring him to thee again.

38 And he said, My son shall not go down

Ver. 23. *Spake unto them by an interpreter.*] This shows the Egyptian tongue and the Hebrew were different; though in some words they might agree.

Ver. 24. *He turned himself about from them.*] And went into some other room.

And wept.] Natural affection was too strong for the person he put on: and would not suffer him to counterfeit any longer.

Returned to them.] When he had vented his passion, and composed himself to his former temper, he repeated to them what he had told them before: but added withal, that if they brought Benjamin with them, they might traffic in the land (ver. 34).

Took from them Simeon.] Who, the Hebrews say, was the person that put Joseph into the pit: and therefore was now served in his kind. This, I think, may be fairly conjectured, that Reuben being resolved to save him, and Judah also inclined to favour him, if Simeon had joined with them, their authority might have prevailed to deliver him.

Bound him before their eyes.] Caused him to be bound in their presence; to strike the greater terror into them.

Ver. 25. *To give them provision for the way.*] That they might carry what they bought entire, for the use of their families.

Thus did he unto them.] Thus the person, to whom Joseph gave that command, did unto them.

Ver. 26.] It is not said how many asses they laden; but one would guess, by what follows, only each man one. For they went only to fetch a present supply: not thinking of providing against a long famine.

Ver. 27. *As one of them opened his sack, &c.*] Wherein was their provision for the way (ver. 25).

Ver. 28. *He said unto his brethren, &c.*] Who all presently opened their sacks and found their money there. For so the story is told by Judah at their return into Egypt (xliii. 21). And both by that place and this, it appears this happened to them when they came unto their inn, to rest themselves, in their first day's journey.

Their heart failed them, &c.] Their guilt made them

afraid; otherwise they would have rejoiced. But all things terrify an evil conscience: which made them think some design was laid to undo them all.

What is this that God hath done unto us?] Now God was in all their thoughts, as the chief governor of all things; whosoever was the instrument.

Ver. 30. *Who is the lord of the land,*] By this it appears Joseph was little less than a king, i. e. in his authority and sway, which he bare in that country.

Took us for spies.] In the Hebrew it is, *he gare us*, i. e. treated us as spies; by delivering us to be put in prison.

Ver. 34. *Ye shall traffick in the land.*] Buy corn, or any thing else the country affords; without any let or impediment.

Ver. 35. *When both they and their father saw the bundles of money, &c.*] They had seen the same before: therefore this is set down to express the fear which Jacob himself was in, at the sight of the money; though we may well suppose their fear was increased, when they perceived him to have the same apprehensions which they had, of some design that might be laid against their lives, when they returned to Egypt, though they brought their younger brother with them.

Ver. 36. *Simeon is not.*] He looked upon him as dead; being in the power of so rough a man, as they described the lord of the land to be; especially if he did not send Benjamin thither, as, for the present, he was resolved not to do.

All these things are against me.] Or, *upon me*, as the Hebrew words carry it. These are heavy burdens which lie upon me, not upon you; who can be content to have Benjamin go, after I have lost two of my sons already.

Ver. 37. *Slay my two sons if I bring him not to thee.*] Nothing could be more foolishly said; for what good would it do to Jacob (nay, what an increase of his affliction would it have been), to lose two grandchildren, after he had lost another son? But it was spoken out of a passionate desire to redeem Simeon, and to make more provision for their family: being confident that Joseph (who professed to fear God, ver. 18) would be as good as his word.

with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the

which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

Ver. 38. *He is left alone;*] The only child of his mother.

Bring down my gray hairs;] You will make me, who am worn away already, die with grief.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1 Jacob is hardly persuaded to send Benjamin. 15 Joseph entertaineth his brethren. 31 He maketh them a feast.

1 AND the famine *was* sore in the land.

2 And it came to pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a little food.

3 And Judah spake unto him, saying, The man did solemnly protest unto us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother *be* with you.

4 If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food:

5 But if thou wilt not send *him*, we will not see down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother *be* with you.

6 And Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye *so* ill with me, *as* to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother?

7 And they said, The man asked us straitly of our state, and of our kindred, saying, *Is* your

father yet alive? have ye *another* brother? and we told him according to the tenor of these words: could we certainly know that he would say, Bring your brother down?

8 And Judah said unto Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may live and not die, both we, and thou, and also our little ones.

9 I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever:

10 For except we had lingered, surely now we had returned this second time.

11 And their father Israel said unto them, If *it must be* so now, do this; take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds:

safety; but, if he stayed at home, must perish with all the rest.

CHAP. XLIII.

Ver. 1. *The famine was sore, &c.*] Still increased to a greater scarcity.

Ver. 2. *When they had eaten up the corn;*] So that they had nothing to live upon but only the poor crop that their own country produced, which could not long sustain them.

Buy us a little food.] He hoped, it is likely, the next year would be better; and so only desired a supply of their present necessity.

Ver. 3. *And Judah spake unto him,*] Reuben had spoken to him in vain (xl. 37, 38), and Levi, perhaps, had not recovered his interest in him, since the barbarous action at Shechem: and therefore Judah took upon him to persuade his father; being next in birth, and of no small authority among his brethren.

Ye shall not see my face,] But be taken for spies; and so lose their lives.

Ver. 5. *We will not go down;*] Because it would not only have been to no purpose, but also endangered their lives.

Ver. 6.] It was unkindly done of you, to tell him of another brother. For what need was there to say any thing of one who was not with you?

Ver. 7.] They having told him, *they were all one man's sons* (xlii. 11), he might well ask them, what man's? And whether there were any more of them? And whether their father and brother were yet living?

We told him according to the tenor of these words;] Answered every question as truth required.

Ver. 8. *Send the lad with me,*] Trust him with me. He calls him *lad*, because he was the youngest of them all; and one, of whom his father was as tender as if he had been a little child, though indeed he had children of his own (xli. 21).

That we may live, &c.] These were very moving arguments; the preservation of a whole family, Benjamin and all: who, if he went, might return in

safety; but, if he stayed at home, must perish with all the rest.

Ver. 9. *I will be surety for him;*] Be bound in what penalty thou pleasest, to bring him back.

Of my hand shalt thou require him;] Punish me (who will be answerable for him) if he miscarry.

Bear the blame for ever;] Lie under thy displeasure, as long as I live. All this signifies only, that he would do his utmost to secure him: and rather suffer the heaviest thing himself, than lose Benjamin.

Ver. 10. If thou hadst not hindered us by these scruples about Benjamin, we had been there and at home again, by this time.

Ver. 11. *Take of the best fruits*] The Hebrew word *mizzimrath* signifies of the most praised; or, as Bochart more literally interprets it, *quæ in hac terra sunt maxime decantata* (par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. v. cap. 9), "those fruits which are most celebrated in the land of Canaan:" which was as famous for the things following, as Egypt was for corn. And it seems at this time did not want them; which might make them more acceptable in Egypt, where they grew at no time. For Egypt being a low and plain country, and Canaan a hilly, it made their products very different.

Balm,] Rather *resin*, as was observed on xxxvii. 25.

Honey,] For which this country was famous; especially in some parts of it, about Tekoah, as Bochart also observes. And therefore was a fit present for a king, as we see in the story of David (2 Sam. xvii. 29). And was carried from hence to the marts of Tyre (Ezek. xxxvii. 17).

Spices,] The word *necoth* signifies *storax*; as was also observed before (xxxvii. 25).

Myrrh,] Which Bochart translates *mastic*.

Nuts,] He also proves, by many arguments, that the word *botnim* signifies those nuts we call *tachines*; which may well be numbered among the best fruits of the land: being very friend-

12 And take double money in your hand ; and the money that was brought again in the mouth of your sacks, carry it again in your hand ; peradventure it *was* an oversight :

13 Take also your brother, and arise, go again unto the man :

14 And God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of *my children*, I am bereaved.

15 ¶ And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin ; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph.

16 And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, Bring *these* men home, and slay, and make ready ; for *these* men shall dine with me at noon.

17 And the man did as Joseph bade ; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house.

18 And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house ; and they said, Because of the money that was returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in ; that he may seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses.

19 ¶ And they came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they communed with him at the door of the house,

20 And said, O sir, we came indeed down at the first time to buy food :

21 And it came to pass, when we came to the inn, that we opened our sacks, and, be-

hold, *every* man's money *was* in the mouth of his sack, our money in full weight : and we have brought it again in our hand.

22 And other money have we brought down in our hands to buy food : we cannot tell who put our money in our sacks.

23 And he said, Peace *be* to you, fear not : your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks : I had your money. And he brought Simeon out unto them.

24 And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave *them* water, and they washed their feet ; and he gave their asses provender.

25 And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon : for they heard that they should eat bread there.

26 ¶ And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which *was* in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth.

27 And he asked them of *their* welfare, and said, *Is* your father well, the old man of whom ye spake ? *Is* he yet alive ?

28 And they answered, Thy servant our father *is* in good health, *he is* yet alive. And they bowed down their heads, and made obeisance.

29 And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, *Is* this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me ? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son.

stomach and liver ; powerful against poison ; and highly esteemed by the ancients, as delicious food. And so Maimonides and Kimchi expound the word.

Almonds.] They are fity joined with *pistachies*, as he observes ; being *fructus congeneres* : and Dioscorides treats of them together ; and Theophrastus describes the *pistachio* as *ὁμοιον ταῖς ἀμυγδαλοῖς*, "like unto almonds" (vid. Canaan, lib. i.).

Ver. 12. *Take double money.*] Other money besides their first. Which, if it signify as much more as the first, the reason was, because he thought corn might now be grown dearer.

Ver. 14. *If I be bereaved—I am bereaved.*] I submit unto it, and will bear it as patiently as I am able. Or, as some paraphrase it, I have been bereaved of Joseph and Simeon, so now I am of Benjamin : no new things happen to me ; but I have been used to such afflictions ; which I may therefore bear more equally.

Ver. 15. *Stood before Joseph.*] Presented themselves to him in his office (as we speak), or, in the place where he gave audience to those who came to petition him, or to buy corn of him. For it is plain, by the next verse, that he was not at his own house.

Ver. 16. *Bring these men home.*] Conduct them to my house.

And slay.] The Hebrew phrase signifies a *great slaughter* ; of several sorts of creatures, perhaps ; that there might be a plentiful provision.

Ver. 18. *The men were afraid.*] Every thing (as was observed, xlii. 28) terrifies a guilty conscience. *Fall upon us.*] i. e. Kill us.

Take us for bondmen, &c.] Rather, or take us for condmen, and our asses.

Ver. 19. *They came near to the steward, &c.*] They

desired to speak with him, before they entered into the house, that they might set themselves right in his opinion.

Ver. 20. *We came—at the first time to buy food.*] And we paid for it what was demanded.

Ver. 21. *When we came to the inn.*] There we found that very money, to a farthing, in our sacks' mouths, &c.

Ver. 22. *We cannot tell who put our money, &c.*] We are ignorant how it came there ; but suppose it was by some mistake : and therefore have brought it again, with new money for another purchase.

Ver. 23. *Peace be to you.*] Trouble not yourselves about that matter.

The God of your father, &c.] This steward had learned of Joseph the knowledge of the true God : to whose kindness he bids them ascribe this event.

He brought Simeon out unto them.] Unbound ; as free as themselves.

Ver. 24. *Gave them water.*] Ordered water to be brought, as the custom was, to wash their feet (see xviii. 4).

Ver. 26. *Bowed themselves—to the earth.*] Here again was Joseph's dream fulfilled (see xlii. 6).

Ver. 28.] Here they made a reverence to him in the name of their father ; whereby that part of the dream (xxxvii. 9, 10), which concerned him, was also fulfilled. And they speak likewise of him in an humble style, signifying his inferiority to Joseph.

Ver. 29. *Saw his brother Benjamin.*] He had seen him before (ver. 16), but did not think fit to take notice of him at the first : or, perhaps, was then full of business, when they presented themselves at their first appearance ; and had not leisure to speak with them till dinner-time.

30 And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yern upon his brother: and he sought *where* to weep; and he entered into *his* chamber, and wept there.

31 And he washed his face, and went out, and refrained himself, and said, Set on bread.

32 And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians,

God be gracious unto thee, my son.] He blessed him, as superiors were wont to do those below them: whom they called their *sons*, with respect to themselves, as fathers of the country.

Ver. 30. *His bowels did yern.]* He felt a great commotion within himself, which he was not able to keep from breaking out; and therefore he made haste out of the room where they were, as if some other business called him away.

Ver. 31. *Set on bread.]* Set the dinner upon the table.

Ver. 32. *And they set on for him by himself, &c.]* There seems to have been three tables. One where he sat alone in state, another where his brethren sat, and a third where the great men of Egypt were entertained.

Because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, &c.] Because the Hebrews (saith Jonathan) did eat those beasts which the Egyptians worshipped. And to the same purpose writes Onkelos. In which regard the Egyptians were as scrupulous to eat with a Grecian in aftertimes, as now with a Hebrew. So Bochart observes out of Athenæus, lib. vii. Deipnos. where Anaxandrides, a comedian, jeers the Egyptians for worshipping an eel, as a great god, whom we, saith he, think to be most excellent meat. And out of Herodotus, who, in his Euterpe (cap. 41), saith, no Egyptian man or woman would kiss the mouth of a Greek; nor make use of a knife, a spit, or a pot, belonging to them; nor take a bit of beef cut with a Greek's knife (see Bochart's Hierozoic. par. vi. lib. ii. cap. 53. And Dr. Spencer, de Rit. Hebr. p. 125). But though it appear by such passages, that, in the time of Herodotus and other forenamed writers, several animals were held so sacred among the Egyptians that they would not eat them, yet it may well be questioned, whether it were so in the days of Joseph. For there is not the least sign of it in this story; much less of their worshipping such creatures: the worship of the famous ox, called Apis, being a much later invention, as many learned men have demonstrated: and some of them having given probable reasons that Joseph himself was the person at first represented by that figure under the name of *Ab*, i. e. *Father* of his country (see Ger. Vossius, lib. i. de Idol. cap. 29).

Therefore it is most likely, that this abhorrence is to be resolved only into the very different manners of the Hebrews from the Egyptians: particularly at their meals, in the way of dressing their meat, or in their eating. For we know some of the Jews themselves afterwards scrupled to eat with those who had unwashed hands; and several nations have avoided such familiarity with others, merely on the account of their different customs; of which the Egyptians were exceeding tenacious, as Herodotus himself informs us, particularly in their eating. For he concludes his discourse about their feasts with this observation (in his book before mentioned, cap. 26). Πατριῶσι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτιώσται: "Using their own country customs, they receive no other." And in the ninety-first chapter of the same book he saith, that as they would use no Greek customs, so (to speak all in a word) μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ, &c. "Neither would they use the customs of any other men in the world whatsoever." Nay, one part of Egypt differed

which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that *is* an abomination unto the Egyptians.

33 And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and the men marvelled one at another.

extremely from another: for in the Theban province they abstained from sheep, and sacrificed goats; but, in the Mendesian, quite contrary, they abstained from goats, and sacrificed sheep: as he tells us in his Euterpe (cap. 42). And the wisest of them were so nicely superstitious, that some of them thought it unlawful to eat of the head of any living creature; others the shoulder-blade; others of the feet; others of some like part. So Sextus Empiricus tells us (lib. iii. Pyrrh. Hypot. cap. 24). Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι νομιζομένων, οἱ μὲν σφαλὴν ζῶον φαγεῖν ἀνίεραι εἶναι νομιζόντων, &c. Upon which score I do not know but such kind of people might be so whimsical as to refuse to eat with one another.

Ver. 33. *They sat before him,]* For that was the custom before the way of lying upon beds was invented (see xxvii. 19, xxxvii. 25).

The men marvelled one at another,] That they should be so exactly disposed, according to the order of their birth: and so kindly treated by one that had lately used them very roughly.

Ver. 34. *He took and sent messes, &c.]* Ordered those that waited to take and carry messes from his own table unto theirs. For such was the ancient custom, for great men to honour such as were in their favour, by sending dishes to them, which were first served up to themselves: from whence they were called *missa*, *messes*, things sent. The ancient way of eating also is to be observed, which was not like ours: as appears by Plutarch in his Sympos. lib. ii. Q. ult., where he disputes, which was the better custom, to eat out of one common dish, or every one to have a dish to himself, as the manner was in old time; when, all the meat being set on the table, the master of the feast distributed to every one his portion.

Benjamin's mess was five times so much,] He had five dishes to their one: which was intended as a peculiar respect to him. Or, as others understand it, there was five times as much meat in his mess, as in one of theirs. Which might well be part of the cause of their wonder (ver. 33).

They drank,] After they had dined, plenty of wine was brought in, for every one to drink as much as he pleased. For such is the custom of the Abyssines at this day, not to drink or talk at dinner, but after the meat is taken away; as Ludolphus assures us from Telezins; who takes it to have been the ancient custom among other nations, particularly the Romans; for which he alleges those verses of Virgil, *Aeneid*. i.

"Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnas statuunt, et vina coronant."

I mention *wine* here in Egypt: for though Herodotus saith in his days they had no *vines*, but used drink made of barley, i. e. such as ours (lib. ii. cap. 77), yet in the time of Joseph it seems to have been otherwise. For it is not likely the chief butler would have dreamt of a *vine* and *grapes*, and *pressing* them into Pharaoh's cup (xl. 9, 10, 11), if he had never seen them in Egypt.

They were merry with him,] So we well translate the last words of this chapter; which signify their drinking plentifully; more liberally than at home: not till they were drunk (as R. Solomon saith some

" 34 And he took *and sent* messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's mess was

used to abuse this place, to countenance that vice), but till they were very cheerful. For they could not be so senseless, as, before so great a man in a strange

place, where they were also full of fear, to make themselves drunk.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1 Joseph's policy to stay his brethren. 14 Judah's humble supplication to Joseph.

1 AND he commanded the steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's sacks *with food*, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth.

2 And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken.

3 As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses.

4 And when they were gone out of the city, and not yet far off, Joseph said unto his steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good?

5 Is not this *it* in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? ye have done evil in so doing.

CHAP. XLIV.

Ver. 1. *Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry,*] This seems to be an order to load them more liberally than at their first coming (xlii. 25).

Ver. 2. *Put my cup, &c.*] The Hebrew word *gabiah* signifies an embossed cup (as we now speak), or a bowl; or goblet with a great belly: which St. Jerome translates *scyphus*. This he ordered his steward to put in Benjamin's sack, that he might make a trial of his brethren's concern for him, and affection both to him and to their father: and whether they would discover any envy to Benjamin, because of his extraordinary kindness to him.

Ver. 3. *The men were sent away,*] Had a pass, we may suppose, from Joseph; to carry so much corn out of the country, as their asses were loaded withal.

Ver. 4. *Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good?*] Being entertained so kindly at my master's table, why have ye stolen his cup?

Ver. 5. *Is not this it in which my lord drinketh,*] Did you not think this would be presently inquired after?

Whereby indeed he divineth?] The Hebrew word *nachash*, which we translate *divine*, it is very likely was anciently of an indifferent signification. And therefore Grotius thinks that Joseph meant by this speech, that he used this cup in his *drink-offerings*; when he sacrificed to prepare himself to receive Divine presages. But, I think, we had better say, there was a kind of divination by cups (though we know not what it was), as we are certain there was by many other things among the Greeks (who borrowed much of their religion from the Egyptians), than give this or other such-like interpretation of these words: particularly, their observing the sparkling of the wine in their libations. For it seems plain to me, that Joseph speaks of the cup he used at his own table; and it is not probable that he used the same in sacrifices to God. Such vessels as were used in Divine service

6 ¶ And he overtook them, and he spake unto them these same words.

7 And they said unto him, Wherefore saith my lord these words? God forbid that thy servants should do according to this thing:

8 Behold, the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold?

9 With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen.

10 And he said, Now also *let it be* according unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my servant; and ye shall be blameless.

11 Then they speedily took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack.

were not used in their own: being held sacred; and therefore separated from common use; and kept so safe, no doubt, that it was not easy to steal them. He speaks therefore of some divination that was used at their meals: which doth not signify that Joseph practised it, nor doth his steward say he did; but only asks such a question, as might make them think he did. For, being a known interpreter of dreams, people, perhaps, thought he was skilled also in the arts of divination. But the words are still capable of a more simple interpretation. For *nachash* sometimes signifies no more than to *make an experiment*: as in the words of Laban (xxx. 27). And so the meaning may be (as Aben Ezra expounds this passage), Might you not have considered, that my master made a trial (so we interpret in the margin), by laying this in your way, *whether you were honest men or filchers*, as you are now proved to be? Or, as others will have it, *this is the cup wherein he drinks himself, and finds out what is in other men*, when they drink liberally with him at his table, as you lately did. But the former is more likely to be the meaning.

Ye have done evil] You have rendered yourselves very criminal by this fact. Or, you have done very foolishly in stealing a thing of this nature; which being in continual use, would be soon missed.

Ver. 7.] They disclaim the charge, with the greatest vehemence.

Ver. 8.] And bring a very good proof of their honesty.

Ver. 9.] Sometimes innocence makes men too confident; and less cautious than, in prudence, they ought to be. For their money having been put into their sacks, they knew not how, it was reasonable to have suspected this also might prove true.

Ver. 10. *Now also let it be according unto your words, &c.*] I desire not so much; but only that he with whom the cup is found be my bondman, as you proposed.

My servant] He speaks in the name and place of

12 And he searched, *and began at the eldest, and left at the youngest*: and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack.

13 Then they rent their clothes, and laded every man his ass, and returned to the city.

14 ¶ And Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; for he *was* yet there: and they fell before him on the ground.

15 And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?

16 And Judah said, What shall we say unto my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold, we *are* my lord's servants, both we, and *he* also with whom the cup is found.

17 And he said, God forbid that I should do so: *but* the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my servant; and as for you, get you up in peace unto your father.

18 ¶ Then Judah came near unto him, and said, Oh my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh.

19 My lord asked his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother?

20 And we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him.

his master; by whom he was sent after them; and for whom he acted.

Ver. 11.] They were desirous to have their innocence cleared, without delay.

Ver. 13. *Rent their clothes,*] As the manner was, when any sad thing befell them (xxxvii. 29, 34).

Ver. 14. *Judah and his brethren came, &c.*] He is mentioned by name, though not the eldest son; because he was chiefly concerned for Benjamin (xliii. 9), and, as the Jews fancy, stood to him in this distress, when the rest would have delivered him up as a bondman: resolving either to set him free, or to be a bondman with him.

For he was yet there.] Not gone from home, since he gave order to his steward to pursue them.

They fell before him on the ground.] The dream of Joseph was again fulfilled (see xlii. 6).

Ver. 15. *Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?*] Could not I who foretold this grievous famine discover such a theft as this, which you have committed?

Ver. 16. *Judah said,*] He standing bound, as I said (ver. 14), for Benjamin to his father, took upon him to plead his cause; which Benjamin, being young, could not do so well himself. And indeed Judah seems to have been a man of the best sense, courage, and eloquence, among them.

What shall we say to my lord? what shall we speak? or how, &c.] A most pathetic beginning, and very apt to move compassion!

God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants, &c.] Having made some pause, after those words, *How shall we clear ourselves?* he proceeds to an ingenuous acknowledgment, that he and his brethren had been guilty of many sins; for which God had now brought

21 And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon him.

22 And we said unto my lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for *if* he should leave his father, *his father* would die.

23 And thou saidst unto thy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more.

24 And it came to pass when we came up unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my lord.

25 And our father said, Go again, *and* buy us a little food.

26 And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother *be* with us.

27 And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons:

28 And the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since:

29 And if ye take this also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

30 Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad *be* not with us; seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life;

31 It shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not *with us*, that he will die: and thy servants shall bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to the grave.

them hither to suffer the punishment of them. Yet he neither confesses this particular guilt, nor denies it, nor excuses it: but, acknowledging God's justice, cast himself and his brethren upon Joseph's mercy.

Ver. 18. *Then Judah came near unto him,*] The equity which appeared in Joseph (expressed in the words foregoing) emboldened Judah to approach nearer to him. For he seems to have spoken the former words as soon as he entered the room: when he and his brethren cast themselves down on the ground (ver. 14).

Speak a word in my lord's ears,] Have a favourable audience for a few words more. For he doth not mean to speak to him privately: and by a *word* he means all the following speech, which he makes as short as it was possible.

Let not thine anger burn against thy servant.] And be pleased to hear me out, with patience.

For thou art even as Pharaoh.] I know before whom I speak: and therefore will not impudently trouble thee; but barely lay the state of our case before thee.

Ver. 20. *A little one;*] So Benjamin was, in comparison with themselves.

He alone is left of his mother, &c.] We do not read, that they had said this to Joseph before; but only that the youngest was with their father (xlii. 13, 32). But no doubt, Judah remembers him now of nothing, but what had been then delivered; but related more briefly than it is here.

Ver. 27. *My wife bare me two sons;*] He called Rachel his wife, as if he had no other, because she was the only person he designed to marry, and was by consequence his principal wife.

32 For thy servant became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then I shall bear the blame to my father for ever.

33 Now therefore, I pray thee, let thy ser-

Ver. 30. *His life is bound up in the lad's life;*] It so depends upon the life of this son, that if he think he be dead, he will die with grief also.

Ver. 33. *Let thy servant abide instead of the lad, &c.*] It will be the same to thee (nay, I may be able to do thee more service), and the greatest act of pity to our aged father.

Ver. 34. *For how shall I go up to my father, &c.*] I must abide here too, if thou wilt not dismiss him; for I am not able to see my father die.

There is nothing could be said more moving than what is delivered in this speech of Judah's; which flowed, any one may see, from such natural passions, as no art can imitate; which makes me wish that they, who think these historical books of Scripture were written with no spirit but that with which honest men now write the history of their country, or the lives of any famous persons, would seriously read and consider this speech of Judah's to Joseph, together with the foregoing dialogue between Jacob and his sons (from the 19th verse of the forty-second chapter, to the 15th of the forty-third); and, I hope, it may make them change their opinion, and be of the mind

want abide instead of the lad, a bondman to my lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren.

34 For how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest peradventure I see the evil that shall come on my father.

of Dr. Jackson (b. i. on the Creed, ch. 4), "That seeing such passages are related by men who affect no art, and who lived long after the parties that first uttered them; we cannot conceive how all particulars could be so naturally and fully recorded, unless they had been suggested by his Spirit who gives mouth and speech to men. Who being alike present to all successions, is able to communicate the secret thoughts of forefathers to their children; and put the very words of the deceased (never registered before) into the mouths or pens of their successors, for many generations after: and that as exactly and distinctly, as if they had been caught in characters of steel or brass, as they issued out of their mouth. For it is plain, every circumstance is here related with such natural specifications (as he speaks), as if Moses had heard them talk; and therefore could not have been thus represented to us unless they had been written by his direction, who knows all things; as well for-past, as present, or to come."

Philo justly admired this speech, which he hath expressed in an eloquent paraphrase: and Josephus hath endeavoured to outdo him.

CHAPTER XLV.

1 Joseph maketh himself known to his brethren. 5 He comforteth them in God's providence. 9 He sendeth for his father. 16 Pharaoh confirmeth it. 21 Joseph furnisheth them for their journey, and exhorteth them to concord. 25 Jacob is revived with the news.

1 THEN Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren.

2 And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.

3 And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence.

4 And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come

near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt.

5 Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life.

6 For these two years hath the famine been in the land: and yet there are five years, in the which there shall neither be earing nor harvest.

7 And God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance.

CHAP. XLV.

Ver. 1. *Could not refrain himself*] Tears began to run down his cheeks; or, were ready to burst out with such violence that he could not hinder them.

Cause every man to go out] He would not have the Egyptians to be witnesses of his brethren's guilt; nor did it become his dignity to be seen by them in such a passion; and therefore he commanded those that attended him to leave him alone with his brethren.

Ver. 2. *He wept aloud:*] Which we express very properly in our language, *he cried*. For tears having been long suppressed, are wont, when they break out, to be accompanied with some noise.

The Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.] They whom he sent forth, being in the next rooms, heard him cry, and reported what a passion he was in to the whole court.

Ver. 3. *I am Joseph;*] This word made them start; as appears by the next verse.

Doth my father yet live?] May I believe what you

have told me? (xliv. 28.) He saith not this because he doubted of it: but to express his joy at that good news.

His brethren could not answer him;] Being astonished, as it follows, at his presence. For they could not but reflect upon their cruel usage of him: and now saw him in full power to punish them.

Ver. 4. *Come near to me,*] This, I think, signifies, that they had started back, as men affrighted: and therefore he invites them kindly to approach him.

I am Joseph your brother,] This word *brother*, added to what he said before (ver. 3), was a comfort to them. For it showed that his greatness did not make him forget his relation.

Whom ye sold into Egypt.] Nor their unkindness alienated his affection from them.

Ver. 5. *Now therefore be not grieved, &c.*] Do not afflict yourselves too much for your sin, because God hath turned it into good.

God did send me before you, &c. When you thought only to be rid of me, God intended another thing,

8 So now *it was not you that sent me hither*, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt.

9 Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not:

10 And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast:

11 And there will I nourish thee; for yet *there are five years of famine*; lest thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast, come to poverty.

12 And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that *it is* my mouth that speaketh unto you.

13 And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father hither.

14 And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's

neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck.

15 Moreover he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them; and after that his brethren talked with him.

16 ¶ And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants.

17 And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan;

18 And take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.

19 Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come.

20 Also regard not your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt *is* yours.

21 And the children of Israel did so: and Jo-

which is now come to pass. For he hath made me an instrument of preserving all your lives. A most happy event of a most wicked deed!

Ver. 6. *Neither be caring nor harvest.*] Or, no ploughing, sowing, or harvest. For to what purpose should they sow, when they knew (if they believed Joseph) that nothing would come of it?

Ver. 7. *God sent me before you, &c.*] He repeats what he had said (ver. 5), concerning the hand of God in this business; that, by fixing their thoughts upon his providence, they might be less oppressed with the weight of their own guilt.

To save your lives by a great deliverance.] In a wonderful manner.

Ver. 8. *It was not you,—but God, &c.*] He mentions this a third time, that they might see he did not think so much on their unkindness, as on God's great goodness: and therefore be confident, he would not remember what they had done to him; but what God had done for them all.

Hath made me a father to Pharaoh.] Given me the authority of a father with him; so that he honours me, and doth nothing without my advice and counsel. And there was very good reason for it, his wisdom being so great and experienced, Ut non ab homine sed a Deo responsa dari viderentur (as Troguus, an ancient historian among the heathen, observes), "that his answers seemed not to be given by a man, but by God." Which made him regi percharum, "a very dear to the king," as the same author relates, who tells also the story of his being sold by his brethren, who envied his excellent wit (see Justin, lib. xxvii. cap. 2).

Lord] The principal person in his court.

A ruler] Chief governor of the whole country, in which were several provinces, which had distinct governors, who were all under the government of Joseph.

Ver. 10. *Land of Goshen.*] This was that part of the lower Egypt which lay next to Arabia and Palestine, abounding with fair pastures, being watered by many streams from the Nile. Certain it is, it lay next to Canaan; for Jacob went directly thither when he came into Egypt, and stayed there till Joseph came to him (xlvi. 28).

Thou shalt be near unto me.] Therefore the royal city (where Joseph resided, that he might be always near to Pharaoh) was at this time in the lower Egypt, at Zoan (Ps. lxxviii. 43), which other authors call

Tanis; which was situated not far from that mouth of the Nile which Plutarch calls *ραυτιζών στόμα*. For that part of Egypt is called the *higher* where Nile runs only in one stream; that the *lower* where it divides into many; and from its triangular form is called by the Greeks *Δίττα*. In the eastern part of which, or very near it, towards the Red Sea, was this country, called the land of Goshen.

This argues the great authority of Joseph, that he makes such promises as these, before he had asked the consent of Pharaoh.

Ver. 12. *Behold, your eyes see, &c.*] You cannot but be convinced, by the lineaments you see in my face, and by the language which I speak, and by all the things which I have related concerning the state of our family, that indeed it is your brother Joseph who speaks to you. Or, more simply, you have it not by hearsay, which might deceive you; but are eye-witnesses that I am alive, and say these things to you.

Ver. 13. *Tell my father of all my glory*] Of the great honour which is done me in Egypt.

Ver. 15.] After their fright was over, and he had so affectionately embraced them, they conversed freely and familiarly with him; acknowledging, it is likely, their crime, and acquainting him with what had passed in their family since they committed it.

Ver. 16.] All the court rang (as we speak) with the news of Joseph's brethren being come; and that they were to fetch their father and settle in Egypt. For Joseph (it appears by the next verse) went and acquainted Pharaoh with his desire.

It pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants.] No wonder that Pharaoh, who had raised Joseph so high, was pleased to be kind to his father and family; and the court follows the pleasure of the king.

Ver. 17. *Pharaoh said unto Joseph, &c.*] This no doubt was the answer Pharaoh made to Joseph's petition; wherein he grants him not only what he asked, but all conducing to it.

Ver. 18. *The good of the land*] The richest part of the country, which produces the noblest fruits.

Ver. 19. *Now thou art commanded.*] Now that thou hast my warrant for it, go about it presently.

Ver. 20. *Regard not your stuff.*] If there be not wagons enough to bring all your stuff, do not matter it; you shall have better here. But the Vulgar seems to take it in a quite contrary sense, as if he had said, *Leave nothing behind you; but bring all you have with*

seph gave them wagons, according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave them provision for the way.

22 To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred *pieces* of silver, and five changes of raiment.

23 And to his father he sent after this manner; ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way.

24 So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out by the way.

you, if you think good: though whatsoever the land of Egypt affords is all yours.

The good of all the land] You shall not want when you come hither, if it be to be had in Egypt.

Ver. 21. *Gave them wagons,*] And horses, no doubt, to draw them; with which Egypt abounded.

Ver. 22. *To—each man changes of raiment;*] Two vests, or robes, as St. Jerome translates it: otherwise there would not have been a change. These were part of the ancient riches, as much as money.

Ver. 23. *After this manner;*] The Hebrew word *ezoth* signifies, according to that which he had given to Benjamin, i. e. money, and several changes of raiment: besides what follows, “ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt,” &c.

Bread and meat] i. e. All manner of provision.

Ver. 24. *See that ye fall not out,* &c.] About what you have formerly done to me, or any thing else that I have said to you. But when you reflect upon your selling me, adore the providence of God, which by that means brought about your happiness and mine.

25 ¶ And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father,

26 And told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. And Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.

27 And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived:

28 And Israel said, *It is enough*; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.

Ver. 26. *Jacob's heart fainted,*] At the mention of Joseph's name he fell into a swoon; being fully persuaded he was dead, and giving no credit to what they said of his being alive.

Ver. 27. *They told him all the words of Joseph,*] When he was come to himself, they related all that had passed between them and Joseph; how great a man he was, and how desirous to see him, &c. (ver. 13).

And when he saw the wagons] Had not only heard their relation, but saw also those carriages (which no doubt were splendid, and suitable to Joseph's quality) that were come to bring him into Egypt, he looked upon them as a sufficient confirmation of the good news.

The spirit of Jacob—revived:] Which Bochart translates, *Pristino vigori restitutus est*, “he was restored to his former vigour.” Not only recovered perfectly from his fainting fit, but raised to a greater liveliness than he had felt since the loss of Joseph.

Ver. 28. *It is enough:*] I wish for no more but to see him; and then I shall be content to die.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1 Jacob is comforted by God at Beer-sheba: 5 Thence he with his company goeth into Egypt. 8 The number of his family that went into Egypt. 28 Joseph meeteth Jacob. 31 He instructeth his brethren how to answer to Pharaoh.

1 AND Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to Beer-sheba, and offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac.

2 And God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here am I.

3 And he said, I am God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation:

4 I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes.

CHAP. XLVI.

Ver. 1. *Came to Beer-sheba,*] Which was in his way from Hebron (where he now lived, xxxv. 27) into Egypt; lying in the most southerly parts of Canaan, near that wilderness through which the Israelites went when they came from Egypt.

Offered sacrifices] Recommended himself and his family unto God's protection in his journey to Egypt, and unto his preservation when he came there. And he the rather called upon God in this place, because both his father and grandfather had found favour with him here (xxi. 33, xxvi. 23).

Unto the God of his father Isaac.] Who was his immediate ancestor, and had conferred the blessing of Abraham upon him; and therefore he mentions him rather than Abraham.

Ver. 2. *The visions of the night,*] See upon xx. 3. *Jacob, Jacob.*] He redoubles his name to awaken

his attention; and he calls him Jacob rather than Israel (as he is called in the beginning of the verse), to remember him what he was originally, and that by his favour he was made Israel.

Ver. 3. *Fear not to go down into Egypt:*] He was afraid, perhaps, that if Joseph should die, his family might be made slaves; for which he had some reason, from what was said to Abraham, in a like vision (xv. 13).

I will there make of thee a great nation.] He renews the promise, which at the same time was made to Abraham, that his seed should be as numerous as the stars of heaven (xv. 5).

Ver. 4. *I will go down with thee,* &c.] Take care of thee in thy journey, that no evil shall befall thee; and preserve thee and thy family there.

Bring thee up again:] i. e. His posterity, who should multiply there: for the Scripture speaks of parents and children as one person.

5 And Jacob rose up from Beer-sheba: and the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him.

6 And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him:

7 His sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.

8 ¶ And these *are* the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn.

9 And the sons of Reuben: Hanoch, and Phallu, and Hezron, and Carmi.

10 ¶ And the sons of Simeon: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman.

11 ¶ And the sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

12 ¶ And the sons of Judah: Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Pharez, and Zarah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul.

Put his hands upon thine eyes.] Be with thee when thou leavest this world; and take care of thy funeral, when thou art dead. For this was the first thing that was done, when one expired, to close his eyes; which was performed both among Greeks and Romans (as many authors inform us) by the nearest relations, or dearest friends (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 7, n. 12; and Menochius de Repub. Heb. lib. viii. cap. 4, qu. xi).

In short, by these words God assures him that Joseph should not die while he lived (as Mr. Selden observes out of Baal-haturim, in his additions to the forenamed chapter, p. 737), and that he should die in peace, having his children about him.

Ver. 7. *His daughters.]* He had but one daughter, and therefore the plural number is used for the singular (as ver. 23, *sons* is put for *son*) or, else he includes his granddaughter, who in Scripture language is called the daughter of her grandfather. But the first seems the truest account, if what is said ver. 15, be considered. Where the whole number of his descendants from Leah being summed up, Dinah (under the name of daughters) must be taken in, to make up three-and-thirty; reckoning Jacob himself also for one of them.

Ver. 9. *Hanoch,]* From whom came the family of the Hanochites, as we read Numb. xxvi. 5.

Phallu,] From whom, in like manner, sprung the family of the Phalluites, as Moses there notes; and says the same of the rest of Reuben's sons, that they were the fathers of families, when they came into Egypt.

Ver. 10. *Jemuel,]* This son of Simeon is called Nemuel in Numb. xxvi. 12, and 1 Chron. iv. 24.

Ohad,] He is named among the sons of Simeon, when Moses was sent to bring them out of Egypt (Exod. vi. 15). But either he had no posterity, or they were extinct: for shortly after there is no mention of him, in Numb. xxvi. 12. Nor is he to be found among his sons in 1 Chron. iv. 24.

Jachin,] Is called Jarib in 1 Chron. iv. 24, and is thought by some to have been the grandfather of Zimri, whom Phinehas slew in his fornication with the Midianitish woman.

Ver. 12. *Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.]*

13 ¶ And the sons of Issachar: Tola, and Phuvah, and Job, and Shimron.

14 ¶ And the sons of Zebulun: Seread, and Elon, and Jahleel.

15 These *be* the sons of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in Padan-aram, with his daughter Dinah: all the souls of his sons and his daughters *were* thirty and three.

16 ¶ And the sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and Ezbon, Eri, and Arodi, and Areli.

17 ¶ And the sons of Asher: Jimnah, and Ishuah, and Isui, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the sons of Beriah: Heber, and Malchiel.

18 These *are* the sons of Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bare unto Jacob, *even* sixteen souls.

19 The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife: Joseph, and Benjamin.

20 ¶ And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On bare unto him.

21 ¶ And the sons of Benjamin *were* Belah,

And therefore are not to be numbered among them that went down into Egypt; but, instead of them, the two sons of Pharez are set down, though, perhaps, not now born; to supply the place of Er and Onan.

The sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul.] When Jacob went down into Egypt, Pharez was so young, that one can scarce think he had two sons at that time; but they were born soon after, before Jacob died. And St. Austin seems to have truly judged, that Jacob's descent into Egypt comprehends all the *seventeen* years which he lived after it. Or, we may conceive it possible, that their mother was with child of them when Jacob went down into Egypt. For then Pharez is thought to have been *fourteen* years old; at which age it is so far from being incredible that he might have two sons, that, in these later ages, some have begotten a child when they were younger. Jul. Scaliger, a man of unquestionable credit, assures us that in his memory there was a boy, not quite *twelve* years old, who had a daughter by a cousin of his, who was not quite *ten*. Rem notam narro, et cujus memoria adhuc recens est in Aquitania. "This was a known thing, the memory of which was then fresh in Aquitain."

Ver. 13. *The sons of Issachar: Tola,]* Some have wondered that he should give his eldest son a name that signifies a *worm*. Perhaps it was (as Bochart conjectures) because he was a poor shrivelled child when he was born, not likely to live. And yet it pleased God, that he became a great man, from whom sprang a numerous offspring (Numb. xxvi. 23), and so fruitful, that in the days of David, there were numbered above *two-and-twenty thousand* of them (1 Chron. vii. 2), who were men of might and valour.

Ver. 15. *Which she bare unto Jacob in Padan-aram,]* She bare the fathers of them there; but the children were born in Canaan.

All the souls, &c.] See ver. 7.

Ver. 19. *Rachel, Jacob's wife:]* She was his only choice, as was noted before, on xlv. 27.

Ver. 21. *The sons of Benjamin, &c.]* He being now but about *twenty-four* years old, we cannot well think he had all these sons when he went down into Egypt: but some of them were born afterward, be-

and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, Ehi, and Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard.

22 These are the sons of Rachel, which were born to Jacob : all the souls were fourteen.

23 ¶ And the sons of Dan ; Hushim.

24 ¶ And the sons of Naphtali ; Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shillem.

25 These are the sons of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter, and she bare these unto Jacob : all the souls were seven.

26 All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six ;

27 And the sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, were two souls : all the souls

fore Jacob died, as was said before (ver. 12). Yet they are all here mentioned, because they were most of them now born, and all became the heads of families in their tribe. It is possible he might begin so early to beget children, as to have all these before they went into Egypt (see ver. 12).

Ver. 26. *Came out of his loins,*] In the Hebrew, *out of his thigh*. A modest expression : the parts serving for the propagation of mankind being placed between the thighs.

All the souls were threescore and six ;] i. e. Leaving out Joseph and his two sons (who did not come with Jacob into Egypt, but were there already) and Jacob himself (who could not be said to come out of his own loins), they made just this number.

Ver. 27. *All the souls—which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten.*] There is a remarkable difference between this verse and the foregoing. There (ver. 26), they only are numbered who came with Jacob into Egypt : which were no more than threescore and six. But here are numbered all that came into Egypt (viz. first and last), which plainly comprehend Jacob, Joseph, and his two sons ; and make up threescore and ten.

Ver. 28. *He sent Judah before him*] Who seems by the whole story to have been the most eminent among Jacob's children, when Joseph was gone ; as was noted before (xlv. 14).

To direct his face, &c.] To give Joseph notice of his coming ; and to receive directions from him, in what part of Goshen he should expect him.

They came into the land of Goshen.] Into that part of it which Joseph had appointed.

Ver. 29. *Presented himself unto him ;*] With such reverence as a son owes to his father, who embraced him most tenderly. For some refer the next words to Jacob, *he fell on his neck, &c.* ; which expresses the highest affection.

Wept on his neck a good while.] We read before how Joseph fell upon Benjamin's neck, and wept ; which was answered by the like endearments on Benjamin's part (xlv. 14). But the affection wherewith Jacob embraced Joseph (as Maimonides understands it), or (as R. Solomon Jarchi) Joseph embraced his father, far surpassed that. For they continued longer enfolded in one another's arms ; where tears of joy flowed so fast, that for a good while they could not speak.

Ver. 30. *Israel said unto Joseph,*] Some make this an argument that it was Joseph, who, lighting out of his chariot, threw himself into his father's arms and wept, &c., which made Moses now more distinctly mention who said the following words.

Now let me die, &c.] These words signify that he

of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten.

28 ¶ And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen ; and they came into the land of Goshen.

29 And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him ; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.

30 And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive.

31 And Joseph said unto his brethren, and unto his father's house, I will go up, and shew Pharaoh, and say unto him, My brethren, and my father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are come unto me :

now enjoyed the utmost happiness he could desire on earth ; which therefore he was willing to leave, because nothing could be added to it. These were the first thoughts which his passion suggested to him ; though to live with Joseph, and to enjoy his conversation, was far more than barely to see his face.

Ver. 32. *The men are shepherds, &c.*] He seems to have been afraid, lest Pharaoh should have preferred his brethren, and made them courtiers, or commanders in the army, &c., which might have procured them the envy of the Egyptians : and, besides, have separated them one from another. Whereas, by professing themselves shepherds, and traders in cattle, they kept all together in a body, separate from the Egyptians. Which two reasons are suggested by Josephus.

Ver. 33. *What is your occupation ?*] Your way of living : for men did not live idly in those days.

Ver. 34.] He tells them to justify what he told them he would inform Pharaoh.

That ye may dwell in the land of Goshen ;] A rich country, abounding with pasturage, and also next adjoining to Canaan (as was noted before, xlv. 10), unto which, when the time came, they might the more easily return.

For every shepherd] Not universally, without limitation, but every foreign shepherd. For a considerable part of the Egyptian people were shepherds, as Diodorus Siculus tells us (lib. i. § 2, p. 47, edit. Steph.), where he saith, the country being divided into three parts, the priests had one, their king a second, and the soldiers a third : and there were three other ranks of men under these, viz. shepherds, husbandmen, and artificers. The husbandmen, he saith, served their king, and priests, and military men, in tilling their ground, for small wages, and spent all their time in it. And the like account, he saith, is given of their shepherds, who, from their forefathers, followed that way of living. Which makes it plain they could not abominate those who were so serviceable to them : though they might condemn them as mean people, who never rose to any higher employment. But we need not go to him for the proof of this : it being apparent from this very book, that the Egyptians had sheep and oxen, as well as horses and asses, which they sold to Joseph for corn in the time of famine (xlvii. 17), and that Pharaoh spake to Joseph to make such of his brethren as were men of skill, rulers over his flocks (xlvii. 6), which is a demonstration they bred cattle as well as other nations. And therefore, if we will understand this to be true of all shepherds, without exception, then, by Egyptians (to whom shepherds are said to be an abomination), we must not understand all the people of the country of Egypt (shepherds being a part of them), but only the courtiers

32 And the men *are* shepherds, for their trade hath been to feed cattle; and they have brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have.

and great men, as in xlv. 2, the Egyptians are said to hear Joseph weep, i. e. those that belonged to the court: who, it is likely, despised shepherds (as Rupertus Tutiensis long ago expounded this passage); but that is far short of abominating them, which the Hebrew word imports. But after all this, I do not see how they could be contemptible, if it be true which the same Diodorus saith, p. 58. That when they buried a corpse, and made the funeral encomium, they never mentioned the parentage of the deceased; *ἡ τιμαβαύοντες ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἐνγενέσι εἶναι τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον*, "making account that all the people of Egypt were alike well-born."

We must confine therefore this assertion to foreign shepherds; and it is not easy to give the reason why they were an abomination to the Egyptians, who were shepherds themselves. Onkelos and Jonathan, with a great many others, think that they would not converse (for that is meant by abomination) with the Hebrew shepherds; because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. But there is no good proof that they worshipped sheep or oxen in those days; and, on the contrary, it appears both out of Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, that they sacrificed such creatures in their days, and also ate of the sacrifices when they had done (see Herodot. in Euterpe, cap. 40, 41). And therefore the reason given by others for this abhorrence is not solid; that the Egyptians did eat no flesh, and upon that score could not endure those that did. This is the account which Aben Ezra gives of this matter; who fancies they were like the Indians, in his time, who abominated shepherds, because they drunk milk; contrary to their manners, who tasted nothing that came from any living creature. But, as it cannot be proved that this superstition was so old as Jacob's time: so the contrary is evident from this very book (xliii. 16), where Joseph bids his steward go home and *slay and make ready* a dinner for his brethren; whom he did not intend to entertain after the Hebrew, but after the Egyptian fashion; that he might not be known by them. And so Herodotus informs us, that in his days, though they abstained from some animals, yet they ate of others, both fish and birds (Euterpe, cap. 78). And Diodorus, giving an account after what manner their kings lived, saith they used a simple diet, *eating real and geese*, &c. (lib. i. § 2, p. 45, edit. Steph.).

Jos. Scaliger therefore thinks this sort of men were abominable, because they had often raised rebellion in Egypt, and made a king of their own; who erected that which is called the *pastoral kingdom*. This is embraced by many great men, who have only the authority of Manetho for it; who says, these were Phœnician shepherds (as Josephus tells us, lib. i. contra Appion.), who reigned in Egypt, burnt their cities, and threw down their temples; in short, omitted no sort of cruelties. Upon this account the famous Bochartus (lib. iv. Canaan. cap. 4) thinks it possible the Egyptians hated shepherds, who had done so much mischief: and, I may add, the Hebrew shepherds Joseph might think would be more abominated, because they came out of that very country, from whence those Phœnician rovers made their invasion. But as it doth not appear that they who did the forenamed mischief, were all foreigners; so the time which is assigned for this *pastoral kingdom* doth not agree with the Scripture story. For it is said to have been in the one thousand one hundred and twelfth year before the Israelites' going out of Egypt; in the fifteenth

33 And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What *is* your occupation?

34 That ye shall say, Thy servants' trade

dynasty, as they call it; that is, about two-and-forty years after the flood, when Mizraim the father of the Egyptians was scarce born, or was very young.

Our great primate Usher endeavours to avoid this absurdity, by placing this invasion (which he thinks was out of Arabia) three hundred years after the flood: when they took Memphis, overran all the lower Egypt, and their first king there reigned nineteen years. But I have this to except; that Abraham, coming a good while after this into Egypt, was well entertained there; though he was as much a shepherd as his grandchild Jacob (see Gen. xii.).

From whence I conclude, that if this story of Manetho be true, it happened after the time of Abraham; and so was fresh in their memory. Such a third rebellion of the shepherds the same Manetho mentions, within less than two hundred years before the children of Israel's departure out of Egypt. But this seems to be a story, framed from that departure of the Israelites themselves (who were shepherds) out of Egypt under the conduct of Moses. And so Josephus and several of the ancient Christians (Tatiansus, Justin Martyr, and Clem. Alexandrinus) understood it (see Usser. ad An. M. 2179).

All this considered, Gaulmin (in his notes upon the book called the Life of Moses, p. 267, &c.) hath more probably conjectured, that this aversion to shepherds arose from their being generally addicted, in those parts, to robbery; which way of life made them abominable. This he justifies out of Heliodorus (lib. i.) and Achilles Tatius (lib. iii.), who describe the seat of these *Βουκόλοι* and *Ποιμένες* (whom the Egyptians called *Hysch*), and the manner of their life. To which opinion I find Bochart himself inclined before he died, and confirms it (in his Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 44, par. 1) by many proofs, that shepherds anciently were *furax hominum* genus, a thievish sort of people; which made them odious. Against which I see no exception but this; that Aulus Gellius tells us (lib. xi. cap. 18), out of an ancient lawyer, that the old Egyptians held all manner of thefts to be lawful, and did not punish them. And Diodorus Siculus mentions this law among them, That they who would live by robbery, were to enter their names, and bring what they stole immediately to the priest, who mulcted the man that was robbed a fourth part, and gave it to the thief; by which means all thefts were discovered, and men were made more careful, to look well after their goods. But one cannot believe this law was of such antiquity as the times of Joseph: or, if it was, those outlaws (as I may call them) who robbed upon the borders, were not concerned in it: nor had their neighbours, who were no less addicted to theft, the benefit of it. Particularly those in Palestine, from whence Jacob came, one would guess by what we read 1 Chron. vii. 21, 22, were then much addicted to robbery. For, before this generation ended, we are told there the men of Gath slew several of the sons of Ephraim (who himself was then alive), "for they came down to take their cattle," saith that holy writer; that is, to get what plunder they could in Goshen: where the Ephraimites, defending their cattle, were some of them killed by the Philistines, to the great grief of their father. The Ethiopians also are noted by Strabo (lib. xvii. p. 787), to live for the most part, *Νομαδικῶς καὶ ἄπόρως*, after a very poor, sharking, roving manner, by feeding cattle, where they could find food for them. And immediately adds, *Τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἅπαντα τὰναντία συμβέβηκε*, that all things were quite contrary among

hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, *and* also our fathers: that ye

may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.

the Egyptians, who were a more civilized people, inhabiting certain and known places, &c. Which shows that their manners were very different; which easily bred hatred. Which appears by what Plutarch saith (in his book de Isid. et Osir.) that the Egyptians avoided the conversation of *black people*: which was the complexion of the Ethiopians. And for some such reason, he saith, in the same book, they avoided all mariners (of other nations, that is), as here Moses says they did shepherds, upon some or other of the accounts before mentioned.

It looks like a piece of great generosity in Joseph, not to conceal from Pharaoh the quality of his family: though such kinds of men were under a very ill character. He hoped they would distinguish themselves from such vile shepherds as had made the name odious: and if they did not gain the love of the Egyptians, they would be the more secured in the love of God, by not learning their evil manners and superstitions: from which they would be preserved by having no conversation with them.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1 Joseph presenteth five of his brethren, 7 and his father, before Pharaoh. 11 He giveth them habitation and maintenance. 13 He getteth all the Egyptians' money, 16 their cattle, 18 their lands to Pharaoh. 22 The priests' land was not bought. 25 He letteth the land to them for a fifth part. 28 Jacob's age. 29 He sweareth Joseph to bury him with his fathers.

1 THEN Joseph came and told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have, are come out of the land of Canaan; and, behold, they *are* in the land of Goshen.

2 And he took some of his brethren, *even* five men, and presented them unto Pharaoh.

3 And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What *is* your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants *are* shepherds, both we, and also our fathers.

4 They said moreover unto Pharaoh, For to

sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine *is* sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen.

5 And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee:

6 The land of Egypt *is* before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest *any* men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.

CHAP. XLVII.

Ver. 1. *Joseph came and told Pharaoh, &c.*] He had his warrant some time ago, to send for his father and his family (xlv. 17, &c.) But it was good manners to acquaint him they were come; and to know his pleasure, how he should dispose of them.

Behold, they are in the land of Goshen.] They stop there (which was the entrance of Egypt) till they know thy pleasure.

Ver. 2. *He took some of his brethren, &c.*] The Hebrew word *miktse* (which we translate *some*) signifies in common language, *de extremitate*, from the fag-end, as we speak, of his brethren: which hath made some imagine, he presented the meanest of his brethren to Pharaoh; that he might neither be afraid of them, nor think of advancing them to employments in the court or camp. But this is a mere fancy; the word here denoting only, that he took from among all his brethren five of them: as Bochart observes, who translates it, *ex omnibus fratribus suis*; taking it to be like that phrase (xix. 4), where we translate it *from all quarters* (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 34).

Ver. 3. *Both we, and also our fathers.*] It is not an employment we have lately taken up, but were bred to it by our ancestors; who followed the same profession. For this was the most ancient way of living, as Columella observes in his preface, *In rusticatione antiquissima est ratio pascendi, eademque quaestuosissima.* "In country business, the most ancient, as well as most gainful, is the way of feeding cattle." From whence he thinks came the name of *pecunia* for money, and *peculium*, for riches, a *pecoribus*, from cattle; because the ancients had no other possessions.

Et adhuc apud quasdam gentes unum hoc reperitur divitiarum genus. "And to this day (saith he), there is no other riches to be found among some nations." Which is still true of the Abyssines, especially of the Beklenses, as Ludolphus assures us (lib. i. Hist. Ethiop. cap. 10, § 8, and Comment. in Histor. lib. iv. cap. 4, n. 13).

Ver. 4. *To sojourn*] We do not desire to settle, but only to sojourn here, during the famine.

For the famine is sore in the land of Canaan.] It was a high country, in comparison with Egypt; and the grass sooner burnt up there than in Goshen, which being a very low country, they found some pasture in it for their flocks, and therefore besought him to suffer them to dwell there. For, as St. Austin observes, from those that knew the country, there was more grass in the marshes and fenny parts of Egypt, when the Nile did not overflow enough to make plenty of corn (Quest. clx. in Gen.).

Ver. 6. *The land of Egypt is before thee.*] It is all in thy power: dispose of them as thou pleasest.

Any men of activity] Vigorous and industrious; and that understand their business.

Make them rulers over my cattle.] Such as Doeg was to Saul (1 Sam. xxi. 7), and those great officers, mentioned 1 Chron. xxvii. 29, 30, 31, were to king David. For the eastern kings raised part of their revenue from cattle; and so did the Egyptian (it appears by this place) who had some prime officers, to oversee the lower sort of shepherds. This shows that all shepherds were not an abomination to the Egyptians, but only those of other neighbouring nations (the Arabians, Phœnicians, and Ethiopians), who were either an ill sort of people, or forbidden by the

7 And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh.

8 And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, How old art thou?

9 And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage.

10 And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh.

11 ¶ And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.

12 And Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, according to their families.

13 ¶ And *there was* no bread in all the land; for the famine *was* very sore, so that the land of Egypt, and *all* the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine.

14 And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.

15 And when money failed in the land of

Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth.

16 And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail.

17 And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread *in exchange* for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year.

18 When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him, We will not hide it from my lord, how that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle; there is not ought left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies, and our lands:

19 Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate.

20 And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's.

21 And as for the people, he removed them to cities from *one* end of the borders of Egypt even to the *other* end thereof.

law of Egypt (which abounded with cattle) to traffic with them there.

Ver. 7. *Jacob blessed Pharaoh.*] Gave him thanks for his favour; and prayed for his health and safety: for that is the blessing of an inferior to a superior. Thus Naaman prays Elisha, "Take a blessing of thy servant," i. e. an acknowledgment of my obligations to thee.

Ver. 9. *Pilgrimage.*] So good men are wont to call their life; though they never stir from their native soil: looking upon it as a passage, not a settlement. But Jacob had reason to call his life so more literally: having been tossed from place to place, ever since he went from his father's house in Mesopotamia, and returned from thence into Canaan: where he dwelt a while at Succoth; and then at Shechem; and after that removed to Bethel; and so to Hebron unto his father Isaac; from whence he was now come into Egypt.

Few and evil have the days, &c.] They had been few, in comparison with his forefathers; and evil, because full of labour and care, grief and sorrow, upon many occasions.

Ver. 10. *Jacob blessed Pharaoh.*] At meeting and at parting such salutations were usual (see ver. 7).

Ver. 11. *In the land of Rameses.*] In that part of Goshen which in the days of Moses was called Rameses; from the name of the city which the Hebrews built there for Pharaoh. Unless, perhaps, the city was called so from the country of Rameses, wherein it stood.

Ver. 12. *Joseph nourished his father, &c.*] Though there was some pasture in this country for their cattle, yet not food enough for themselves; which Joseph therefore took care to supply them withal.

According to their families.] According as their children were more or fewer, so he proportioned their allowance.

Ver. 13. *There was no bread in all the land;*] This was the third year of the famine (xlv. 6), in which all

the corn, which men had stored up in their several families, was wholly spent.

Ver. 14. *Joseph gathered up all the money, &c.*] As long as the Egyptians had any money left, they bought corn of Joseph, which supported them all the third, and, it is probable, the fourth and fifth years of the famine.

Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.] Into the treasury; which he filled, and not his own coffers, as Philo observes.

Ver. 15. *And when money failed.*] This, we may probably conceive, was in the sixth year of the famine, when they were forced to sell their cattle for food.

Ver. 18. *They came—the second year,*] i. e. The next year after the sale of their cattle; which was the last of the famine, as appears from the next verse.

Ver. 19. *Wherefore shall we die—we and our land?*] The land is said to die (as Bochart observes, in the beginning of his Hierozoicon), cum incolta jacet et desolata, "when it lies untilld and desolate;" as he shows by examples out of some poets.

We and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh:] We that were free will become the king's bondmen: and our land, which was our own, we will hold of him.

Give us seed, &c.] This shows it was now the last year of the famine: they desiring corn not merely for food, but also to sow, in hopes to have a crop the next year. For Joseph had told them there should be but seven years of famine; and it is likely Nilus had now begun to overflow the country, as formerly; which confirmed his word.

Ver. 20. *Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh.*] So the whole country became the king's demesne; in which no man had any property but himself.

Ver. 21. *As for the people, he removed them to cities.*] Remote from those wherein they had formerly dwelt. Under the word *cities*, are comprehended all the villages about them.

From one end of the borders of Egypt, &c.] Trans-

22 Only the land of the priests bought he not; for the priests had a portion *assigned them* of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their lands.

23 Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: lo, *here is seed* for you, and ye shall sow the land.

24 And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth *part* unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones.

25 And they said, Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.

26 And Joseph made it a law over the land of

Egypt unto this day, *that* Pharaoh should have the fifth *part*; except the land of the priests-only, *which* became not Pharaoh's.

27 ¶ And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen; and they had possessions therein, and grew, and multiplied exceedingly.

28 And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: so the whole age of Jacob was an hundred forty and seven years.

29 And the time drew nigh that Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt:

30 But I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their

planted them into far distant parts of the country; from whence he brought others, in like manner, into their places: that they might in time forget the dominion they formerly had in the lands they had sold; and that there might be no combination afterwards to regain them: the old owners being separated far one from another.

Ver. 22. *Only the land of the priests bought he not;*] This is commonly noted, as a great piece of religion in Joseph, that he took not away the land of those who were God's ministers: though engaged, it is thought, in superstitious, if not idolatrous services (for, that the word *cohanim* here signifies *priests*, not *princes*, as sometimes it doth, the ancient versions generally agree). But it is plain they were in no necessity to sell their lands, having their diet continually from the king; which is given as the reason (in the following part of this verse) why he did not buy them. This therefore is rather to be observed, that the priests had anciently some public lands allotted to them for the support of their dignity. For both Herodotus and Diodorus tell us, they had a public maintenance, as Vossius observes (lib. i. de Idolol. cap. 29). The priesthood being confined to certain families (as it was in Israel to that of Aaron), and held in such veneration, that they were all not only ἀτελείς, "free from paying tributes," and δεισιπρόνους μετὰ τὸν βασιλῆα, "next to the king in honour and in power;" but received a third of the royal revenues: out of which they maintained the public sacrifices, and their servants, and τὰς ἰδίας ἐχορῆγους, "provided for their own necessities." Thus Diodorus Siculus (lib. i.) as I find him alleged by Jac. Capellus, in his Hist. Sacra et Exot. ad A. M. 2294. Constantine the Great, in part, imitated this constitution, in that law of his, which made even all the professors of learning free from all public charges of any sort, besides the salary he allowed them; that they might the more cheerfully follow their several studies.

Ver. 23.] The bargain could not be denied; but he would not be so rigid as to tie them strictly to it. For in the next verse, he requires only a fifth part of the increase of their ground for the king; and tells them, the rest should be their own. An act of great humanity and equity: wherein he showed himself both a good man and a wise statesman; in taking away all matter of complaint from the people. For a tenth part of the increase was due, in all likelihood, to the king before (xxviii. 22), which he now only doubles: when he might have taken all; or given them but one or two parts, and kept all the rest for the king.

Ver. 25.] We owe our very lives to thee: and therefore let us but have thy favour, and we shall willingly be Pharaoh's servants. This is a high expression of their thankfulness, for such good terms as he offered them; which they readily accepted, with professions of their obligations to be Pharaoh's bondmen.

Ver. 26. *Joseph made it a law]* By his advice this law was enacted; whereby the power of the Egyptian kings was mightily increased; for we read not of the like constitution in any other nation. Thucydides indeed relates that the people of Attica paid to Pisistratus the twentieth part of their corn; and Appianus Alexandr. says, the old Romans paid the tenth of their corn, and the fifth of their fruit: but it was the peculiar prerogative of the Egyptian kings to have the fifth of all the increase of the field: which Joseph procured them by his admirable management.

Ver. 27. *Israel dwelt in the land, &c.]* Ver. 11.

They had possessions therein,] They could have no land of their own (for all the country was become Pharaoh's), but the meaning is, they farmed (as we speak) land of the king, to whom they became tenants.

And grew, and multiplied exceedingly.] And consequently enlarged their habitation beyond the territory of Rameses, where they were first placed, into other parts of Goshen. Which we must not fancy to have been a country now empty of people: for though, perhaps, about Rameses there might be some vacant ground, sufficient for Jacob's family, when they came first to plant there; yet, when they increased very much, no doubt they lived among the Egyptians, where they could find admission. This plainly appears from their going from thence (Exod. xii. 22, 23), where God commands them to sprinkle their doorposts with the blood of the paschal lamb, to secure them from the destruction which was coming upon their neighbours, who wanted this mark of safety.

Ver. 29. *If now I have found grace in thy sight,]* This is a phrase used a little before (ver. 25), in a little different sense. For there it signifies the *favour* shewn to another: but here is as much as, *if thou lovest me*.

Put—thy hand under my thigh,] i. e. Swear to me, as it is explained in ver. 31 (see xxiv. 2).

Deal kindly] Show me true kindness, in promising and performing what I desire (see xxiv. 27, 49).

Ver. 30. *I will lie with my fathers, &c.]* So all men naturally desire to do: but he had a peculiar reason for it. Which was his belief that the country where their bodies lay, was his in reversion; and that God, in due time, would put his children into possession of it. For which time they could not but the more earn-

buryingplace. And he said, I will do as thou hast said.

31 And he said, Swear unto me. And he

estly long, because the bodies of their ancestors were there buried (see l. 5). Which explains the reason why Jacob exacts an oath of Joseph, not because he doubted he might not otherwise fulfil his desire; but that Pharaoh might be willing to let him carry his body thither when he found he lay under so sacred an obligation to do it.

Ver. 31. *Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.*] Raised up his head from his pillow, and bowed: either to Joseph, in thankfulness for his promise; or to God, for the assurance he had received, that he should be buried with his pious forefathers: or else this bowing was the usual ceremony wherewith an oath was attended. The Chaldee paraphrast thinks the Divine Glory now appeared; which Jacob devoutly worshipped. But, if the author to the Hebrews had not understood his bowing to be an act of worship, the interpretation of some modern writers might, perhaps, have been thought reasonable: who translate these words thus, *he laid himself down on his pillow*: as weak men are wont to do, after they have sat up a while, to despatch some business. For the Hebrew word *shakah*, which signifies to bow the body,

sware unto him. And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.

signifies also to *fall down* upon the earth; and therefore might be here translated *lie down*. But the apostle, as I said, hath overruled all such conceits, if we suppose him to translate this passage, Heb. xi. 21. Which to me indeed doth not seem evident. For the apostle is there speaking of another thing; not of what Jacob did now, when Joseph sware to him; but of what he did *after these things* (xlviii. 1), when he blessed Joseph's sons. Then the apostle says, "he worshipped upon the top of his staff." Which is not the translation of Moses's words in this place: but words of his own, whereby he explains the following story; and shows how strong his faith was, when his body was so weak that he was not able to bow himself and worship without the help of his staff. This clearly removes all the difficulty, which interpreters have made, about reconciling the words of Moses here in this verse, to the apostle's words in that.

But however this be, Jacob's bowing here, I doubt not, signifies worshipping; as the Vulgar Latin takes it; where the word God is added (which is not in the Hebrew), and these words thus translated, *Israel worshipped God, turning himself to the bed's head.*

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1 Joseph with his sons visiteth his sick father. 2 Jacob strengtheneth himself to bless them. 3 He repeateth the promise. 5 He taketh Ephraim and Manasseh as his own. 7 He telleth Joseph of his mother's grave. 9 He blesseth Ephraim and Manasseh. 17 He preferreth the younger before the elder. 21 He prophesieth their return to Canaan.

1 AND it came to pass after these things, that one told Joseph, Behold, thy father is sick: and he took with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

2 And one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee: and Israel strengthened himself, and sat upon the bed.

3 And Jacob said unto Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me,

4 And said unto me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a multitude of people; and will give this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession.

5 ¶ And now thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Ver. 1. *After these things.*] Some time after, though not long (for Jacob was nigh his end, when he sent for Joseph to make him swear he would bury him with his fathers), he grew so weak, that he concluded he could not live long.

One told Joseph,] A messenger was sent from his father's house, to acquaint Joseph with his weak condition. So the next verse teaches us to understand it.

He took with him, &c.] Immediately he went to receive his blessing, and took with him his two sons, that he might bless them also.

Ver. 2.] Joseph sent a messenger before him, to let his father know he was coming to visit him.

Israel strengthened himself.] This message revived him; and made him stir up all his spirits to receive him cheerfully.

And sat upon the bed.] Leaning, it is likely, upon his staff, for the support of his feeble body (see xlvii. ult.).

Ver. 3. *Appeared unto me at Luz.*] He appeared twice to him in this place. First, when he went to Padan-aram (xxviii. 13), upon which he gave this place the name of Bethel (ver. 19), and when he re-

turned from thence (xxxv. 6, 9, &c.), and both times made him the promise which here follows; and therefore it is likely he hath respect to both.

And blessed me,] Promised to me the blessing which follows.

Ver. 4. *For an everlasting possession.*] We do not read this in either of the appearances, in so many words: but he said it in effect, when he told him, in the last appearance there (xxxv. 12), "The land which I gave to Abraham, and Isaac, to thee will I give it," &c. Now he gave it to Abraham and his seed for ever (xiii. 15).

Ver. 5.] Having assured him God would be as good as his word, in giving the land of Canaan to his posterity, he tells him what share his children should have in it.

Are mine,] Thy two sons shall be reckoned as if I had begotten them: and accordingly have each of them an inheritance, equal with the rest of my sons; and be distinct tribes.

As Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine.] He instances in them, because they were his eldest sons: who, he says, should have no more than Ephraim and Manasseh. And, perhaps, the meaning may be, these two shall be accounted as the firstborn of my family.

6 And thy issue, which thou begetteth after them, shall be thine, *and* shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance.

7 And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet *there was* but a little way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath; the same is Bethlehem.

8 And Israel beheld Joseph's sons, and said, *Who are these?*

9 And Joseph said unto his father, *They are my sons, whom God hath given me in this place.* And he said, Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them.

10 Now the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could not see. And he brought them near unto him; and he kissed them, and embraced them.

11 And Israel said unto Joseph, I had not

For he gives Joseph the primogeniture (who was indeed the firstborn of his first intended wife), and bestows a double portion upon him; by making his two sons equal to the rest of his children.

Ver. 6. *And thy issue.*] I will make no distinct provision for them, as I have done for these two: but they "shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance," i. e. be reckoned among these two, Ephraim and Manasseh; and not make distinct tribes, as they shall, but be comprehended in them.

Ver. 7. *And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me, &c.*] He mentions her death (which doth not seem to belong to the foregoing discourse), because it happened presently after that last promise in Bethel (xxxv. 18), and he thought it would be grateful to his son, to hear him remember his dear mother. For it is as if he had said, "And now, my son, this puts me in mind of thy mother, who died immediately after that promise of multiplying my seed: and yet I see it fulfilled in those children which God hath given thee." Or, we may look upon these words as giving the reason why he took Ephraim and Manasseh to be his own children; and the sense to be as if he had said, "Thy mother indeed, and my beloved wife, died soon after she began to bear children; when she might have brought me many more: and therefore I adopt these her grandchildren, and look upon them as if they had been born of Rachel. And I do it in memory and honour of her, supplying by adoption, what was wanting in generation."

And I buried her there] He could not carry her to the cave of Machpelah, where he desired to be laid himself; because she died in childbed, which constrained him to bury her sooner than otherwise he might have done. And it is to be supposed he had not in his travels all things necessary to preserve her body long, by embalming her, as Joseph did him.

Ver. 8. *Israel beheld Joseph's sons, &c.*] He saw two others stand by Joseph; but could not discern distinctly who they were, by reason of the dimness of his sight (ver. 10).

Ver. 9. *I will bless them.*] As he had just before promised (ver. 5).

Ver. 10. *He brought them near unto him;*] And made them kneel down before him: as the twelfth verse seems to intimate.

He kissed them, &c.] Expressed the greatest affection to them.

Ver. 12. *Brought them out from between his knees,*] It appears by ver. 2, that Jacob sat upon his bed; and

thought to see thy face: and, lo, God hath shewed me also thy seed.

12 And Joseph brought them out from between his knees, and he bowed himself with his face to the earth.

13 And Joseph took them both, Ephraim in his right hand toward Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's right hand, and brought them near unto him.

14 And Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who *was* the younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, guiding his hands wittingly; for Manasseh *was* the firstborn.

15 ¶ And he blessed Joseph, and said, God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day,

16 The Angel which redeemed me from all

his legs hanging down, they kneeled between his knees: from whence Joseph took them. And then seems to have placed himself in the same posture, "bowing himself with his face to the earth" (as the following words tell us), to give his father thanks for his kindness to his children. Or, rather, we may conceive, that while Jacob embraced them in his arms, and kissed them with more than ordinary affection, Joseph was afraid that they might lie too long, or press too hard, upon his father's breast, and create some trouble to a feeble old man: and therefore he withdrew them from thence, and disposed them to receive his blessing.

Ver. 13. *Joseph took them both, &c.*] Made them kneel down by himself, before Jacob; placing Ephraim toward's Jacob's left hand, &c.

Ver. 14. *Stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head,*] Laying hands on the head of any person, was always used in this nation in giving blessings, and designing men to any office; and in the consecration of public and solemn sacrifices. This is the first time we meet with the mention of it; but in aftertimes we often read of it; particularly when Moses constituted Joshua to be his successor, God orders him to do it by laying his hands on him (Numb. xxvii. 18, 23; Dent. xxxiv. 9). Thus children were brought to our blessed Saviour, that he might lay his hands on them and bless them; and so he did (Matt. xix. 13, 15). And the right hand being the stronger, and that wherewith we commonly perform every thing, the laying that on Ephraim's head was giving him the pre-eminence.

Who was the younger.] It is observed by Theodoret upon 1 Sam. xvi., that God was wont from the beginning to prefer the younger before the elder; as Abel before Cain; Shem before Japheth; Isaac before Ishmael; Jacob before Esau; Judah and Joseph before Reuben; and here Ephraim before Manasseh, as afterwards Moses before Aaron; and David, the youngest of all, before his elder brethren. Which was to show that the Divine benefits were not tied to the order of nature; but dispensed freely according to God's most wise goodness.

Guiding his hands wittingly;] He did not mistake by reason of his blindness; but foreseeing, by the spirit of his prophecy, how much Ephraim would excel the other, he designedly and on purpose thus laid his hands across; so that the right hand lay upon the head of Ephraim, who was next to his left, &c.

Ver. 15. *He blessed Joseph,*] In the blessing he bestowed on his children.

evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth.

17 And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him: and he held up his father's hand, to remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head.

18 And Joseph said unto his father, Not so, my father: for this *is* the firstborn; put thy right hand upon his head.

All my life long] The Hebrew word *mehodt* signifies à die quo ego sum (as Bochart interprets it, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 14), "ever since I had a being."

Ver. 16. *The Angel which redeemed me*] Who, by God's order, and as his minister, preserved me in all the dangers wherein I have been. Many of the ancient fathers (as Athanasius, lib. iv. contra Arianos, Cyril upon this place, Procopius Gazæus, &c.) understand hereby an uncreated angel, viz. the Second Person of the blessed Trinity. "But the discourse is not concerning the sending of the Son of God in our flesh to redeem mankind, but only concerning the preservation and prosperity of one man; and therefore I do not know whether it be safe to call him an angel, i. e. a minister or messenger, lest we detract from his Divinity. For in conferring blessings, he is not a messenger or minister, but a principal cause together with the Father." They are the words of that famous divine, Georg. Calixtus; who follows St. Chrysostom: who takes this *angel* to be one properly so called: and thence proves the heavenly ministers take care of pious people. And so doth St. Basil in no less than three places of his works: which show it was his settled opinion. But it did not enter into their thoughts that Jacob here prayed to an angel; but only wished these children might have the angelic protection, by the special favour of God to them. For it is just such an expression as that of David, to a contrary purpose (Psalm xxxv. 6), "Let the angel of the Lord persecute them," where nobody will say he prays to an angel; though his words are exactly like these of Jacob's.

Let my name be named on them,] Here he plainly adopts them to be his children, as he said before he would (ver. 5). For to be called by one's name (which is the same with having his name named on them), is as much as to be one's children. For thus they that are said to be called by God's name, became his peculiar people. Therefore Tostatus well interprets it, Sint duo capita tribuum inter filios Jacob: "Let them be the heads of two tribes among the sons of Jacob." But none so plainly as David Chytræus, whose words are these, Vera et simplicissima sententia hæc est; Isti pueri à me adoptati, &c. "The true and most simple sense is, These youths, Manasseh and Ephraim, who are adopted by me, shall not hereafter be called the sons of Joseph, but my sons: and be heirs, and, in the division of the inheritance of the land of Canaan, receive an equal portion with my sons."

Grow into a multitude] The Hebrew word, as Onkelos interprets it, signifies increase like fishes (as we also in the margin translate it), which are the most fruitful of all creatures, as authors commonly observe (see Bochart, par. i. lib. i. cap. 6, Hierozoic.).

Ver. 19. *His younger brother shall be greater than he,*] His family multiplied faster, according to the signification of his name: as appears from Numb. i. 33, 35. And the kingdom was afterwards established

19 And his father refused, and said, I know it, my son, I know it: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations.

20 And he blessed them that day, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before Manasseh.

21 And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die: but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the land of your fathers.

in him: and all the ten tribes called by the name of Ephraim.

Shall become a multitude of nations.] In the Hebrew, the words are *fulness of nations*, i. e. of families. As much as to say, his seed shall replenish the country with numerous families: for that which replenishes the earth, is called "the fulness of the earth" (Psalm xxiv. 1), and that which replenishes the sea, "the fulness of the sea" (Psalm xvi. 11; Isa. xlii. 10). See L. de Dieu.

Ver. 20.] He concluded with a solemn benediction upon them both: and when he pronounced it, worshipped God (as the apostle tells us, Heb. xi. 21), leaning upon the top of his staff. Whereby he was supported from falling; of which he would have been in danger, when he bowed, if he had not leaned on it.

In thee shall Israel bless.] When my posterity would wish all happiness to others, they shall use this form of speech; *God make you like Ephraim and Manasseh.* Which continues, they say, among the Jews to this day.

Ver. 21. *Bring you again unto the land of your fathers.*] Where your fathers sojourned: and which God bestowed upon them in reversion.

Ver. 22. *Which I took out of the hand of the Amorite, &c.*] He doth not mean the city of Shechem; which his sons took unjustly and cruelly (and not from the Amorites, but the Hivites), without his knowledge, and contrary to his will: but that piece of land which he bought of Hamor the father of Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 19, compared with St. John iv. 5). Which seems to be the reason why Joseph was himself here buried in his own ground, given him by his father (Josh. xxiv. 32), and not in the cave of Machpelah. The only difficulty is, how he could say, that he took this land from the Amorite by his sword and by his bow (which comprehend all warlike instruments), when he bought it for a hundred pieces of silver of Hamor the Hivite. It is to be supposed therefore that he took it, i. e. recovered it from the Amorites, who had seized on it, after his removal to another part of Canaan; and would not restore it, but constrained him to drive them out by force. We read nothing indeed in the foregoing history, either of their invading his possession, or his expelling them thence: but the Scripture relates many things to have been done, without mentioning the circumstances of time and place: as Bochartus observes. And among other instances, gives that in xxxvi. 24, where Anah is said to have met with the Emims (so he understands it) in the wilderness: of which encounter we find no mention in any other place (see his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 13). And, as I take it, we have a plainer instance in the place a little before mentioned (Heb. xi. 21), where the apostle says, Jacob, when he was dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph, "and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff." Of which there is not a word in this history, but only of his blessing them (ver. 20).

There are those who, with St. Jerome, understand,

22 Moreover I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of

the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.

by sword and bow, his money: which he calls by those warlike names, to signify this was the only instrument he used to acquire any thing. Just as the Romans, when they would signify they had got any thing without any other help but their own industry alone, say they obtained it *proprio Marte*; using a similitude from military expenses and labours. If this do not

seem harsh, it is not hard to give an account why he calls those Amorites, who before were called Hivites: for Amorites seems to have been the general name of all the seven nations of Canaan, they being the chief; just as all the people of the seven United Provinces are now commonly called Hollanders, who are the most potent of all the rest.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1 Jacob calleth his sons to bless them. 3 Their blessing in particular. 29 He chargeth them about his burial. 33 He dieth.

1 AND Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days.

2 Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father.

3 ¶ Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power:

4 Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defilest thou it: he went up to my couch.

CHAP. XLIX.

Ver. 1. *Jacob called unto his sons,*] When he had done speaking with Joseph, perceiving his end approaching, he sent one to call the rest of his sons to come to him.

Gather yourselves together,] Come all in a body to me. Let me see you all together before I die.

That which shall befall you in the last days,] The condition of your posterity in future times. Jacob is the first that we read of, who particularly declared the future state of every one of his sons when he left the world. But it hath been an ancient opinion, that the souls of all excellent men, the nearer they approached to their departure from hence, the more divine they grew; and had a clearer prospect of things to come. Whence Xenophon (lib. viii.), makes his Cyrus say, when he was near his end, that "the souls of men, at the point of death, become prophetic." Which never was universally true; for prophecy is not a natural thing; nor were all excellent men partakers of it: and God communicated it in what measures he pleased to those who had any thing of it; and to Jacob more than had been bestowed upon his great ancestors. For these last words of his may be called *prophecies* rather than *benedictions*: some of them containing no blessing in them; but all of them predictions.

Ver. 2. *Gather yourselves together,*] This is repeated to hasten them; as the two next words, *hear and hearken*, are used to excite their attention. It was the manner of good men among the Hebrews to call all their children before them, and give them good counsel, together with their blessing, when they drew near to their end: the words then spoken being likely to stick fast in their mind.

Ver. 3. *Reuben, &c.*] It is commonly observed, that the style wherein he speaks to his sons is much more lofty than that hitherto used in this book. Which hath made some fancy that Jacob did not deliver these very words; but Moses put the sense of what he said into such poetical expressions. But it seems more reasonable to me, to think that the spirit of prophecy now coming upon him, raised his style as well as his understanding: at it did Moses's also; who delivered his benedictions (in Deut. xxxiii.) in a strain more sublime than his other writings.

Thou art my firstborn,] So we read xxix. 32. To whom the Jews commonly observe belonged three prerogatives—a double portion of the father's estate, the priesthood, and the kingdom (as they speak), i. e. the chief authority among his brethren. The first of these, says the Chaldee paraphrast, was given to Joseph, the second to Levi, the third to Judah, because Reuben had forfeited all the rights of his primogeniture, by his incest with his father's wife. But Mr. Selden himself (who gives a full account of the Jews' opinion in this matter) acknowledges the priesthood was not confined to the first-born before the law, as appears by Abel's offering sacrifice as well as Cain, and Moses being a priest as well as Aaron (Psal. xcix. 6), unless we understand thereby the office of chief priest. And so Jonathan here reports the ancient opinion of the Jews, that Reuben lost the high-priesthood (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 16, p. 643, &c.).

My might,] Whom I begot when I was in my full vigour.

The beginning (or the first-fruits) of my strength,] The same thing, in more words. Or, it may be interpreted, *the prime support of my family*. The first-born is called *the beginning of strength*, in Deut. xxi. 17; Psal. cv. 36.

The excellency of dignity,] Who hadst the pre-eminence among thy brethren (being the first-born), if thou hadst not fallen from it by thy folly; as it follows after.

The excellency of power,] Who wast born to the highest authority among them. The Hebrews refer *dignity* to the priesthood, and *power* to the kingdom. But there being no solid ground to think the priesthood, as I said before, was confined to the eldest brother, I take *dignity* to signify the double portion of the estate; and *power*, authority among them, while they remained in one family.

Ver. 4. *Unstable as water,*] The Hebrew word *pacchaz* signifying *haste*, and in the Chaldee, having the signification of *leaping*, the interpretation of St. Jerome seems most reasonable; which is, *poured out* like water, out of a vessel upon the ground. And then it denotes Reuben's falling from his dignity, and losing his pre-eminence; as water suddenly disappears, when it is poured out on the earth, and sucked

5 ¶ Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.

6 O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew

a man, and in their selfwill they digged down a wall.

7 Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

up into it. Many refer it, particularly Ca. Vitranga in his late Sacred Observations (lib. i. cap. 12), to his unbounded lust: but that is taken notice of in the latter part of this verse, and given as a reason of his being degraded. Others therefore translate the Hebrew word *pachaz* by the Latin word *levis*, a light or vain person (as we speak at this day), and then the meaning still is, *Water is not more prone to flow, when it is poured out, than thou wast to lose thy dignity.* So Georg. Calixtus.

Thou shalt not excel;] There is nothing great said to be done by this tribe in Scripture. And they were not so numerous (to which the Vulgar Latin refers this) by more than a third part, as the tribe of Judah (to whom God gave part of Reuben's prerogative), when Moses by God's command took the sum of all the congregation (Numb. i. 21, 27).

Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed;] Committed incest with my wife (xxxv. 22).

Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.] Or rather, *When thou defiledst my couch, it vanished,* i. e. his excellency departed. For the word *halah*, which is here translated to *go up*, signifies often in Scripture, to *vanish* or *perish*. As in Ps. cii. 25; Isa. v. 24; which makes the easiest sense of this place, in this manner; Ex quo polluitur thorum meum, ascendit ut vapor aut fumus excellentia et dignitas tua, i. e. dilapsa est, extincta est, evanuit. "From the time that thou defiledst my couch, thy excellency and dignity went up like a vapour or smoke, i. e. it slid away, it was extinct, it vanished." They are the words of the forenamed Calixtus; who well observes that this is explained in 1 Chron. v. 1.

Ver. 5. *Simeon and Levi are brethren;*] So were all the rest; but the meaning is, they are alike in their dispositions, and linked together in the same wicked designs: for so the word *brother* sometimes signifies, a companion, or associate, that agrees in the same inclinations or undertakings with others. As Prov. xviii. 9.

Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.] The word *mecheroth* (which we translate *habitations*) is nowhere else found, nor is there any root in the Hebrew language from whence it may derive that signification. Therefore Lud. de Dieu, from the Ethiopic language, translates it *counsels*: for so the word signifies in that tongue; and in an ill sense, conspirations, machinations, or mischievous devices. This Job Ludolphus approves of, and translates this sentence after this manner, *Consilia eorum nihil sunt nisi vis et arma: "Their counsels are nothing but force and arms"* (vid. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 15, n. 106). Aben Ezra is not much different, who translates it, *their compacts*: as G. Vorstius notes upon Pirke Eliezer, cap. 38, where there are other various interpretations, with which I shall not trouble the reader, because I have given that which I think most natural.

Ver. 6. *O my soul, come not thou, &c.*] He utterly disclaims all knowledge of their wicked fact beforehand, or approbation of it afterward. For by *soul* is meant himself; and so the word *honour* or *glory* seems to mean, in the following words; which are but a repetition of this. Or, else it signifies the *tongue*, as in many places of Scripture (particularly Ps. xxx. 12), and the meaning is, he never in thought, much less in word, assented to what they did. They gloried in

the slaughter they made; but God forbid that I should so much as approve it.

Secret signifying the same with *assembly*, is, in reason, to be interpreted a *secret place*, or *close*; where cabals (as we now speak) are wont to be held.

Slew a man,] i. e. *Shechem*; a great man: or, the singular number is put for the plural.

In their selfwill] The Hebrew word *ratson* may well be translated *humour*. When they were in a fit of rage.

They digged down a wall.] Broke into Hamor's house, where Shechem was. In the margin we translate it *houghed* oxen: and indeed the Hebrew word *shor* signifies an ox, not a wall; which they call *shur*. Yet the Vulgar, the Syriac, Arabic, Chaldee, and a great number of the Hebrew authors, interpret it a wall. And though the LXX. translated it *ἐντροχίστρῳ ταύρων*, "they hamstrung an ox;" yet the author of the Greek Scholion (as Bochart acknowledges) translates it *ἐξερρίζωσαν τείχος*, "they undermined a wall." The truth is, we read of neither in the story, but only of their taking their sheep and their oxen (xxxiv. 28), which signifies not their houghing them, but their driving them away. Perhaps, they both broke down a wall to come at their flocks; and also houghed those, which they were afraid would otherwise have escaped their hands, and got away.

Ver. 7. *Cursed be their anger,*] Their fury was most execrable and detestable: and brought a curse upon them.

For it was fierce;] Outrageous; or, as the Vulgar translates it, *pertinacious*. Not a sudden, impetuous passion, that was soon over; but a settled, inflexible rage. So he condemns them upon a double account. First, that they had such an implacable desire of revenge; and then, that their revenge was too cruel.

I will divide them in Jacob, &c.] This is the punishment, which by a prophetic spirit he foretells God would inflict upon them: that they who were associated in wickedness, should be disjoined one from another; when his children came to inherit the land of Canaan. And so it fell out; for Simeon's posterity had not a separate inheritance by themselves, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah, as we read Josh. xix. 1, 9, and accordingly we find them assisting one another, to enlarge their border (Judg. i. 3, 17). And their portion being too strait for them, we read how in aftertimes they acquired possessions where they could, far from the rest of their brethren: five hundred of this tribe, under several captains, going to Mount Seir, and there settling themselves (1 Chron. iv. 39, 42). It is a constant tradition also among the Hebrews (as P. Fagius observes), that a great many of this tribe, wanting a livelihood, applied themselves to the teaching of children, and were employed as schoolmasters in all the other tribes of Israel: where few followed this employment but Simeonites. If this be true, it is a further proof of their scattered condition.

As for the tribe of Levi, it is manifest they had no inheritance allotted to them among their brethren, but were dispersed among all the tribes: having certain cities assigned to them, with a little land about them. This indeed did not prove a curse to them; they having the tenth of all the increase of the land throughout the whole country. For this curse seems to have been taken off, upon that eminent service they

8 ¶ Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee.

9 Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he

couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?

10 The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

did in falling upon the worshippers of the golden calf; and thereby consecrating themselves unto the Lord (Exod. xxxii. 26, 29). Upon which account Moses blesses this tribe a little before he died (Deut. xxxiii. 9), whereas he gives no blessing at all to the tribe of Simeon; but leaves them under this curse; a great ruler of the idolatry by Baal-peor, being a prince of this tribe; whom Phinehas, of the tribe of Levi, slew in his zeal for the Lord (Numb. xxv. 11, 14).

Ver. 8. *Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise:* Or, thou art Judah; and well mayest thou be so called, for thy brethren shall praise thee. The name of Judah signifies praise, unto which his father alludes. It was given him by his mother, in thankfulness to God for him (xxix. 35), and now his father gives another reason of his name: because all his brethren should applaud his worthy acts, and praise God for them. Which is not spoken of Judah's person, but of his family, or tribe; who in future times were very famous.

Thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; To overthrow them, and bring them under: which was eminently fulfilled in David, as he himself acknowledges (Ps. xviii. 40). And so were the foregoing words; when all the daughters of Israel came forth of their cities singing his praise in such a high strain, as offended Saul (1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7).

Bow down before thee. Acknowledge thee their superior.

Ver. 9.] He sets forth in this verse the warlike temper of this tribe; and their undaunted courage, and terribleness to their enemies. And he seems to express the beginning, increase, and full growth, of their power; by a *young lion*, a *lion*, and *lioness*; which is the fiercest of all other.

A lion's whelp: This tribe gave early proof of their valour; being the first that went to fight against the Canaanites, after the death of Joshua (Judg. i. 1, 2). And David, who was of this tribe, when he was but a youth, killed a lion, and a bear, and the great giant Goliath.

From the prey, my son, thou art gone up: He speaks as if he saw them returning in triumph, with the spoils of their enemies: alluding unto lions, who, having gotten their prey in the plain, return satiated to the mountains. As Bochartus observes (par. i. lib. iii. cap. 2, Hierozoic.).

He stooped down, he couched as a lion, The Hebrew word *ari* signifies a *grown lion*, come to his full strength. By whose *stooping down* (*bending his knees*, the Hebrew word signifies) and *couching* to take his rest (which all four-footed beasts do, but the lion is observed to sleep whole days in his den, or in thickets, that he may be fresher for his prey in the night); Jacob sets forth the ease and quiet that Judah should enjoy after their victories, without any fear of disturbance.

As an old lion. I think Bochart hath plainly demonstrated that *labi* signifies a *lioness*: which is rather fiercer than a lion; as he observes out of Herodotus, and other authors (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 1).

Who shall rouse him up? Having overcome his enemies, he shall live in secure peace; free from their incursions: none daring to invade him, no more than to stir up a sleepy lion.

Ver. 10. *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,*

&c.] That the first word *shebet* is rightly translated *sceptre*, we have the unanimous testimony of the three Targums of the ancient book Rabbath, with a great many of the modern rabbins (such as Caskuni, Beehai, Aharbinel, &c.), who all think the word signifies a *sceptre*, and not a *tribe*, as some few would have it; whom some Christians follow; particularly Jac. Altingius hath lately asserted it in his Schilo; but, in my judgment, against the clearest evidence for the other signification. For, as *shebet* doth not originally signify a *tribe*, but a *rod*, or *wand*, shooting from the root of a tree (from whence it was translated to signify a *tribe*, who springs out of a common stock, i. e. the father of a family), so the verse foregoing being a plain prediction of Judah's dominion, not only over external enemies, but over his brethren, what can we so reasonably think to be the design of this verse, as to foretell the continuance and duration of that great power and authority promised in the foregoing? It is observable also that the very same phrase is used in this sense, and cannot have another, Zech. x. 11, "The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away:" where there are two of the words here used; signifying the dominion, which the Egyptians then exercised over the poor Jews, should quite cease. And if Moses had meant a *tribe* in this place, he would not have said the *tribe shall not depart from Judah*, but the *tribe of Judah shall not cease*: for the former looks like a tautology.

The meaning of this word then being settled, it is manifest Jacob here gives Judah the highest superiority over his brethren; and informs them, that from the time his authority should be established, there should continue a form of government in this *tribe*, till the coming of the Messiah. The word *sceptre* is more used in ancient times (as Mr. Selden observes in his Titles of Honour) to signify kingly power, than either *crown* or *diadem*, which have been used more in later times. And therefore the LXX. translate it Ἀρχη, of whose authority the *rod*, *staff*, or *sceptre*, was the ensign. And accordingly in the prophecy of Amos i. 5, "He that holdeth the sceptre," is used absolutely for a king. Now this regal power began in the tribe of Judah, when David was king over all Israel (1 Chron. xxviii. 4), and his posterity held it till the captivity of Babylon.

But then the next word in this verse, *mechokel* (which we translate *lawgiver*), signifies a diminution of this dignity, before the finishing of this prophecy. For *mechokim* were not of equal power with kings; and therefore we translate the word elsewhere *governors* (Judg. v. 9, 14), who were not endued with an absolute power, but depended on the power of another. And thus R. Solomon Jarchi expressly says (in his Commentaries on the Sanhedrim), that as *shebet* signifies the highest authority, so *mechokel* signifies a lesser magistrate or ruler; who was set over the people by the authority and license of the kings of Persia. For this kind of power was settled among them, at their return from Babylon, when Zerobabel was made their governor. And after they were invaded by the Seleucidæ, this authority was recovered and maintained by the Maccabees; till they were deprived of it by Herod and the Romans. At which time Christ came; when it is evident they were become subjects to the Romans, by the very enrolling that was

11 Binding his fole unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his

garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes:

made of them at the birth of our Saviour: which was a public testimony of Augustus's sovereignty over them. So that the meaning of this prophecy is, "There shall be either kings or governors among the Jews till Christ come." So J. Christoph. Wagenseil (who hath discussed this place with great exactness) gives the sense of these words; and it is literally true: till the captivity they had kings; after their return they had governors, under the Persians, Greeks, and Romans (see his *Confut. Carm. Memorialis Libri Nitzachon*. R. Lipmanni, p. 293, &c.).

To strengthen which interpretation he makes this judicious remark, in another place of the same book (p. 373). That the whole time, from the beginning to the end of Judah's authority, was well nigh equally divided between kings and governors. For, according to Josephus (*lib. xi. Antiq. cap. 4*), they lived under kings, from David's time to the captivity, five hundred and thirty-two years; and under the *mechokim* or governors, after the captivity, much about the same number of years. For there being five hundred eighty and eight years from the captivity to our Saviour's birth; if seventy years be deducted (which was the time their captivity lasted) and ten be added (in which, after the birth of Christ, Herod and his son Archelaus reigned in Judea, and it was not yet reduced into the form of a province), there were just five hundred twenty and eight years; that is, the space in which they were under kingly authority, and under subordinate governors, was in a manner of the same length. Which makes it the more wonderful, that Jacob should so many ages before exactly divide the whole power he foresaw would be in Judah, between that which wielded a sceptre, and those who were only subordinate governors.

That the letter *vau* before the word we translate *lawgiver*, hath the force of a disjunctive, and is not a mere copulative, all allow: and there are many examples of it in other places, particularly in the tenth commandment (*Exod. xx. 14*). The greatest objection that I can find against this interpretation is, that though Zerobabel, the first governor after the captivity, was of the tribe of Judah; yet the Maccabees, who were their governors most of the time after the captivity, were of the tribe of Levi. But it is to be considered, that the prophecy doth not say these rulers or governors should be of the tribe of Judah; but only in that tribe which had a government of their own, till the coming of Christ. Besides, by Judah is not to be understood merely the people of that tribe; but all those that were called Jews, consisting also of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi; who were incorporated with them: and were all called Judah, in opposition to the kingdom of Israel. For Benjamin, it is evident, was so near to Judah, that they were reputed the very same. Whence it is that Mordecai, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, is called *Ish Jehudi*, a Jew, in *Esther ii. 5*, because that tribe was comprehended under Judah, from the time that the rest rent themselves from the house of David. When Jeroboam also set up the meanest of the people for priests; who were not of the tribe of Levi (*1 Kings xlii. 33*); this made the Levites fly to Judah and become one of them. And therefore the Maccabees were, in effect, Jews, who held the chief authority among them, till Antigonus was driven out and killed by Herod: who was an Edomite set over them by the Romans.

From between his feet,] The common interpretation everybody knows, which is, of his seed, or posterity: but Ludolphus, instead of *raglau*, feet, would have us

read *daglau*, banners, according to the Samaritan copy. Which is well confuted by the forenamed Wagenseil, p. 269, of the forenamed book: where he translates these words thus, *even to the last end of that state*. For so the people at the feet signifies (*Exod. xi. 8*; *2 Kings iii. 9*), those that bring up the rear, as we now speak. And so some ancient interpreters in the Talmud, he shows, expound it here, of the last posterity of Judah, and the times when their commonwealth was coming to a conclusion.

Until Shiloh come;] Let the original of this word *Shiloh* be what it will (which some translate to be sent, others his son, or child, or his seed, others quiet, peaceable, pacific, prosperous, and consequently, renowned, august, to whom gifts or offerings shall be made, as R. Solomon takes it; others, whose is, viz. the kingdom), the Messiah or Christ is certainly hereby meant: as all the three Targums agree; and the Talmud in the title Sanhedrim, cap. xi. and Baalhaturim, Bereshith-Rabba, and many other ancient and modern Jews. I will mention only the words of R. Bechai; who confesses, it is right to understand this verse of the Messiah, the last Redeemer. "Which is meant when it saith, till Shiloh come, i. e. his Son, proceeding from his seed. And the reason why the word *beno* is not used in this prophecy, but *Shiloh*, is because he would emphatically express a son, who should be brought forth of his mother's womb, after the manner of all those that are born of a woman." Of this interpretation they are so convinced; that, to evade the argument we argue from hence to prove the Messiah is come, they have invented a great many tales of the power they have still in some remote parts of the world. There is a book written on purpose, called, The Voice of glad Tidings, wherein they labour to prove, they have a kingdom still remaining. Which, if it should be granted, signifies nothing; for this prophecy is concerning their government in their own country, the land of Canaan: as they themselves very well know; which makes them so desirous to return thither again, that the hand of Judah may be upon the neck of his enemies, and he may go up from the prey like a lion, and tie his ass to the vine, and wash his garments in wine, &c. as the words are in the rest of this prophecy. And whatsoever some of them are pleased to say concerning their power nobody knows where, they are sometimes in a contrary humour: for in the Gemara Sanhedrim they say (*cap. xi. § 32*), "There shall not be the least magistrate in Israel, when the Messiah comes."

Unto him shall the gathering of the people be.] So this clause is expounded by Abarbinel himself, whose words are, the people of the nations shall be gathered to worship him, i. e. the Messiah (see L'Empereur in Jacchiad. p. 164, and Codex Middoth. p. 106, 107). Wagenseil indeed thinks the most literal interpretation to be this, to him shall be the obedience of the people: which is the interpretation of Onkelos and the Jerusalem paraphrast. Kimchi also (*lib. Radic.*) so expounds it, the people shall obey him; taking upon them to observe, what he shall command them. And in *Prov. xxx. 17*, which is the only place besides this where this word *jikkah* is found, it seems to signify obedience.

See *Confut. Carm. R. Lipmanni*, p. 225, where Wagenseil, after the examination of every particular word in this verse, thus sums up the sense of it in this paraphrase.

"That royal power and authority which shall be established in the posterity of Judah, shall not be taken from them; or, at least, they shall not be destitute of rulers and governors, no, not when they are

12 His eyes *shall be* red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.

in their declining condition: until the coming of the Messiah. But when he is come, there shall be no difference between the Jews and other nations: who shall all be obedient unto the Messiah. And after that the posterity of Judah shall have neither king nor ruler of their own: but the whole commonwealth of Judah shall quite lose all form, and never recover it again."

The truth of this exposition appears exactly from their history: of which it will be useful here to give an account. For from David to the captivity of Babylon they held the sceptre, for five whole ages and more, as I observed above. After which, when seventy years were finished in that captivity, they lived by their own laws in their own country: but had no absolute authority of their own, independent upon others; nor ever enjoyed a full liberty. For they were at first under the present monarchs; afterwards, upon the conquest made by Alexander, under the Greeks: and then under the kings of Asia Minor and Egypt; till the Roman yoke was imposed upon them. Yet all this time, while they were under the empire of others, they enjoyed governors or rulers of their own, who administered their affairs under those monarchs. The first was Zerobabel, called the *captain*, or *prince of Judah* (Hag. i. 1). After him Ezra and Nehemiah. And before them it is likely there were some others, as Jos. Scaliger gathers from Neh. v. 15. After the death of Nehemiah the government came into the hands of the high priests, as appears from Josephus, lib. xi. cap. 8, where he shows how Jaddus the high priest met Alexander in his expedition against Persia: which power was confirmed in that order, by the Maccabees, as we commonly call them. It began in Mattathias; and was continued in his sons. The third of which, Simon, raised it to such a splendour, that he looked like a prince, as the reader may see it described in 1 Mac. xiv. From whence his grandchild Aristobulus seems to have taken occasion to affect the name of king; though he had but the shadow of that power. Yet his posterity kept that name to the time of Herod, who stripped them of all their power, and destroyed their family. After his death the kingdom was divided by Augustus into tetrarchies: Archelaus being made tetrarch of Judea; and the rest of the country divided between Philip and Antipas. But Archelaus misbehaving himself, he was deprived of his government, and banished to Vienne in France; and then Judea was reduced into the form of a province, and ruled by Roman governors. After which there was no king, nor ethnarch of Judea; so that after this time we may safely conclude, the Jews lost even their *mechokkim*, or governors, as they had long ago lost the sceptre; and had no power remaining among them of administering the affairs of their commonwealth.

Now at this time our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, the true Shiloh, came; who was the founder of a new and heavenly kingdom. And nothing more was left to be done for the fulfilling of this prophecy, but, after his crucifying, to destroy Jerusalem and the temple, and therewith the whole form of their government, both civil and sacred. Then all power was entirely taken from Judah, when Christ had erected his throne in the heavens, and brought many people, in several parts of the earth, unto his obedience, and made them members of his celestial kingdom. Till which time this prophecy was not completely fulfilled; which may be the reason, possibly, that it is not alleged by Christ and his apostles; because the Jews might have said, We have still a

13 ¶ Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he *shall be* for an haven of

government among us: which could not be pretended after the destruction by Titus. Which is now above sixteen hundred years ago: and there is not the least sign of their restitution. Which so perplexed R. Samuel Moracanus, that it made him write thus to a friend of his, above six hundred years since:

"I would fain learn from thee, out of the testimonies of the law, and the prophets, and other scriptures, why the Jews are thus smitten in this captivity wherein we are; which may be properly called, the PERPETUAL ANGER of GOD, because it hath no end. For it is now above a thousand years, since we were carried away captive by Titus; and yet our fathers, who worshipped idols, killed the prophets, and cast the law behind their back, were only punished with a seventy years' captivity, and then brought home again; but now there is no end of our calamities, nor do the prophets promise any."

If this argument was hard to be answered then in his days, it is much harder now in ours, who still see them pursued by God's vengeance; which can be for nothing else but rejecting and crucifying the Messiah, the Saviour of the world.

Ver. 11.] This verse sets forth the great fertility of Judah's country (abounding with vineyards and pastures) by two hyperbolic expressions. First. That vines should be as common there, as thorn hedges in other places; so that they might tie asses with their colts to them: or, as some will have it, lade an ass with the fruit of one vine. Secondly. That wine should be as common as water; so that they should have enough, not only to drink, but to wash their clothes in it. Which doth not imply, that they made it serve for that use, but only denotes its plenty; which was so very great, that in treading the grapes, and pressing out the juice, their garments were all sprinkled with wine, which one might wring out of them.

[*Choice vine*] The vine of *Sorek* (which we here translate *choice*, and in Jer. ii. 21, *noble vine*) was the most excellent in all that country. For *Sorek* was a place not above half a mile from the valley of Eschol; from whence the spies brought the large bunches, as a sample of the fruitfulness of the country (see Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 13).

Ver. 12.] This verse sets forth the healthfulness and vigour of the inhabitants of that fertile country. But Dr. Castell thinks this not to be a good translation: because it can be said of none but a drunkard, that his eyes are red with wine. And therefore it ought to be translated, *his eyes* (or *his countenance*, for so eyes sometimes signifies) shall be brighter and more shining than wine. So the word we render red signifies in the Arabic tongue, as he shows in his *Oratio* in Schol. Theolog. p. 31, and in his *Lexicon*. Yet the same word in the Proverbs (xxiii. 29), cannot have any other signification than red; and the red colour of the eyes answers very well here to the whiteness of the teeth, which follows; and there is no more reason to think he means, they should make their eyes red with drinking wine, than that they should wash their clothes in it; but it may only express the great abundance of wine; to serve not only their necessity, but excess.

And his teeth white with milk.] Milk doth not make the teeth white: but gives such an excellent nourishment, that they who live upon it are healthy and strong, and their teeth not so apt to rot, as theirs who feed upon greater dainties. So the meaning is, the rich pastures in that country should feed great flocks, and consequently they should have abundance of milk, so good and nourishing, that the teeth of the

ships; and his border *shall be* unto Zidon.]

14 ¶ Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens:

15 And he saw that rest *was* good, and the land that *it was* pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.

countrymen who lived upon it should be as white as the milk they drank. Or, if the foregoing words be translated, *His eyes shall be brighter than wine*; these are to be translated, *His teeth whiter than milk*.

Out of these three verses foregoing, Bochartus thinks the whole story of Silenus was forged by the poets (see his *Canaan*, lib. i. cap. 18, p. 482).

Ver. 13. *The haven of the sea*:] Near the lake of Tiberias; called in Scripture the *sea of Galilee*.

He shall be for an haven of ships:] The lot that fell to him extended from thence to the Mediterranean, where there were ports for ships.

His border shall be unto Zidon.] He doth not mean the city of Zidon; for the tribe of Zebulon did not extend themselves beyond Mount Carmel, which is forty miles at least from thence, but the country of Zidon, i. e. Phœnicia (as Bochart observes in his *Phalæg.* lib. iv. cap. 34), which the Zebulonites touched. For as the Phœnicians were called Syrians from Sur, i. e. Tyre: so they were called Sidonians from Sidon, as Hesychius tells us, who interprets Σιδωνιοι, by Φοινικες. Whence the LXX. have Phœnicians for Sidonians (Deut. iii. 9), and Phœnicia for Sidon (Isa. xxiii. 2).

It is very much to be admired, that Jacob should foretell, so many years beforehand, the situation of his posterity in the land of Canaan; when their several portions fell to them by lot, and not by their own choice (Josh. xix. 10, 11). This could not have been but by the spirit of prophecy. And it is remarkable also, that he mentions Zebulon before Issachar, who was his eldest brother (xxx. 11), for no other reason, that I can discern, but because Zebulon's lot was to come up before Issachar's, in the division of the land, his being the third, and Issachar's the fourth (Josh. xix. 17). By this they were taught that their habitation in the land of Canaan was the gift of God; and did not come by chance: their forefather having so long before predicted the very portion they should inherit.

Ver. 14. *Issachar is a strong ass*] As he compared Judah to a lion, because of his valour, so he compares Issachar to an ass, and a strong ass, because he foresaw they would be very patient and unwearied in rustical labours, in which asses were principally employed in those countries.

Couching down between two burdens:] There are various opinions about the signification of that word which we translate *burdens*. But none seem to me so apt as that to express the great strength of an ass; which lies down, with its load hanging down on both sides. Whence a she-ass is called *athon* (as Bochart observes), from the word *ethan*, which signifies strength; because no beast of that bigness can carry such heavy burdens.

Ver. 15. *He saw that rest was good*.] Or, as some will have it, their *resting-place*; the country that fell to their share in the land of Canaan, no part of which was more fruitful than some parts of Issachar's portion. Which way soever we take it, he seems to foretell they would choose to follow husbandry rather than merchandise (as Zebulon did), and love quiet and peace, as husbandmen do; especially when they live in a rich soil, as this tribe did. For so it follows.

The land that it was pleasant:] The famous valley of Jezreel was in this tribe: whose border extended

16 ¶ Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.

17 Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.

18 I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.

as far as Jordan; where there was a very pleasant country (Josh. xix. 18, 22).

Bowed his shoulder to bear.] Taking any pains to till the land; and to carry in the corn, with other fruits of the earth.

Became a servant unto tribute.] Submitting to the heaviest taxes, rather than lose their repose; for the preservation of which they were content to give any money; that they might redeem their services in the wars or otherways by large contributions.

Ver. 16. *Dan shall judge his people*, &c.] In the word *judge* he alludes to the name of Dan, which signifies *judging*, i. e. ruling and governing. A great many follow Onkelos, who expounds it thus; "a man shall arise out of the tribe of Dan, in whose days the people shall be delivered," &c. And accordingly we read that Samson, who was of this tribe, judged Israel twenty years. So the meaning is, the tribe of Dan shall have the honour to produce a *judge*, as well as other tribes. But there is this exception to this interpretation, that all the tribes did not produce *judges*; and all Israel (whom the *judges* governed) cannot be said to be Dan's people. But by his *people* (whom he is said here to judge) are properly meant those of his tribe. And therefore Jacob's meaning is, that though he were the son of a concubine, yet his posterity should be governed by a head of their own tribe: as the other tribes of Israel were. So by this he took away all distinction between the sons of his concubines (of whom Dan was the first) and those which he had by Leah and Rachel.

Ver. 17. *Dan shall be a serpent by the way*.] The next words show, what kind of serpent he should be like, *an adder in the path*. The Hebrew word *shephiphon* some take for a *basilisk*; others for an *asp*, or a *viper*; others a *snake*, or *adder*, &c. The Vulgar translates it *cerastes*, which is a kind of viper: and Bochartus (in his *Hierozoicon*, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 12), hath confirmed this translation, by showing how well it agrees to the characters which authors give of it; that it lies in sand, and in the ruts which cart-wheels make in the highway: and so is ready to bite travellers or their horses. Which is the harder to be avoided, because it is of a sandy colour; so that *ο πολλοι ἀγροοντες πατοιν*, "many tread upon it unawares:" and Nicander says, the poison of these serpents is chiefly felt in the thighs and hams of those they bite. Which perfectly agrees with what Jacob saith in the following words.

That biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.] The horse not being able to stand, when the venom works in his legs, the rider must needs fall with him. All this some make to be a description of Samson, who led no armies against his enemies, but overthrew them by subtlety and craft. But it rather belongs to all the Danites (as what was said before to all the Zebulonites and Issacharians) who Jacob foresaw would, *astu potius, quam aperto Marte rem gerere*, "manage their wars rather by cunning and craft, than by open hostility," as Bochart speaks. An example of which we have in Judg. xviii. 27.

Ver. 18. *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord*.] They that refer the foregoing words to Samson, make an easy interpretation of this verse. Which is, that Jacob, foreseeing his great achievements for the deliverance of his children, prays that God would, upon

19 ¶ Gad, a troop shall overcome him : but he shall overcome at the last.

20 ¶ Out of Asher his bread *shall be fat*, and he shall yield royal dainties.

all occasions, vouchsafe to send such deliverers unto them, from their oppressors. And the Chaldee paraphrasts make him look beyond such deliverers unto Christ, the great Saviour of the world. For these are the words of Onkelos (in the Complutensian edition, for they are not to be found in Buxtorf's or Bomberg's), "I do not wait for the salvation of Gideon the son of Joash, which is temporal salvation; or of Samson the son of Manoah, which is also a transitory salvation; but I expect the redemption of Christ, the son of David," &c. Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum say the same. And if we take all this prophecy to belong to the whole tribe (as I believe it doth), that doth not exclude such a sense. But Jacob foreseeing the distresses wherein they would be (Josh. xiv. 47; Judg. i. 34), prays God to help them, and deliver them, and teach them to look up to him in all their straits and necessities : and especially to wait for the Messiah. Yet after all, I think, the words may have another meaning, which is this : Jacob, perceiving his approaching death, and his spirits beginning to fail him, in the middle of his speech to his sons, breaks out into this exclamation (which belongs to none of them), saying, "I wait, O Lord, for a happy deliverance out of this world into a better place."

And then, having rested himself a while, to recover his strength, he proceeded to bless the rest of his sons.

Ver. 19. *Gad, a troop shall overcome him :* Or invade him. There is an allusion in every word to the name of Gad : whose inheritance being in a frontier country beyond Jordan, was very much exposed to the incursions of the Amorites, and Moabites, and the rest of those envious neighbours, that dwelt in or near Arabia. And some think the word *troop* hath a great propriety in it; signifying, not a just army, but a party, as we speak, a band of men, that came oftentimes to rob and spoil. But it appears by the prophet Jeremiah (xlix. 1), that the Ammonites sometime possessed themselves of the country of Gad, or at least, of some part of it, and exercised great cruelties there (Amos i. 13). Long before which the book of Judges informs us, how they were oppressed by this people for eighteen years together (x. 8), and came with a great army and encamped in Gilead (ver. 17), which was in the tribe of Gad.

But he shall overcome at the last. This was eminently fulfilled, when Jephthah the Gileadite, fought with the children of Ammon, and "subdued them before the children of Israel" (Judg. xi. 33), and when this tribe (together with their brethren of Reuben and Manasseh) made war with the Hagarites, and possessed themselves of their country : which they kept till the captivity, "because the war was with God" (1 Chron. v. 22).

Ver. 20. *Out of Asher* i. e. Of his country. *His bread shall be fat,* Shall be excellent provision of all sorts, for the sustenance of human life. For *bread* comprehends not only corn, but wine and oil, and all sorts of victuals (xxi. 14.)

He shall yield royal dainties. His country shall afford not only all things necessary, but the choicest fruits, fit to be served up to the table of kings. For part of it lay about Carmel (Josh. xix. 26), where there was a most delicious valley.

Ver. 21. *Naphtali is a hind let loose :* As he had compared Judah to a lion, and Issachar to an ass, and Dan to a serpent; so he compares this son to a hind, which is not confined within pales or walls : but runs

21 ¶ Naphtali is a hind let loose : he giveth goodly words.

22 ¶ Joseph is a fruitful bough, *even a fruitful bough by a well; whose branches run over the wall:*

at large, whither it pleaseth. Whereby is signified that this tribe would be great lovers of liberty.

He giveth goodly (or pleasing) words. Which denotes their address (as we now speak), charming language and affability, to win the favour of others; and thereby preserve their peace and liberty. Mercer makes this verse to signify their speed and swiftness in despatch of business; and their smoothness in the management of it; which might render them acceptable to all men. There are no instances, indeed, in Scripture to make out this character; for Barak, who was of this tribe, was very slow in undertaking the deliverance of Israel. Nor do we read they were more zealous assertors of liberty than others. But yet this will not warrant us to alter the punctuation of the words (as Bochart doth, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 18), to make a quite different sense, which is this : "Naphtali is a well-spread tree, which puts out beautiful branches." For we do not find that they were either more beautiful or numerous than other tribes : but we find, quite contrary, that Simeon, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Dan, were all more numerous than they, when Moses took an account of them (Numb. i. 23, 27, 29, 31, 39). Besides, this interpretation makes this verse, in a manner, the very same with the next concerning Joseph. Therefore, though the LXX. agree to Bochart's version, we had better stick to our own; which makes a sense clear and proper enough.

Ver. 22. *Joseph is a fruitful bough,* Or young plant. It is an allusion to his name; which imports growth and increase : and may well be understood of the great dignity to which he was risen in Egypt. Unto which he was advanced in a short time after Pharaoh took notice of him : like a bough or young plant, which shoots up apace; and thence compared in the next words to

A fruitful bough by a well; Or spring of water : which in those dry countries made the plants which were set near them to grow the faster, and to a greater height (Ps. i. 3), and therefore signifies his extraordinary advancement.

Whose branches run over the wall : Cover the wall that surrounds the spring; or the wall against which the tree is planted. Which seems to denote the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh; which sprang from him, and were very flourishing : as appears from Josh. xvii. 14, 17, where they tell him, they were "a great people, whom the Lord had blessed hitherto." And Joshua there acknowledges as much, saying, "Thou art a great people, and hast great power;" and therefore assigns them a larger portion of land than they had at first. The Hebrew word *banoth*, which we translate *boughs*, literally signifying *daughters*; some think that, as he speaks of the *sons* of Joseph in the foregoing part of the verse, so in this he speaks of his *daughters*, that they should go to the wall, i. e. saith Dr. Lightfoot, *even to the enemy* : to repair the hostile tribes of Benjamin; which otherwise had decayed for want of wives. For so the word *shur* signifies, and is translated by us an *enemy* (Ps. xcii. 11). And D. Chytræus understands here by *daughters*, the cities of the tribe of Ephraim, which should be well governed, though some should set themselves against it.

Ver. 23. *The archers* In the Hebrew the words *baale chitsim* signify *masters in the art of shooting*; and therefore denote those here spoken of to be skillful in doing mischief : such were his brethren, who were full not only of envy, but hatred to him (xxxviii.

23 The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him :

24 But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob ; (from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel :)

25 *Even* by the God of thy father, who shall help thee ; and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above,

4, 5, 11). Some refer it also to Potiphar's wife, who wickedly slandered him : and others to the whole tribe of Ephraim, who were encompassed with enemies (who in general are meant by *archers*) ; when the kingdom was settled in them, over the ten tribes.

Have sorely grieved him.] By their unkind, or rather churlish behaviour towards him : "for they could not speak peaceably to him" (xxxvii. 4), and it is likely they reviled him, and threw out bitter words against him : which are properly compared to *arrows* (Ps. lxiv. 3).

Shot at him.] Designed to destroy him ; and did actually throw him into sore afflictions (xxxviii. 22, 24, 28).

Hated him :] Which arose from their hatred to him. Ver. 24. *But his bow abode in strength.*] He armed himself with invincible patience ; having nothing else to oppose unto their malicious contrivances. It seems to be a metaphor from those soldiers, who have bows so well made, that though often, never so often bent, they neither break, nor grow weak. Such was the temper of Joseph's mind.

The arms of his hands were made strong] i. e. He was strengthened and supported : being like to a strenuous archer, the muscles and sinews of whose arms are so firm and compact, that though his hands draw his bow continually, he is not weary.

By the hands of the mighty God of Jacob :] Which fortitude he had not from himself, but from the Almighty ; who had supported Jacob in all his adversities ; and made all that Joseph did (when he was sold and imprisoned) to prosper in his hands (xxxix. 3, 22, 23). The Hebrew word *alir*, which signifies *potent* or *powerful*, and we translate *mighty One*, is as much as the *Lord of Jacob*. For from power it comes to signify *potestas*, *authority* and *dominion* also, as Bochart observes.

From thence] From the Divine Providence over him, before mentioned.

Is the shepherd,] Joseph became the feeder and nourisher of his father, and of his family, and of their flocks and herds : preserving them all from being famished.

The stone of Israel :] Who upheld them all, and kept them from being ruined. Or, *shepherd* may signify his being made governor of all the land of Egypt ; and the *stone of Israel*, the support of his family. For *shepherd* is a name of dignity and authority : and *stone* signifies the *foundation* (as Abarinel here expounds it) upon which the whole building relies : as Jacob and all his children did upon Joseph for their sustenance.

Some I find (particularly D. Chytræus) refer the words from *thence* unto Joseph : and then by the *shepherd* and *stone of Israel*, understand those excellent men, who by their wisdom and valour supported the commonwealth of Israel. Such as Joshua, the captain of the Lord's host, and Abdon, one of the judges, who were of the tribe of Ephraim : and Gideon, Jair, and Jephthah, who were of the tribe of Manasseh. But the following words incline rather to the former sense.

Ver. 25. *Even by the God of thy father,*] Or from him that blessed me ; and advanced thee to be the

blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb :

26 The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills : they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren.

27 ¶ Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf : in the

support of my family. For it refers to all that went before.

Who shall help thee :] Having said what God had already done for him ; he now foretells what he would do hereafter : which relates to all his posterity ; whom God would protect and defend.

By the Almighty,] Or, from him who is *all-sufficient* ; by which name he revealed himself unto Abraham, when he entered into covenant with him and with his seed (xvii. 1).

Bless thee with the blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under,] The meaning seems to be, that his posterity should be planted in a very fertile soil : watered from above with the dew of heaven and with showers of rain ; and watered beneath with springs and rivers. As G. Vossius well interprets it, lib. i. de Idolol. cap. 77.

Blessings of the breast, and of the womb :] A promise of a numerous and thriving progeny. Or, of a vast increase of cattle, so well fed, that they should bring up their young prosperously, as well as bring them forth abundantly.

Ver. 26. *The blessings of thy father*] Either the blessings bestowed by God upon Jacob ; or the blessings Jacob conferred on his son Joseph.

Have prevailed] Are greater.

Above the blessings of thy progenitors] Than the blessings God bestowed upon Abraham and Isaac : who had not so many sons as God had blessed him withal : upon every one of whom also he conferred a share in the inheritance of the land of Canaan ; whereas Ishmael was excluded by Abraham, and Esau by Isaac. Or, the meaning may be, *I have done more for thee, than they for me*, i. e. thou shalt be happier than I. For Jacob led an unsettled life : but Joseph flourished in great splendour in Egypt, to the end of his days.

Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills :] As long as the world shall last. For perpetuity is expressed in Scripture by the durability of mountains (Isa. liv. 10). And here he seems to allude to the noble mountains, which fell to be the portion of Joseph's children, viz. Bashan and Mount Ephraim. But there are those who think he hath not respect to the durability of these mountains, but to their fruitfulness ; translating the Hebrew word *tavath* not *bounds*, but *desires*, as the Vulgar Latin doth. And then the sense is, *Unto all that is most desirable in those ancient hills*, which abounded with the most excellent fruit. And this translation is grounded on Moses's blessing, which seems to be an interpretation of Jacob's, Deut. xxxiii. 15, where he blesses him ; "for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills."

Of him that was separate from his brethren.] The word *nazir*, which we translate *separate*, signifies one that is separated from others, vel voto, vel dignitate (as Bochart observes, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. v. cap. 6), "either by a vow, or by his dignity." And in the latter sense Joseph is called *nazir*, because of his eminent dignity ; whereby he was advanced above all his brethren ; being the viceroy of Egypt.

Ver. 27. *Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf :*] This

morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.

28 ¶ All these *are* the twelve tribes of Israel: and this *is it* that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.

29 And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave that *is* in the field of Ephron the Hittite,

30 In the cave that *is* in the field of Machpelah, which *is* before Mamre, in the land of Ca-

sets forth the warlike temper of this tribe: a wolf being both a strong and undaunted, and also a very rapacious creature: and thence in aftertimes dedicated to Mars. From whence wolves are called *Martii* and *Martiales* in Virgil and in Horace: and warlike men are called by the Greeks *Λυκότροπος*, "of a wolf-like temper." And the history justifies this character: the tribe of Benjamin alone maintaining a war with all the other tribes; in which they overcame them in two battles, though they had sixteen to one against them. And they killed then more men of Israel than they had in their whole army (see Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 10).

In the morning he shall devour the prey, &c.] This doth not signify (as the forenamed author observes, in the same place) the whole day, but the whole night: one part of which is the evening, and the other the morning. And therefore the particle *and* signifies here as much as *after*: and this is the sense: *the tribe of Benjamin shall be like a ravening wolf: who shall have his prey to eat till morning-light; after he hath divided it in the evening.* For the division of the prey goes before the eating of it. This passage is like that Josh. vii. 25, "They burnt them with fire, and stoned them with stones;" i. e. burnt them, after they had stoned them; as we there rightly translate it. And this applied to Benjamin, signifies such success in their wars, that they should come home loaded with the spoils of their enemies.

I omit the fancy of the Talmudists, who imagine Benjamin is compared to a wolf, because the altar of burnt-offering, where the morning and evening sacrifices were daily consumed, stood in this tribe. They that would know what they say of this, may look in Codex Middoth, cap. iii. § 1, and L'Empereur's Annotations there.

Ver. 28. All these *are* the twelve tribes of Israel:] From these sprang the twelve tribes of Israel: or, these are the blessings of the twelve tribes: for these words plainly show, that what he had said was not to be fulfilled in their persons, but in their posterity.

naan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying-place.

31 There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah.

32 The purchase of the field and of the cave that *is* therein *was* from the children of Heth.

33 And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.

Blessed them; every one according to his blessing, &c.] He did not give them a new blessing after all this: but the meaning is, he blessed them (in the manner foregoing) every one according to the blessing designed by God for them. There seems indeed to be no benediction bestowed on the first three tribes; but that is to be understood only comparatively: for he provided for them all a portion in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 29. I am to be gathered unto my people:] Must die shortly.

Bury me with my fathers, &c.] The reason of this injunction is well explained by Mercer: to whom I refer the reader.

Ver. 30.] He describes the place so particularly, in this and the two next verses, because he would not have them mistake it when they went to bury him; and that he might show his title to it, if the inhabitants of Canaan (from which he had been absent some years) should dispute the laying his body there.

Ver. 33. When Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons,] Concerning his burial; which he briefly added to his prophecy.

He gathered up his feet into the bed,] The Hebrews think that out of reverence to God he sat up when he pronounced a blessing on his sons: his feet hanging down upon the ground. And indeed it is very probable he endeavoured to put himself into a posture of authority at least: and therefore *sat* on his bed-side while he spake. And now the prophetic spirit, which had raised his natural spirits above their ordinary pitch, departing from him, they presently sunk so much the lower; and in a short time he expired.

Yielded up the ghost,] The Hebrews will have it to express an easy death.

Was gathered unto his people.] To his ancestors. From whence there are some (particularly Theodoret) who infer the belief they had, in those days, of another life, in society with those who were departed out of this life. For brutes are never said to be gathered to those of their kind that died before them.

CHAPTER L.

1 The mourning for Jacob. 4 Joseph getteth leave of Pharaoh to go to bury him. 7 The funeral. 15 Joseph comforteth his brethren, who craved his pardon. 22 His age. 23 He seeth the third generation of his sons. 24 He prophesieth unto his brethren of their return. 25 He taketh an oath of them for his bones. 26 He dieth, and is chested.

1 AND Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him.

2 And Joseph commanded his servants the

physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.

3 And forty days were fulfilled for him; (for

sions of it: though he was a man in great dignity and authority.

Kissed him.] It is likely he first closed his eyes, as God promised he should do, xlv. 4 (and as the cus-

CHAP. L.

Ver. 1. Joseph fell upon his father's face,] He was transported by his affection, to the tenderest expres-

so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed :) and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.

tom was), and then parted from his body with a kiss. Of which we find many examples both among heathen and Christian people : but they will not warrant us to say that it was done by everybody ; for all that I have observed were such near relations as Joseph was to Jacob. Thus Ovid represents Niobe as kissing her slain sons ; and Meleager's sisters kissing him when he lay dead ; and Corippus represents Justin the younger falling upon Justinian, and weeping, and kissing him, just as Joseph did here :

" Ut prius ingrediens corpus venerabile vidit,
Incubuit lachrymans, atque oscula frigida carpsit
Divini patris."

Yet Dionys. Areopag. cap. vii. Eccles. Hierarch. describing the funerals of Christians, saith, the bishop prayed over the corpse when it was brought into the church, and after prayer, *Ἀντὸς ἀσπάζεται τὸν νεκρὸν μύρον, &c.* Both he himself kissed the dead person, and after him all that were present did the same : so it seems to have been their taking a solemn leave of the dead, till they met in another world.

Ver. 2. *His servants the physicians*] Great men anciently, among other servants that waited on them, had a physician. And Joseph, being viceroy of Egypt, may well be supposed to have kept more than one in his retinue.

To embalm his father] Of which there was now the greater necessity ; because his body was to be carried a great way to its sepulchre. And both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus tell us there were those in Egypt who professed the art of preserving bodies from corruption. Which, it is likely, was a part of their physician's employment : for the word *ropheim* (which we translate *physicians*) constantly signifies in Scripture, such as cure or heal sick bodies. But the LXX. here aptly enough translate it *ἐνταφιαστὰς* (" those that prepared and fitted bodies for their interment," by embalming them, as we translate it), because this now was their proper business. Whence it is that Pliny saith, lib. xi. cap. 37), *Mos est Aegyptiis cadavera asservare medicata*, " it is the custom of the Egyptians to preserve dead bodies ordered by the physician's art." In which art they excelled all other people ; bodies of their embalming remaining to this day ; and are often brought into these countries, under the name of *mummy* : concerning which a late German physician (Joach. Strupp) hath written a peculiar treatise.

The physicians embalmed Israel] The forenamed authors (Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus) tell us the manner how it was performed ; and at what rates : there being three several prices, according to the cost that men would bestow upon their friends. Upon the first rank of funerals they spent a talent of silver : the second cost about twenty pounds : about the third they made small expense, as Diodorus expressly tells us (lib. i. § 2, p. 57, edit. Hen. Steph.). And Herodotus, in three distinct chapters, shows how they ordered the bodies of the better, middle, and meaner sort, so as to preserve them ; and yet with greater or lesser expense (vid. Euterpe, cap. 86, 87, 88). If things were thus in Joseph's days, it is not to be thought that he would spare any cost, but had his father's body embalmed in the noblest manner.

Ver. 3. *Forty days were fulfilled for him*] That is, for his embalming : which could not be finished in a little time. For Diodorus tells us of several officers who were employed about it, one after another ; and says expressly they spent more than *thirty* days in it. Which differs something from what is here related :

4 And when the days of his mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes,

but, it is likely, in future times (when Diodorus lived) they might have attained to a greater perfection in this art ; and made their spices penetrate the whole body in less than *forty* days, but more than *thirty*. And Herodotus doth not really differ from this, when he saith, in the place before named, *Ταῦτα κομίζατες, " when they had done these things" (stuffed the body with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, except frankincense), ταπεινὸνς νεκρῷ, κομίζατες χίμαιρας ἰβδομηχώρα, " they pickled it in nitre, where it lay soaking seventy days."* That is, *thirty* days more : till the *forty* were made up *seventy* : longer than which neither the bodies of the better nor the meaner sort were to be salted. But after that they were wrapped in fine linen and gums ; to make it stick like glue : and so they delivered the body to the kindred of the deceased entire (as Diodorus writes, p. 58), in all its features, the very hairs of the eye-lids being preserved.

There have been some so morose as to censure Joseph for following the perverse customs, as they call them, of the Egyptians : who spent too much upon dead bodies. But they should have considered how much more perverse it is not to follow the decent customs of the country where we live ; and that dead bodies, especially of the faithful, are not to be neglected, but treated (as St. Austin speaks, lib. i. de Civ. Dei, cap. 13), as the organs of the Holy Ghost : which the ancients, he thinks, did well to carry to their funerals, *officiosa pietate*.

The Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days] i. e. All that time they were preparing his body in the manner before related, for its funeral : which Herodotus says, was just seventy days. He and also Diodorus describe their manner of mourning ; and say that they daubed their heads with mud (as the Jews sprinkled ashes on their heads), and went about lamenting till the corpse was buried : abstaining from bathing and from wine, and from all delicate food, or fine clothes. Which latter part of their mourning, it is likely, might be in use in Joseph's time ; though not the former, of besmearing their heads and faces with mud. But it is sufficient to say that they appeared in the habit of mourners (all the time the body was embalming), which was very various in different times and places : and continued in some countries a great many days longer than in others. This time of seventy days may seem to some too long : but Jacobus Capellus proposes this to their consideration (Hist. Exot. et Sacra, ad A. M. 2310), that Joseph being next to their king, the Egyptians honoured his father with a royal funeral, and a mourning of seventy days : which he thinks is a round number for seventy-two : for Diodorus says so many were the days of mourning for their king. " It seeming reasonable to them, that as they gave the fifth part of the increase of their land to their king when he was alive ; so they should bestow the fifth part of the year upon him in mourning for him when he was dead : which was just seventy-two, not reckoning the five odd days, which did not come into their account. As to those who object that this was immoderate mourning, having more of ambition than piety in it, his answer is, That (granting it to be true) Joseph did not bring in this custom ; and had peculiar reason to follow what he found in use there : that they might be the more condemned who vexed the innocent posterity, on whose parent they had bestowed royal honours. Besides, there is something due to kings and great men, to distinguish them from the dregs of the people."

speaking, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying,

5 My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again.

6 And Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear.

7 ¶ And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of

Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt,

8 And all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen.

9 And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very great company.

10 And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation:

Ver. 4. *When the days of his mourning were past,*] That is, the seventy days before named.

Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh,] To the great officers of the court; unto whom, it is most probable, he spake by a messenger: strict mourners (such as Joseph was) using to keep close in their chambers, and not to appear in public, or make visits. At least it was against the custom to appear in the court (if the same usage was there in those days, which was in the Persian court in Mordecai's time; and such rational customs one cannot but think were very ancient) in the habit of a mourner (Esth. iv. 1, 2). For which reason he did not go himself to make the following request to Pharaoh: they who were in the state of mourning being looked upon as defiled.

Ver. 5. *My father made me swear, &c.*] See xlvii. 29, 30, where Jacob engaged him by an oath to carry his body into Canaan, to be buried there; that he might keep up some claim to that country, by virtue of the sepulchre, which his grandfather had there purchased; and where his father Isaac lay buried.

Which I have digged for me] In the cave that Abraham had bought, Gen. xxiii. (which was a large place), Jacob it seems had taken care to have a grave digged for himself. From which and such like examples St. Austin argues (in the place quoted above on ver. 3), the bodies of the dead, especially of good men, are to be treated with such a regard, as they themselves thought was due to them.

Ver. 6. *According as he made thee swear.*] The religion of an oath, it appears from hence, was in those days so sacred, that the king, who had not sworn himself, would not have another man violate it, for his sake: who might have pretended he could not spare Joseph so long from his business, being his chief minister in the land of Egypt. Such heathen kings as these will rise up in judgment against those Christian princes who make a jest of their oaths.

Ver. 7. *The servants of Pharaoh,*] This seems to be explained by the next words, the *elders of his house*; the principal officers of court. For the word *all* must be understood with some limitation, as usually in Scripture: some being left behind, no doubt, to wait upon the king. Thus in Matt. iii. 5, *all Judea* is said to have gone out to John's baptism, i. e. a great many.

The elders of his house, &c.] I have observed before on xxiv. 2, that *elder* is a name of dignity; as the Jerusalem Targum there expounds it; instead of *his servant the elder of his house*, having these words, *his principal servant, who was set over all the rest, as their governor*. And it appears by this place that this was used not only by the Hebrews, but by the Egyptians long before Moses's time, as a title of honour and dignity: as it hath since been by all nations whatsoever (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14).

The elders of the land of Egypt,] The principal persons in authority and dignity, throughout the whole country, as well as those of the court: such as were governors of provinces, and cities, and counsellors, &c.

Which honour they did to Jacob, in all likelihood, by Pharaoh's command: for how well soever they might stand affected to Joseph, they could not of their own accord desert their charge.

Ver. 8. *The house of Joseph, &c.*] Their whole family; except such as were necessary to look after their little ones and their flocks, &c. This verse also shows the word *all* must have a limited sense.

Ver. 9. *There went up with him both chariots and horsemen:*] As a guard to him; which, it is likely, always attended him, as viceroy of the kingdom; but now might be necessary for his safety, as he passed through the deserts, in case he should meet with any opposition when he came to challenge his burying-place. Though it is probable, that matter was settled beforehand with the Canaanites; who were in no condition to oppose the kingdom of Egypt, which was grown very rich, and they very poor, by the late famine.

It was a very great company.] That he might appear in greater state, at such a solemnity.

Ver. 10. *They came to the threshing-floor of Atad,*] Some take Atad for a place, and translate the word before it in the same sense, as if he had said they came to Goren-atad. But Forsterus in his Lexicon thinks Atad was the proper name of a man, who was eminent in that country for his threshing-floor. Though there are those who take it for a *bramble*, with which that floor was fenced in: for so the word signifies, Judg. ix. 14. And the Africans called a bramble *atadim* (as Bochart observes, lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 15), which is the plural number of Atad. But the Talmudists are so fanciful, that, not satisfied with such reasons, they say Jacob's coffin was here surrounded with garlands (crowns they call them) just like a threshing-floor, which is hedged about with thorns. For the tradition, they say, is, that the sons of Esau, Ishmael, and Keturah, all met here; and seeing Joseph's crown hanging over the coffin, they all pulled off theirs, and hanged them up in the same manner. So the Excerpt. Gemaræ in Sota. cap. i. § 45.

Beyond Jordan,] Some translate it, *On this side Jordan*. Both are true, with respect to several places: for it was *on this side Jordan* with respect to those in Canaan; but *beyond Jordan* with respect to those who came unto Canaan, through the deserts; as Joseph did now, and the Israelites afterward. Why Joseph passed this way, which was very much about, and not the direct road, which was a great deal shorter, is hard to tell. Perhaps it was a better way for chariots; for it is not probable they feared any opposition from the Philistines, or Edomites; with whom the matter might have been concerted (as we now speak) beforehand, if they had apprehended their passage would meet with any hinderance from them.

There they mourned, &c.] Wherein this *great and sore lamentation* consisted, we are not able to give a certain account: but in aftertimes they sat with their faces covered; having ashes sprinkled on their heads; crying out with a mournful voice, sometimes wringing

and he made a mourning for his father seven days.

11 And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians: wherefore the name of it was called Abel-mizraim, which is beyond Jordan.

12 And his sons did unto him according as he commanded them:

13 For his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field for a possession of a buryingplace of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

14 ¶ And Joseph returned into Egypt, he, and his brethren, and all that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.

sometimes clapping their hands together; smiting their breasts, or their thighs; with many other expressions of grief and sorrow. But why they made this lamentation at the floor of Atad, rather than at the grave, is harder to resolve. Perhaps it was a more convenient place to stay in seven days, than that where he was to be buried: and the mourning being made in the country where the body was laid, was the same as if it had been made at the grave. Or, it was the fashion, perhaps, at the very entrance of the country, where they carried a corpse to be buried, to fall into a lamentation: and they made the same again, when they came to the place where it was interred: though there is nothing of that here mentioned.

Seven days.] That that was the time of public mourning among the Jews in succeeding ages, it appears from many instances: particularly 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Ecclus. xxii. 13; Judith xvi. 29. And just so long their joy lasted at solemn weddings; as we read in ch. xxix. of this book, ver. 27.

Ver. 11. *This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians.*] By this it appears this was a solemn public mourning, in which the Egyptians themselves joined, though not related to him. And therefore, it is likely, consisted in such wailings, and outward expressions of sorrow, as were made even by those who had no inward grief. For in following times there were a sort of men called *מנצח*, *lamenters*, (from the Hebrew word *saphad*, used in the foregoing verse), who had a public office, as our *bearers* have, to attend upon funerals and make doleful lamentations (see Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. f. 1524).

Abel-mizraim.] This shows the lamentation was exceeding great, that it changed the very name of the place where it was made: or, at least, gave a name to it.

Ver. 14.] They had a prosperous journey: and there is no ground for what some Jews bid us here note; that not one man was lost, though they had a battle with the Edomites in their way to Canaan. *

Ver. 15.] Their guilt was so great, that it continued to make them suspicious.

Ver. 16. *They sent a messenger unto Joseph.*] The same guilt made them fearful to go themselves; but they first tried how he would answer a messenger they sent to him (for it doth not appear there was more than one) in all their names; with a letter, perhaps, confirming what he delivered by word of mouth. Some think this message was sent before they went to bury their father; while the time of mourning lasted; when Joseph's heart, they thought, was tender, and

15 ¶ And when Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they said, Joseph will peradventure hate us, and will certainly requite us all the evil which we did unto him.

16 And they sent a messenger unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did command before he died, saying,

17 So shall ye say unto Joseph, Forgive, I pray thee now, the trespass of thy brethren, and their sin; for they did unto thee evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the trespass of the servants of the God of thy father. And Joseph wept when they spake unto him.

18 And his brethren also went and fell down before his face; and they said, Behold, we be thy servants.

19 And Joseph said unto them, Fear not: for am I in the place of God?

his father fresh in memory. But this is not a sufficient reason to make us think it was not done in order of time as it is here placed in the story.

Thy father did command before he died.] This was a feigned story; for we do not find that Joseph had acquainted his father with their usage of him. Or, if he did, it would have been more proper to have left this charge with Joseph, than with them; or rather, he knew him so well, that he needed not to command him to take no revenge.

Ver. 17. *Forgive—the trespass.*] So we well translate the Hebrew phrase, *take away the trespass*: which is used elsewhere in this book, xviii. 24, 26, and in Hosea xiv. 2. And by *forgive* is meant, *Remitte penam, quam ab illis possis jure exigere propter peccatum in te commissum*; as Bochart well explains this passage (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 41); “Remit the punishment which thou mayest justly exact of them, for the offence they committed against thee.”

Of the servants of the God of thy father.] They urge besides the command of their father, and the relation they had to him as his brethren, that they were of the same religion with him; which makes the greatest conjunction of minds and affections, if it be rightly understood and practised. For how can the worshippers of the same God hate one another? There are those who think they call themselves *the servants of God*, not merely upon the account of their worshipping the true God, but because they were teachers also of the true religion: for this made them, above other Israelites, to be *the servants of God*. So Jac. Alting. lib. iii. Shilo, cap. 14.

Joseph wept when they spake unto him.] By their messenger. Which shows he was so far from being angry at them, that he pitied them, and had a tender affection to them.

Ver. 18. *His brethren also went, &c.*] The messenger acquainting them how he stood affected to them; and, it is likely, carrying back a kind message from him, and an invitation to come to him; they went to his house, and humbled themselves at his feet. In which Joseph's dream was still further fulfilled.

We be thy servants.] They had not yet overcome their fear (so close did their guilt stick to their consciences), and therefore call themselves his *servants*, not his *brethren*. They had sold him to be a servant; and now they offer themselves to be so to him.

Ver. 19. *For am I in the place of God?*] His father Jacob had said the same to Rachel (xxx. 2), to persuade her to submit to Divine Providence: which seems to be the scope of the words here. *Shall I presume to oppose myself to what is come to pass; as*

20 But as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass; as it is this day, to save much people alive.

21 Now therefore fear ye not: I will nourish you, and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto them.

22 ¶ And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years.

if I were God, and not He, who hath ordered things so much for our good? This appears to be the sense by what follows: and may be thus expressed: *shall I punish you for that* (for that may be meant by being in the place of God, to whom vengeance belongs) *which God hath turned so much to all our advantage?* Though the words may be simply rendered, *I am in the place of God*, without an interrogation. As much as to say, *I have nourished and sustained you all this while, and can you think I will now do you hurt?*

Ver. 20. *But as for you, ye thought evil against me, &c.*] It is true, indeed, ye thought to destroy me: but God designed by that very evil contrivance of yours, to bring about the greatest good both to you and me.

To bring to pass, as it is this day, &c.] To accomplish what you now see, the preservation of our whole family: which he understands by *much people*, in the next words, who by this means were saved from perishing. Herein appears the wonderful wisdom of God's overruling providence: which, contrary to the nature of sin, and the will of sinners, turns the evil they do into good, and directs it to the most excellent ends.

Ver. 21. *Now therefore fear ye not.*] He again encourages their hope; by repeating what he had said ver. 19.

I will nourish you, &c.] I will still take care of you all, as I have done hitherto.

He comforted them, &c.] With such discourse as this he raised up their drooping spirits; for he spake most kindly to them.

Ver. 22. *Joseph dwelt in Egypt, &c.*] He continued in Egypt; and so did his brethren, to their dying day. And, no doubt, made his word good to them: being one of the greatest examples of heroic virtue; to which none can arrive, unless they be meek and placable as he was. For, *Nihil est magnum, quod non idem sit placidum*; as Seneca truly said.

Joseph lived an hundred and ten years.] Not so long as his forefathers; for he was the son of his father's old age, and lived a great part of his time full of thought and care: having the weight of a great kingdom's affairs lying on him. For eighty of these years he spent in Egypt (being but thirty years old when he first stood before Pharaoh), in great prosperity, indeed; but in no less solicitude to discharge so great a trust as was committed to him.

Ver. 23. *Ephraim's children of the third generation.*] i. e. His great-grandchildren. In which Jacob's prediction began to be fulfilled (xlvi. 19, 20, xlix. 25). We find indeed that after Joseph's death (I suppose) Ephraim had some of his children slain (1 Chron. vii. 21, &c.). But God so blessed those who remained, that when Moses took an account of them after their coming out of Egypt, they were increased to above eight thousand more than the children of Manasseh (Numb. i. 33, 35).

Brought up upon Joseph's knees.] He lived to embrace and dandle them (as we now speak), in which old men and women much delight. Machir had only Gilead by his first wife; but he had more children by

23 And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation: the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were brought up upon Joseph's knees.

24 And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

25 And Joseph took an oath of the children of

a second, as we read 1 Chron. vii. 16. All which were born before Joseph died; and, perhaps, by *children* he means the children of his grandchildren.

Joseph's great authority, and his children's great increase, overawed his brethren so that they never durst dispute their father's will; in which he gave a double portion unto them. Which one would guess by their temper, was as displeasing to them, as their father's kindness to Joseph anciently had been; but they durst not oppose it; nor do we find they quarrelled at it.

Ver. 24. *God will surely visit you.*] He explains his meaning by what follows: *and bring you out of this land, &c.* For the word *visit* is used indifferently either for bestowing good things, or inflicting evil. Thus he died in the same faith with his ancestors; that God would make good his promises to them.

Ver. 25. *Joseph took an oath.*] As his father had done of him (xlvii. 30, 31).

Of the children of Israel.] Not only of his brethren mentioned before (ver. 24), but of all their family, who were to succeed them; and might live (when his brethren were dead) to carry his body out of Egypt; which he desired, for the same reason his father had done.

Carry up my bones from hence.] He did not desire to be carried immediately after his death, as his father was when his embalming was finished; but that they should carry him when they themselves returned to Canaan: by which time he knew his flesh would be quite dried up, and nothing left but bones. The reason why he did not desire to be carried away presently, was, that his body remaining with them, they might look upon it as a pledge and security of the promise God had made, of giving them the possession of that land, wherein he desired to be buried, or not buried at all. But he had repeated it twice, that God would surely visit them (ver. 24, 25), and was so confident of it, that he desired to be kept unburied, till the time of that visitation. Perhaps also he considered that they could not be of such authority as he had been: to prevail to have his body carried to Canaan, as his father's was: and therefore desired them not to think of laying him there, till that time came, when they should make a solemn and universal departure thither.

We read nothing what became of the rest of his brethren, but Josephus saith they were all carried into the land of Canaan to be buried; for they had the same desire, in all likelihood, and gave the same charge concerning their bodies; to keep posterity in hope, that God would certainly bring them thither. Which the words of St. Stephen also may seem to import, when he saith (Acts vii. 15, 16), "Jacob died, and our fathers, and were carried over into Sychem," &c. Though we read of none of their fathers besides Joseph; yet it seems the tradition was, that they were all carried thither, after his example. And so St. Jerome saith, that he saw at Sychem the sepulchres of the twelve patriarchs (Epitaph. Paulæ, cap. 6).

Ver. 26. *So Joseph died.*] After he had taken the forenamed oath of them, and assured them again of

Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence.

26 So Joseph died, *being* an hundred and

the truth of God's promise: which were the last things he did.

Some, perhaps, may think it strange that so wise and great a man as Joseph, whose dying words, one cannot but think, would have left a deep impression upon his brethren, should not give them abundance of good counsel at his departure from this world: and lay some other charge upon them, besides this of carrying up his bones to the land of Canaan. But Moses did not intend to write all that excellent men said and did: and we may very well think, when he declared his steadfast faith in the promise made to Abraham (which the apostle takes notice of, Hebr. xi. 22), and assured them God would perform it, he enlarged himself on that subject, in more words than are here related.

Being an hundred and ten years old:] This was said before (ver. 22), but here repeated, to signify he did not live a year beyond it; and so died just fifty-four years after his father; and a hundred and forty-four years before their departure out of Egypt.

They embalmed him,] His brethren took the same care of his body, that he had done of his father's, ver. 2, see there. For that Joseph died before any of his brethren, the Jews gather from Exod. i. 6, where it is said, "Joseph died, and all his brethren." He first, and they followed him. But not content with this, some of them adventure to tell us how many years every one of them lived; nay, the very month and day of their birth, as may be seen in R. Bechai. Reuben, for instance, they say was born the 14th day of Cisleu, and died when he was a hundred and twenty-five years old, &c.

He was put in a coffin in Egypt.] To be preserved in that chest or ark (as the Hebrew word is commonly translated) till they themselves went from thence. Herodotus, in the book above named (Euterpe, cap. 86, 90), speaks of the *Θῦραι*, *chests*, wherein dead bodies were enclosed after their embalming: which they laid *ἐν οἰκίῳ αὐτοῦ θηταίῳ*, "in the house or cell where these chests were repositied" reared against the

ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.

wall of it. Whether Joseph's coffin was put into such a common repository, or rather preserved in a place by it, we cannot determine. But the Chaldees hath an odd conceit (as G. Schickard observes in his *Jus Regium*, p. 159), that it was kept in the river Nile. Which arose, perhaps, from a mistake of the relation which that author had met withal, of the place where they laid their bodies: which were let down very deep *wells*, or *vaults* some call them (some of which were not far from the river Nile), and so put into a *cave*, which was at the bottom of those *wells*. For so F. Vansleb and others, who have gone to search for mummies, describe the place where they lie: and tell us they found some of the coffins made of wood (not putrefied to this day), and others of clothes pasted together, forty times double; which were as strong as wood, and not at all rotten.

The reader cannot but observe, that from the time of Joseph's advancement to the government, till the time of his death, i. e. for eighty years, there is no mention of the death of any king in Egypt. For it was not Moses's intention to write the history of that kingdom, or to give us the series of their kings: but only to acquaint us with the series of the patriarchs, and give some account of them, from the creation to his own time. All other things must be learned out of other authors. And, according to Eusebius, whom Jac. Capellus follows, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty (when the Egyptian history he makes account ceased to be fabulous) was Amos: whose dream Joseph interpreted, and was by him preferred. After he had reigned twenty-five years, he left the kingdom to Chebros; who reigned thirteen years. Next to whom was Amenophis (as much as to say, *a servant of Noph*, i. e. *Memphis*), who reigned twenty-one years: and then left the kingdom to Mephres, who held it twelve years. To whom Josephus, out of Manetho, substitutes Amersis, and says he reigned twenty-two years. And then succeeded Mephramuthosis, who reigned twenty-six years: in the beginning of whose time Joseph died.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

EXODUS.

THIS Book hath its name from the principal subject of it, viz. the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt. For so the Greek word ἔξοδος signifies, *going out*, or *departing* from one place to another. It contains a history of about a hundred forty and five years (some make it two or three years less) from the death of Joseph, to the building of the Tabernacle. For it treats of several things which went before their *departure*, and which followed after it: but they all relate to that, and depend upon it.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The children of Israel, after Joseph's death, do multiply.* 8 *The more they are oppressed by a new king, the more they multiply.* 15 *The godliness of the midwives, in saving the men children alive.* 22 *Pharaoh commandeth the male children to be cast into the river.*

1 Now these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt; every man and his household came with Jacob.

2 Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah,

3 Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin,

4 Dan, and Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.

Ver. 1. *Now these are the names, &c.*] Being to relate the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, it was very proper first to set down the number of those who came into it; and the heads of them: whereby it might the better appear also how God had fulfilled his promise to Abraham, of multiplying his seed: which Moses had recorded in his first book (Genesis), where he shows this promise was made at that very time, when he declared, after a long affliction in Egypt, he would conduct his posterity unto Canaan (Gen. xv. 5, 13, 18).

Ver. 2, 3, 4. *Reuben, Simeon, &c.*] He doth not set down their names (in these three verses) according to their birth: but first the children of Leah; then one of Rachel's; and then those of his handmaids; and last of all (in the next verses) Joseph, who was in Egypt before.

Ver. 5. *And all the souls*] i. e. Persons.

That came out of the loins] In the Hebrew out of the thigh, which signifies that part whereby mankind is propagated: as was observed upon Gen. xlv. 26. And so the author of the Tripartite history uses the word *femur*, when he speaks of the martyrdom of Benjamin (as Bochart observes, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. v. cap. 15): *Alium rursum acutum calamus in ejus femur, unde humana origo descendit, jussit imitti.*

For Joseph was in Egypt already.] In the Hebrew the particle *vau* (which we commonly translate *and*, and here *for*) sometimes also signifies *with* (see Gen. iv. 20). And so it doth in this place: which should be translated *seventy souls, with Joseph; who was in Egypt already.* For Joseph is not to be added to the seventy, but reckoned among them; to make up that number: as appears from Gen. xlv. i.

Ver. 6. *Joseph died,*] see Gen. i. 26.

5 And all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls: for Joseph was in Egypt already.

6 And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation.

7 ¶ And the children of Israel were fruitful,

All his brethren, and all that generation.] All that came with Jacob into Egypt.

Ver. 7. Here are several words for the same thing; to show their extraordinary increase, beyond what was usual in that or any other country. And because there are six words in all, to express this great increase, some of the Hebrews conclude they brought forth six children at a birth. Which others of them gather from the second word here used, *jishretzu*: which is a word whereby the increase of fishes is expressed in Gen. i. 20. So Theodoric Hackspan observes out of Baal-hatturim and Jalkut, and thinks the tradition is not to be rejected, because they bring frivolous conceits to support it. For Aristotle saith (lib. vii. Histor. Animal. cap. 4), the Egyptian women were so fruitful, that some of them at four births brought twenty children. No wonder then, if some of the Israelites brought six at a time, by the extraordinary blessing of God upon them. For Caspar Schottus names the wife of a citizen in Florence, who had two-and-fifty children, and never brought less than three at a birth; lib. iii. Phys. Curiosæ, cap. 29, where he hath collected a vast number of examples of such strange fruitfulness.

But nobody hath explained this verse more soberly and unexceptionably than Abarhinel; who considers every one of the words here used very judiciously; and shows they are not multiplied in vain. For, as the first word,

Were fruitful,] Signifies, he thinks, that none among them were barren, but brought forth every year, as trees are wont to do; so the next word,

Increased abundantly,] Signifies that they commonly brought forth more than one at a time, as *creeping* things do; to which this word alludes. And

and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.

8 Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.

because when more than one are born at a birth, they are frequently very weak, and not long-lived; therefore he adds,

Multiplied,] Which signifies, that they grew up to be men and women; and lived to have children of their own. And those not feeble, but lusty and strong; as the next words, he thinks, import, *waxed exceeding mighty*: of which more presently.

Now this vast increase began at their first coming into Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 27, 28), and so continued till the death of all that generation, mentioned in the foregoing verse. When it began to be taken notice of by the Egyptians; who thought it might prove dangerous to them; for the Israelites having *multiplied exceedingly*, during the space of seventeen years, that Jacob lived in Egypt; there is no doubt they increased proportionably in the space of fifty-four years more, which Joseph lived after the death of his father. And so in sixty-four years more, from the death of Joseph to the birth of Moses, must needs be grown so numerous as to fill the country. So that in eighty years more, they were increased to six hundred thousand men besides children (Exod. xii. 37). And the next year their number being taken, they were found to be six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men, from twenty years old and upward; as we read, Numb. i. 45, 46. And therefore, reckoning women, children, and youths under the age of twenty, we cannot but think they were three times as many: or perhaps two millions. Which is not incredible, by a moderate computation, if we consider how many might spring from seventy persons in the space of two hundred and fifteen years (which the forenamed sums make), as Bonfrerius, and several others from him in our own language, have been at the pains to demonstrate.

Waxed exceeding mighty;] This is commonly thought to signify, that they were not only numerous, but robust and strong. And it may as well denote, that their vast numbers made them very formidable to the Egyptians: who began, it appears by the sequel, to be jealous of their power, if they should have a will to attempt any thing against them.

The land was filled with them.] i. e. The land of Goshen; and perhaps some other parts of the lower Egypt.

Ver. 8. *Now there arose up a new king over Egypt,*] Some by a *new king* understand a king of another family, or race (as Josephus interprets it), nay, a stranger of another nation: just as *new gods* are strange gods in Scripture language. Thus Sir John Marsham; and then it is no wonder, that he knew not Joseph, as it here follows. But this is not certain: and the conceit whereby Aben Ezra justifies it (which is, that the word *rose up* implies as much), is justly censured by Abarinel as frivolous; it being the common word, which is used everywhere, when a new king succeeds his predecessor. It is most likely therefore that Moses means no more, but that the king in whose time Joseph died, being dead likewise (whom many take to have been Mephramuthosis), and another after him, whom they call Thutmosis; the next successor in the throne (Amenophis) either had heard nothing of Joseph, or did not mind what was said of him. Our great primate of Ireland gives a different account of the succession of the Egyptian kings; and takes this king to have been Ramasses Miamun: but

9 And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we:

10 Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that,

still supposes him to have been of the old line, and not a stranger.

Which knew not Joseph.] There is no doubt that Joseph died, as he lived, in high esteem and great reputation in that country: and that his memory continued precious, as long as any of that generation lasted. For Diodorus Siculus saith (lib. i.), that the Egyptians above all other people, *εὐχαρίστησιν αὐτῷ πᾶσι τὸ ἐννεγρεῖσθαι*, “were disposed to be grateful to all those who had any way merited of them:” looking upon the requital of the kindness of benefactors to be one of the greatest supporters of human life. And something to the same purpose is noted by Clemens Alexandrinus (lib. i. Strom. p. 303), where, having said that barbarous nations highly honoured *αὐτῶν νομοδιδασκάλους*, “their lawgivers and instructors,” whom they called gods; he presently adds, that the Egyptians, *εὐσεβέστατοι ἀνθρώποι*, “were very careful to deify such persons.” But if this was their inclination, in times so ancient as those of Moses, we must not think them all to have been so disposed; or that time did not obliterate the memory of benefits. For this prince (whom Artapanus in Eusebius, lib. ix. Præp. Evang. cap. 27, calls Palamanthes, so uncertain is his name) not having seen Joseph himself, nor having any knowledge perhaps of the benefits his country had received by his means, did not treat his kindred so kindly as they had been used in former times. But this phrase, *he knew not*, is commonly interpreted *he regarded not* the services which Joseph had done; of which he is supposed not to have been ignorant. For words of knowledge, in Scripture, include the affections also. As God is said to *know* those whom he loves; and *not to know* those whom he doth not love (Psalm i. 6; Matt. vii. 23). Whence the Jews have raised this observation, that “he who forgets the benefits he hath received from other men, at last forgets those he hath received from God.” For he of whom it is said here, *that he knew not Joseph*; said, not long after, *I know not the Lord* (ver. 2). But this is grounded upon a mistake; for it was another Pharaoh, long after this king, who spake those words.

Ver. 9. *He said unto his people,*] He called a council of the great men of the nation; to whom he represented how necessary it was to lessen the number, and weaken the power, of the Israelites.

Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we.] This was not true (unless he meant that no part of Egypt of that bigness had so many people and so strong as the Israelites in Goshen), but he said it to awaken his people to consider how to suppress them. And perhaps he was afraid of their power, or out of popularity would, in the beginning of his reign, give a proof of his care of his people by suppressing foreigners.

Ver. 10. *Come on,*] The Hebrew word *habah* is sometimes used in petitions (Psalm lx. ult.), but most commonly in *exhortations*; when men excite and stir up one another, not to be slack in any business (see Gen. xi. 3).

Let us deal wisely with them;] He would not go about to destroy them by force, being loth to lose so many subjects; but was desirous to diminish them by subtle devices.

Lest they multiply,] Grow still more numerous and mighty.

when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land.

11 Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses.

12 But the more they afflicted them, the

That when there falleth out any war,] With the Arabians, Ethiopians, or other neighbouring nations. For I see no reason to believe that he means the ancient Egyptians (with whom the Israelites had lived in great friendship, but now were expelled by the shepherd kings), and the people of Thebais; who at length made war with those kings, who reigned in the lower Egypt. This is Sir J. Marsham's conjecture (in his Canon Chron. sec. viii.), which I thought good to mention, though I do not follow it.

They join also unto our enemies, and fight against us,] As it was natural for men to do, who were under grievous oppressions; and hoped thereby for relief.

And so get them up out of the land,] They had heard the Israelites discourse, it is likely, that they never meant always to stay there; their fathers coming only to sojourn in Egypt; and the nearer the time approached, when God promised to bring them from thence, the more, we may well think, they spake of it. Which raised this jealousy, that, in case of any war, they would join with their enemies, that by their assistance they might be delivered.

Ver. 11. *Therefore they did set over them taskmasters, &c.]* This was the result of the council; that they should be brought low by laying heavy taxes upon them, to squeeze them of their money: and by making them labour very hard, whereby they thought to weaken their bodies. For the Hebrew word *missim* coming from *mas*, which signifies *tribute*, it may be reasonably thought, that these *taskmasters* (as we call them) exacted great sums of money of them, as well as afflicted them with their burdens, i. e. hard labour of all sorts, as the eastern writers expound it.

They built for Pharaoh] They did not labour for themselves, but for the king; who, it is likely, gave them no wages; but used them as mere slaves.

Treasure cities,] Fortified cities, wherein he had his magazines (as we now speak) of all sort of ammunition, and stores of corn, and public provisions, as well as treasures of money. For so we translate this word *miskenoth*, 2 Chron. xvi. 4, xvii. 12, *storehouses*; and xxxvi. 28, *storehouses for corn, and wine, and oil*. There was great labour, no doubt, employed in building such cities: surrounded with walls, and towers, and deep ditches, &c.

Pithom] This is thought by Bochart to be the city which Herodotus calls Πάτουμος (lib. ii. cap. 158), but Herodotus there saith it was πόλις τῆς Ἀραβίας, "a city of Arabia." And therefore Sir J. Marsham's conjecture seems more reasonable, who takes it for Pelusium: which was the most ancient fortified place in Egypt; called by Ezekiel (xxx. 15), "the strength of Egypt;" and by Suidas, long after him, κλεις τοῦ Αἰγύπτου, "the key of Egypt;" because it was the inlet from Syria into this country. Which was the reason, as Diodorus saith (lib. xv.), that they most of all fortified τὸ Πελοποννησίων στόμα, as his words are. And this agrees with the signification of *Pithom*, if C. Chytræus guesses aright, which is as much as *pi* and *tehom*, i. e. the mouth of the deep: being seated near the sea, at the mouth of one of the streams of the Nile. And thus I find it expounded in the Talmud, Tit. Sota, in the Gemara, cap. 1, § 32.

more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel.

13 And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour:

14 And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.

And Raamses,] It is an ignorant conceit of Benjamin Tudeleusis that this city is that called *Ein-Alshemes*, i. e. the fountain of the sun: in Greek, Heliopolis (see his Itiner. p. 120, and L'Empereur's Annot. p. 223). For the city was in the upper Egypt; whereas Raamses was in the lower, in the land of Goshen; and gave name to the whole country where the Israelites dwelt (Gen. xlvii. 11). And, it is most likely, it was a frontier town, which lay in the entrance of Egypt from Arabia, or some of the neighbouring countries. They that take the name of the king who now reigned to have been Raamses, think this city had its name from him, and the other called Pithom (as Mercator thinks) from the name of his queen.

Ver. 12. *But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew,]* Here is a new word, different from all the former (ver. 7), to express their extraordinary increase; for so *jiphrots* signifies, *breaking out*; as water doth which bursts out with a greater force, when it hath been pent up. This, as St. Austin observes (lib. 8, de Civ. Dei, cap. 6), is to be ascribed to the Divine blessing, for naturally tiresome labours would have dispirited them and made them less fruitful.

They were grieved because of the children of Israel,] It vexed them to see this device prove so unsuccessful, that it promoted what they thought to hinder.

Ver. 13. *And the Egyptians; rather therefore,]* The Egyptians resolved to take a more severe course with them.

Made the children of Israel to serve with rigour,] Used them more tyrannically and cruelly: without any mercy: whereby their strength, in all likelihood, would be broken, as the Hebrew word signifies. Some of the Jews think they beat and scourged them sorely.

Ver. 14. *They made their lives bitter]* The Hebrews call all things *bitter*, which extremely grieve and afflict the soul (Gen. xxvii. 34; Lam. iii. 15). Whence Naomi bids her daughters call her no more by that pleasant name, but call her *Mara*, i. e. *bitter*: because of the very great afflictions she had endured in a strange country.

With hard bondage,] Such drudgery as if they had been mere bond-slaves.

In mortar, and in brick,] Πηλὸν εἰς πλῆθον σχηματίζουσι, "by making clay into bricks" (as Philo well interprets it, lib. i. de Vita Mosis), or in working the clay, and then turning it into bricks. And so Bochart expounds it, by the figure of ἐν διὰ θυοῖν, "lateribus ex luto conficiendis." There was great store of clay in that place: Pelusium (one of the cities which they built) having its name from thence, both in the Greek and in the Hebrew languages. For *sin* signifies the same with *πῶλος*, clay or dirt.

In all manner of service in the field, &c.] Not merely in ploughing, &c. but in digging trenches, to convey the water of Nile into their ground (as Philo expounds it), and in cleansing those trenches that had been formerly made; and in carrying dung, as others add, into the field; and such like nasty services. And all these, Moses adds, were rigorously exacted of them: i. e. they did all they could to break their hearts, as we speak.

15 ¶ And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives, of which the name of the one was Shiprah, and the name of the other Puah;

16 And he said, When ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the stools; if it be a son, then ye shall kill him: but if it be a daughter, then she shall live.

17 But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive.

18 And the king of Egypt called for the mid-

wives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and have saved the men children alive?

19 And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them.

20 Therefore God dealt well with the midwives: and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty.

21 And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he made them houses.

Ver. 15. *The king—spake to the Hebrew midwives.*] The former device failing him, or contributing little to his end, he betakes himself to one that, if it were pursued, could not but prove effectual. Some will have these *midwives* to have been Egyptians, but called Hebrew, because the women of that nation made use of their assistance, when they were in labour. But it is not likely that the Hebrews had not midwives of their nation, or that Pharaoh would impose his midwives upon them, and let them have none else; for that would have too plainly discovered his drift: whereas he intended to hide it, and to act cunningly against them (ver. 10).

The name of the one was Shiprah, &c.] We cannot well think there were only two midwives, to serve the whole nation: but these were the chief; who had the rest under their government, and gave orders and directions to them. So Aben Ezra; whom Abarinel contradicts; but with slight reasons, to advance a subtle rather than solid conceit of his own: that every woman in Egypt had two midwives, and those were the common names of them, signifying what each of them was to do for the woman in travail. There are those among the Jews who have fancied Jochabed the mother of Moses to be one of those here named; and some of them, who are pleased with seeming ignorant of nothing, say she is the person here called Shiprah: her daughter Miriam being the other, called Puah: so the Jerusalem Targum.

Ver. 16. *When ye do the office of a midwife, &c.*] Are called to their assistance in their labour.

See them upon the stools:] The Hebrew word *oban-jim*, which we translate *stools*, is so obscure, that the LXX. content themselves to translate this passage thus, “when you see them delivered:” which fully expresses the sense; and must be supposed to be the meaning, if we take “stools” for such seats as are purposely contrived for labouring women to sit on, that the midwives might the better do their office. For they could not tell whether they brought forth male or female, till they were delivered: unless the Hebrew doctors say true, who constantly affirm that boys come into the world with their faces downwards, and girls with their faces upwards; whereby they might know what sex a child was of before it was quite born (see Tit. Sota in the Gemara, cap. 1, sect. 33).

If it be a son, then ye shall kill him:] The Egyptians feared the men of Israel only; without whom they could have no children at all, but such as would be half Egyptians; and in time be wholly engrafted into that nation.

But if it be a daughter, then she shall live.] For, as Clemens Alexandr. well observes (lib. i. Stromat. p. 343), ἀσθενὲς εἰς πόλεμον γυνή, “women are feeble and unfit for war;” therefore they had no fear of them, but reserved them to increase the Egyptian breed.

Ver. 17. *But the midwives feared God, &c.*] They that take them for Egyptians, say these midwives were

proselytes to the Jewish religion. But such faith in God, as made them not fear a great king, is hardly to be expected from any but those who had been always bred up in a deep sense of his Divine Majesty. Which gave them such courage, that, as Chytraeus expresseth it in Herodotus’s phrase (which is in a manner the same with St. Peter’s, Acts v. 29), τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόβητα ἵσταντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, “they made account the things of God were to be preferred before those of men:” and therefore would not obey the king’s command, by doing contrary unto God’s.

Ver. 18. *The king of Egypt called for the midwives,*] Sent out a summons to appear before him.

Why have ye done this thing, &c.] Their being questioned for their disobedience, made their constancy the more remarkable.

Ver. 19. *For they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them.*] It doth not appear that these midwives told a lie, but only concealed some of the truth: which is not unlawful, but commendable, when it is to preserve the innocent. For many of the Hebrew women might be such as they are described, though not every one of them. The Hebrew word *chojoth* signifies three things: either *vivaces*, i. e. lively, or *obstetrices*, midwives (as Kimchi tells us), or *animantia*, living creatures. The LXX. follow the first notion, and so do we, which is very proper. Aquila follows the second, who translates this passage thus, Μαῖαι γὰρ εἰναι, καὶ πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὰς Μαῖας τίκουσιν; “they can do the office of midwives themselves, and are brought to bed before we can get to them.” Thus the Vulgar also take it, “they have skill in midwifery.” And the author of the life of Moses (as several other Jews do) takes it in the third sense, expounding it thus; “they are like other living creatures, who do not need any midwives to help their young ones into the world.” And so Rasi also, and Theodotion, who thus translates it, ζωογονοῦσιν αὐταί, which doth not signify (as Gualmyr observes), “they bring forth living children,” but ad instar animantium pariunt, “they bring forth like animals.” Such lively women undoubtedly there have been, and are still in some parts of the world. For Varro reports (lib. ii. de R. R. cap. 10), that the women of Illyricum, when they found their pangs coming, were wont to go a little aside from the work they were about, and presently were delivered of a child, quem non peperisse, sed invenisse putes; “which one would think they had found, not brought forth out of their womb.” Which place our Gataker mentioning in his Cinnus (p. 213), saith it is credibly reported by those who had lived there a great while, that the Irish women sometimes rise from table, and are delivered, and return to the company again before all be taken away.

Ver. 20. *Therefore God dealt well with the midwives, &c.*] He rewarded their service; whereby the children of Israel still more multiplied, and waxed very mighty.

Ver. 21. *Because the midwives feared God, that he made them houses.*] These words seem to declare,

22 And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.

wherein God rewarded them; which was in *making them houses*. Some indeed (particularly Mr. Calvin) refer this to the Israelites; because the word *them* is of the masculine gender: and therefore cannot, they think, be meant of the midwives; but must be interpreted, *by this means the children of Israel were exceedingly increased*. But, besides that this was said just before, it is not unusual in Scripture, when the speech is of women, to use the masculine gender. Thus Ruth (i. 8) prays for her daughters-in-law in these words, "the Lord deal kindly with you;" where in the Hebrew the masculine gender is used, and not the feminine. But we need go no further for an instance of this than the very next chapter to this (Exod. ii. 17), where Moses is said to *water their flock*, speaking of Jethro's daughters, and the word for *their* is of the masculine gender. It agrees also best with the whole story to take it so here; that God made the midwives houses (so the Chaldee and the LXX. understand it), that is, gave them a numerous offspring, out of which arose many families, which in Scripture language are called *houses* (Gen. xxx. 30); "When shall I make myself a house?" (the same phrase with this,) i. e. take care of my own family (Deut. xxv. 9; Ruth iv. 5). Or else the meaning may be, *he increased their estate*, and gave them great riches: which the Psalmist may be thought to mean, when he saith, "Except the Lord build the house," (i. e. preserve and increase the estate of a family) their labour is in vain that endeavour it (see also 2 Sam. vii. 11; Ps.

cxiii. 9). Some that take these midwives to have been Egyptian women, proselyted to the Jewish religion, think the sense may be that they married to Israelites, and God made their families eminent in Israel.

Ver. 22. *Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son, &c.*] Not being able to effect his end by the midwives, he commanded everybody to inform his officers when any Hebrew woman fell in labour, and appointed searchers (it is likely) to examine whether they were delivered of male or female, and to act according to what is here ordered. Some, that understand the foregoing words of the Israelites, make this the sense of the two last verses: "Because the midwives feared God, and thereby the families of the Israelites were increased, not diminished; Pharaoh took a new course, and charged all his people to see that done, which the midwives refused." The Jews (in the book called the life of Moses), say that many of their people, upon this decree of Pharaoh, resolved not to marry, or not to come near their wives: and those who did, were forced to have them brought to bed alone, and throw their children into the fields, where the angels took care of them, &c. But this is confuted by what follows in the next chapter. And yet they are so fond of such fables, that in one of their Medrashim (or books of homilies), they say God made milk to come out of one stone, and honey out of another, to suckle them, while they lay hid in the earth. (See Buxtorf. of the education of their children, Synag. Judaic. cap. 7.)

CHAPTER II.

1 *Moses is born, 3 and in an ark cast into the flags. 5 He is found, and brought up by Pharaoh's daughter. 11 He slayeth an Egyptian. 13 He reproveth an Hebrew. 15 He fleeth into Midian. 21 He marryeth Zipporah. 22 Gershom is born. 23 God respecteth the Israelites' cry.*

1 AND there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi.

2 And the woman conceived, and bare a

son: and when she saw him that he *was a goodly child*, she hid him three months.

3 And when she could not longer hide him,

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *There went a man of the house of Levi, &c.*] We are told both the man's name, and the woman's whom he married (Exod. vi. 20; Numb. xxvi. 59), where Amram, grandson of Levi, is said to have been Moses's father; and Jochabed, daughter of Levi, to have been his mother. So Amram married his father's sister (as the text expressly tells us), which Moses was so ingenuous as not to conceal, though it might not be for his credit in future ages: when such marriages were forbidden by that law which he gave them from God; though practised before the giving of his law (see Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9). The Jews also, fancying his mother Jochabed to have been born as soon as the Israelites came into Egypt, make the birth of Moses a miracle: because she must be, by that account, a hundred and thirty years old when he was born. But it may as well be thought that she was born to Levi in his old age, by another wife; and so she was younger than her nephew Amram, and but his half sister. Which makes their marriage no more strange than Abraham's marriage with Sarah. Besides, it is not certain she was his father's sister (in the strict sense of that word), but might be only one of his cousins, who in

Scripture are frequently called sisters. And then, when it is said she was a *daughter of Levi*, the meaning must be, his *grand-daughter*, or the child perhaps of one of his grand-daughters: who, in these writings, are commonly called *daughters*. And so all the objections against this marriage vanish; and the first words of this verse explain the last: "A man of the house of Levi, took to wife a daughter of Levi;" that is, one of the same house or family. But see vi. 20.

Ver. 2. *The woman conceived, and bare a son:*] She had one before this, viz. Aaron; who, it is probable, was born before this persecution began, being three years older than Moses (vii. 7).

When she saw him that he was a goodly child,] His goodly aspect (which seems to have been an early indication of his future greatness) is taken notice of by strangers; particularly by Justin out of Trogus, an ancient heathen historian, lib. xxxvi. cap. 2, where he saith, that besides the inheritance of his father's knowledge (whom he takes to have been Joseph), etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat, "the gracefulness of his person recommended him to others." Insomuch, that the whole fable of Adonis among the heathen was framed (as Huetius conjectures) out of this story of Moses. For Apollodorus

she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink.

relates (lib. iii.) how Venus, admiring the great beauty of the infant, took him away privily, without the knowledge of the gods; and, hiding him in an ark, delivered him to Proserpine, &c. (see Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 3, n. 3).

She hid him three months.] R. Simeon, in Pirke Eliezer (cap. 48), saith, she hid him in a vault under ground. But in Sota they say (in the Gemara, cap. i. sect. 38) he being hid in a secret inner room of their house, was in danger to be detected by his crying; when some of the Egyptians came into the outer room, and brought a crying child with them on purpose; supposing the Israelites' infants would answer, if any were in the house. But there is no certainty of this.

Ver. 3. When she could not longer hide him.] Some discovery being made of him, by some means or other, by their neighbours; or the search after new-born children being now more narrow and diligent; she thought he could be no longer concealed, and therefore resolved to expose him, in the manner following.

She took for him an ark of bulrushes.] Or of *wicker*: for Kimchi observes the Hebrew word *gome* signifies the lightest wood. Patricides, an Arabian writer, saith it was made of that which the ancients call *papyrus*: and so the LXX. and Josephus, and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. i. p. 343, *ἐκ βύβρων τῆς ἐγχαρίων σκίους τε ποιεῖσθαι*), which was a *frutex* that grew particularly upon the banks of Nile, as Salmasius shows in Solin. p. 1002, &c.

Daubed it with slime and with pitch.] Of this word *slime*, see Gen. xi. 3. It is most probable that this was used within, and pitch without, to keep the water from coming into the ark. And so I find in the Gemara of that title, in the Talmud called Sota (cap. i. sect. 29), where this is said to have been an ancient tradition. Only they say, as many of the rabbins do, that *chemar* signifies *plaster*, not *bitumen*: because the had smell of that, they think, would have been noisome to the child. R. Solomon's opinion is, that it was *pitched* both within and without; and plastered within over the pitch.

She laid it in the flags by the river's brink.] That it might not be carried away with the stream; but she might come in the night and suckle it. Some think that the ark, notwithstanding, was made below in the form of a boat, that if it should chance to be carried from among the flags upon the shore, it might swim in the river. For it is certain that Egyptians made ships of the forenamed reed, as we find in Pliny and Solinus, who both mention *papyrus* *ac naves*; and in Theophrastus, who mentions *ἡλοία ἐξ αὐτοῦ*, speaking of *papyrus*: as Salmasius observes in his Plin. Exercit. p. 1003, 1115, 1116. Herodotus also mentions, *ἡλοία ἐκ τῆς ἀκάλυκτος ποταμῶν*, in his Euterpe, cap. xvi. (see Isa. xviii. 2).

Ver. 4. His sister stood afar off, to wit what, &c.] By her mother's order no doubt; that she might not seem to be set there, on purpose to watch him. We read of no other sister he had but Miriam (Num. xxvi. 59), who therefore is thought to be the person.

Ver. 5. The daughter of Pharaoh] Called Thermutis by Josephus (lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 5), but by Artapanus, in Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. (lib. ix. cap. 27) called Meris, or Merris. Which is her name, as Jacobus Capellus observes, in his Fasti Siculi. The same Artapanus there says, she was married to Cenephres, king of the country above Memphis; but had no

4 And his sister stood afar off, to wit what would be done to him.

5 ¶ And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash herself at the river; and her maidens

child by him. Clemens Alexandrinus says the same, that she was not only a married woman, but had been long married, without being with child, *τέκνον δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσα*, "but very desirous to have one" (Lib. i. Strom. p. 343).

Came down to wash herself at the river;] Not for pleasure, but for purification: this being an ancient rite of religion in all nations, to cleanse themselves, by washing their bodies, after any defilement. Thus Philo seems to understand it, in his book of the Life of Moses: where, speaking of this matter, he uses the word *περιβαλάντριά*, which is proper to sacred cleansing. And it seems far more probable, than that the scorching heat of the weather (caused by an extraordinary hand of God) made her betake herself to the cool streams for her refreshment (as the tale is told in the Hebrew book, called the Life of Moses), or that the desire of children carried her higher; the waters of Nile being thought to make women fruitful. Clemens Alexandrinus seems to have put both these together, refreshment and religion; when he saith she came hither, *λουτοῖς καὶ περιβαλάντριάς χρησάμενη* (lib. i. Strom. p. 343). It is still a further fetch of Jonathan, who would persuade us that at this time God had smote the Egyptians with a burning ulcer; which made their flesh so hot, that they could not endure it, but ran to the river to cool their bodies. And in Pirke Eliezer (cap. xviii.), this inflammation is said to have seized on Pharaoh's daughter, whom he calls Bathia. Which is indeed the name of a daughter of one Pharaoh (1 Chron. iv. 18), but to make her the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, (as G. Vorstius observes they do, in Shemoth Rabba, and Vajira Rab), is altogether senseless. And yet it is upon that ground they make her a proselyte also, and say in the title of the Talmud before mentioned, called Sota (cap. i. of the Gemara, sect. 40), that she went into the river to *purge herself from the idolatry of her father's house*: i. e. to become a proselyte, who was received (in following times) into the Jewish religion by baptism.

Her maidens walked along by the river's side;]

While she washed herself, in a private place, which, no doubt, was made by the king for that purpose. For it is not to be imagined, that she washed herself publicly in the river; but in some enclosure, whereby she was separated from the sight of company. For Zoan (or Tanis) the royal city, it is certain, lay near the river; and it is likely the king's gardens extended themselves to the very bank of it; where convenient bathing-houses were contrived for himself, and the royal family, to bathe in the river when they pleased. Patricides seems to say, that the river ran through the city, or by the side of it; for so the words are: "the ark was put in the banks of the river Nile, where the water was shallowest, in the city of Tzana, which was the metropolis of that part of the country." And to the same purpose Elmacinus, another Arabian writer, as Hottinger observes in his Smegma Orientale (lib. i. cap. 8, p. 400).

When she saw the ark among the flags,] In such a bathing-house, as I suppose her to have now been, there were lattices through which she could see what was done in the river, though nobody could see her. And she spying an unusual vessel among the flags, commanded it to be brought to her. Patricides saith, she heard the child cry. And Chusikuni observes, it was more easy for her who was in the river to

walked along by the river's side; and when she saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it.

6 And when she had opened it, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, *This is one of the Hebrews' children.*

7 Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee?

8 And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother.

espy the ark, than for her maidens who walked above the banks.

She sent her maid to fetch it.] The Hebrew word *amatha*, which we translate 'maid,' is much different from that for maidens mentioned just before; signifying one that waited immediately upon her, whom we call a handmaid: the other properly signifying only young women: who were such, perhaps, as we now call ladies of honour.

Ver. 6. *When she had opened it, she saw the child.]* And together with him the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, as Rabbi Jose saith in Sota: which is agreeable to their opinion who make her to be now proselyted, but hath no other foundation.

The babe wept.] There is nothing strange in this, that a babe (which perhaps had been a good while without the breast) should weep: but it is remarkable that Pharaoh's daughter should not find it, till tears ran down its cheeks: because this helped to move her compassion towards it, as it here follows.

She had compassion on him,] Resolved to preserve him, contrary to her father's order.

This is one of the Hebrews' children.] None else, she thought, would expose so goodly a child: and she was confirmed in her opinion, when she found he was circumcised, as the same R. Jose conjectures. And the truth is, we have no good reason to believe, that the Egyptians had, as yet, received circumcision.

Ver. 7. *Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, &c.]* We cannot think his sister would be so imprudent to step in immediately upon the finding of the child, and ask if she should call a Hebrew nurse for it: but stayed for some time (that she might not seem to know any thing of him, but what she heard them say), till they had tried other nurses (as the Hebrew doctors in Sota understand it, cap. i. sect. 43), whose breasts the child refusing to suck, she took the opportunity to ask if she might see for a nurse among the Hebrew women. Josephus saith the very same.

Ver. 8. *Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go.]* It is likely that Miriam addressed herself to her so discreetly, that it moved her easily to agree to her proposal. Though a singular providence of God guided this whole business.

The maid went and called the child's mother.] Whose breast the child readily taking (having been used to it) she was instantly accepted to be his nurse. So it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 9.] Thus by the wonderful providence of God, Jochabed had the pleasure of suckling her own child; and was also well paid for her pains.

Ver. 10. *The child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter,]* The Hebrew writers say, that when he was two years old, he was taken from her: which is not so likely, as that he continued with her till he was grown capable to be instructed in true religion, and to understand and remember whose true

9 And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it.

10 And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water.

11 ¶ And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens: and he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren.

child he was; whereby he was disposed to behave himself accordingly, when he came to live at court.

He became her son.] She having no child of her own, adopted him for her son, with the consent, no doubt, of Pharaoh: not to succeed in the throne, as some have fancied; but to be the heir of her private estate. And accordingly she gave him a princely education, and took care he should be instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, as St. Stephen hath remembered (Acts vii. 22), and, as Philo (in the Life of Moses) would have it believed, sent for the ablest masters out of Greece (as well as out of Assyria, and other eastern countries) to teach him in their learning. Which is a piece of Jewish vanity: for there was no learning among the Greeks in the days of Moses, who was ancient, not only than their philosophers and poets, but than most of their gods, as Clemens Alexandrinus demonstrates, *Kai θειῶν ἀπα τῶν πλείστων παρ' Ἑλλήνων οὐ μόνον τῶν λεγομένων σοφῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν ὁ Μωσὴς πρεσβύτερος* (lib. i. Strom. p. 323). And what learning there was now in Egypt is not certain; for there is no evidence that the wisdom St. Stephen speaks of, comprehends the knowledge of so many things, as some learned men are pleased to ascribe to them in those days.

Moses.] The reason of this name is given in the following words:

Because I drew him out of the water.] This name seems to be derived from the Hebrew word *mashah*, which is never used in the Bible, but for drawing out of the water (2 Sam. xxii. 17; Psalm xviii. 17; Isa. lxiii. 11). And therefore there is no need to have recourse to any other language for the original of his name; which Philo, Josephus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, will have to be derived from the word *Mō*, which, in the Egyptian tongue, they say, signifies water, and *saḥs*, which signifies saved. So that it is as much as *saved from the waters*, or preserved from drowning. It may be said, indeed, that it is not likely that she should give him a name from any other language than her own; but it is to be considered, that the word *mashah* (from whence this name must naturally flow, and to which she herself said she had respect) might have the same signification in her language that it had in Hebrew; there being a great affinity between these two tongues (see Gen. xl. 45). Alexandrinus saith, that the name he gave him by his parents at his circumcision was Joachim. Which he had, I suppose, out of some fabulous book; for, in the same place, he speaks of the name that was given him after he was translated to heaven (lib. i. Strom. p. 343).

Ver. 11. *In those days, when Moses was grown,]* When he was not only arrived at man's estate, but was fully forty years old, as St. Stephen observes (Acts vii. 23), and may be gathered from this history.

That he went out unto his brethren, &c.] He had

12 And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that *there was* no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand.

13 And when he went out the second day,

a motion from God (as St. Stephen there seems to interpret it) to go, and acquaint himself with the condition of his brethren; and to own himself, more than he had done hitherto, to be one of them. The Jews tell many tales of what passed between him and Pharaoh till this time; but there is no more credit to be given to them, than to what Artapanus, a heathen historian, relates of his military exploits in a war with the Ethiopians, against whom Cenebres sent him as general of his forces: though this is remarkable, that this name and several passages of his life (mixed with some fables) were known to other nations, and by them magnified and admired. As appears by what Eusebius hath extracted out of Artapanus, Eupolemus, Demetrius, and other heathen writers (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 26, 27, &c.).

Looked on their burdens?] Which he did very often (as Philo understands it: lib. i. de Vita Mosis), and not without great grief and heaviness; that he was neither able to hinder their oppression, nor to help them under it. But he exhorted Pharaoh's officers to moderate their severity; and the Israelites to be patient, in hope of deliverance.

He espied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew.] The cause of it is reported (in the Life of Moses, in Hebrew, and in Shalshalah Hakkabalah) that this Egyptian had broken the Hebrew's house, and bound him, and ravished his wife, and now endeavoured to murder him. But this looks like a tale: which is a little better told by the author of Sheboth Rabba, and others mentioned by Mr. Selden, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. i.) who say, that this Egyptian was one of the taskmasters, who called this man out of his bed in the night to go to work, and then took his opportunity to slip into it, and lie with Selomith, his wife, who took him for her husband. The plainest account and most likely, is this of Philo (in the place above mentioned), that some of Pharaoh's officers, little differing from the most furious beasts, not at all mollified, but more exasperated by entreaties; one of them, of the most violent temper, fell in an outrageous manner upon a Hebrew, because he did not do his work so fast as he would have him, beating him most cruelly till he had almost killed him.

One of his brethren.] All the Hebrews were his brethren; but this man was of his own tribe, and one of the children of Kohath, as the forenamed authors take it.

Ver. 12. *He looked this way and that way.*] Round about him; that he might not run into danger himself, by delivering his brother from it.

He slew the Egyptian.] Being stirred up to it by a Divine motion; otherways he could not have justified this fact to God and his own conscience. And therefore St. Stephen plainly makes this an indication to the children of Israel, that God intended to deliver them by his means; and says, Moses thought they would have so understood (Acts vii. 25). Nay, Maimonides himself gives this account of it (par. ii. cap. 45, More Nevochim), where making this the first degree of prophecy, when a man is moved and animated by God to some great and heroic enterprise (either for the preservation of the whole church, or the deliverance of eminent men from oppression), he reckons Moses, among others, as an instance of it, in these words: "Moses was endued with this power, when he grew up to be a man; by the impulse of which he slew the Egyptian, and checked him who unjustly strove with one of his brethren," &c. The

behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?

14 And he said, Who made thee a prince and

Hebrews generally say that Moses did not kill this man with a sword, or any other weapon, but merely by the word of his mouth, pronouncing him dead in the name of God. Which tradition is so old, that it is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, (lib. i. Strom.) *φασὶ δὲ οὐ Μώσας λόγῳ μόνῳ ἀνέκρινεν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον*, &c. "They that pretend to secrets, say, that he killed the Egyptian with his word alone," as Peter afterwards, in the Acts, killed Ananias and Sapphira.

And hid him in the sand.] An inaccessible desert lay on the west of Egypt, as Diodorus Siculus observes; and there was another also on the east of it: so that if this happened upon the borders, there was sand enough wherein to bury him.

Ver. 13. *When he went out the second day.*] Having begun to act by the Divine commission, he seems to have resolved every day to give proofs of his authority; and awaken the people to expect deliverance by his means. And therefore went out, among them, this day, as he had done the day before.

Behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together.] He was surprised to find two of his brethren contending one with another; when they were so grievously oppressed by the Egyptians.

Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?] He had no less authority to admonish and reprove his brethren, than to chastise their oppressors.

Ver. 14. *Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?*] It is plain by this that he acted as one that had authority; but this man questioned from whence he had it.

Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?] It is not likely the man thought he had any such intention, but meant only to fright Moses from meddling in his matters, by letting him know, that what he had done already was not such a secret as he thought it.

Moses feared.] He had not yet received a commission from God to act publicly as their governor, and therefore durst not stay to answer a charge against him (which he thought might be possibly brought), for what he had done privately. Some have troubled themselves to reconcile this with what the apostle saith, Heb. xi. 27, that "he feared not the wrath of the king;" which doth not seem to agree with what is said here, that *Moses feared*. But there he may very well be thought to speak, not of his flight out of Egypt, but of his last departure with the whole body of the Israelites. Though if we should allow Moses, and the apostle, to speak of the same thing, there would be no contradiction between them. For he might so fear, as to make him cautious, and consult for his safety; rather than basely either deny or excuse what he had done, or ask pardon for it; unto which *no fear of the wrath of the king* could have moved him.

Ver. 15. *Now when Pharaoh heard this thing.*] Which was soon brought to his ears, as Moses suspected; and aggravated extremely by the great men of the court, as Philo represents it (lib. i. de Vita Mosis).

He sought to slay Moses.] Not so much because he had killed the man, as because he pretended to assert the liberty of the Israelites, and to be their deliverer. Demetrius bears witness to this story, just according to what is here related, in Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 29.

But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh.] Wisely

a judge over us? intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely this thing is known.

15 Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by a well.

16 Now the priest of Midian had seven daugh-

foreseeing the danger, he avoided it by flight into another country, where he was out of his reach. For though the time of Israel's deliverance was not yet come, he was assured, that God intended to work it by his hand: and therefore thought it prudent to reserve himself till he received a further commission from God. But though this flight of Moses be here so plainly affirmed, yet the Jews are so fond of their own conceits, and so bold in their invention, that they say he was not only condemned to have his head cut off, but brought to the block; and when the executioner came to do his office, his sword would not enter; Moses's neck being, by a miracle, turned into a pillar of marble; and from thence he called his son Eliezer, &c. So the tale is told by the author of Moses's Life. What Pharaoh this was is not certain, but Eusebius calls him Orus (who succeeded Amenophis, in whose time Moses was born), and he is said to have reigned two-and-forty years.

Dwelt in the land of Midian.] Where some of Abraham's posterity were settled (Gen. xxv. 2), in a part of Arabia Petraea. And therefore Philo only saith, ἐκκεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ὄψιν Ἀραβίας, "he withdrew into the neighbouring Arabia." Into which country he chose to flee, both because his escape was easy thither, and because they were descended from the same stock with himself; and continued still good people; or at least had some good governors and families among them, as appears by what follows:

He sat down by a well.] To refresh himself; and expecting, it is likely, to meet some company there, at the time when the flocks came to water.

Ver. 16. *Now the priest of Midian*] Or *prince*, as it is in the margin. For the word *cohen* indifferently signifies either *priest* or *prince*: but most anciently it signifies the latter (a *prince*), for so it is used in the Book of Job, xii. 19; he leadeth *cohenim* (princes) away spoiled. And in aftertimes it continued to have the same signification; David's sons being called by this name of *cohenim*, 2 Sam. viii. 18, which in 1 Chron. xviii. 17, is expounded, "were chief at the hand of the king." And so Ira is called, 2 Sam. xx. 26, *cohen*, a chief ruler about David. And so I think it is to be taken here, for a *ruler* or *governor* (see Gen. xli. 50), not of the whole country of Midian, but of some province of it. And it may be most truly rendered a *prince* (i. e. one of the princes, or rulers) of *Midian*. But in ancient time princes executed the priesthood also, as Plato observes they did among the Egyptians; and the consuls and emperors of Rome were ambitious of the same dignity: by which means the word *cohen* came to signify both. Though where the place or territory of which any person was *cohen* is mentioned, there it always signifies him to have been prince or civil governor of that place. So S. Jarchi observes, "the word *cohen* always denotes some Divine ministry or function, except where there is an addition of some particular principality to it, as *Cohen of Midian* and *Cohen of On*," (referring to this place, and that I now mentioned in Genesis), where it signifies a prince, though the priesthood might be joined with it. And so Artabanus in

ters: and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock.

17 And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock.

18 And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon to day?

Eusebius (lib. ix. cap. 27), relating Moses's flight into Arabia, saith he came to Raguel, τῷ τῶν τόπων ἀρχόντι, "the ruler of these parts." And the Jews, in their German translation of the Bible, call him *Heer, Lord of Midian*. See our most learned Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. ult. p. 648. I shall only add, that it is most likely that this *prince* (or *priest*) was a worshipper of the true God, and not an idolater: for Moses, we may be confident, would not have married his daughter if she had been bred in a false religion.

Had seven daughters; and they came and drew water, &c.] He was but a small prince it appears by this; though it must be acknowledged it was a noble employment in old time (as I observed upon Genesis) to look after sheep: and we must not imagine these young women drew the water themselves, but had servants to attend them and obey their orders.

Ver. 17. *The shepherds came and drove them away.*] Some rude and idle shepherds would have made use of the water which they had drawn; and had the benefit of their pains, without any labour of their own. This looks like an argument that their father was not a *prince*. For then, one would think, these shepherds would not have dared to contest with them. But it is as much an argument that he was not a *priest*; for they were great men also in those days. And it seems probable to me, that these were the shepherds of some other greater prince in those countries; who made thus bold with Jethro's daughters and their servants. For one cannot think, as I said, that they alone looked after this flock, but were overseers of those that did, like Rebekah and Rachel (see Gen. xxix. 9).

But Moses stood up and helped them, &c.] This was an act (as Maimonides suggests) of the same heroic spirit, mentioned before (ver. 12), which still rested on him, and moved him here, as it had done in Egypt. And thus Philo also represents him as ἐθονιστὰ μεταμορφούμενον, transported by such an enthusiasm when he spake to the shepherds, that it affrighted them from their attempt. Though it is not certain that he overcame them by persuasions, but the whole discourse seems rather to imply that he forced them to desist: which he could not do alone, but at the head of those servants that belonged to these young women: and it is not improbable he had some servants of his own, who attended him in his flight. Certain it is that the Arabians' great employment was feeding of cattle, as Philo there notes (lib. i. de Vita Mosis, περινομήσαντες Ἀραβίαν, &c.), "and that not only men, but women, young men and virgins, looked after them; and not those only of the meaner sort, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιφανῶν," "but they that were of noble families."

Ver. 18. *When they came to Reuel their father,*] He is thought to be the same with Jethro (iii. 1), or was Jethro's father; and so the grandfather of these young women; which Drusius thinks most probable (Miscell. Centur. 2, cap. 69).

He said, How is it—ye are come so soon to day?] It seems Moses not only valiantly defended and protected them; but so vigorously assisted them also in

19 And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and also drew water enough for us, and watered the flock.

20 And he said unto his daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread.

21 And Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter.

22 And she bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been a stranger in a strange land.

all their business, that they despatched it sooner than they were wont to do.

Ver. 19. *They said, An Egyptian*] So they took Moses to be by his speech and his habit; and perhaps he told them he came out of that country.

Delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds.] This justifies what I said (ver. 17), that these shepherds belonged to some other prince in those parts, who were wont, it seems, to infest those that were weaker; and that Moses by his extraordinary courage drove them away.

Drew water enough for us, &c.] They had drawn water before (ver. 16), which the shepherds took from them: and he now did it with greater expedition, and in great plenty.

Ver. 20. *He said unto his daughters, And where is he?*] This is a form of chiding, as Philo observes, or upbraiding for their ingratitude; as appears by what follows.

Why is it that ye have left the man?] Suffered him to remain in the field. Ye ought (as Philo explains it) to have invited him to my house; and it he had declined it, to have entreated and urged him to it.

Call him, that he may eat bread.] Go back (as he goes on) with all speed, and pray him to come and refresh himself; and receive my thanks, which are due to him. This shows Moses had done them some considerable service.

Ver. 21. *Moses was content to dwell with the man:*] After some conversation with him, Reuel liked Moses so well that he offered him such terms as he accepted, and became one of his domestics.

He gave Moses Zipporah his daughter.] The Divine writers do not relate all the passages of a story (as other authors delight to do) but only the most material. Therefore we are to suppose a great many things to have preceded this: which was not accomplished presently after he was entered into Reuel's house, but after he had had such experience of Moses's other virtues, as well as of his valour. Though the observation of Philo here is not to be slighted, that ἀρεταὶ αἱ μεγάλας φύσεις, καὶ οὐ μὴναι χρόνον γινώσκόμεναι, "Men of a great genius quickly show themselves, and are not made known by length of time." And therefore, he thinks, that Reuel, being struck first with admiration of his goodly aspect, and then of his wise discourse, immediately gave him the most beautiful of all his daughters to be his wife: not staying to inquire of anybody what he was, for his own most excellent qualities sufficiently recommended him to his affection (lib. i. de Vita Mosis, p. 611).

Ver. 22. *She bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom, &c.*] This word *Gershom* signifies a desolate stranger; which he made the name of his child, because he was born, not only in a foreign country, remote from his own people, but in a place

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23 ¶ And it came to pass, in process of time, that the king of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage.

21 And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.

25 And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them.

where he had nothing but what he earned by his labour. For it is not to be thought, that in a hasty flight he could bring any great matter with him into Midian. Either this son was born long after his marriage, or he did not marry till he had been long in this country: for when he left it, after forty years' stay in it, his children were but young, as appears from iv. 20.

Ver. 23. *In process of time.*] After many days, (as it is in the Hebrew), i. e. years; for this king reigned a long time (see ver. 15).

The king of Egypt died.] That king from whom Moses fled, viz. Orus. After whom Eusebius makes Aceneceres to have reigned: and after him Achrois: both which died before Moses returned into Egypt.

The children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage.] Their cruel servitude did not end with the life of Orus; but the new king, who succeeded him, was so far from giving them any ease, that he laid more heavy burdens upon them.

They cried.] This signifies they lay under the most grievous oppression; which grew intolerable.

Their cry came up unto God.] A cry that comes up unto God, signifies, in the holy language, the loudest and sorest cry (see Gen. xix. 13).

By reason of the bondage.] This may be referred both to their cry, and its coming up to God: who resolved speedily to free them from such insupportable burdens.

Ver. 24. *And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant, &c.*] There are four different words in these two last verses, (viz. heard, remembered, looked upon them, had respect unto them), which, every one of them, signify God's kind intention towards them; but seem also to me to denote that the Divine Providence determined to proceed gradually in the deliverance of the children of Israel from their cruel servitude. For when he saith, *God heard their groaning*, the meaning is, he favourably condescended to grant their petition; which was the first step to their deliverance. And then

Remembered his covenant with Abraham, &c.] This gives the reason of it, because he was mindful of his ancient promises to their forefathers; which was a further assurance of his favour. And then he

Looked upon the children of Israel,] i. e. Took notice of their affliction and hard labour (as Maimonides explains it, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 48); which was another motive to relieve them. And in the last place,

God had respect unto them.] Which imports that he determined to have mercy upon them (and that includes all blessings in it). For so this phrase to respect another signifies, as Bochart hath shown from many instances, particularly Ps. xxv. 12; Isa. lxvi. 2 (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 49).

CHAPTER III.

1 *Moses keepeth Jethro's flock.* 2 *God appeareth to him in a burning bush.* 9 *He sendeth him to deliver Israel.*
 14 *The name of God.* 15 *His message to Israel.*

1 Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, *even to Horeb.*

2 And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush *was not consumed.*

CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *Now Moses kept the flock*] So Moses was taken from the sheepfold (as David was in aftertimes) to be the ruler of God's people (Ps. lxxvii. 70), "For as hunting of wild beasts (saith Philo) is proper to men of a martial genius, and fits men to be captains and generals of armies; so the feeding of sheep is μελετή καὶ προγυμνασία βασιλείας, &c. the best exercise and preparation for a kingdom, and the gentle government of mankind." Clemens Alexandrinus hath the same notion, and the same words (lib. i. Strom. p. 345); God's power also herein appeared the more wonderful, that he delivered his people from the Egyptian tyranny, by one that was contemptible, or rather abominable, to that nation, viz. a *keeper of sheep.*

Of Jethro] It is most likely that Reuel, mentioned in the foregoing chapter (ver. 18), was now dead; to whom Jethro his son succeeded in that principality where he ruled: for it was now forty years since Moses came first into Midian.

His father in law,] This shows that the seven daughters spoken of, ii. 16, were the children of Jethro, and Reuel their grandfather: unless we will say, as a great many do, that Jethro had two names. Nay, they fancy he had three, being called Hobab, they think, Judg. iv. 11, where Hobab is said to be "the father-in-law of Moses." But the word *son* is there to be supplied (which in other places is sometimes to be understood), he seeming to be Jethro's son, brother to Zipporah: and accordingly is said, (Numb. x. 29), "to be the son of Raguel the Midianite," i. e. of Jethro, as many understand it. See there.

Backside of the desert,] Or, as St. Jerome understands it, ad interiora deserti, "to the inner parts of the desert" (where there was better pasture than in the place where he was before), to which he was conducted by the providence of God, who intended here to reveal himself more fully to him.

Mountain of God, even to Horeb,] Sheep delight to feed on mountains, as Bochart observes out of Theocritus and Virgil. Whence such mountainous places are often called in Homer αἰόρα, *sheep-walks*; they being wont to see there, as Eustathius and Hesychius interpret it (see Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 46). And this is called the *mountain of God*, because, when Moses wrote this book, there had been a Divine appearance upon Horeb, which St. Stephen calls Sinai (Acts vii. 30). For Horeb and Sinai seem to have been two tops of one and the same mountain; which it is plain by this was not far from the country of Midian. We understand also by St. Stephen's words when this fell out, viz. after he had dwelt forty years in Midian: for so long, it is certain, he continued there (Exod. vii. 7). But how he employed all that time, we are not told. No doubt, in something else than mere feeding sheep. For, being learned in all the Egyptian wisdom, we may well think he both taught others, and made also great improvements himself in studying the records of that, and all other neighbouring

countries; and besides, received, it is likely, Divine revelations. There are those, likewise, who think he now wrote the book of Job, to comfort the Israelites, by the example of his admirable patience, under their heavy oppressions in Egypt; and the book of Genesis also; that they might the better understand what promise had been made to their noble ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and that the time drew near when they would be fulfilled.

It is noted by Ludovicus Capellus, in his Chronol. Sacra, that the number *forty* was much observed in the administrations of Divine Providence: Moses was forty years old when he fled into Midian, and staying there another forty years, and then leaving the world in the end of the next forty years of his age. It was so many years before the Israelites got to Canaan, after they were delivered out of Egypt. *Forty* days Moses continued with God in the Mount, both the first and second time of his going up thither. So many days the spies were in searching out the land: and the Israelites had just so many mansions in the wilderness. Their first judge governed just forty years, and the next twice as many. Deborah, Barak, Gideon, Eli, all judged forty years: and so long David reigned.

Ver. 2. *The angel of the Lord appeared unto him*] So St. Stephen also (Acts vii. 30). By which some understand the eternal Word, the Second Person in the blessed Trinity. But I think he is not called simply an *angel* anywhere, but with some addition, as the *angel of the covenant*: for it would be a dangerous insinuation, that he was but a mere creature. Yet I believe he is not here to be excluded: for I take this to have been the appearance of the Shechinah; which comprehended both the Lord himself, and the angels that attended him as his ministers. One of which now appeared so gloriously, that he showed God to be present: and accordingly we find, in the following words, that he himself spake to Moses. And thus the Lord is said to have sent his angel, when they cried to him, and brought them out of Egypt (Numb. xx. 16). Which angel is called Michael, by Menachem; and the same which they also call Goel, who redeemed Jacob from all evil (Gen. xlviii. 16).

In a flame of fire] The glory of the Lord (as the Shechinah is frequently called) appeared in a flaming manner like fire: exceeding bright, and with an amazing splendour. So it appeared, though not so bright, when the first promise was made of their deliverance (Gen. xv. 17, 18).

Out of the midst of a bush:] To show, say the Jews in Pirke Eliezer (cap. xl.), that God was present with them, in their great affliction and tribulation: which was represented by this bush of thorns or briars (for so the Hebrew word signifies, such a bush as pricks those that touch it), or, as the prophet Isaiah speaks (lxiii. 9), "in all their affliction he was afflicted." And by his providence ordered things so, that their affliction did not consume them, but rather multiplied and increased them; for, as it there follows, "the angel of his presence saved them." And thus Eusebius tells us (in the latter end of lib. v.

3 And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.

4 And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I.

5 And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put

Demonstr. Evang. cap. 13), some Christians understood it, αὐντισσάσαι δὲ φασὶ τὴν μὲν βύσσον, τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀργύρεαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ ἀνήμερον μοχθηρίας, &c.

This fire also in the bush might be intended to show, that God would there meet with the Israelites, and give them his law in fire and lightning; and yet not consume them. For this is the place where God, after they came out of Egypt, delivered the law to them: which thence was called Sinai (saith the fore-named author in Pirke Eliezer), from this bush; which in Hebrew is *Sene*, and signifies in Arabic a *thorn-bush*: whereas before it was called Horeb, from its dryness and barrenness, as that word imports.

The bush burned with fire, and—was not consumed.] The heathens had either read, or heard of this wonder, as appears by Artapanus, who mentions it (in Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27), but he disguises it and misrepresents it; saying, it was a fire which suddenly broke forth out of the earth, and flamed, μήτε ὕλης μήτε ἄλλης τινὸς ξυλλείας οὐσίας ἐν τόπῳ, “when there was no matter, nor any kind of wood in the place to feed it.” But in the next chapter but one, an ancient tragedian reports it exactly, saying, just as Moses doth here, that “the bush burnt in a great fire, and yet remained entire and green in the flame,” which he calls τραπῆντον μέγιστον, “the greatest miracle.” The meaning of which I have already explained, in the foregoing observation. There is a story something like this in Dion. Præseus, Orat. xxxvi. where he saith the Persians relate concerning Zoroaster, that the love of wisdom and virtue leading him to a solitary life, separate from company, upon a mountain, he found it one day all in a flame, shining with celestial fire: out of the midst of which he came without any harm, and instituted certain sacrifices to God, who then he made account appeared to him. Which Joh. Henricus Ursinus, a good while ago, endeavoured to prove was nothing else but a corruption of this apparition to Moses. And Huetius lately (in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 5) hath made such a laborious comparison between what is said of Moses and Zoroaster, as is sufficient to make it probable the ancient Persians derived their religion from these books of Moses.

Ver. 3. *Moses said, I will now turn aside.*] It seems this glorious appearance was not directly before him, but on one side of him, and some distance from him.

This great sight.] This wonderful appearance; or, as Philo translates it, ἰσχυροεικότατον, “this most stupendous and astonishing sight or vision.”

Why the bush is not burnt.] A fire which did not burn (that is, consume what it laid hold on) was very amazing. Yet the Gentiles did not think such things incredible, as appears out of Seneca in his Thyestes, where he speaks of a forest which appeared all on a flame, without fire: and out of Lucan, and divers other authors among the pagans, produced by the learned Huetius in his *Questiones Alnetanæ* (lib. ii. cap. xii. n. 10).

Ver. 4. *When the Lord saw that he turned aside, &c.*] It is plain by this, that the Lord himself was here present: his angels being but attendants, as I said, upon his Majesty (see Gen. xii. 11, 15).

God called unto him out of the midst of the bush.] He now calls him *God*, whom just before he called

off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.

6 Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.

7 ¶ And the Lord said, I have surely seen

Lord. Both which are sometimes put together, as comprehending all the Divine attributes. Maimonides, who makes eleven degrees of prophecy (or Divine communications to men), justly thinks this the very highest of all, and it was peculiar to Moses, to hear God himself speaking to him in a vision, when he was entirely awake.

Moses, Moses.] He repeats his name, to excite his attention. And some take it for a token of familiarity (see Gen. xlvii. 2). This is called by Gregor. Nys-sen. (de Vita Mosis, p. 172), ἡ τοῦ φωτός φωνή, &c. “a voice of that Light, or splendour;” i. e. of the Divine Majesty which appeared to him.

He said, Here am I.] A common expression of readiness to hearken and to obey.

Ver. 5. *Draw not nigh hither.*] He commands him to keep his distance, and not to approach nearer to him. This, and what follows, plainly demonstrate what I said before, that this was an appearance of the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty; to whom he could not pay too great a reverence.

Put off thy shoes from off thy feet.] Many frivolous reasons have been given for this precept, as may be seen in Braurnius (lib. i. cap. 3, de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr.). But the plain reason is immediately added in the text, because the place where he stood was *holy*: into which it was irreverent to enter with their shoes on; because thereby it might be defiled with the dirt that adhered to them. Certain it is, that, in the temple afterwards, the priests officiated barefoot: and all the eastern people came into their holy places in the same manner: which Justin Martyr thinks they learned from this example of Moses. But Mr. Mede's opinion seems truer, that Moses did not give the first beginning to this rite; but it was derived from the patriarchs before him, and transmitted to future times from that ancient general tradition. For we find no command in the law of Moses, for the priests performing the service of the tabernacle without shoes; but it is certain they did so, from immemorial custom: and so do the Mahometans and other nations at this day (see Mr. Mede, book ii. p. 442, &c. and p. 516, and Huetius in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. xi. sect. 2).

The place whereon thou standest is holy ground.] It was made holy by the special presence of God, which was now there, who is most holy, and makes every thing relating unto him to be holy also. For thus the tabernacle, the temple, and the utensils thereof, with all things destined to the Divine service, were called *holy*.

Ver. 6. *I am the God of thy father.*] i. e. of Amram: who, it seems, was a very pious man.

The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.] Who were so dear to him, that he made a covenant with every one of them (which is the reason he is distinctly called the God of each of them), as Maimonides observes (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 51), from Lev. xxvi. 42. And this covenant was, that he would be *their* God after a peculiar manner. For otherwise, he was the God of Noah, and of all the holy patriarchs before him: but he is called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for a peculiar reason, because of the promise made to these three of the blessed Seed which should spring from

the affliction of my people which *are* in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows;

8 And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

9 Now therefore, behold, the cry of the

children of Israel is come unto me: and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them.

10 Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt.

11 ¶ And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?

12 And he said, Certainly I will be with thee; and this *shall be* a token unto thee, that I have

them; in opposition to the pretensions of other neighbouring people; who (as the learned Dr. Allix observes) were their rivals in that hope. These words being as much as if he had said, the *God of Abraham*, and not of *Lot*, as the Ammonites and Moabites pretended: the *God of Isaac*, and not of *Ishmael*, as his posterity pretended: the *God of Jacob*, and not of *Esau*, as the Edomites boasted.

Moses hid his face;] In token of humility, submission, and reverence. So Elijah did in aftertimes (1 Kings xix. 12). Nay, the angels cover their faces in the presence of God (Isa. vi. 2).

For he was afraid to look upon God.] The splendour of the Divine Majesty was so great, that it dazzled his eyes; and he was not able to behold it. For though he stirred not a step further, after God prohibited him to come nearer; yet we may suppose him to be now nearer to it than he was at the first (ver. 3), and its glory also was much increased.

Ver. 7. I have surely seen the affliction, &c.] To see signifies more than to observe and take notice; including in it such resolutions of Divine Providence, as would certainly produce their deliverance. For the doubling of the expression (*seeing I have seen*, as it is in the Hebrew) denotes there was no doubt of it.

And have heard their cry] Both in this and the next phrase, *know their sorrows*, signify more than the simple words *hear* and *know* import, viz, such a regard to their miserable condition, as moved him to order a speedy relief to be given them.

Ver. 8. I am come down to deliver them] I now appear unto thee for that purpose.

Out of the hand of the Egyptians,] From their tyrannical power.

And to bring them up out of that land] Where they are strangers, and used as slaves.

Unto a good land] A fruitful country of their own.

And a large,] Where they shall not be pent up so as they are in Goshen. And if it were considered according to the extent of the original promise, it was large and spacious indeed, even from the river of Egypt unto Euphrates (Gen. xv. 18).

Unto a land flowing with milk and honey;] By which phrase the poets express the greatest plenty; as Bochart shows out of Euripides, Horace, Ovid, &c. (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 12). For abundance of *milk and honey* argues a country to be well watered, fruitful, full of fair pastures and flowers: from whence the flocks may fill their dugs with milk, and the bees their cells with honey. *Ælian* (lib. iii. de Hist. Animal. cap. 35), saith, "The goats of Syria (which includes this country) afford such plenty of milk, as is in no other country."

Unto the place of the Canaanites, &c.] See concerning all these people here mentioned, Gen. xv. 19, &c.

Ver. 9. This was said before (ver. 7), but here repeated, as a reason of the commission he intended immediately to give to Moses, to go and deliver them.

Ver. 10. Come now therefore, and I will send thee

unto Pharaoh, &c.] Leave thy flock; for I have another more weighty business, wherein I will employ thee. For thou shalt go with my authority to Pharaoh; and command him not only to release my people out of their servitude, but to let them go also out of Egypt. He had called them by the name of *his people* (ver. 7), and now mentions it again, to encourage their hope that he would take care of his own.

What Pharaoh this was (it being a common name to all the Egyptian kings) is very much disputed. The common opinion is, that after Orus (in whose time Moses fled into Midian), Acencerres (or Acherres) reigned twelve years; and after him Achoris reigned seven years more; and then succeeded Cenchres, the worst of them all, to whom Moses was now sent. But Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that Apion (a great enemy of the Jews, and who wrote against them) mentioning their going out of Egypt (in his fourth book of his History of Egypt), saith, it was in the reign of Amosis. For which he quotes Ptolomæus Mendesius, an Egyptian priest, who wrote three books about their affairs, in which he saith κατ' Ἀμωσιν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα, Μωϋσέως ἡγουμένον, γενομένην τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείαν (lib. i. Stromat. p. 320). But Tacitus calls him Bocchoris, or, as some read it, Occoris (lib. v. Hist. cap. 3).

That thou mayest bring forth my people, &c.] From this time we are to consider God as the king of this people: not in general only, as he is Lord of the whole world; but in a proper and peculiar manner. For whatsoever authority or power of jurisdiction the kings of other nations did exercise over their subjects (as power of life and death, of making laws and leagues, &c.), the same prerogative did the Lord of heaven and earth reserve to himself alone, over the children of Israel. Upon which ground, as Dr. Jackson well observes, Moses was delegated to be his ambassador to the king of Egypt; and constituted (it appears by the whole story) his deputy or viceroy over Israel.

Ver. 11.] He modestly declines the service, considering how mean a person he was, in comparison with Pharaoh; and how unable to do any thing for the Israelites. He had felt some extraordinary motion in himself, forty years ago; which he took to be an indication that God would use him as an instrument of their deliverance (see chap. ii. 11, 12), but at that time he was a far greater man than now: and had more interest at court; the princess who adopted him for her son being then perhaps alive, or having left him what made him very considerable. In short, he was then the son of Pharaoh's daughter; but now a poor shepherd.

Ver. 12. And he said, Certainly I will be with thee;] In answer to his objection, God bids him depend on this; that he would preserve him by a special providence from being hurt by Pharaoh. So Maimonides shows this phrase (*I will be with thee*) signifies in Scripture (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 18). And the confidence which God wrought in him of this, gave him courage and resolution: which is also denoted by

sent thee: When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.

13 And Moses said unto God, Behold, *when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?*

14 And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT

this phrase, as he shows (par. ii. cap. 38). For all the prophets were endued with an extraordinary fortitude and magnanimity; which was in Moses above all the rest: he encountering a great king, and all his court and people, barely with a staff in his hand.

And this shall be a token unto thee, &c.] This could not be a token to him now, but was afterward: when God by his power brought them to this very place, to worship him, according to this promise, upon this mountain. In the mean time, there were many other tokens God gave him (as we find in this history) which were all confirmed by this at last.

Ver. 13. *What is his name?*] This doth not argue that they knew not what the name of their God was: for they and their fathers had been long acquainted with him: and they cried unto him, and he heard them (ii. 23, 24). But Moses being the first that ever spake to men in the name of God (none of the patriarchs, either before the flood or after it, having said any such words as these; "God hath sent me to you: the Lord commands me to bid you do so or so," as Maimonides observes in several places of his *More Nevoch.* par. i. cap. 63, par. ii. cap. 39), it was natural for the Israelites to ask him by what name, or peculiar attribute, God had made himself known unto him, so as to authorize him to speak to them, as never any man before did. He had spoken unto Noah and unto Abraham, &c. but it was only for their own instruction; he never bid them deliver any message unto others; and yet it is observable, that upon particular occasions, he still made himself known to them by different names or titles. As he saith to Abraham (Gen. xv. 7), "I am Jehovah, who brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees." But, xvii. 1, he saith, "I am El-shaddai." And to Isaac he saith, "I am the God of thy father Abraham" (xxvi. 24). To Jacob he adds, "I am the Lord God of thy father Abraham and the God of Isaac" (xxviii. 13). And after this, "I am the God of Bethel" (xxxi. 13). No wonder then that Moses should think the people would expect, upon so great an occasion, when he came to them as an ambassador from heaven, that the God of their fathers should speak to them in a new style, beyond all that had been known in former days.

Ver. 14. *God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM:*] That is, saith Maimonides, in the place above named, *he that necessarily exists.* He who so is, that he must needs be. Or, as some translate it, *I will be what I will be*; i. e. the eternal immutable Being (so Elmacinus interprets it, *the Eternal that never dies*), who am faithful to my promises; and will be to you, what I told your fathers I would be. Whatsoever I said in the days of Abraham, concerning the giving it to land of Canaan, I will certainly perform; for I change not.

Thus shall thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.] The former words were a declaration of God's nature to Moses; and in these he bids him, in brief, only say to the Israelites that he was sent by him *who is*. That is (as was said before) necessarily exists: *always was, and ever will be.* Who alters not; but, by whatsoever name he makes himself known, is still the very same God. Which was

I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.

15 And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.

a name not unknown to the Gentiles, as one would think by the word *EI*; which was inscribed in the front of the Delphic temple (as Plutarch tells us), and was nothing else but the contraction of *EIMI*, which signifies, *I AM*. Or if we take *EI* to be an entire word (as it is commonly thought) signifying *thou art*, Ammonius rightly understood it to be *ἀντίστοιχόν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσεγγίζοντα καὶ προσφώνοντα* (as Plutarch reports his words in a treatise on this subject), "the most absolutely perfect name and compellation of God." For God, saith he, in the other inscription on the temple, speaks to us who approach him, saying to every one *KNOW THYSELF*: and we are taught to answer to him again, in the words of this inscription, *THOU ART*: ascribing to him *ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀγέννητον*, &c. "that true, undoubted, and only appellation which belongs to him alone." For he only is; we are not, &c. Thus he declares this word to express most perfectly the Divine Essence; which is distinguished hereby from all false gods. See Eusebius (lib. xi. *Præp. Evang.* cap. 11), and in the two foregoing chapters; where he takes a deal of pains to show that Plato borrowed this notion of *τὸ ὄν ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι δι' οὐκ ἔχον*, "a Being that is always, but had no beginning," from these words of Moses. And Numenius, a Pythagorean, speaks it more plainly, when he saith, *τὸ γὰρ ὄν, αἰδιον βεβαιοῦν τί ἔστιν αἰεὶ κατὰ ταυτὸν καὶ ταυτὸν*, "that which is, is eternal and steadfast, always the very same without variation." And no wonder these men, if they met with this passage in Moses, were highly pleased with it; for St. Hilary himself tells us, that he, lighting upon these words (as he was musing about God and religion) before he was a Christian, was struck with admiration: there being nothing so proper to God as to *be*. And therefore he thought it worthy of God, to say of himself, *I AM THAT I AM*, and *HE THAT IS* (so he translates the last words) *hath sent me unto you* (lib. i. de Trinitate).

Ver. 15. *And God said moreover unto Moses, &c.*] For a further explication of what he had now said, and a further satisfaction of their minds.

The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, &c.] The name *JEHOVAH* (as we pronounce it) seems to be in sense the same with *Ehyeh*, before mentioned. Which, as it declares his nature, so the word *God* added to it, expresses his favour, care, and providence. And consequently he bids Moses tell the children of Israel that he who is the *Eternal* was the God of their fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: to whom he had made many promises that he would be gracious to their posterity. This was sufficient for them to know of him.

This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial, &c.] Some refer the first words (*this is my name*) to the foregoing verse, *I AM*: and the next (*this is my memorial*) to those which immediately precede, *the Lord God of your fathers*: which in truth include the whole, *Jehovah* being the same with *I am*. And the meaning is, I will be for ever remembered, celebrated, praised, and invoked, by the name of the Lord God of your fathers, &c.

Ver. 16. *Go, and gather the elders of Israel to-*
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16 Go, and gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, The LORD God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, appeared unto me, saying, I have surely visited you, and seen that which is done to you in Egypt:

17 And I have said, I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.

18 And they shall hearken to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto

gether,] The word *elders* in these books, sometimes signifies the men of the great Sanhedrim, as they speak in aftertimes (or the judges in the highest court), Deut. xxi. 2, &c. Sometimes the judges in the lower courts (Deut. xix. 12, xxii. 15). Sometimes it only signifies the heads of the tribes, as here in this place: for now there were no such courts of judicature constituted (see Selden, Uxor. Heb. lib. i. cap. xv.). Some indeed (particularly Corn. Bertram) think it reasonable to suppose that the Israelites had judges among them all the time they dwelt in Egypt, though not mentioned in Scripture; as they had, no doubt, a form of religion, though we read nothing of it. And Moses, he thinks, is here ordered to send for those, who were their rulers, and administered public affairs among them. But there is this argument against it; that, after this time, when Moses had brought them out of Egypt, there were no such judges among them, but Moses (as we find Exod. xviii.) judged all himself, to his exceeding great trouble. And therefore by *elders* we are here to understand only the wisest and gravest men of the nation, who were in greatest esteem among them (as Mr. Selden afterwards speaks, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. xv. p. 523, &c.). or, as was said before, the heads of their tribes. The famous H. Grotius confirms this, by a nice observation, that both here and ver. 18, they are barely called *zikhne*, not *hazikne*, because there was not as yet, certum collegium, sed sola qualitas denotatur, (as he speaks, lib. de Imp. Sum. Potest. circa Sacra, cap. xi. n. 15) "a certain college or society of them, but their quality only is denoted." And no doubt the word always signified men of dignity, or chief rank among others, both among the Israelites and among the Egyptians; as I have observed on Gen. xxiv. 2, 1, 6.

The Lord God of your fathers, &c.] See this explained, ver. 6.

Appeared unto me,] Ver. 2, 4.

Saying, I have surely visited you,] So Joseph, when he died, assured them God would do, Gen. i. 24, where I observed to visit them was to bring them out of Egypt. And so it signifies here, as is evident from what God said to Moses when he appeared to him, ver. 8, "I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians." Which was not yet actually done, but so absolutely decreed in the mind of God, that he might say he had already done it. Or the word *pakad* may be translated here, as it is elsewhere, *I have remembered you* (1 Sam. xv. 2), that is, so as to resolve to deliver them. And then the next words may depend on this.

That which is done to you in Egypt:] For the word *seen* is not in the original: but either way, it relates to what God saith to Moses (ver. 7, 9).

Ver. 17. I have said,] Determined, or resolved.

I will bring you, &c.] See ver. 9.

Ver. 18. They shall hearken to thy voice:] A great encouragement to carry this message to the elders of

him, The LORD God of the Hebrews hath met with us: and now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the LORD our God.

19 ¶ And I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go, no, not by a mighty hand.

20 And I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after that he will let you go.

21 And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty:

22 But every woman shall borrow of her

Israel; which God promises to incline their hearts to receive and obey.

The Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us:] We have received a special command from the eternal God, whom we, and our forefathers, worship: who hath appeared to us.

Now let us go, we beseech thee, three days' journey into the wilderness,] They intended to go quite away; but at first are directed to demand only to go as far as Mount Sinai: which was but three days' journey from Egypt, if they went the nearest way to it. For this they were humble petitioners; which is implied in those words, *We beseech thee*.

That we may sacrifice to the Lord our God.] When they delivered this message to Pharaoh (ver. 1), they call it *holding a feast to him*: which was to be made upon the sacrifices that they offered. For, ver. 3 of that chapter, they speak in the same phrase which is used here.

Ver. 19. The king of Egypt will not let you go,] God understood beforehand the hardness of his heart; and that he would not yield; no, not to let them depart for three days, much less for altogether.

No, not by a mighty hand,] In the margin, *But by a strong hand*; i. e. by cutting off all the firstborn in the country; till which, he knew Pharaoh would be obstinate.

Ver. 20. I will stretch out my hand,] As the hand of God signifies his power, so the stretching it out seems to signify the exerting of that power in mighty deeds.

Smite Egypt with all my wonders] The Hebrew word for *wonders* comes from a root, which imports something singular and not common. Such were all the plagues God sent upon Egypt, which made them the more wonderful.

After that he will let you go.] They grew so terrible at last, that he was afraid the next stroke would be upon his own person: which made him content to dismiss them.

Ver. 21. I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians,] Dispose their hearts to be kind to them, so that they should readily furnish them with any thing they desired.

Ver. 22. But every woman shall borrow] The word *shall* is of a doubtful meaning; for it signifying in general, to ask or to pray, one may pray another, either to give or to lend. And if the Israelites asked their neighbours to bestow such things upon them as are here mentioned, and they, out of a desire to be rid of them, or hoping speedily to recover their goods, granted their requests, no wrong was done to them. And if they borrowed them of the Egyptians, it was by the authority of God, whose the world is and the fulness thereof: and who doth no man any wrong when he is pleased to transfer what he enjoys unto another (see more xi. 2, xii. 35).

Of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her

neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye shall put them upon your

sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.

house.] By this it appears that the Egyptians were intermixed with the Hebrews, in the land of Goshen: and so might the more easily go along with them when they left Egypt; as many of them did (xii. 38).

Jewels of silver, &c.] Rather, vessels of silver, &c.

Which were of greater use to them than jewels; unless they pretended to deck up themselves for the feast they were to keep (see more xi. 2; xii. 36).

Ye shall spoil the Egyptians.] Not by rapine or stealth, but by their own consent.

CHAPTER IV.

1 Moses's rod is turned into a serpent. 6 His hand is leprous. 10 He is loth to be sent. 14 Aaron is appointed to assist him. 18 Moses departeth from Jethro. 21 God's message to Pharaoh. 24 Zipporah circumciseth her son. 27 Aaron is sent to meet Moses. 31 The people believeth them.

1 AND Moses answered and said, But, be- hold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The LORD hath not appeared unto thee.

2 And the LORD said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, A rod.

3 And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent; and Moses fled from before it.

4 And the LORD said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand:

5 That they may believe that the LORD God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee.

6 ¶ And the LORD said furthermore unto him,

Isaiah calls the crooked serpent (xxvii. 1) unto whose devouring jaws Pharaoh had exposed the Hebrew infants, when he commanded them to be cast into the river Nile (i. 22), which abounded with crocodiles.

Moses fled from before it.] It being a very frightful sight; enough to dismay the most courageous man on earth; as God himself describes the crocodile in the book of Job (xli. 14, 15). "His teeth are terrible round about: when he raises up himself, the mighty are afraid."

Ver. 4.] This shows Moses's faith to have been great, which overcame his fear. Most think this to have been an apt representation of the condition of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their deliverance there. R. Eliezer, in his Pirke (cap. xl.), hath hinted the best explication of it, if it have any such meaning, when he saith, As a serpent bites and kills those on whom it seizes, so did Pharaoh and his people bite and kill the Israelites: or rather he should have said, So shall the Egyptians be afflicted and tormented by the rod which Moses carries in his hand.

Ver. 5.] The meaning is, Thou shalt do thus before them, if they doubt whether I have appeared to thee (as he feared they would, ver. 1), to convince them of it.

Ver. 6. Put now thine hand into thy bosom, &c.] He did not ask for a new sign, but the Lord was graciously pleased to grant him a further confirmation of his faith; or rather, of the faith of the Israelites.

He put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous as snow.] It was a wonderful thing, that out of the same place should come both the disease and the cure (as we read in the next verse, that by putting his hand into his bosom again it became sound), and it was the greater wonder, because the leprosy was a disease that was very hard to be cured. R. Eliezer, in the place forenamed, doth not give so good a reason for this sign as for the former; though it is not a bad one. For he, making a question, Why God should give them a sign by an unclean thing, and not by a clean? makes this answer to it; because, as a leper is unclean, and makes others so, in like manner Pharaoh and the impure

CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. But, behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice, &c.] This seems directly to contradict what God had said unto him (iii. 18), "They shall hearken to thy voice." Which Maimonides endeavours to reconcile, by saying, that Moses was satisfied they would believe that he told them concerning the name of God who spake to him; but not believe, without further proof, that he was sent by him (par. l. More Nevochim, cap. 63). But the plainest answer is, that God did not mean they would hearken to Moses immediately: but that he would so convince them by undeniable signs and tokens, that they should give credit to him, when he said he came from God to them; such signs he now asks, and God grants, that they might believe the Lord appeared to him, and gave him commission to deliver them.

Ver. 2. What is that in thine hand? He asks this question to make way for what follows; and to move his attention to it.

A rod.] His shepherd's staff, it is most likely. For he takes occasion from what was in his hand to confirm his faith: and he was now feeding his father-in-law's sheep, when God appeared unto him. The Jews have a world of fabulous stuff about this rod, not worth the remembering.

Ver. 3. Cast it on the ground, &c.] As he was to do when he came before Pharaoh (vii. 10), that it might not be thought Moses's hand contributed any thing to the change: but it might appear to be wrought by the power of God.

It became a serpent.] Ἀντίχρως φωνάζοντα ἕρπετ (as Philo speaks), "immediately it was enlivened and crawled about." The word nachash comprehends all sorts of serpents; and R. Eliezer takes it to have been a flying serpent; but our Doctor Lightfoot thinks it was a crocodile; for which there is some reason. For that which is here called nachash (which most think signifies a common snake or serpent), when he threw down his staff before Pharaoh (vii. 10), is called tannin, which signifies a serpent of the largest dimensions (ὡς περὶ τῆς δόξης, Philo here calls it), and, as I proved upon Gen. i. 21, includes in it crocodiles, which

Put now thine hand into thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom : and when he took it out, behold, his hand *was* leprous as snow.

7 And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. And he put his hand into his bosom again ; and plucked it out of his bosom, and, behold, it was turned again as his *other* flesh.

8 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of

the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign.

9 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe also these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry *land* : and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become blood upon the dry *land*.

10 ¶ And Moses said unto the LORD, O my

Egyptians had defiled the Israelites : but God showed by Moses's drawing his hand out of his bosom again pure and clean, that he would deliver and purge the Israelites from the filthiness of the Egyptians. I should think rather, that the leprosy represented God's smiting the Egyptians with his plagues ; and the cure of it, God's removal of those plagues at Moses's prayer. But there is no end of such conceits. Therefore I shall rather observe, that God commanding him to work "all these wonders before Pharaoh" (ver. 21), it is very probable, this gave occasion to the fabulous story which was invented in future ages, that Moses was a *leper*, and the Israelites infected with that, and other scabby diseases. For so Josephus tells us (lib. i. contra Apion) the tale was told in Manetho's history and thence descended unto others, that Moses was driven out of the country, διὰ τὴν λέπραν, see Justin. lib. xxxv. cap. 2 ; Tacitus, lib. v. Histor. cap. 3), "because he had the leprosy." Which, as Manetho, perhaps, did not maliciously devise out of his own head, so those historians from whom he borrowed his work, might have but an imperfect tradition of the truth, derived from this passage of Moses appearing with a leprous hand before Pharaoh : which was presently noised about the country, without the other part, of his being immediately cured. And thus Helladius Besantinus, an Egyptian writer, in his Chresto-Mathia, mentions one who said Moses was called Ἀλφα, because his body τοῖς ἀλφοῖς κατὰ σκεῖν, "was marked with white leprous spots." And to this lie he calls Philo to be a witness. The very same is affirmed by Philemæus Hephæstionis, as J. Meursius observes in his notes upon the forenamed author.

Ver. 7.] A manifest token (as Con. Pellicanus rightly takes it) that God could, with as much ease, restore his oppressed people to perfect liberty.

Ver. 8.] Here he gives the reason why he was pleased to add another sign to the former, that he might overcome the incredulity which he foresaw would be in many of them.

That they will believe the voice of the latter sign. Yield their consent to that which is plainly taught them by both these signs, viz. that God had appeared to him, and ordered him to say what he did. And he saith they would *believe* ; because it was rational to suppose they would : though he likewise supposes, in the next verse, some might still remain incredulous ; and therefore he adds another.

Ver. 9.] This sign was not wrought now, when God talked with him, as the two former were : for he was in the desert, far from the river here spoken of, and near no river at all. Therefore, in case the Israelites did not believe upon the sight of the two former signs this is ordered to be wrought, when he came into Egypt, for their conviction, by taking the water of Nilus, and turning it into blood. Which might be well looked upon as an indication that God was able to spoil that water, which was the great instrument of the fertility of that country, and make their land barren. And also put them in mind that the cry of the innocent blood of their infants, which had been drowned in that river, was come up to God.

There was a necessity that Moses should be instructed with all these powers, because he came with an unusual commission : which would not have been credited, if he had not brought such extraordinary proof of it. All the prophets after him did not work miracles, which were necessary only when some great change was to be made in the world ; as there was now at their bringing out of Egypt. After which they were to be put into a new form and order, by a body of peculiar laws, both civil and religious ; which when they were notoriously violated, God was pleased by such wonders as Moses wrought, to turn their hearts back again ; as he did in the days of Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 37).

Ver. 10. *O my Lord.* This is a form of speech whereby he declines this great employment, and desires to be excused. The reason of which follows.

I am not eloquent. In the Hebrew, *Am not a man of words* ; i. e. not a good speaker, or not accustomed to make speeches ; or, as some take it, a man of few words, and therefore unfit to be sent to the Israelites, and much more to the king of Egypt, to whom none but great orators make addresses. Clemens, in his epistle to the Corinthians, makes this an argument of Moses's humility, and saith, he added these words (from I know not what author), ἐγὼ τιμὴ ἀρχῆς ἐκ χυτράς, "I am a reek from a pot."

Neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant. This hath been always my imperfection that I could not speak fluently : nor do I find that I am altered, since thou hast been pleased to appear to me, and give me this commission.

But I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. Cannot bring forth my words readily, nor pronounce them well. The Jews think he had some impediment in his speech, so that he could not pronounce some letters or words exactly ; at least not without such difficulty, that it was long before he could bring them forth. But the LXX. understand these words, *slow of speech*, as if he had but a weak, small, or slender voice ; speaking *voce gracili et exili* (as it may be translated in Latin), which made him very unfit, he thought, to be an ambassador. And this doth not disagree with what St. Stephen saith, that he was *mighty in words*, as well as deeds (Acts vii. 22), for the sense of what he spake was great and weighty, though his pronunciation was not answerable to it. Nor did his ill or weak pronunciation, nor his slowness in bringing forth his words, hinder him from being an excellent judge, and deciding causes from morning to night ; as we read Exod. xviii. In the determination of which there was no need of oratory ; but of a quick apprehension, exact judgment, and proper language ; which he never wanted. One would think, also, that by use and exercise he grew prompt in the delivery of his mind ; for he made several very long speeches to the people, and especially an incomparable discourse before his departure out of the world, in the beginning of the book of Deuteronomy. In the latter end of which, his song shows that he wanted no eloquent words, when he pleased to use them.

Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.

11 And the LORD said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the LORD?

12 Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.

Ver. 11. *The Lord said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? &c.*] Cannot I, who formed all the organs of speech, and made the rest of men's senses, and when I please deprive them of their use, take away this impediment of which thou complainest, and make thee to speak as roundly and gracefully as any man living? The author of the Life of Moses (who makes Pharaoh have condemned Moses for killing the Egyptian, &c. see ii. 15), fancies, that God puts him in mind of his deliverance at that time: as if he had said, Who taught thee to make thy defence, when thou wast arraigned before Pharaoh? Who made the king dumb, that he could not urge and press thy execution? Who made the executioner deaf, that he could not hear the sentence when pronounced? And who made them all blind, that they could not see, when thou madest thy escape? Which is very ingenuously invented; but we have no assurance of the truth of this explication.

Ver. 12. *Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.*] Excuse thyself no longer, but obey the commission I have given thee: and I will both help thy speech, and suggest to thy mind what thou shalt deliver. This doth not signify, as I take it, that if he had, without further disputing, gone about his business, God would have given him a better elocution; but that he would have made his words as powerful as if they had been pronounced with the greatest advantage. Or the meaning may be, that he should never want either words or thoughts to instruct his brother Aaron, whom God always intended to send along with him.

Ver. 13. *O my Lord,*] The same form of speech with that, ver. 10.

Send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.] The Vulgar Latin having translated the word *Shilo* (Gen. xlix. 10), qui mittendus est, "him that is to be sent," it hath inclined several great men to think, that Moses here desires God to send the Messiah. And several of the ancient fathers (Just. Mart., Tertull. and St. Cyprian, &c.) were of this mind: as many later interpreters, both of the Roman and of the reformed churches, have been; particularly Flaccius Illyricus (in his *Clavis* upon the word *mitto*) thus explains this passage: "Manda id functionis, &c.; commit this office to the true Messiah, or blessed Seed; whom thou hast resolved to send: who will discharge this trust far better than I can do," &c. But there have been, and are other very considerable persons, who think Moses means no more than this, *Send a more proper person, one fitter for this employment than I am.* And the truth is, such speeches as these in Scripture do not denote any certain person or thing; but signify something indefinite and in general. Examples of which we have in 1 Sam. xxiii. 13; 2 Sam. xv. 20; upon which phrase, vado quo vado, "I go whither I may," the same Flaccius observes, that it denotes an uncertain motion. In like manner, Moses here determines his desire to no particular person; but only wishes God would send anybody rather than himself. And that he did not think of the Messiah, there is this argument—that he had no reason to believe he was now

13 And he said, O my Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.

14 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses, and he said, Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart.

15 And thou shalt speak unto him, and put

born; and yet God's promise was to send one immediately to relieve the Israelites. Upon which errand also, if he had prayed God to send him, it would argue Moses to have been in the same error with the present Jews, that the Messiah was to be a temporal deliverer.

Ver. 14. *The anger of the Lord was kindled against Moses.*] These words seem to import, that God was highly displeased with him; and consequently that he had very much offended him. Yet some of the fathers, particularly St. Jerome and St. Basil, impute his backwardness to serve in this employment to his great modesty, humility, and a deep sense of his own infirmities; of which the wisest and best men are far more sensible than other persons. And then this anger amounts to no more than such a displeasure as a father hath at his child when he is too diffident, notwithstanding all that he hath said and done to breed in him a just confidence. And therefore no punishment followed his anger (unless we think, as R. Solomon doth, that, because of his backwardness God preferred Aaron's family above his, or that this was the cause he would not cure his imperfection of speech), but only a chiding: which we may suppose went before the following question, *Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother?* which carries something of sharpness in it. And indeed this may be said in Moses's excuse, that the most excellent persons are the least forward to embrace the offers of great advancement. According to the observation of Plato, lib. i. de Republ. (which I find Eusebius also hath noted out of him, lib. xii. Præp. Evang. cap. 9), that no magistracy being designed for the profit of him that governs, but of those that are governed; I must needs conclude, saith he, μηδὲνα ἐθέλειν ἰκόντα ἄρχειν, that "no man (who is considerate, he means) will voluntarily take upon him the government of a people;" but he must be hired to it: or he must be punished if he will not undertake it. For he that will use his power well, οὐδέποθ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ βελτίστον πράττει, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ, "never doth that which is best for himself, but for those whom he governs." Such an one was Moses, who sought not his own profit or glory (as those that now seek for great places, by which they design a benefit to themselves, and not to their neighbours), and therefore was not easily persuaded to accept of the high authority which was offered to him.

Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother?] One would think by this that Aaron was now a principal person, and of most eminent quality in the tribe of Levi: as may be concluded also from his marriage with the sister of the prince of the tribe of Judah (vi. 23). For it is but a fancy of R. Solomon's that he is therefore called the Levite, because the Levitical order should have proceeded from him, and the priesthood been entailed on Moses's family; but because of Moses's backwardness to serve God in this present employment, he in anger quite changed his intention, and advanced Aaron to the priesthood.

I know that he can speak well.] Is eloquent, and can deliver his mind in fluent words. There are two things which complete a commander, as Pericles speaks in Thucydides; σύνεσις καὶ δύναμις ἐργαζομένη

words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do.

16 And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and he shall be, *even* he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of God.

17 And thou shalt take this rod in thine hand, wherewith thou shalt do signs.

18 ¶ And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father in law, and said unto him, Let

me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which *are* in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.

19 And the LORD said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life.

20 And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt: and Moses took the rod of God in his hand.

πειρή· “wisdom and eloquence;” which do not often meet in one person: but God is pleased to distribute these gifts, as he did to these two brethren. So Polydamas in Homer tells Hector: God’s way is not to give all accomplishments to one man; but some to one, and some to others. Iliad. xiii. ver. 730.

Ἄλλ’ οὐτως; ἅμα πάντα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐλεῖν

Ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ εἶναι θεὸς πολέμια ἔργα, &c.

Ἄλλω δ’ ἐν στήθεσι τίθει νόον εὐρύπια ζῆς, &c.

Which he expresses admirably again, Odys. viii. ver. 168.

Ὅστις αὐ πάντας ζῆς χάριτ’ ἀδίδωκεν

Ἀνδρῶν, οὐτε φθὺν, αὐτ’ ἄρ φθῖνος, αὐτ’ ἀγαθήν.

Behold, he cometh forth to meet thee, &c.] By God’s direction, no doubt, who suggested to him that Moses was coming by his order towards Egypt: which was such comfortable news to him, that when he saw him (after such a long separation), it could not but be a very joyful meeting. The fulfilling of this prediction was a new sign to Moses that God would be with him.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt speak unto him and put words in his mouth:*] Tell him, from me, what he is to speak.

I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth.] Thou shalt have directions from me what to say to him: and I will enable him to speak to the people and to Pharaoh.

And will teach you what ye shall do.] Instruct you in all your proceedings.

Ver. 16. *He shall be thy spokesman unto the people:* Acquaint them with what thou hast to deliver to them.

And he shall be, even he shall be to thee] He doubles the words, to denote that he should need no other assistance but Aaron: who being his brother, he might the more securely rely on his fidelity.

Instead of a mouth.] To speak what thou canst not so well deliver thyself.

Thou shalt be to him instead of God.] Deliver my mind and will to him. The Chaldee translates the Hebrew word *Elohim*, in this place, a *prince* or a *judge*: who hath the power of life and death (see Grotius in Acts vii. 35, and L. de Dieu in vii. 1). For Moses by God’s order and appointment executed all those judgments upon Pharaoh which Aaron pronounced (see Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. ult.). If Justin Martyr did not misapprehend Diodorus Siculus, he saith the Jews called Moses a *God*. For so he reports Diodorus’s words (Adhort. ad Græcos, p. 10), παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωϋσῆν τὸν καλούμενον Θεὸν: which now are otherways in the books of Diodorus (edit. Steph. p. 59), where, mentioning several law-givers, that pretended to receive their laws from God, or some good angel, he names Moses among the rest, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωϋσῆν τὸν Ἰαὼ ἐπικαλούμενον Θεόν, “who received his from the God called *Jao*:” so they pronounced that name which we call *Jehovah*.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt take this rod in thine hand.*] The rod mentioned ver. 2, which is, ver. 20, called *The rod of God*; because it was an ensign of Divine author-

ity and power; by which all the wonders were wrought.

Wherewith thou shalt do signs.] By stretching out so mean a thing as this rod, at God’s command, great miracles followed; which demonstrated the power of God and not of man.

Ver. 18. *Moses went and returned*] From Horeb, where he had all this converse with God, he returned to the place where his father-in-law lived (see ver. 1).

To Jethro] In the Hebrew his name is written *Jethro*. And the tradition is, in Semoth Rabba, that he was once a gentile; and then his name was *Jethro*: but being proselyted to the true religion, there was a letter added to his name, as there was to Abraham’s, and he was called *Jethro*. And Mr. Selden observes, he is called a proselyte in the Gemara of Babylon; and the first we had mentioned in Scripture (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2).

Let me go, I pray thee.] He did not think it honest to leave his service without his consent; especially since he entertained him, and gave him his daughter, when he was a stranger to him.

Return unto my brethren which are in Egypt.] To his kindred and countrymen (who called one another brethren), whom he had not seen many years.

See whether they be yet alive.] He concealed his main design from Jethro; not thinking it safe, perhaps, to trust him (who, though a good man, was not a Hebrew) with his commission: or, fearing that he might discourage him from an undertaking, which he had already too much declined, but now was fully resolved upon; and therefore loth to be again disheartened.

It may seem strange that Moses in so long a course of time as forty years, should not have heard of the state of his relations and friends; but it is to be considered, that, as he was afraid, perhaps, it should be known where he was, so intercourse with nations, though not very far distant, was not so easy then, as it is now-a-days.

Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.] He dismissed him kindly, and wished him a prosperous journey.

Ver. 19. *The Lord said unto Moses in Midian.*] Some translate it, *the Lord had said*, &c. to show the reason why he now desired to have leave to visit his friends in Egypt. However that be, it is plain, this was a distinct appearance of God to him from that in Horeb: for this was in Midian. Where God (who had set him no precise time before) enjoins him to be gone presently: and assures him, that there were none left in Egypt who designed to be revenged of him for the slaughter of the Egyptian. So it follows:

For all the men are dead which sought thy life.] This is an encouragement, which God reserved as a reward of his obedience: having said nothing of it during the time of his hesitancy and reluctance.

Ver. 20. *Moses took his wife and his sons.*] We read hitherto but of one son born to him: but it is plain he had another from xviii. 4. He carried his whole family with him, to let his brethren see he was so confident of their deliverance, that he ventured not only himself, but his dearest relations in their society.

21 And the LORD said unto Moses, When thou goest to return into Egypt, see that thou do all those wonders before Pharaoh, which I have put in thine hand: but I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go.

22 And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, even my first-born:

Set them upon an ass,] One ass could not carry them all, with every thing necessary for their removal; therefore the singular number (as is very usual) is put for the plural; though one ass might perhaps carry her and two children, one of which, if not the other, was very small (see Drusius, *Quæstiones per Epistol.* 86, and Simeon de Muis in his *Varia Sacra*); asses are vile creatures here with us, but they were not so in those countries; for the noblest persons anciently rode on them; as appears by a great many places of Holy Scripture, Gen. xxii. 1; Numb. xxii. 21; 2 Sam. xix. 6, and several others, which are reckoned up by Bochart (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 13. *Hierozoïc.*).

He returned to the land of Egypt:] Set out, and began his journey to that country.

Moses took the rod of God:] So called, because God ordered him to carry it with him (ver. 17), and had appointed it to be the instrument wherewith he should work wonders.

In his hand.] As a sign of his authority. So Conr. Pellicanus hath not unfitly explained it: *he returned with the rod of God, signo apostolatus et ducatus*, "a sign or token of his embassy and government."

Ver. 21. *When thou goest to return into Egypt,]* When thou art come thither.

See that thou do all those wonders before Pharaoh,] The signs mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, with which he was to begin.

Which I have put in thine hand:] Given thee power to do.

I will harden his heart, &c.] The meaning is not, that God would harden his heart at the first, as soon as Moses began to work his signs: no more than he would at the first, *slay his firstborn*, as he threatens, ver. 23. But, as at last he intended to slay his firstborn, if he would not be humbled by other plagues; in conclusion he resolved to harden his heart, after Pharaoh had often hardened it himself. There are three distinct words used in this story about this matter: the first is *chazak*, the next is *kashah*, and the third is *cavad*. Which seem to signify a gradual increase of his obstinacy, till at last it grew very grievous. For the last word (*cavad*) intends and increases the sense, whether it be in good or evil qualities.

Ver. 22. *Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh,]* In this God begins to fulfil his promise to Moses, that he would *teach him what he should say*, ver. 12, and 15, 16.

Thus saith the Lord,] This shows he came to Pharaoh in the name and by the authority of God.

Israel is my son, even my firstborn:] Most dear to me, and beloved above all people (as the *first-born* son commonly is above the rest of the children), God having chosen and adopted them to be his peculiar people; on whom he bestowed singular privileges and blessings. Thus God speaks of David, Psalm lxxxix. 28. And Aben Ezra's interpretation of this phrase is not improper; that "their ancestors from the beginning had been worshippers of him the true God."

Ver. 23. *I say unto thee,]* I command and require thee (so the word *say* here signifies).

Let my son go, that he may serve me:] Not to keep my people in thy servitude any longer, but to

23 And I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born.

24 ¶ And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the LORD met him, and sought to kill him.

25 Then Zipporah took a sharp stone, and

dismiss them that they may worship me, as my servants ought to do.

If thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy firstborn.] Not upon his first refusal (see ver. 21), but after a long course of other judgments, which would end, if he were not reformed by them, in this at last. With which he therefore terrifies him, that he might prevent it.

Ver. 24. *It came to pass by the way]* To Egypt, in the inn where they took up their lodging at night.

That the Lord met him.] The Shechinah, I suppose, appeared to him, from whence an angel was despatched to do as follows. And so both the LXX. and the Chaldee interpret it, *The angel of the Lord*; because the Lord sent an angel to execute what is here related.

And sought to kill him.] Appeared in such a manner, as if he intended to fall upon him (with a drawn sword, perhaps, as he did to Balaam and David), which threatening posture could not but very much affright him, and put him into disorder. Others imagine he inflicted a sudden disease upon him; or made as if he would strangle him. They that interpret this of killing his child, as many do (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. vi. p. 88), seem to me to have no reason on their side: there being no mention of a child in the foregoing story, but only of his sons. Therefore Chaskuni hath rightly observed that this verse is connected with the last words of the 20th (the three following coming by a parenthesis), and can refer to none but Moses. All the difficulty is to find, why the angel of the Lord should put him in fear of present death, when he was going upon God's message. The resolution of which seems to be contained in the following words.

Ver. 25. *Then Zipporah]* His wife presently apprehended what was the cause of Moses's danger, viz. because her child (of which she is supposed to have been not long ago delivered) was not circumcised. And therefore she immediately despatched that work: her husband being in such a consternation, that he could not do it himself; but (as Kimchi will have it) called to her to do it; or she of herself went about it, having been the cause that it was not done before.

Took a sharp stone,] Or a sharp knife made of a flint: for such they used; which Justin Martyr (in his dialogue with Triphe) calls *περιβάς μαχαίρας*. And so the LXX. and the Jews say, that such knives were commonly used in this work.

And cut off the foreskin of her son,] But how came Moses to neglect this duty? Most say his wife was unwilling to it: not because she abhorred this rite, as cruel and unnatural (for she was of a race which came from Abraham, who first received this command of circumcising all his children; and she understood, it appears, how to do it readily, without endangering the child, which had scarce been possible, if she had been a stranger to it), but because the Midianites, perhaps, did not circumcise so soon as the Israelites; but imitated their neighbours, the Ishmaelites, who deferred it till their children were thirteen years old, at which age Ishmael was circumcised

cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast *it* at his feet, and said, Surely a bloody husband *art* thou to me.

26 So he let him go : then she said, A bloody husband *thou art*, because of the circumcision.

27 ¶ And the LORD said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went,

(Gen. xvii. 25); or rather, because they were about to make a journey, when she thought it might be omitted; till they came to be settled among the Israelites. And truly this seems to have been a good reason, to defer circumcision beyond the eighth day; motion being dangerous when the child was sore. But such a man as Moses should have trusted God to take care of his child; and not have been afraid of the consequence, if he had performed his duty. And because he followed the tender inclination of his wife, rather than a plain precept (Gen. xvii. 12, 13, &c.), he fell into this great danger. Many other accounts are given of this (for the truth is, the whole matter is very obscure), but I see none more probable, than what I have mentioned.

Cast it at his feet.] It is uncertain at whose feet she cast it; whether at her husband's or the child's, or the angel's. The first seems most probable; if the next words be spoken to Moses, as they seem to me to be.

Surely a bloody husband art thou to me.] If the foregoing interpretation be true, these are not the words of an angry woman; but spoken with great affection; signifying that she had espoused him again; having saved his life by the blood of her son. Our famous Mr. Mede, indeed (Discourse xiv.), carries the sense quite another way: because a husband, he saith, is never called *chatan* after the marriage solemnity was over. Which, if it be true, makes nothing against what I have said; because she looked upon herself as a second time espoused (or married) to him by this act, which had restored him to her, when his life was in danger. It must be granted that the word *chatan* doth not signify only a *spouse*, but sometimes a *son-in-law*: but why Zipporah should call her own child by this name, I do not see. Yet so Mr. Mede understands it; and adds, that the rabbins tell us it was the custom of the Hebrew women to call their children, when they were circumcised, by the name of *chatan* (i. e. *spouse*), as if they were now espoused unto God. And indeed, Aben Ezra saith so: but I cannot find that this was an ancient notion among them. If it were, his interpretation might be the more easily embraced, which is this: that these were a solemn form of words used at circumcision: signifying as much as, *I pronounce thee to be a member of the church by circumcision*. Thus Val. Schindler also expounds it (in his Lexic. Pentaglot. p. 677), a child was called *chatan* upon the day of his circumcision, "because then he was first joined to the people of God, and as it were espoused unto God." And he thinks the Targum countenances this sense, when it thus expounds these words, "by this blood of circumcision a spouse is given to us." Which may as well be understood of Moses being given to her, as of the child: for he was, as I said, restored to her and to his family, upon the circumcision of the child: so it follows in the next verse. They that have mind to see the sense of an eminent writer of our church concerning this passage, may consult Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. in the latter end of the sixty-second section, where he thus far agrees with me, that these words were spoken "out of the flowing of abundance of commiseration and love," with her hands laid under his feet. For

and met him in the mount of God, and kissed him.

28 And Moses told Aaron all the words of the LORD who had sent him, and all the signs which he had commanded him.

29 ¶ And Moses and Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel:

so he thinks these words, *she cast it at his feet*, import.

Ver. 26. *So he let him go.*] i. e. The angel no longer threatened Moses with death: but his wife, to her great joy, saw him restored to her in safety. From which in aftertimes sprang the *φαλλοφόροι*, which were so famous among the Greeks and Egyptians, in the feasts of Bacchus and Osiris; whose stories Huetius hath lately shown were framed out of this of Moses. From whence also, as he probably conjectures, they used remedies for diseases, *in forma fascini*, which they hung, as amulets, about their children's necks (Demonstrat. Evang. propos. iv. cap. iv. n. 3).

Then she said, or, when she said. A bloody husband thou art, &c.] i. e. As soon as Zipporah had circumcised the child, and thrown the foreskin at her husband's feet, and said these words, Moses was delivered from his danger. Or (according to our translation), as soon as her husband was safe, she repeated the foregoing words, saying, *I have redeemed thy life, by circumcising thy son*. They that make these words to have been spoken in a rage, because she was forced to do what she did, suppose her to have had little kindness for her husband; and as little regard to circumcision. I should rather translate the words, *so she let him go*; i. e. let Moses go to Egypt; and went back herself to her father; only repeating these words before she went, *Remember me, how I have saved thy life, and made thee my husband again (when death was at hand) by the blood of thy son, whom I have circumcised*. There is only this exception to it, that the Hebrew word for *let him go* is of the masculine gender; which is of no great weight, because it is usual in this language when they speak of females (as I observed on i. 21), and it is certain she returned to her father; but whether in this manner nobody can certainly determine. For we are not told anywhere, upon what occasion she went back to Jethro (unless it be here insinuated), as we find she did (xviii. 2), together with her children. But it is very probable, that she fearing some other danger, into which she and her children might fall by the way, or in Egypt, might desire Moses to send her home again, till he had finished the work he went about: unto which he consented.

Ver. 27. *The Lord said to Aaron.*] In Egypt, I suppose, he received this order from God: but we do not know how; whether by an apparition of the Divine Majesty to him, or in a dream, or otherwise.

Go into the wilderness to meet Moses.] The wilderness was a wide place; therefore he directed him, no doubt, into what part he should go.

He went and met him in the mount of God.] He went almost to Midian; that he might have the more time to hear what Moses's commission was, before they came to Egypt.

Ver. 28. *Moses told Aaron all the words of the Lord, &c.*] Mentioned iii. 6, 8, &c. and in this chapter, 14—16, &c.

All the signs, &c.] See ver. 2, 3, &c., which he told him to confirm his belief, that God had spoken those words to him.

Ver. 29. *Moses and Aaron went.*] Came into Egypt.

30 And Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people.

31 And the people believed : and when they

Gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel.] The chief persons in every tribe, who bore a great sway among them (see iii. 16).

Ver. 30. Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken unto Moses.] According to what God had promised (ver. 15, 16).

Did the signs] The signs are done by Moses, as the words were spoken by Aaron (ver. 17).

In the sight of the people.] Who came along with the elders.

heard that the LORD had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped.

Ver. 31. The people believed:] All the rest of the people also (to whom the elders reported what they had heard and seen) believed that God had sent Moses to be their deliverer.

When they heard that the LORD had visited, &c.] See iii. 7, 16, 17.

They bowed their heads and worshipped.] Most humbly acknowledged the goodness of God, and his faithfulness to his word.

CHAPTER V.

1 Pharaoh chideth Moses and Aaron for their message. 5 He increaseth the Israelites' task. 15 He checketh their complaints. 19 They cry out upon Moses and Aaron. 22 Moses complaineth to God.

1 AND afterward Moses and Aaron went in, and told Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.

2 And Pharaoh said, Who is the LORD, that

I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, neither will I let Israel go.

3 And they said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. Afterward Moses and Aaron went in, and told Pharaoh.] When they had convinced the elders of Israel of their commission, they desired audience of Pharaoh. Which having obtained, they went to court; taking some of the elders along with them, to attend them. Which is not a mere conjecture, from the decency of the thing, that they should not go alone on such a solemn embassy; but so they were commanded to do, Exod. iii. 18, and it will appear from ver. 3 of this chapter, that so they did.

I have observed before (iii. 10), that this Pharaoh is commonly thought to be him called Cenchres.

Let my people go, &c.] These words contain only the substance of what they said: which was delivered, we may well suppose, in a longer oration. Wherein they declared they had received a commission from their God, the Lord of heaven and earth, to make this address to him.

In all nations there were some persons, who, pretending to greater familiarity with their gods than other men, were highly revered, both by their own countrymen and by strangers. And therefore it is no wonder Pharaoh offered no violence to them, when they came to make this demand; because their persons were held sacred; as those of ambassadors now are, who come from one prince to another. This is a better account than that which some of the Jews (in Shalshalah-Hakkabalah) give of it; who say, that when they came into Pharaoh's presence, they appeared in such majesty as daunted him: being like the angels of the ministry; and raised to a taller stature than they had before; and having a splendour in their countenances like that of the sun, &c. In which they seem to imitate the glory of St. Stephen, whose face shined like that of an angel, when he appeared before their council.

That they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.] In order to which, it was necessary they should offer sacrifice (ver. 3), which they could not do in Egypt: and therefore desired to go into the wilderness, where they might use their own rites and ceremonies of religion, without offence to the Egyptians. Every

word hath its weight in it: for a feast denotes an extraordinary service; and to me, signifies such peculiar rites of worship, as should be prescribed and instituted by the Lord, in whose name they spake: for which the wilderness was most proper, because there was no concurrence of people likely to be in that place to disturb them in their solemnity.

Ver. 2. Pharaoh said, Who is the LORD, &c.] These are not atheistical words; for he owned such gods as the Egyptians worshipped: but slighted that God whom Moses called JEHOVAH; to whom, he saith, he owed no obedience, because he did not know whom they meant by him. He speaks also with too much scorn; his pride and passion not suffering him to ask seriously who Jehovah was.

I know not the LORD, &c.] Nor did he desire to know; being so transported with anger that he would not examine their commission; but only resolved he would not obey it.

Ver. 3. They said, The God of the Hebrews] They gave him no other account (since he was so haughty and huffing), but that they came in the name of him whom they and their ancestors had for many generations worshipped. Whom they had at first called (ver. 1), the Lord God of Israel: τὸν τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ Δεσπότου, as Artapanus in Eusebius expounds it, "the Lord and Governor of the Universe."

Hath met with us:] Appeared to us, and given us this commission, when we thought of no such thing. For they would not have him think that they sought this embassy; but were put upon it by the Divine authority, which they durst not disobey.

Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert.] These are the very words in which God commanded Moses to deliver his message (iii. 18). And as their desire was moderate (to go but three days' journey), so it was very modestly delivered; by humble entreaty; and with such a reason as they thought might move him to grant their request.

And sacrifice unto the Lord our God:] That he may be propitious to us.

Let he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword.] Send a plague among us (for our neglect of him), or some foreign enemy to infest us, and cut us off. Whereby Pharaoh (they secretly suggest) would

the Lord our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword.

4 And the king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works? get you unto your burdens.

5 And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land now *are* many, and ye make them rest from their burdens.

6 And Pharaoh commanded the same day the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying,

7 Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves.

8 And the tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish *ought* thereof: for they *be*

idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go *and* sacrifice to our God.

9 Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not regard vain words.

10 ¶ And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their officers, and they spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw.

11 Go ye, get you straw where ye can find it: yet not ought of your work shall be diminished.

12 So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw.

13 And the taskmasters hastened *them*, saying, Fulfil your works, *your* daily tasks, as when there was straw.

14 And the officers of the children of Israel,

lose the benefit of their labours, more than by their going for a little time into the wilderness (see viii. 27).

It is observable that they neither wrought any miracle, nor threatened any punishment to Pharaoh, at their first application to him; but only told him the danger they themselves were in, if they did not obey their God: which was a very submissive way of treating with him. Artapanus, indeed (in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 27, and in Clem. Alex. lib. i. Strom.), tells us of several miraculous things which Moses did at this audience; whereby Pharaoh and his servants were astonished and frightened from doing them any hurt; nay, he asked Moses the name of his God, which he whispered in Pharaoh's ear. But he had all this out of some such fabulous author as him I mentioned above (ver. 1), and I mention him only to show that the heathen had the knowledge of this history, and report it as a truth: though with some mixture of human invention.

Ver. 4. *Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works?* Instead of answering their reasons, he tells them, That he looked upon them two as disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, and hinderers of his business.

Get you unto your burdens. This seems to be spoken unto the elders, which they had brought along with them.

Ver. 5. *Behold, the people of the land now are many,* They are very numerous, notwithstanding all their labours: to what will they grow, if they have nothing to do? Or, as some expound it, they will think of nothing but sedition, now they are so numerous, if they be suffered to cease from their burdens. Cajetan hence gathers that the law for throwing their infants into the river was abolished as infamous: or he could not get it put in execution.

And ye make them rest from their burdens. Which was the course he took to make them less numerous. Perhaps this was the sabbath-day; on which they had been wont to rest when they had their liberty.

Ver. 6. *The taskmasters—and their officers.* The taskmasters were the chief exactors of their labours, being Egyptians, who had officers under them to execute their orders, and to give an account how they were obeyed: and it appears from ver. 14, 15, &c. that they were Israelites.

Ver. 7.] Instead of easing them, he increased their burdens, and made them intolerable. What the use of *straw* was in making bricks is variously conjectured. Some think it was mixed with the clay, to make the bricks more solid. Others, that they only heated their kilns with it, to burn the bricks. Others

(who think they were not baked in a kiln) imagine it served only to cover them; that they might not be cracked by the violent heat of the sun, wherein they were baked. For so Vitruvius tells us, that the best bricks were made in the spring and in the autumn, ut nno tenore siccescant, "that they might dry by an equal heat:" they that were made at the solstice being suddenly crusted over by the sun, and left too moist within (lib. ii. de Architect. cap. 3).

Ver. 8. *The tale of the bricks, &c.* It appears from ver. 13, 14, that there was a certain quantity exacted from them every day.

For they be idle; They have not work enough to employ their thoughts; which makes their mind wander after other things.

Ver. 9. *Let there more work be laid upon the men,* Or, make it *heavy* upon them (as it is in the margin).

That they may labour therein; Have no time to think of any thing else.

Let them not regard vain words. So he calls the message of Moses and Aaron; who, he pretends, were mere deceivers, and fed their hope with lies (for so it is in the Hebrew, *words of falsehood, or lying words*), or, at least, he resolved their words should not prove true; for he would not let the people go.

Ver. 10.] The taskmasters with their officers proclaimed the king's order, that everybody might take notice of it.

Ver. 11. *Get you straw where ye can find it, &c.* A heavy sentence; importing, that whether they could find any or no, no abatement would be made of the number of bricks that was expected from them. This was to drive them to desperation, by demanding things impossible. And added (as Conradus Pellicanus observes) to the burdens on their bodies, very sore anguish of mind. For it tempted them to doubt of the goodness of their God, who they thought had sent a deliverer to them (iv. 31), by whom they were now reduced into a more miserable condition.

Ver. 12.] Some part of them were forced to go and pick up straw, or, for want of it, stubble (and sometimes travel a great way for it), while the rest were working in the brick-kilns without their help, which they were wont to have: whereby they were disabled from making so many bricks as formerly they had done.

Ver. 13. *The taskmasters hastened them,* Quickened them in their work; when they saw they were likely to fall short of their wonted task.

Ver. 14.] By this it appears (as I said ver. 6), that these officers were Israelites. And from this place Bonavent. Bertram concludes (lib. de Rep. Hebr. cap. iv.), that there was a civil government among the Is-

which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, *and* demanded, Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task in making brick both yesterday and to day, as heretofore?

15 ¶ Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants?

16 There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants *are* beaten; but the fault *is* in thine own people.

17 But he said, Ye *are* idle, *ye are* idle: therefore ye say, Let us go *and* do sacrifice to the LORD.

18 Go therefore now, *and* work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.

19 And the officers of the children of Israel

raelites all the time they were in Egypt: and that these *shoterim* (as they are called in Hebrew) were men of the greatest note among the elders; who executed all their decrees; and consequently of high authority among the people. For which reason Pharaoh's taskmasters chose them, to oversee and direct the labours of their brethren. But Mr. Selden (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15), hath made it appear, that there was no such judicature among them at this time; and when there was, this was the name of those who executed the sentence of the judges; being like to our apparitors, and such-like under officers (see p. 621, &c.).

Were beaten,] With sticks; or scourged with rods.

Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task in making brick both yesterday, &c.] They punished the officers, as if they had been negligent in not pressing the people to their duty. Yet it seems they forbore them one day, to see if they would mend their fault the next.

Ver. 15.] They had some hope this oppression might proceed from the taskmasters, and not from the king himself: and therefore they represented their case to him, and petitioned for relief. It is said, indeed (ver. 6), that Pharaoh laid this command both upon the taskmasters and their officers: but it is not unlikely that he gave it immediately only to the taskmasters, who were his own ministers, and by them to the officers.

Ver. 16.] This shows that they thought such inhuman usage was the effect of the taskmasters' cruelty.

Ver. 17.] He soon made them understand it was by his decree, and not his servants' pleasure, that they were thus used. And which was worse, they saw he was fixed in his resolution: being void of all pity; and mocking at their complaints. For nothing could be more sarcastical, than to tell them they were idle when they sunk under their burdens.

Ver. 18. *Go therefore now, and work, &c.*] Do not spend your time in making complaints to me; but return immediately to your labours, and continue at them till my commands be executed: and expect no mitigation.

did see *that they were* in evil case, after it was said, Ye shall not diminish *ought* from your bricks of your daily task.

20 ¶ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh:

21 And they said unto them, The LORD look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.

22 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Lord, wherefore hast thou *so* evil entreated this people? why *is* it *that* thou hast sent me?

23 For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath done evil to this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all.

Ver. 19.] By this answer they found themselves reduced to such straits, that now they despaired of all relief; the king himself being set against them.

Ver. 20.] They had placed themselves there on purpose, to hear what success the officers had in their petition.

Ver. 21. *The Lord look upon you, and judge;*] This seems to be an imprecation: or, at least, the officers bid Moses and Aaron expect that God would take them to task (as we speak) for bringing his people into so bad a case.

Ye have made our savour to be abhorred;] Made us odious; as this phrase signifies, Gen. xxxiv. 30.

To put a sword in their hand to slay us.] Who may take an occasion from hence, and make this a pretence for the destroying our whole nation.

Ver. 22. *Moses returned unto the Lord,*] This plainly intimates, that the Lord had appeared to Moses since he came to Egypt: as he did at Mount Horeb: and that he appeared in some settled place, where he might upon all occasions resort to him.

And said, Lord, wherefore hast thou so evil entreated this people? &c.] It was to no purpose to answer the officers who expostulated with him; for they were too much exasperated, and thereby prejudiced against any thing he could say. And therefore he chose rather to represent to God the complaints they had made to him: that he might be directed what satisfaction to give them. For he was not able of himself to give an account, why the Lord should suffer their condition to grow worse rather than better, since he delivered his message to Pharaoh: no, nor why he should send him on an embassy which was not at all regarded.

Ver. 23.] He might have remembered that God told him more than once, that Pharaoh would not obey him at first (iii. 19, iv. 21). But the bitter reflections which the officers of the children of Israel made upon his conduct, had so disturbed his mind, that he forgot himself so far as to ask the indecent questions mentioned in the foregoing verse, and complains here that God had done nothing to fulfil his promise of deliverance to his people.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *God reneweth his promise by his name JEHOVAH.* 14 *The genealogy of Reuben, 15 of Simeon, 16 of Levi, of whom came Moses and Aaron.*

1 THEN the LORD said unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: for with a strong hand shall he let them go, and with a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.

2 And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the LORD:

3 And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac,

and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.

4 And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers.

5 And I have also heard the groaning of the

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] The Shechinah, I suppose, appeared to him (see ver. 12), as it had done often before, since he was first sent upon this business (iv. 22), and graciously condescended to satisfy his two complaints, in the latter end of the foregoing chapter. Where he complains, first of all, that he had sent him about a fruitless message: for, secondly, he had not at all delivered his people. To the last of these he answers in the first place, here in this verse; where he tell him,

Thou shalt see what I will do to Pharaoh:] That is, be patient and wait a while: and thou shalt see Pharaoh compelled to dismiss my people.

For with a strong hand shall he let them go, &c.] I will so terribly scourge him, that he shall not only let them go, but thrust them out of Egypt; and be glad to be rid of them.

Ver. 2.] He also answers here to his first question, *Why hast thou sent me?* by telling him, *I am Jehovah;* and have sent thee to make known this great name, that is, myself; who am constant to my word, and will faithfully perform all my promises.

Ver. 3. *God Almighty,*] Or, *God all-sufficient,* as the word *El-shaddai* may be interpreted (see Gen. xvii. 1). God infinite in power and goodness: of which he gave their fathers abundant proofs by delivering them in many and great straits.

But by my name Jehovah was I not known to them.] This name of four letters, as the Jews speak, is by the ancients called the ineffable name: for they would never pronounce it. Not because they could not, as Drusius well observes (lib. i. Observat. cap. 1). Sed quod religione et reverentia quadam ab eo efferendo abstinenter, "but because out of a religious reverence they abstained from it." And this respect to it all the ancient interpreters observe, even St. Jerome himself: though in several of the ancient fathers (as Irenæus, Clem. Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, and Theodoret), and in some of the ancient heathens (as Macrobius and Diodorus Siculus), it is expressed by *Jaho*, and *Jaw*, as the Greeks write it. Which name (however it be pronounced), some of the Jews imagine, was concealed till Moses's time; who was the first to whom it was revealed. But this is evidently false, as appears from the whole book of Genesis; and particularly from xv. 7, where (before he calls himself *El-shaddai*) he saith to Abraham, "[I am Jehovah which brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees." In short, the opinion of Reuchlinus (in his Verb. Mirificum) is far more justifiable; which is, that it was revealed to our first parents, at the same time that God breathed into them the breath of life. For as soon as Eve brought forth her firstborn, she said, "I have gotten a man from the Lord" (Gen. iv. 1), which name descended in a perpetual succession from Seth to

Abraham: who when he went by God's direction out of his own country into Canaan, the Lord appeared to him there, and there he built an altar to the Lord, (Gen. xii. 7, 8). And it is to be noted, that he doth not say to Moses in this place, *my name Jehovah was not known to them*; but *I was not known to them by this name*. That is, by that which it imports; viz. the giving being (as we may say) to his promises by the actual performance of them; i. e. by bringing them into the land of Canaan; and, in order to it, delivering them out of Egypt. Both which he had promised in the forenamed chapter (Gen. xv. 14, 18), and now intended to make good. And thus R. Solomon interprets this place, as P. Fagius notes; *I have promised, but have not yet performed*.

The like expression we find in the prophet Isaiah, as Theodoric Hackspan hath observed (Disput. de Nominibus Divinis, n. 15), Isa. lii. 5, 6, where the Lord saith, "My name is blasphemed every day continually: therefore my people shall know my name; therefore they shall know in that day that I am he that doth speak; behold, it is I."

Which cannot signify that the Jews did not then know that this was one of the names of God; but that all who blasphemed him should be confuted by sensible proofs which he would give, of his own unchangeable resolution to fulfil his promises, in bringing them out of Babylon; which fully demonstrated that he was Jehovah.

Which word, some think, includes in it, not only his eternal existence and immutable truth, but his omnipotent power, which gave being to all things. The last of which was now made known, so as it had never been to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for Moses was the first that wrought miracles and prodigies: God was known to the fathers, by visions and dreams, but not by signs and wonders. Moses made him known by these unto the world. And therefore upon the whole Maimonides well concludes from this place, that the prophetic spirit on Moses was more excellent than that which had been upon any before him (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 35).

Ver. 4. *And I have also, &c.*] The Hebrew word *vegam* may be better translated *although*. Which makes a clear connection of this verse with the former; and explains the meaning of the name Jehovah. By which he was not known in former times, although he had made a covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give them the land of Canaan; and often ratified, confirmed (and established as he here speaks), this covenant (Gen. xvii. 7, 8, xxvi. 3, 4, &c.) But now he not only declares himself mindful of that covenant (ver. 5), but, because he was the Lord (ver. 6), would deliver them from the Egyptian bondage, and that with a miraculous power. Which should make them know more of him than their fathers did (ver. 7), both by his delivering them out of Egypt, and by

children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.

6 Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, *I am the LORD*, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments:

7 And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that *I am the LORD* your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians.

bringing them into the land which he swore he would give to their fathers (ver. 8).

This is the sense of these five verses.

The land of their pilgrimage, &c.] So it is often called, when he speaks to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 8), and so Isaac calls it (xxviii. 4), and Jacob also (xxxvii. 1). And so it might be called, not only with respect to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but also to their posterity: because of the near union that is between fathers and children. Thus God is said to have given to these three patriarchs (as the famous primate Usher observes) the land of Canaan for an inheritance (Ps. cv. 11), which was not fulfilled to them, but to their posterity. And as the possession of posterity is attributed to the fathers, so, upon the same ground, he thinks, the peregrination of the fathers is attributed here to the children (Chronol. Sacra, cap. viii.).

Ver. 5. *And I have also*] This verse also begins with the same particle *vegam*; and must be translated *although*, if the former interpretation be right. Or else those words, *by my name Jehovah was I not known to them*, must come in by a parenthesis: and both these verses be connected with what goes before, *appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by the name of God Almighty*, to whom he so appeared, as to make a covenant with them, which he perfectly remembered, and having taken notice to what condition they were reduced, was now come to deliver them.

Ver. 6. *Say—I am the Lord.*] Tell them, I will now show that I am what this name imports (ver. 2).

I will bring you out from under the burdens] The heavy oppressions under which you groan (ver. 5).

I will rid you out of their bondage.] They were mere slaves, and lay also under such insupportable loads, as made it impossible for them to deliver themselves: but it was to be the sole work of God.

I will redeem you with a stretched out arm.] This word *redeem* implies their servitude; from which he rescued them by a power superior to Pharaoh's, or any power on earth, as appears by the following story.

With great judgments.] When God first promised this deliverance, which Moses was about to effect, he told Abraham, "I will judge that nation," which oppressed them (Gen. xv. 14). That is, punish them (which is one office of a judge) according to their deservings. This now he intended to perform (and thereby show himself to be Jehovah), and that in a most terrible manner; or inflicting not only very grievous, but many plagues upon them. For Greg. Nyssen observes, that all the elements, the earth, the water, the fire, and the air, were all moved against the Egyptians, *ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀστέροις ὑποζυγίους*, "as an obedient army" (lib. de Vita Mosis, p. 173). Thus *judgments*, and to *judge*, are used in many places for punishing (Ps. ix. 17; Prov. xix. 29; 2 Chron. xx. 12).

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8 And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage: *I am the LORD*.

9¶ And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.

10 And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

11 Go in, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land.

12 And Moses spake before the LORD, saying,

Ver. 7. *I will take you to me for a people,*] By the right of redemption before mentioned.

I will be to you a God.] He was so before: but now after a peculiar manner.

Ye shall know that I am the Lord your God, &c.] By seeing my promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob fulfilled.

Ver. 8.] Two things were promised to Abraham in that vision mentioned Gen. xv. First, he would deliver his seed from this nation which oppressed them (ver. 14). And, secondly, that he would bring them into the land of Canaan (ver. 16). Both these he now declares should be fulfilled (the former in the foregoing verse, and the latter in this), and thereby they should be convinced that he was indeed Jehovah, true and constant to his word.

I am the Lord.] He concludes as he began: having said this twice before (ver. 2, 6).

Ver. 9. *Moses spake so unto the children of Israel.*] He delivered this message, as he was commanded: which, one would have expected, should have raised their drooping spirits. But quite contrary.

They hearkened not unto Moses] They did not believe, or receive what he said (so Maimon. More Nev. par. i. cap. 45), or it made no impression upon them. The reason follows,

For anguish of spirit,] In the Hebrew, because of *shortness of breath*. They were so extremely oppressed, that they could scarce fetch their breath, as we speak. Or, had no heart so much as to think of deliverance, much less hope for it; but sunk unto their burdens.

For cruel bondage.] Common slaves, though they cannot deliver themselves, rejoice to hear the good news that they are likely to be delivered by those who have power and will to do it. But in this slavery they were used so cruelly, that they were quite dejected and incapable of any comfort. So the LXX. translate the foregoing words (for anguish of spirit), *ἐξ ἀσθενείας*, out of "faintheartedness:" they being quite dispirited.

Ver. 10. *The Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It is likely that Moses, finding the Israelites so regardless of what he said, went to the usual place, where he was wont to have recourse to the Divine Majesty (see ver. 22), to receive new directions what to do.

Ver. 11.] The Lord bids him go again to Pharaoh, and renew the demand he made before (ver. 1).

Ver. 12. *Moses spake before the Lord.*] This phrase, *ἔμπροσθεν*, "before the Lord," plainly denotes that God appeared to him in a visible majesty, as I observed above, ver. 1, and see xi. 4.

The children of Israel have not hearkened to me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me.] Their faintheartedness disheartened Moses also, and made him unwilling to renew his address to Pharaoh. And there seems to be good reason in what he says; if the children of Israel, whose interest it was to give ear to him, did not be-

Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who *am* of uncircumcised lips?

13 And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

14 ¶ These *be* the heads of their fathers' houses: The sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these *be* the families of Reuben.

15 And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these *are* the families of Simeon.

16 ¶ And these *are* the names of the sons of

Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the years of the life of Levi *were* an hundred thirty and seven years.

17 The sons of Gershon; Libni, and Shimi, according to their families.

18 And the sons of Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the years of the life of Kohath *were* an hundred thirty and three years.

19 And the sons of Merari; Mahali and Mushi: these *are* the families of Levi according to their generations.

20 And Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram *were* an hundred and thirty and seven years.

lieve him, what hope was there that Pharaoh should comply against his interest?

Who am of uncircumcised lips?] This reason he had alleged before, and was fully answered (iv. 10, 11, &c.), and therefore ought not to have been repeated now. For his being of *uncircumcised lips* signifies no more than that he was an ill speaker, and wanted eloquence: it being the manner of the Hebrews to call those parts *uncircumcised*, which are inept to the use for which they were designed, and cannot do their office. Thus Jeremy saith of the Jews, that their "ear was uncircumcised;" and adds the explication, "they cannot hearken" (Jer. vi. 10). In like manner *uncircumcised lips*, are lips that cannot utter words; as "uncircumcised in heart" (Jer. ix. 26) are such as cannot understand. St. Stephen puts both together, "uncircumcised in heart and ears" (Acts vii. 51). Perhaps Moses thought it some disparagement to him, that he was not able himself to deliver his mind in a handsome manner to Pharaoh; and therefore mentions this again, to move the Divine Majesty to *circumcise his lips* (as they spake), that is, remove this impediment.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron,*] Here is no express answer made to his objection, but it seems to be included in God's speaking to *Moses and to Aaron*; whereas before he had spoken only to Moses (ver. 1, 10). And it is likely Moses was admonished, that the Lord having given him Aaron to supply his defect, he ought to be satisfied therewith, and go with him, and renew his address, both to the children of Israel, and also to Pharaoh. So these words have respect to both parts of the foregoing objection.

Give them a charge unto the children of Israel,] He laid his commands upon them, strictly requiring them to obey him. Which is a higher expression than we meet with before in the foregoing injunctions (either in ver. 6, or 11), and makes me think this verse is not a mere recapitulation of what had been said, as some take it; but an enforcement of what he had before commanded.

Unto Pharaoh—to bring the children of Israel out of the land] I suppose he now gave them authority to threaten him, if he did not obey.

Ver. 14. *These be the heads*] The principal persons of the several families of Israel.

The sons of Reuben] See Gen. xli. 9, where the sons of Reuben are reckoned up in this very order; in which they are here mentioned again, to introduce the genealogy of Moses and Aaron. Who being chosen by God to be the deliverers of his people, it was fit to show that they were of the same stock,

though not of the eldest family, of the children of Israel. To whom God promised, when he went down into Egypt, that he would *surely bring him up again* (Gen. xli. 4), that is, in his posterity: which would not have been so manifestly the work of God, if they that were the instruments of it had not been of his posterity.

Ver. 15. *Of Simeon,*] They are mentioned for the same reason, and in the same order that they were in Gen. xli. 10.

Ver. 16. *These are the names of the sons of Levi*] Having briefly set down the heads of the two eldest families of Israel, he enlarges now upon the third, from which he himself was descended.

Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari:] These three are mentioned also in Gen. xli. 11, as coming with Jacob into Egypt.

The years of the life of Levi were an hundred thirty and seven] He is thought to have lived the longest of all the sons of Jacob: none of whose ages are recorded in Scripture, but only his and Joseph's; whom Levi survived twenty-seven years, though he was much the elder brother. Kohath, also, the second son of Levi, attained near to the same age with himself (ver. 18). And his grandson, Moses's father, lived just so long as Levi did (ver. 20). Next to Levi, the longest liver of all Jacob's sons was Naphthali, if we may believe the tradition in R. Bechai, who saith he lived to the age of a hundred thirty and three years; which was the age of Kohath.

Ver. 17. *Sons of Gershon; Libni, and Shimi, &c.*] These were born in Egypt, from whom descended two families mentioned afterwards (Numb. iii. 18, 21).

Ver. 18. *Sons of Kohath; Amram, &c.*] He had the most numerous offspring of all Levi's sons (Numb. iii. 28), from the eldest of which Moses came.

The years of the life of Kohath were an hundred thirty and three] He sets down the age of none but only of Levi his great-grandfather, and Kohath his grandfather, and of Amram his father. And primate Usher makes account that Kohath was thirty years old when Jacob came into Egypt, and lived there a hundred and three years; and died thirty-two years before Moses was born (see Chronolog. Sacra, cap. 11).

Ver. 19. *Sons of Merari; Mahali*] From this Mahali, it is thought, sprung the famous singer Heman, who composed the 88th Psalm (1 Chron. vi. 33).

Mushi:] From whom descended Ethan, who composed the 89th Psalm (1 Chron. vi. 44).

Ver. 20. *Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife;*] It must be acknowledged that the Hebrew

21 ¶ And the sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zithri.

22 And the sons of Uzziel; Mishaël, and Elzaphan, and Zithri.

23 And Aaron took him Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, sister of Naashon, to wife; and she bare him Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

24 And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkannah, and Abiasaph: these are the families of the Korhites.

word *dod* signifies an *uncle*: and therefore some would have the word *dodah*, in this place, to signify only his *uncle's daughter*. So the Vulgar and the LXX. translate it. But Moses tells us so expressly that she was "born to Levi in Egypt" (Numb. xxvi. 59), that it unavoidably follows she was sister to Amram's father. Which the forenamed great primate maintains (cap. 8, of the same book) against Scaliger and Peiferus, who would have Jochebed called Levi's daughter, only as Ephraim and Manasseh are called Jacob's sons. Which would make a very easy sense (as I observed, ii. 1), if it would consist with those words in Numb. xxvi. 59, "whom her mother (for that must be understood) bare to Levi;" which show she was his daughter. And thus R. Solomon understood it; and so did Tostatus and Cajetan, and divers others, whom our Usher there mentions. And see our most learned Selden (lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. ix. p. 584). Which shows how sincere a writer Moses was, who doth not stick to relate what might be thought in after ages (when the law against such marriages was enacted), a blot to his family. And it is observable, that he doth not say one syllable in commendation of his parents; though their faith deserved the greatest praise, as the apostle to the Hebrews shows (xi. 23). But Moses (as Jac. Capellus truly observes, ad A. M. 2481), did not write for his own glory, but for the service of God and of his church.

She bare him Aaron and Moses:] This shows, that God exactly fulfilled his promise of delivering the Israelites out of servitude in the fourth generation (Gen. xv. 16, i. e. the fourth from their descent into Egypt), for Moses was the fourth from Levi: being his great-grandson.

The years of the life of Amram were an hundred and thirty and seven years.] The very same age with his grandfather Levi (ver. 16).

Ver. 21. *The sons of Izhar; Korah, &c.*] He gives an account of his uncle's sons, but saith not one word here of his own. Who were not to succeed him in his place and dignity, nor to be advanced to any other office. Such was his humility and generous love to his country, that he only sought the good of that; but nothing for his own family.

Ver. 22. *The sons of Uzziel;*] This was another of his uncles; whose posterity he mentions, that it might be seen how God blessed the tribe of Levi: notwithstanding the sin he had committed at Shechem, and the punishment his father denounced against him for it (Gen. xlix.). He saith nothing of Hebron, another of his father's brothers; because, perhaps, he died childless: or his children had no issue.

Ver. 23. *Aaron took him Elisheba—to wife:*] Though he says nothing here of himself, yet he relates particularly what concerned Aaron; who, he shows, was matched into an honourable family, with a sister of a prince of the tribe of Judah, chief commander of their host when they were come out of Egypt (Numb. i. 7, ii. 3). The knowledge of this, he thought, might breed in posterity a greater reverence to the priesthood; which was settled in the family of Aaron.

25 And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him Phinehas: these are the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families.

26 These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies.

27 These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.

28 ¶ And it came to pass on the day when the

She bare him Nadab and Abihu,] These two perished in the very first sacrifice which their father offered; because they did not take fire from the altar, but offered with strange fire (Lev. x. 1, 2).

Eleazar,] Who succeeded his father in the priesthood (Numb. xx. 25, &c.), and assisted Joshua in the division of the land of Canaan (Josh. xiv. 1, xix. 51, xxi. 1). From him sprung Zadok and the following high-priests, till the destruction of Jerusalem (1 Chron. vi. 4, &c.).

Ithamar,] From whom came Eli, and Abimelech, and Abiathar (in the time of David), in whom this family was extinct.

Ver. 24. *The sons of Korah, &c.*] Though he himself perished in his rebellion against Moses, who was his cousin-german, yet his family remained (Numb. xxvi. 58), and were famous in the days of David; being often mentioned in the book of Psalms.

Ver. 25. *And Eleazar—took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife:*] Who this Putiel was, is not certain. Dr. Lightfoot thinks he was an Egyptian convert, whose daughter Eleazar married. But I see no good ground for this opinion, but rather think it more likely Eleazar would marry one of the race of Abraham; being son to the high-priest. He was married, indeed, before his father was promoted to that dignity: yet Aaron was so great a man in his own tribe (see iv. 14), and married into so honourable a family in Israel (ver. 23), that it is not probable he would suffer his son to match with an Egyptian proselyte.

These are the heads of the fathers of the Levites, &c.] The great persons, from whom sprung the principal families among the Levites. He saith nothing of the other tribes; because his intention was only to derive his own pedigree and his brother Aaron's from Israel.

Ver. 26. *These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel, &c.*] These are the two persons, to whom God gave commission to be the deliverers of their nation out of the Egyptian bondage. He had mentioned, just before their genealogy, the charge God gave them, both to the children of Israel and to Pharaoh (ver. 13). And now he goes on to show that they were the men, who were peculiarly chosen by God to discharge that office; first, by going to the children of Israel, which he mentions here; and then to Pharaoh, which he mentions in the next verse.

Bring out the children of Israel] Assure them of their deliverance, notwithstanding the pressures under which they groan.

According to their armies.] Not by a disorderly flight; but every family in such good order as an army keeps (Exod. xii. 41, 51, xiii. 18).

Ver. 27. *These are they, which spake to Pharaoh,*] Who carried the message from God to Pharaoh, requiring him to let Israel go out of Egypt (v. 1, 2, &c., vi. 13).

These are that Moses and Aaron.] He repeats it again, that all generations might mark who were the

LORD spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt,

29 That the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I am the LORD: speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I say unto thee.

men that God employed, in this great and hazardous work of demanding the liberty of the children of Israel from Pharaoh's servitude; and effecting it in such manner, as is afterward related in this book.

There have been critical wits, who made this an argument, that Moses was not the author of these books; because it is not likely, they imagine, he would write thus of himself. But nobody but these critics can see an absurdity in it, that he and his brother, being the instruments in God's hand of effecting such wonderful things, should not let posterity be ignorant of it: but take care not only to record it, but to set a special note upon it, that none might rob them of the honour God bestowed on them; and He (by whose direction this was written) might have the glory of working such mighty things, by such inept instruments, as Moses often acknowledges himself to have been. Nor is this more than Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel say concerning themselves: and St. John may as well be denied to be the author of the gospel which bears his name, because he saith, "This is the disciple that testifieth these things," &c. (xxi. 24). And besides this, the history of succeeding ages shows us the necessity of this, which Moses hath said of himself. For if he had not told us what his progeny was, we see by what we read in Justin and Corn. Tacitus, and such like authors, what false accounts we should

30 And Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?

have of him: for Justin, from Trogus Pompeius, makes him (as I observed before) the son of Joseph. Nay, the Jewish writers have been so fabulous, that we should have learnt as little truth from them, if Moses had not told it us himself.

Ver. 28.] Having finished the account he thought fit to give of himself and of his brother, whom God was pleased to employ in this great embassy, he resumes the relation of it, which he broke off at the end of ver. 13.

Ver. 29.] This and the next verse seem to be a recapitulation of what God said in his last appearances to him (ver. 2, 10, &c.), and of his desire to be excused from the employment on which he was sent; urged by two arguments, ver. 12, 13, where they are related something more largely than they are here, in the last verse of this chapter. In which he mentions them again; that there might be a clearer connection with what God further added for his encouragement, when he gave him the forenamed charge (ver. 13), to deliver a new message to Pharaoh.

Ver. 30. *Moses said before the Lord,*] We read the very same (ver. 12), which makes me think this is not a new objection: but merely a recital of what he had objected there. See what I have said on the foregoing verse.

Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips,] See ver. 12.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Moses is encouraged to go to Pharaoh.* 7 *His age.* 8 *His rod is turned into a serpent.* 11 *The sorcerers do the like.* 13 *Pharaoh's heart is hardened.* 14 *God's message to Pharaoh.* 19 *The river is turned into blood.*

1 AND the LORD said unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet

2 Thou shalt speak all that I command

thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, that he send the children of Israel out of his land.

3 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and

CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] He received new orders from the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty; before whom he stood (vi. 12, 30).

See,] Mark what I say, in answer to all thy objections.

I have made thee a god to Pharaoh:] Therefore, why shouldst thou fear to appear before him, who is but a man? Moses is not called absolutely a god; but only a god unto Pharaoh: which denotes that he had only the authority and power of God over him; or rather, he was God's ambassador to speak to him in his name: with a power ready to execute all that he desired for the humbling of Pharaoh, and punishing his disobedience to his message.

Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.] Let therefore the uncircumcision of thy lips be no longer an objection: for he shall interpret thy mind, as prophets declare the mind of God.

Some slight wits have from this place also drawn an argument, that this book was not written by Moses: but by some other author long after his time. Because the word *nabi*, they fancy, was not now in use to signify a prophet: as appears, say they, from 1 Sam. ix. 9, where it is said, "He that is now called (*nabi*) a prophet, was before time called (*roek*) a seer."

Which seems to signify that the word *nabi* (which Moses here uses for a prophet) was but newly come into use, in Samuel's days. But this is very far from Samuel's meaning; whose plain sense is this, that he who foretold things to come, or discovered secrets, was anciently called a *seer*, not a *prophet*. Which signified heretofore only an interpreter of the Divine will: but now they began, in Samuel's days, to apply the word *nabi* (or *prophet*) to those who could reveal any secret, or foresee things future. Which had not been the use of the word formerly: but it signified, as I said, one that was familiar with God, and knew his mind, and delivered it to others; as I observed upon Gen. xx. 7, where God himself calls Abraham a prophet; as he here calls Aaron. And what holy writer would dare to alter the word which God himself used? Which is far more proper also to this purpose than either *roek* or *chosek* (which these men fancy were the words in use in Moses's time, not *nabi*), for they do not answer the intention of God in this speech concerning Aaron. Who was not to see, and divine, or to receive revelations from God, but to be a mouth to Moses; to utter what God revealed to him, not to Aaron. Which is the original signification of the word *nabi*; there being no derivation of it so natural that I can find as that of R. Solomon's, from the word *nub*, which signifies to utter, or to bring forth (Prov. x. 31)

multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt.

4 But Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you, that I may lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth mine armies, and my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judgments.

5 And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.

6 And Moses and Aaron did as the LORD commanded them, so did they.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt speak all that I command thee, &c.*] This explains the latter end of the former verse: that Moses should deliver God's mind to Aaron; and Aaron should deliver it to Pharaoh: requiring him from God to dismiss the children of Israel out of his country.

Ver. 3. *I will harden Pharaoh's heart.*] Or, *but I will harden, &c.*, which Avenarius translates, *I will permit his heart to be hardened*. Though there is no need of it: for God here only foretells what Pharaoh would force him to do (see iv. 21), after several signs and wonders had been wrought to move him to obedience. For he was so stupid, and hardened his heart so often (viii. 15, 32), that in conclusion God hardened him, by withdrawing all good motions from him. And therefore, the first time that Jehovah is said to harden his heart, there is a special remembrance of this that the Lord had foretold it (ix. 12).

And multiply my signs and my wonders, &c.] The first plagues that were inflicted on him proving ineffectual; it was necessary to send more and greater, that, if it had been possible, his heart might have been mollified.

Ver. 4. *But Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you.*] Or rather, and Pharaoh shall not hearken to your demands. For this was the effect of his hardening.

That I may lay my hand upon Egypt.] Smite all their firstborn: upon which immediately followed their march out of Egypt.

Bring forth mine armies.] All the tribes of the children of Israel: which were so multiplied, that every one of them singly made an army (see vi. 26).

By great judgments.] That is, grievous plagues; which he inflicted on them, one after another. And thereby made good his word, that Moses should be a god to Pharaoh (ver. 1), that is, a judge, as the word *Elohim* sometimes signifies (see vi. 6).

Ver. 5. *The Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.*] Be convinced, or made sensible that none can withstand me.

When I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, &c.] This was most especially fulfilled, when he smote their first-born, which made them look upon themselves as lost men, if they continued disobedient (xii. 33).

Ver. 6.] He repeats what he saith of their obedience to God's commands, because, from this time forward, they no longer disputed, nor made any objection; but roundly went about their business.

Ver. 7. *Moses was fourscore years old, &c.*] The Israelites were under a heavy persecution when Moses was born; and God exercised their patience (it appears by this) a very long time, that their deliverance might be for ever remembered with the greatest thankfulness and obedience. Such grave persons as these were fittest to be employed as God's commissioners in this affair: for they could not well be thought to be hot-headed men, who thrust themselves forward

7 And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

8 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

9 When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a miracle for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast it before Pharaoh, and it shall become a serpent.

10 ¶ And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so as the LORD had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a serpent.

into this embassy without a warrant. So some of the Jews very judiciously have observed, that God made choice of aged men to work all his miracles before Pharaoh, and to receive his revelations, because they were not apt to invent, nor to be under the power of fancy, at those years. See Sepher Cosri, lib. i. sect. 83, where Buxtorf notes, that Aben Ezra observes upon this place, that none besides Moses and Aaron ever prophesied in their old age; because they were more excellent than all the prophets.

Ver. 8.] When they were about to renew their addresses to Pharaoh, God was pleased again to appear, and give them his directions in their proceedings.

Ver. 9. *When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a miracle for you.*] It was likely that Pharaoh would, when he was not in a passion, ask, How shall I know that you come from God with this message to me? give me some proof of your authority: and such a proof as can be done by none, but by the power of God. And therefore God directs Moses what to do in this case.

Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod.] The same rod is sometimes called the *rod of God* (iv. 20), sometimes Moses's rod, and sometimes Aaron's: as we find it in many places, ver. 10, 19, of this chapter; and viii. 5, 19, &c. Because God wrought all the following miracles by this rod; which sometimes Moses and sometimes Aaron held in their hand. But commonly Moses delivered it unto Aaron, as an agent under him, to stretch it out for the effecting of wonders. For he tells Pharaoh, in this very chapter, that with the rod which was in his hand, he would *smite the waters*, &c. ver. 17. And immediately the Lord bade him "say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt" (ver. 19). By which it appears he had delivered the rod unto Aaron. For a rod being the ensign of authority, prophets were wont to carry one in their hand, in token of their office. And so did the Egyptian magicians also, who had every one their rod ready to throw down (ver. 12). And Mercury, whom the Egyptians counted a prophet (and thence called him Anubis), was represented with a wand in his hand.

Cast it before Pharaoh.] As God had before directed Moses (iv. 3, 21).

Ver. 10.] At their first address to Pharaoh they only delivered their message; but did nothing to confirm it (ver. 1, &c.). Nor were they commanded now to work any miracle, unless Pharaoh demanded one. Which it is likely he did; this second address to him moving him to ask, How shall I know that you come from God?

Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh and before his servants.] The great men of the court, who are always supposed to be present where the king was; though not mentioned in the foregoing verse.

It became a serpent.] See iv. 3, where we read that Moses himself, when this change was first made,

11 Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers : now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments.

fled from before it ; the sight of it was so terrible. And therefore it is highly probable, that Pharaoh and his servants were no less startled at the first appearance of it. Artapanus relates several other miracles besides this, in Eusebius's *Præpar. Evang.* p. 434, 435, and 441 ; which I mention to show that the fame of Moses's miracles was spread among the heathen, who were so far from disbelieving them, that they gave credit to other false reports, which some ill people had mingled with them.

Ver. 11.] When he had recovered the fright in which we may well suppose him to have been, he sent some of his servants to call in those who he thought could cope with Moses and Aaron in wonderful works.

Wise men] This word is sometimes used in a good sense : and therefore to show they were such as we now call *cunning men*, he joins another word to it, which is never taken in a good sense, viz.

Sorcerers.] Which most take to be such as we call jugglers ; who cast mists, as we speak, before men's eyes ; and make things appear otherwise than they really are. For the Hebrew word *ciseph* (from whence comes *macashephim*, which we translate *sorcerers*), signifies to delude the sight with false appearances. Sir John Marsham puts these two words together, and (by the figure of *ἐν δα δούει*) translates them, *accersivit peritissimos artis magicæ*, "he called the most skillful persons in the magical art," Chron. Can. Secul. ix.

The magicians] This is a third word, which seems to be of worse import than the two former. Some translate it *necromancers* ; but it being a foreign word, we cannot determine its particular meaning : though, in general, no doubt it signifies men that by evil arts performed amazing things : such as Simon Magus and Elymas in aftertimes. See Gen. xli. 8, and Bochart in his *Hierozoicæ* (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 18), where he hath a large discourse about the meaning of this word *charlûmim* ; which, after all that others have said about it, he thinks comes from the word *relan* : which in Arabic and Chaldee signifies to *murmur*, as magicians were wont to do in their incantations. So Hartun is properly *ἱεροδότης*, an *enchanter*. And the name of *Ἀρτεμῖς* (the same with Hecate), he thinks alludes to it ; whom magicians were wont frequently to invoke.

The names of the principal magicians at this time among the Egyptians were Jannes and Jambres, as not only St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 8), but several, both Jewish, Greek, and Roman writers tell us. I will mention but one, the author of Schelsch-Hakkabalah, who calls them by these names ; and saith, that in our language we would call them Johannes and Ambrosius. The reader may find a great many more, if he please, in primate Usher's *Annals*, ad A. M. 2513, and in Bochart's *Hierozoicæ*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 53, p. 645. Artapanus, in Eusebius, calls them *ἱερεῖς ἐν τῷ Μίμφει*, "priests at Memphis," whom Pharaoh sent for to oppose Moses.

The original of which sort of men seems to have been this ; that God being pleased to admit the holy patriarchs to familiar colloquies with him, the devil endeavoured to imitate him ; that he might keep man in his obedience, by pretending discoveries of secret things to them. And when God was pleased to work miracles for the confirmation of the truth, the devil directed these men, who were familiar with him, how

12 For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents : but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.

13 And he hardened Pharaoh's heart, that he

to invoke his help for the performance of strange things, which confirmed them in their errors.

They also did in like manner with their enchantments.] If the Hebrew word come from *lahat*, which signifies a *flame* (see Gen. iii. 24), it seems to denote such sorcerers as dazzled men's eyes, and then imposed on them by shows and appearances of things, which had no real being. But it may be derived from *lahat*, which signifies *hidden and secret* ; and then denotes those that used secret *whispers* or *mur-murs*, as enchanters did (as Bochartus in this place now mentioned interprets it), or such as had secret familiarity with demons ; as it is expounded in the Gemara Sanhedrim (cap. vii. n. 10), where there are many examples of the former sort of enchantments, by the deception of the sight. For instance, R. Asche relates that he saw a magician blow his nose, and bring pieces of cloth out of it. And R. Chajah saw one cut a camel in pieces with his sword, and then set it together again : which was nothing, saith he, but the delusion of the eye. Several other stories are told of the same nature.

Ver. 12. *For they cast down every man his rod*.] They were sent for to confront Moses, and therefore attempted to do the very same thing that he had done. For they took him for a mere magician, like themselves ; and it was a common thing, in ancient times, for such kind of men to contend one with another. And their great study was (as Gaulmyn hath observed in his *Notes upon the Life and Death of Moses*, written by a Jew, p. 241, &c.), to find out the genius that attended their opposer ; whom they strove to gain to their side ; or to terrify him by a greater and more powerful angel. And they only were insuperable who had a deity to their genius ; as Porphyry, saith Plotinus, had. Who contending with Olympius an Egyptian, when his genius was called, *εἰς αὐτοῦσαν* "to appear visibly ;" there came a god and not a demon. Which made the Egyptian cry out, *Μακάριος εἰς θεόν ἔχων τὸν δαίμονα*, "he is happy who hath a god for his genius," as I suppose it should be interpreted. And thus the Jewish author of the *Life and Death of Moses* fancies, that these magicians, who resisted Moses, turned over all their books to find out the name of that deity, by which he did wonders, so much superior to theirs, &c.

And they became serpents.] Not real serpents, but seeming, as Josephus understood it, and several Christian writers ; particularly Sedulius (lib. iv. carn.).

— "imagine facts,
Visibus humanis magicas tribuere figuras."

I omit other ancient authors, who suppose that as spirits can assume bodies like to men, so they can as easily, out of the same air, make the appearance of a serpent ; just as Circe is said in Homer to have changed Ulysses' companions into hogs. But there are those who take these to have been real serpents, brought hither by the power of the devil : who withdrew their rods, and put these (which he suddenly transported from some other place) in their room. Which, if it be true, makes the power that wrought by Moses the more wonderful ; whose serpent devoured them all.

But Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.] The serpent, into which Aaron's rod was turned, moved towards them, and ate them up. Which was, as I said, the more astonishing, if they were real serpents of the

hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had said.

14 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is hardened, he refuseth to let the people go.

same bigness (as we may well suppose they would endeavour to bring) with that of Moses. However their serpents (whatsoever they were) could not stand before his; but were swallowed up, while his still remained. This might have convinced Pharaoh, if his magicians had not made him believe that they would in time find a power superior to Moses. The Jews also imagine Pharaoh himself was a magician; and helped to get out of Moses the secret whereby he wrought these wonders. Which were the greater, because Moses, no doubt, in conclusion, took this serpent by the tail (as God had commanded him, iv. 4), and it became a rod in his hand again. Whereas the Egyptian sorcerers had no rods remaining to take up; they being vanished with their serpents. Greg. Nyssen. (L. de Vita Mosis, p. 173), takes the devouring of their rods to have been a plain argument, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἀμυνταὶν οὐτε ζωτικὴν τινὰ δύναμιν εἶναι οὐ τῶν ῥάτων βαΐδων, πλὴν τοῦ σχήματος, &c. "that the rods, i. e. serpents of the magicians, had no vital power in them able to defend themselves; but were mere delusions, without any real virtue." And here I cannot but take notice of a remarkable passage in Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher, recorded by Eusebius (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 8), where he tells us, that Numenius (in his third book περί ἀγαθῶν) expressly saith "That Janes and Jambres were, Αἰγυπτίαις ἰερογυμναστῆς, inferior to none in magical skill; and therefore chosen, by the common consent of the Egyptians, to oppose Musæus (as the heathens call Moses), the leader of the Jews: of whom he gives this noble character, that he was a man most powerful with God in prayer, ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ θεῷ εὐχασθαι δύνατω τὰτα." Which is a plain confession, that he took Moses to be, as he is called in these books, a man of God: and may serve to shame those who either believe not this history, or think Moses to have been only a great magician.

Ver. 13. *He hardened Pharaoh's heart:* or rather, *Pharaoh's heart was hardened.*] For so we translate this very Hebrew phrase (ver. 23), and I can give no account why we translate it otherwise here. Especially since the Vulgar and the Chaldee so render it, and the LXX. also in this verse, χαλίζουσιν ἡ καρδία Φαραώ, "Pharaoh's heart grew stiff; or, waxed strong and stubborn;" and ver. 22, ἐπαληθύνθη ἡ καρδία Φαραώ, "his heart was hardened." And it is plainly the like form of speech with that in the next verse (14), where God himself interprets his own meaning, *Pharaoh's heart, βαρέθηκα*, "is heavy, and will not stir." Nor is there, in any of these three verses, the least mention of any person by whom his heart was hardened.

That he hearkened not unto them;] It is likely, upon the first sight of the serpent, his heart was inclined to hearken: but seeing the magicians do the same, it returned to its first bent; and there fixed, notwithstanding Moses's rod devoured theirs. This God had predicted (iii. 19), knowing his wicked disposition would not yield to any means he should think fit to use for his reformation.

Ver. 14.] It is likely Moses, after he had been with Pharaoh and wrought this miracle, returned to the place where the Divine Majesty was wont to appear unto him (vi. 12, 30), and gave him an account of what had passed. Whereupon the Lord told him, he saw Pharaoh was resolved in his way; and therefore

15 *Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come; and the rod which was turned to a serpent shalt thou take in thine hand.*

it would be to no purpose to wait to see what would be the effect of the late miracle; but bid him go the next morning, and carry a threatening message to him.

Pharaoh's heart is hardened.] It is observable that he doth not say, *I have hardened Pharaoh's heart* (and therefore there should have been no such intimation in our translation of ver. 13), but *Pharaoh's heart is hardened*. Which can imply no other hardening than what proceeded from his own settled resolution, not to lose the service of the Israelites.

Ver. 15. *Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning;*] Of the very next day after he had wrought the foregoing miracle: and now begins the first of the ten plagues which God sent upon the Egyptians, for disobeying his ambassadors. Whose treaty with Pharaoh, as Jacobus Capellus (ad A. M. 2502) thinks, continued about eleven months: from the end of harvest (which he makes account was in our May) to the beginning of the next year: which is the opinion of the Hebrew doctors. But our excellent primate Usher thinks, that all the following plagues were inflicted within the space of one month; in such order of time, as I shall observe in the beginning of each of them. And Bochartus gives good reason for it in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 8). For we are told here (ver. 7), that Moses was fourscore years old when he began to treat with Pharaoh: and in Josh. v. 6, that they "walked forty years in the wilderness." Now, if he had spent a year in inflicting these plagues, Moses, who died just as they were entering into Canaan, must have been a hundred and one-and-twenty years old: whereas he was but a "hundred and twenty," as we read Deut. xxxiv. 5. Nor was it suitable to the Divine goodness to be so long in delivering his people, who were reduced to extreme misery. It was but just, also, that God should follow Pharaoh, whose heart was so obstinately hard, with one plague upon the neck of another; and give him no time to breathe, after one was removed, before another came upon him.

Lo, he goeth out unto the water;] God, who knows all things, foresaw his motion beforehand; and speaks as if he then saw him actually going out of his palace to the river: either to walk there for recreation, or to worship the river Nile. For as Bochart (whose words these are) observes out of Plutarch, οὐδὲν οὐτῶα τιμῇ Αἰγυπτίους ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος, "Nothing was had in such honour among the Egyptians as the river Nile." If it was so in Moses's days, it is not unlikely that he went to pay his morning devotions to it. Or, if he were a magician, as the Hebrews fancy, he might be skilled in that which they call ὀδροματεία. For so, he observes, they say in the Talmud: and make this the reason of Pharaoh's going to the river. Which Jonathan follows in his paraphrase, "Behold, he goeth out to observe divinations upon the water, as a magician," Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 15).

Thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come;] Perhaps Pharaoh (as the same Bochart observes) had forbid him to come any more to the court: and so God directs him to take this occasion to meet with him.

The rod—shalt thou take in thine hand.] To give him the greater authority, and to put Pharaoh in fear at the sight of that rod, which had lately swallowed up all the γοητικὰ ἔντα (as Greg. Nyssen calls them), magical staves which encountered him.

16 And thou shalt say unto him, The LORD God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear.

17 Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I am the LORD: behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood.

18 And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river.

Ver. 16.] See ver. 3. To which add, that it is plain by this whole story, that all the messages delivered by Moses, and all the answers which Pharaoh returned, were true and formal treaties of a solemn embassy (as Dr. Jackson speaks), upon which Moses was sent to the king of Egypt, from the Lord God of the Hebrews; that is, their king (as he was become in a peculiar manner), under whom Moses acted as his deputy or viceroy.

Let my people go, &c.] The merciful kindness of God to a hardened sinner is here very remarkable in renewing his message, and giving him warning of what would come upon him, if he did not yield. Whereas he might in justice have inflicted it, without any notice of his intentions. He sets before him also his sin and his danger, in being hitherto disobedient; and behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear: i. e. "thou hast provoked the Divine Majesty, by disregarding several messages I have brought to thee from him."

Ver. 17. Thus saith the Lord,] Attend to this new message I bring to thee in his name.

In this thou shalt know that I am the Lord:] He had asked in a contemptuous way, Who is the Lord? and said after a supercilious manner, I know him not (ver. 2), nor indeed cared to know him; but slighted him and his messengers; as the word know not sometimes signifies, being as much as *not to regard*. Therefore now he bids Moses tell him, He would make him know that he was the omnipotent Lord of the world; by the change of the waters of the river (which Pharaoh perhaps adored) into blood.

Behold, I will smite with the rod] God and Moses are represented in this history as one person (according to what he had said ver. 1 of this chapter), and therefore it was the same thing to say, the Lord (whose words Moses had begun to recite) will smite; or, to say, I will smite (see ver. 16). It is to be observed, also, that Aaron smote the river (ver. 19), but it being by Moses's direction and order, it was counted his act: so that he might say, I will smite, &c.

The waters—shall be turned to blood.] This plague was the more remarkable, because, as Theodoret here observes, they having drowned the Hebrew children in this river, God now punishes them for it by giving them bloody water to drink (Wisd. xii. 7, 8). And if they had the same notions then, that the Egyptians had in future times, the plague was the more terrible, because it fell on that which they thought had some divinity in it, and (as the same Theodoret observes) was honoured as a god; because it made plenty when it overflowed its banks.

The Hebrew doctors add another reason for this punishment: because the Egyptians had hindered them from their wonted baptisms (as the author of the Life and Death of Moses speaks), that is, saith Gaulmy, from purifying themselves in the river by bathing, after they had lain in of their children: which,

19 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon their ponds, and upon all their pools of water, that they may become blood; and that there may be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood, and in vessels of stone.

20 And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD commanded; and he lifted up the rod and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood.

in the scarcity of water in that country, could nowhere be done but in the river.

Ver. 18. The fish that is in the river shall die,] Here are three grievous effects of this plague: it deprived them of their most delicious food, for so their fish were (Numb. xi. 5). And took away the pleasure they had of washing by the river's side, because it stank (both by the death of the fish, and the corruption of the blood, through the heat of the sun), by which means the water was made unfit for their drink.

Ver. 19. The Lord spake unto Moses,] After he had been with Pharaoh, and delivered this message to him.

Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod,] This warning being despised by Pharaoh, who would not relent; God requires them actually to do as he had threatened. And now Moses had delivered his rod to Aaron, that he might by his authority execute this judgment.

Upon the waters of Egypt,] These are general words, comprehending all the particulars following.

Upon their streams,] There were seven branches into which the river Nile was divided before it fell into the sea; which seems to be here understood: being called (Isa. xi. 15) the seven streams, or rivers of Egypt.

Upon their rivers,] There were several cuts made by art, out of every stream, to draw the water into their grounds: which seem to be here meant by rivers.

Upon their ponds,] These were dug to hold rain-water when it fell; as it did sometimes: and near the river also they digged wells, it is likely, which may be here intended.

Upon all their pools of water,] There were, here and there, other collections of water: particularly in their gardens, derived by pipes from the river, into cisterns.

In vessels of wood,—of stone,] Wherein water was kept in private houses, for their present use.

Ver. 20. Moses and Aaron did so, as the Lord commanded, &c.] This first plague our primate Usher makes account was inflicted about the eighteenth day of the sixth month: which in the next year, and ever after, became the twelfth month. Artapanus tells this story otherwise; but it is evident he had heard of it among the gentiles: and Ezekiel the tragedian relates it all right; together with the following miracle (see Euseb. Prepar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. xxix. p. 442). Nor is there any thing more frequent in the Roman story (as Huetius observes, lib. ii. Alnet. Question. cap. xii. n. 12), than relations of rivers of blood flowing out of the earth; pits full of blood, showers of blood, and waters of rivers changed into blood, &c.

Smote the waters that were in the river, &c.] Here is mention only of smiting the water in the river. And it is likely, that only the waters of the river were turned into blood (as it here follows) at the first lift-

21 And the fish that *was* in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink of the water of the river; and there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt.

22 And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, neither did he hearken unto them; as the LORD had said.

ing up of his rod; and then all the rest of the waters mentioned in the precedent verse.

Ver. 21. *The fish—died,*] All the effects of this plague which were threatened ver. 18 (see there) immediately following. The first of which was the death of the fish; which perished in such great numbers that the river stank, &c.

There was blood] The waters were in all places turned into blood, except perhaps the land of Goshen: which is comprehended under the land of Egypt.

Ver. 22. *The magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments:*] See ver. 11. In some of the pools or lakes of water they made an appearance of the like change; which made Pharaoh think his God was as powerful as the God of the Hebrews. The land of Goshen, as I said, might possibly be free from this plague; as it was certainly from several of the rest (viii. 23, ix. 4, &c.); and some fancy the magicians had water from thence, to show their power upon it. But I cannot think it probable that they made Pharaoh stay so long; and one may as well say they had it out of the sea, or out of the pits that the people digged (ver. 24), as Aben Ezra conjectures, and Justin. Martyr, Quæst. et Resp. xxvi. ad Orthodox. But there is no need of any of these conjectures, if it be granted (as the history leads us to conclude) that Moses did not in a moment change all the waters of the country, but only those of the river (as I said on ver. 20), and afterwards, by degrees, all the rest; when the magicians had tried their art upon some of them. Which Moses also turned into real blood; so that neither they, nor anybody else, was able to drink of them.

Pharaoh's heart was hardened,] The very same words in the Hebrew, which we had before (ver. 13), where they should have been translated (I there observed) as they are here; and also in viii. 19.

Neither did he hearken unto them;] See iii. 19. This was more apt to move his heart than the former miracle, because it continued longer (ver. 25), and the magicians could not by all their spells, or skill in sorcery, remove this plague in all that time. See next verse.

Ver. 23. *Pharaoh turned, and went into his house,*] It seems that upon this refusal to hearken unto Moses's monition (ver. 15, 16, &c.) God sent this plague that very morning before he got home to dinner.

23 And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, neither did he set his heart to this also.

24 And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river.

25 And seven days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had smitten the river.

So that there was not time to fetch water from distant places: but the magicians exercised their enchantments upon some ponds, which were not as yet turned by Moses into blood.

Neither did he set his heart to this also] Here is the reason why his heart was not moved by this miracle. He did not seriously consider what Moses had done, and examine the difference between the effect of this power and that of the magicians. Which was the cause that *his heart was hardened* (as we read before) as all men's are, who will think of nothing, but only to have their own humour satisfied.

Ver. 24. *The Egyptians digged—for water*] The whole country was forced to try to get water to quench their thirst, by this great labour. How it succeeded we are not told; but it is likely they found clear water, by percolation through the earth. For Moses smote only the pits that were then in being, when Aaron stretched out his rod: which had no effect upon those which were digged afterwards. Why they did not fetch it from Goshen, if there was any clear water there (as we cannot but think there was, for the use of the Israelites), is not easy to determine. Their pride, perhaps, would not suffer them, till they had tried other ways to supply their wants.

Ver. 25.] The rod of Moses could effect nothing without the Lord: by whose power this change was made in the waters. Which lasted seven days before this plague was removed. By which means they were convinced that all the waters were really corrupted: and they felt the heavy effects of it in a grievous stench, and perpetual labour in digging pits all about the river. Whether Pharaoh at last begged to have this plague removed, or no, we are not told. It is likely he was so obstinate that he would not stoop to ask this favour of them: which might be the reason it lasted so long; to see whether he would be moved to humble himself so far. To which when he would not yield, God took it away to make room for another stroke; or, as some think, it continued together with the plague of frogs, and were both removed upon his petition.

It is a weak conjecture of the Hebrew doctors, from these words, that all the ten plagues lasted seven days apiece; which is plainly contrary to the story.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 Frogs are sent. 8 Pharaoh sueth to Moses, 12 and Moses by prayer removeth them away. 16 The dust is turned into lice, which the magicians could not do. 20 The swarms of flies. 25 Pharaoh inclineth to let the people go, 32 but yet is hardened.

I AND the LORD spake unto Moses, Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith

the LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses,*] Who attended upon the Divine Majesty, we may reasonably suppose, VOL. I.—29

every day to know his pleasure. And after the seven days (mentioned ver. 25, of the foregoing chapter) were fulfilled, the Lord commanded him to address himself again to Pharaoh: and to threaten him with

2 And if thou refuse to let *them* go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs:

3 And the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into thy kneadingtroughs:

4 And the frogs shall come up both on thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants.

5 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the streams, over the rivers, and over

the ponds, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt.

6 And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt.

7 And the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt.

8 ¶ Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Intreat the LORD, that he may take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may do sacrifice unto the LORD.

a new punishment; which was inflicted upon the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month; and taken away the day after (ver. 10).

Go unto Pharaoh, and say] The very same message in effect, which he had delivered to him before, v. 1, vii. 16, 17.

Ver. 2. If thou refuse to let them go,] He again threatens the plague before he inflicts it: both that Pharaoh might know it came not by chance, but by the determinate counsel of God; and that he might prevent it by repentance and submission to God's command.

I will smite] This word commonly signifies in the Scripture language to kill; but here only to afflict grievously. See Psalm lxxviii. 45, where to destroy them, signifies to annoy them.

Thy borders] Every part of his country, to the utmost extent of it; i. e. in all places where the Egyptians dwelt. For it is not likely the Israelites were infested with them (see ver. 4).

With frogs:] The Hebrew word *tsaphadea* signifies, as Aben Ezra thinks, an Egyptian fish; which some will have to be a *crocodile*: as Gaulmyn observes in his Annotations on the Life and Death of Moses, p. 256. But this is undoubtedly false; for they could not infest them in that manner, as is described in the next verse.

Ver. 3. The river shall bring forth] Under the name of the river are comprehended all the streams, ponds, lakes, and other waters in Egypt (as appears from ver. 5). For most of them came, one way or other, out of the river; they having little rain in Egypt.

Frogs abundantly,] The Nile naturally produced frogs, but such great abundance of them as filled the country, was miraculous; especially being produced on a sudden; and their going out of the river and fields into the cities and houses, &c. was still more miraculous.

Which shall go up] Out of the river, which lay lower than the land.

And come into thine house, &c.] This explains what he meant by *smiting* in the foregoing verse: viz. inflicting a sore plague, more grievous than the former. For that spoiled only their water, but not their other liquors: whereas this made them uneasy day and night, in every place, whether they sat, or walked, or lay down, or did eat and drink. For their very *dough* (as we translate the word of this verse in the margin) was infested with them, as soon as they had kneaded it; and so was their drink, in all likelihood, as soon as it was poured into their cups. Nay, they got into their ovens: so that for the present, I suppose, they could not bake their bread.

Ver. 4. The frogs shall come up] They came not merely into their houses, but crawled upon their persons. And here it is observable, that this plague is limited to the Egyptians (Pharaoh, his people, and servants), the Israelites, one would think by these words, being excepted from it.

Ver. 5.] No doubt, Moses delivered the foregoing message unto Pharaoh; but he, it seems, turned away, and would give no answer: for here immediately follows a new order (which God, perhaps, gave Moses upon the spot, as we speak, before he returned home), to inflict the plague he had bid him threaten.

Ver. 6. Aaron stretched out his hand] He, as the minister of Moses (who was to him as God, iv. 16). inflicted this plague upon Egypt.

Over the waters] He did not go to every place where there was water, but stood by the river, and stretched his rod over it, towards every part of the country (as Aben Ezra rightly explains it), and immediately God effected what Moses had denounced.

The frogs came up, and covered the land] That is, there were vast numbers of them came up; for they did not so cover the land, but there was room for more; which the magicians counterfeited. The Jews think here was mensura pro mensura, "like for like," as we speak. For they say it was a piece of their bondage, that the Egyptians, when they pleased, sent them a fishing: and now God made the river spawn nothing but frogs. Whose very croaking, others of them think, put the Egyptians in mind of the cries of the poor children whom they barbarously murdered.

Ver. 7. The magicians did so with their enchantments, &c.] They should rather have shown their skill in removing the frogs, or destroying those which Moses had brought. Which one would think Pharaoh expected from them; for they being unable to do this, he betook himself to Moses, whom he entreats to take them away; which he would never have done, if their power had not quite failed, and been unable to give him any relief. So Aben Ezra observes, he called for Moses, "because he saw the magicians had only added to the plague, but could not diminish it."

Ver. 8.] He that had proudly said not long ago, *who is the Lord?* &c. (v. 2), now says, *Intreat the Lord*, &c. This was an acknowledgment that the Lord sent them; and that he only had power to remove them. In the former plague, he did enough to make Pharaoh know he was the Lord (vii. 17), but this had that effect upon him for the present, which made him earnestly entreat those, whom he had scorned, to become intercessors to God for him and his people.

I will let the people go,] This was not his settled resolution, but the present danger made him consent to it: for if the frogs had continued long, there had been no living in the country. As appears from what we read in Athenæus, out of Heraclides Lembus (lib. viii. Deipnos. cap. 2), who says the whole country of Pæonia and Dardania were covered with frogs, which God rained down from heaven in such abundance, that the houses and highways were full of them. They spent some time in killing of them: and, by keeping their doors shut, they made a shift for a while to bear this calamity: but when it did no good, but τὰ τὰ

9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Glory over me : when shall I intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, to destroy the frogs from thee and thy houses, *that* they may remain in the river only ?

10 And he said, To morrow. And he said, *Be it according to thy word : that thou mayest know that there is none like unto the LORD our God.*

11 And the frogs shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people ; they shall remain in the river only.

12 And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh : and Moses cried unto the LORD because

σκῆν, &c. all their vessels were full of them, and they mingled themselves with their meat, whether boiled or roast, and they could tread nowhere but upon frogs, they left their country ; being forced to it, also, by the stench of the frogs when they died.

They that would see more of this out of several other authors, may consult Bonferius upon this very place : and Bochartus in his *Hierozioc.* (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 2, p. 661, &c.).

Ver. 9. *Moses said unto Pharaoh, Glory over me : when shall I intreat for thee.*] Do thou appoint the time when I shall pray for thee, as St. Jerome translates it ; and so doth the Syriac, and Onkelos, and the LXX. who differ from the Hebrew text in words only, not in sense. For by adding the word *saying* (as we do in Judg. vii. 2, where there is the same expression), this paraphrase of Bochart is very proper (*Hierozioc.* par. ii. lib. v. cap. 2), "though it belongs not to thee to determine the time of thy deliverance, which depends wholly upon the will and pleasure of God ; yet I, who am his minister, give thee leave to take so much upon thee, as to *prescribe what time thou pleasest for the removal of this plague.*" For thus he thinks Moses's words are to be translated, *Glory over me, by telling me when I shall intercede for thee, &c.* Moses saw, perhaps, that Pharaoh was much addicted to astrologers, who fancied all things here below to be governed by the motion and influence of the stars : and therefore would have him name the time : that he might be satisfied there was no day nor hour under such an ill aspect, but he could prevail with God, at any moment he thought good to pitch upon, to deliver him.

Bonferius, I think, hath expressed, in short, the literal sense of the Hebrew words, *Tibi hunc honorem defero ut eligas quando, &c.* "I will do thee the honour, that thou mayest assign the time." And our Dr. Jackson still shorter, "Glory over me;" that is, saith he, "you shall command me."

Ver. 10. *He said, To morrow.*] But why not on that very day ? all men naturally desiring to be instantly relieved from their sufferings. Perhaps he thought (as we said before) to try Moses's power ; believing the next day not to be so lucky as the present, on which Moses had condescended to his request. Or, it might now be towards night when he called for Moses : who, he thought, would expect some time to pray to God for what he desired.

Be it according to thy word :] Thou shalt have thy desire.

That thou mayest know that there is none like unto the LORD.] Mayest no longer depend upon thy magicians and their gods : being convinced that our God alone, whom we call Jehovah, can wound and heal.

Ver. 11. *The frogs shall depart.*] This demonstrated the power of Moses with God, that he could as certainly foretell the removal of the frogs, as he had done the bringing them upon the land.

of the frogs which he had brought against Pharaoh.

13 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses ; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields.

14 And they gathered them together upon heaps : and the land stank.

15 But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them ; as the LORD had said.

16 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

Ver. 12. *Moses and Aaron went out :*] To the place, it is likely, where Moses was wont to attend upon the Divine Majesty.

Moses cried unto the LORD because of the frogs.] In the Hebrew the words are, *Cried to him about the business* (or the matter) *of the frogs*, which God had sent upon Pharaoh. Or, as Aben Ezra understands it, *concerning the frogs*, which he had promised Pharaoh should be removed ; as if the words should be translated thus ; "He cried unto the LORD concerning what he said about the frogs, and appointed unto Pharaoh." For so the word *sham* in xv. 25, signifies to *appoint or propose*, and so the LXX. here translate the words (which we render *had brought against Pharaoh*), *ὡς ἐταξάρτο Φαραώ*, "as he had appointed to Pharaoh."

Ver. 13. *The LORD did according to the word of Moses.*] So powerful was he with God in prayer, as the heathens themselves observed from this story. See what I observed out of Numenius, vii. 12.

The frogs died, &c.] The Egyptians could not kill them ; but God took away their breath : yet not removing them from the places where they were, but leaving them dead there. As appears by what follows :

Ver. 14. *They gathered them together upon heaps.*] That they might carry them, it is likely, into the river : and so they might go down into the sea. God could have dissolved them into dust (if he had pleased) or swept them into the river from whence they came ; or made them quite vanish in an instant. But he would have them lie dead before their eyes : as a token they were real frogs, and no illusion of their sight.

The land stank.] This was a farther sensible evidence that they were real frogs.

Ver. 15. *But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite,*] That he was freed from the great strait in which he was. For the Hebrew word for *respite*, signifies *breathing or enlargement* ; and makes the sense to be this : that when the burden that pressed him was taken off, so that he could take his breath, he was of another mind, &c.

He hardened his heart, &c.] Was not so good as his word (ver. 8), but returned to his former resolution, not to let Israel go. Which resolution grew so much more stubborn and obstinate, than it had been before ; by how much the plague of the frogs had softened his heart, and inclined it to yield to God, more than the two former miracles had done.

Ver. 16. *The LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron,*] The LORD seems to have given Pharaoh no warning of this plague ; but to have inflicted it immediately upon the removal of the frogs, viz. on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month. For his breach of faith was such a high provocation, that he deserved no other treatment, but a more notable judgment.

Smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice.]

17 And they did so ; for Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast ; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

18 And the magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not : so there were lice upon man, and upon beast.

Some would have the Hebrew word *cinnim* to signify *gnats*, or some such kind of creature. Thus many of the ancients understand it; and Artapanus calls it *ζών τι πτηνόν*, "a flying sort of living creature:" which made such ulcers by its biting, as no medicine could cure (see Eusebius, lib. ix. *Prepar. Evang.* p. 425). But Bochartus hath sufficiently proved that our translation is right; and that out of the very text. For gnats, and such-like insects, are bred in fenny places, but these were brought out of the dust of the earth.

Ver. 17. Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod.] He still is the instrument to execute all the judgments which Moses denounced: as he was his mouth to deliver all the messages he carried to Pharaoh.

Smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice.] This showed the lice were not a natural production; for they come out of the sweat and filth of men's bodies, and of other living creatures.

In man, and in beast.] This proves they were lice; which stick fast both to men and beasts. Whereas gnats, though they sting sorely, cannot be said to be *in man and beast*: for they are a most restless creature, continually buzzing about, and never settling constantly in one place. And there were various sorts of these lice; for beasts do not breed the same that men do: nor have all beasts alike; but some are peculiar to horses, others to oxen, others to sheep, and others to swine and dogs.

The dust of the land became lice.] That is, nothing could be seen but lice, where dust was before. Or, lice were mingled everywhere with the dust.

Throughout all the land.] Not of Goshen (it is very probable), which was inhabited mostly by Israelites.

Ver. 18. The magicians did so, &c.] Attempted and endeavoured to do so: by using their wonted invocations and rites of incantation. For the common saying among the Jews is very frivolous, that "demons have no power over creatures so small as lice." The meaning of which, Gaulmyn thinks, they themselves did not understand; which, according to the principles of the ancient magic, was this; that all animals had a particular genius presiding over them, by whose assistance their worshippers could do any thing among that sort of creatures. But this is meant only of perfect animals, not of insects (among whom they reckoned lice), which had no such heavenly power waiting on them. But if there had been any such notions then, these magicians sure would have understood it; and not fruitlessly have attempted that which they had no hope to produce.

But they could not.] Though they had counterfeited the former wonders; yet here a stop is put to their power, so that they themselves confess their weakness.

So there were lice upon man, and upon beast.] This seems to suggest, that since they could not produce any new lice, they attempted to remove those which Moses had brought upon the country. But they failed in that also: for, notwithstanding all that they could do, both men and beasts were pestered with lice. The Hebrews say (in the *Life and Death of Moses*), that this plague was inflicted upon the Egyptians for

19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, *This is the finger of God*: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had said.

20 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

another piece of oppression which they exercised on the Israelites: to whom they said, "Go, sweep our houses, and sweep our streets, &c." therefore God made lice to cover the earth a cubit deep. But this savours too much of their fabulous invention. It is more pertinent to observe, that though we read of particular persons, who, for great crimes, were punished with the plague of lice (see Huetius, lib. ii. *Quæst. Alnetane*, cap. xii. n. 12), yet we do not find in any story a whole nation infested with them; and that both men and beasts, without exception: the magicians themselves, in all likelihood, being sorely afflicted with them: which made them cry out as here follows.

Ver. 19. This is the finger of God.] The same with what is called, in other places of Scripture, *the hand of God* (Psal. cix. 27), that is, his power. There are those (particularly Bochartus) who think these magicians did not, by these words, give glory to God: but thought to save their own credit with Pharaoh, by telling him that it was not Moses or Aaron who were too hard for them, but a Divine power superior to them all. To this purpose Jonathan. But they ought then to have been sensible that the power which they dealt withal was far from being supreme: being unable to assist them upon all occasions. And, no doubt, God intended to confound them, by taking that time to disable them when they least expected it. For why should not their power have extended to such a small thing as this, when they had done greater? But God would not let them always abuse Pharaoh with their illusions; and gave them a check, when they thought themselves most sure of success.

Pharaoh's heart was hardened.] One would have rather expected to have heard, that his heart began to relent, when he saw his magicians not only puzzled, but quite baffled: so that they owned Moses acted by a power above theirs. But this it was, not to stick to the good resolutions which had lately been wrought in him (ver. 8), from which he not only revolted, but grew more resolute not to yield to God. The effect of which was this further induration: it being natural for evil men, who resist the means of their cure, to grow worse and worse affected.

This miracle also of the lice, being more loathsome to Pharaoh than terrible, might haply be the reason (as Dr. Jackson conjectures) that he did not entreat Moses and Aaron to pray for him: as he had done upon the sight of the frogs; and as he straightway did after he felt the next plague of the flies.

I cannot but add also this further reflection of his (book x. on the Creed, ch. xl.), that though *the finger of God* was very remarkable in producing the lice, which the magicians could not, yet it was no way remarkable in hardening Pharaoh's heart. For it is neither said, nor intimated, that *the finger of God hardened it*: but *Pharaoh's heart was hardened*, that is, remained obstinate. The cause of which was his not hearkening to them, as it had been before (ver. 15).

Ver. 20. Stand before Pharaoh.] As he had ordered him to do, before he sent the second plague (ver. 15). *Lo, he cometh forth to the water.*] This confirms what was said there, that in the morning it was usual

21 Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of *flies* upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of *flies*, and also the ground whereon they are.

22 And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of *flies* shall be there; to the end thou mayest know that I am the LORD in the midst of the earth.

with him to walk out by the river; either for his refreshment, or for his devotion. Perhaps that, after washing, he might worship the rising sun. For Moses is commanded to rise up *early* in the morning, and present himself before him.

Let my people go, &c.] The same message he had often sent him (vii. 16, 17, viii. 1), together with an admonition and warning of his danger: which God had not given him before the last plague (ver. 16).

Ver. 21. Behold, I will send swarms of *flies* upon thee, &c.] The Hebrew word *arob* being generally thought to come from a word which signifies to *mingle*, interpreters commonly think it denotes a *mixture* of several sorts of creatures. And some take it, as we seem here to do, for all manner of flies; which Aquila calls γὰρμαρα, *all sorts of insects*. Others take it, as it is in our margin, for a *mixture of noisome beasts*: and so the author of the Life and Death of Moses; God sent *lions, wolves, bears, and leopards*, and such like wild beasts, which killed not only their cattle in the field, but their children in their houses. And so Josephus expounds it, Σφία παντοία καὶ πόλι-προα. But Bochartus hath confuted this notion by very good arguments, in his Hierozoicon (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 15), where he shows no words have more significations than the Hebrew word *arob*: which signifies not only to *mingle*, but among many other things, to *obscure* and *darken*. From whence the even-time is called *ereb*. And therefore, with great reason, he approves of the LXX. version, who translate it κυνόμια, “a flesh fly,” very bold and troublesome; being not easily driven away: which infests dogs very much, especially about the flaps of their ears. Some take it for that large black fly which fastens upon beasts, and sucks their blood, called *arob*, from its black colour: as *oreb* from thence signifies a *crow*. And so Philo describes this fly, called *cynomyia*, that it is as impudent as a dog; and makes its assaults with great violence, like a dart; fastening its teeth so deep in the flesh, and sticking so close that it makes cattle run mad.

This plague the Jews say (in the forenamed book of the Life of Moses) was sent upon the Egyptians, because of the hard service they made the Israelites undergo, in feeding their cattle.

Ver. 22. I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, &c.] Here now the distinguishing mercy of God to the Israelites is plainly expressed: which is to be understood in the foregoing plagues. And the Hebrew word, as well as the Chaldee, signifies, *I will make a wondrous difference*. So Jonathan, in that day, *I will work a miracle in the land of Goshen*: for, indeed, it was a marvellous thing, that countries so near one another should be in such a different condition at the same time. And it was the more wonderful, because there was such store of cattle in Goshen, whose dung is apt to breed flies.

To the end thou mayest know that I am the Lord in the midst of the earth.] Who governs all things here below: or, that have a special care of my people.

23 And I will put a division between my people and thy people: to morrow shall this sign be.

24 And the LORD did so; and there came a grievous swarm of *flies* into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses, and into all the land of Egypt: the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm of *flies*.

25 ¶ And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land.

For so Bochart understood by *earth*, the land of Goshen. In the *midst* of which God is said to be, because he defended and delivered them from this sore calamity which their neighbours suffered. For thus this phrase is used in many places (Deut. vii. 22, xxiii. 14; Psal. xvi. 6, &c.). And thus Conr. Pellicanus seems to have understood this passage, which he interprets, you shall know that I am the Lord, and Prince of this country.

Ver. 23. I will put a division between my people and thy people, &c.] It is repeated again, because it was a remarkable thing, and denoted the Israelites to be God's peculiar people; for whom he had a singular favour. Which is the reason that this mercy is called here a *redemption* (as the word in the Hebrew signifies, which we translate *division*), because God exempted and delivered the Israelites from those flies, which sorely infested all the rest of Pharaoh's dominions.

To morrow shall this sign be.] The finger of God was so remarkable in the last plague (ver. 19), that his contemptuous disregard of it was very provoking: so that God would forbear no longer than till the next morning, before he scourged him with his new judgment. Which was very grievous and noisome, as appears by the following words; especially by his willingness to grant more than he had done before, that he might be rid of it.

Ver. 24. The LORD did so;] Here is no mention of Aaron's stretching out his rod (as at other times), but this was done immediately by God himself: that the Egyptians might not imagine there was any secret virtue in the rod: but ascribe all to the Divine power.

This plague was threatened about the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month: and inflicted on the twenty-ninth: and removed on the thirtieth.

There came a grievous swarm of flies.] Or, a vast number of flies: for so the word *caved* (which we here translate *grievous* or *heavy*) is used in Gen. i. 9. See there.

The land was corrupted by reason of the swarm of flies.] We are to understand here, by the *land*, the inhabitants of the land: whose blood these flies sucked, and left such a poison in it, that their bodies swelled, and many of them died. So the Psalmist understood it (lxxviii. 45). There is something like this recorded in heathen stories; particularly, they say, that when Trajan made war upon the Agarans, he was so assaulted with flies, when he sat down to eat, that he looked upon them as sent by God, and desisted from his enterprise. And that whole countries have been infested with them, appears from a number of gods that were worshipped, because they were supposed to have driven them away, at Acaron, and several other places mentioned by the learned Huetius (in the place above quoted), from whence came the names of Jupiter, Ἀκαρόνιος and Μυῖαδης, and of Hercules, Μυῖαγρος, &c.

Ver. 25. Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, &c.] Sent a messenger to call them to him.

26 And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the LORD our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?

27 We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, as he shall command us.

Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land.] He had consented to let them sacrifice, when he last sent for them (ver. 8). But he named no place: and also quickly repented of the concession. But now he determines it in the land of Goshen; where he grants them license to offer public sacrifice. But this Moses tells him (in the next verse) was not fit for them to accept; nor was it what God demanded.

Ver. 26. *Moses said, It is not meet so to do.*] Besides that this is not the thing that God requires, it is not prudent, because it is not safe for us to do it.

For we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord] There is no indication, that I can find, of any such sottish idolatry now among the Egyptians, as was, it is certain, in after ages, but what seems to be suggested in this place; which learned men have generally interpreted, as if the sense was this: "We must sacrifice to our God oxen, sheep, and goats, which the Egyptians worship and adore: and that would be such an abominable thing in their account (to kill their gods) that it would give them the highest provocation." Thus both the Chaldee interpreters, the Syriac, St. Jerome, and others: which Bochartus himself approves of in his *Hierozytic*. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34, and 53, and more largely, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 17. But there is an objection lies against this interpretation, that long after Moses's time the Egyptians themselves did offer all the forementioned creatures to their gods: for Herodotus relates (in his *Euterpe*, cap. xli.) after what manner they sacrificed an ox in his time: and though some parts of the country abstained from sheep, yet they sacrificed goats; as, on the contrary, others abstained from goats and sacrificed sheep (see upon Gen. xliii. 12). Therefore it may be a question, whether these words do not refer only to the rites and ceremonies of sacrificing; and to the qualities and condition of the beasts which are offered: about which, the Egyptians in after ages were very curious. For the same Herodotus tells us (in the same book, cap. xxxviii.) how the sacrifices were examined by the priest, and none allowed to be offered but those which had his mark upon them. And so Plutarch (in his book de Isid. et Osir.), that the Egyptians, thinking Typho to have been red, sacrificed only such oxen as were of a red colour: making such an accurate scrutiny, *ὥστε πᾶν μίαν ἐχῆν τρίχα μέλαιναν ἢ λευκὴν, αὐτὸν ἡγοῦντο*, "that if a beast were found to have one hair black or white, it was judged unfit for sacrifice." The forenamed Herodotus, indeed, saith, they would not sacrifice cows, because they were sacred to Isis: which shows that in his time there was great superstition about such creatures; so that none durst offer the least violence to them. But as we have no evidence, that in the days of Moses they were infested with such opinions, so their sacrificing such creatures, as the Jews did long after his days, and all mankind had done from the beginning, seems to be a prejudice against that sense of the words which is generally put upon them. But there were so many various ways of sacrificing in the world, that it is very probable the Egyptians differed very much from the Israelites: who might offer also (it is likely) such creatures as

28 And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to the LORD your God in the wilderness; only ye shall not go very far away: intreat for me.

29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will intreat the LORD that the swarms of flies may depart from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, to morrow: but let

the Egyptians thought unclean; whereby they might be enraged at their profaneness.

Maimonides fancies the Egyptians worshipped the sign or constellation called Aries; and that this was the occasion of this speech: for which I can see no reason (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. xlvii.).

Will they not stone us?] We cannot gather from hence, that there was such a punishment among the Egyptians as stoning men to death. For he doth not speak here of punishment by their laws; but of what might happen from a popular fury.

Ver. 27. *We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, &c.*] So God had directed them; and it was not lawful for them to sacrifice in any place but where he appointed. Philo gives this reason why they were to go into a solitary place, there to receive commands from God about sacrifice, and all other parts of his worship: because God intended to give them a law different from those of other nations, or rather quite opposite unto them. In which there were so many singular rites, that they would have offended other people, and seemed to them profane, if they had exercised them among them (de Vita Mosis, p. 615). And thus Corn. Tacitus understood the design of Moses, not to bring the Israelites to as near a conformity as he could with the gentiles (which some now in these days fancy), but to keep them at the greatest distance from other nations, by opposite rites of worship. His words are remarkable (lib. v. Histor. cap. iv.). "Moses, quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus, contrariosque cæteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illis omnia, quæ apud nos sacra: rursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta."

Ver. 28. *Pharaoh said, I will let you go,*] He doth not say expressly they should go *three days' journey*, as was demanded: which hath made some think this was but a niggardly concession of Pharaoh's, who intended to deceive them with general words. But Moses understood it otherwise, as appears by his acceptance of the grant.

Only ye shall not go very far away.] No further than three days' journey.

Intreat for me.] This indeed is added so quickly, and, as it were, with the same breath that he granted their three days' journey; that it may make one think it was the least part of his intention to permit that, but only to get rid of this plague. Which if it had continued long, the Egyptians must have left their country to preserve themselves. Several people having been forced by flies to quit their habitations, as many ancient authors inform us, mentioned by Boniferrius and Bochartus.

Ver. 29.] He was not more ready to desire, than the Lord and his servant Moses were to grant, the total removal of this plague: which was sent for his reformation, not his destruction; if he would have duly considered it.

To morrow.] Yet he would not pray that he might be released from it presently; but let him lie a while under the smart of his rod: that he might be truly humbled, and deal no more deceitfully with him, as he feared he would.

not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more in not letting the people go to sacrifice to the LORD.

30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD.

31 And the LORD did according to the word

But let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more, &c.] He had promised fair before (ver. 8), but broken his word: which made this solemn caution the more necessary, lest he should be guilty of such false dealings again.

Ver. 30.] He gave Pharaoh a good example of steadfastness, by making good his promise immediately, which he gave him in the beginning of the foregoing verse.

Ver. 31. *The Lord did according to the word of Moses;]* Here was punctual performance on God's part, of what was agreed between him and Pharaoh, in the foregoing treaty.

There remained not one.] This was a greater miracle than that of removing the frogs: for they remained

of Moses; and he removed the swarms of flies from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people; there remained not one.

32 And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the people go.

in heaps and stank (ver. 14). But these were all swept away (by a mighty wind, perhaps), either into the sea, or into the deserts of Libya.

Ver. 32. *Pharaoh hardened his heart]* This is here made an act of his own; as it was no doubt in all the former refusals to let him go (ver. 15, 19). And he hardened his heart, by not *hearkening*, or not regarding what they had done, as the word is used and translated (ix. 21). That which made him not to hearken or regard, was his excessive pride and covetousness: for he thought it a dishonour to submit to Moses: and he was very loth to lose the service of so many slaves, which was really more worth to him, than all the land they possessed in Egypt.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The murrain of beasts.* 8 *The plague of boils and blains.* 13 *His message about the hail.* 22 *The plague of hail.* 27 *Pharaoh sueth to Moses,* 35 *but yet is hardened.*

1 THEN the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

2 For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still,

3 Behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: *there shall be a very grievous murrain.*

CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Moses,]* See vii. 1. *Go in unto Pharaoh,]* It seems now he went to the palace.

And tell him, &c.] He sends the same message to him he ordered at the first (v. 3), and had continued ever since (vii. 16, &c.).

Ver. 2. *If thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still,]* If thy covetous griping humour make thee still resolve to detain them in their slavery.

Ver. 3. *Behold,]* This word, as in most other places (as Dr. Jackson notes) is here a special character of the speedy execution of the plague threatened, and of the remarkable manner of its execution.

The hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle, &c.] That is, he will smite them (which is done by the hand), and is just ready to do the execution. Here is no mention of Aaron's rod, no more than in the foregoing plague, and for the same reason (see viii. 21).

A very grievous murrain.] That is, a great plague or pestilence (as we call it, in mankind), of which abundance of cattle shall die. For so the word *caved* (which we translate *grievous*) is used for *numerous* (see viii. 24). But the greater the number was that died, the more *grievous*, no doubt, was the calamity: God intended to deal more severely than formerly with him, because he had been guilty of a fraudulent contempt of his former solemn monition (viii. 29).

Ver. 4. *The Lord shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt:]* See viii. 22. This

4 And the LORD shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that is the children's of Israel.

5 And the LORD appointed a set time, saying, To morrow the LORD shall do this thing in the land.

6 And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.

7 And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was

was the greater wonder (as the word imports), because the Israelites and Egyptians were mingled together in the land of Goshen: and their cattle breathed in the same air, and drank of the same water, &c. By which it appeared this pestilence was not natural; but proceeded, as was said before, from the hand of God.

Ver. 5. *The Lord appointed a set time,]* That they might know this stroke came from him.

To-morrow the Lord shall do this thing] This plague was threatened upon the first day of the seventh month (which afterwards was changed into the first month of the year), and inflicted on the second day.

Ver. 6. *All the cattle of Egypt died:]* Some survived, it is plain, from ver. 19. Therefore the meaning is, either all that were in the field (ver. 3), not those in the cities or houses: or rather a great many of all sorts of cattle, as Drusius expounds it, "*omne genus,*" all kinds: as the word *all* must be expounded (ver. 26, vide lib. ii. Animadvers. cap. xviii.).

But of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.] Of any sort whatsoever.

Ver. 7. *And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead.]* We do not find that he sent to make any such inquiry in the former plagues. It is likely he slighted what they said, and would not do them the honour to seem to believe them. Moses also had said nothing of this difference God would make between the Israelites and them, till the last plague; when the flies were so busy and vexatious, that it made travel uneasy: as it was like-

not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead. And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not let the people go.

8 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh.

9 And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth *with* blains upon man, and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt.

wise in the two other before that, when they could tread upon nothing but frogs, or lice.

The heart of Pharaoh was hardened,] One would rather have expected to hear that it relented; because he took the pains to satisfy himself that every thing foretold by Moses was come to pass; which looks as if he meant, upon the truth of that information, to alter this course. This plague likewise was much heavier than all, or most, of the preceding; which were rather more noisome and terrible (as Dr. Jackson speaks) than detrimental to Pharaoh and his people. For we do not read before this time of the death of any useful creatures, except fishes, when the waters were turned into blood: and that calamity was not so universal neither, being only in the river (and some think only near the court), as this murrain, which was all over the country; and did them a far greater mischief. But having accustomed himself to do evil, he grew still more obstinate and hardened in pride and covetousness. For he doth not so much as pray to be delivered from this plague; which had done all the execution, he thought, that was designed; and he intended, perhaps, to repair his loss, out of the flocks and herds of the Israelites, which haply might make him less affected with this wonder than he had been with some of the former.

Ver. 8. *The Lord said unto Moses and unto Aaron,]* The former plague having so little moved his proud and stubborn heart, the Lord instantly, without any further message to him (as being now in process of sentence, says Dr. Jackson), commands them to bring another judgment upon the Egyptians, more dreadful and noisome than any of the rest had been.

Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace,] In which Pharaoh had made them labour (Deut. iv. 20), which moved God to punish him and his people with this plague, for their cruel usage of his people there.

Let Moses sprinkle it] The Jews think God employed him only in executing this judgment, being much heavier than all the foregoing. But both he and Aaron being commanded to take ashes (in the words foregoing), as we read they did (ver. 10), it is more probable they both sprinkled, and so the meaning is, let Moses (as well as Aaron) sprinkle it.

Toward the heaven] To show that the plague came from thence.

In the sight of Pharaoh,] That he might be convinced of it.

Ver. 9. *It shall become small dust, &c,]* Instead of these ashes, which they threw up into the air, there came down a small sleet (as we call it) like that of snow, or the hoar frost, which scalded the flesh of man and beast; and raised a blister in every part upon which it fell. The poison of which penetrating into the flesh, made sore swellings, like those we now call buboes. Inasmuch that, as Philo understood it (lib. i. de Vita Mosis), they were full of blotches from head to foot. Certain it is, that the Hebrew word *shechin* signifies an "inflammation," that made a tumour or boil (as we translate the word, Lev. xiii.

10 And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth *with* blains upon man, and upon beast.

11 And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boil was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians.

12 And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had spoken unto Moses.

13 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up

18, 19), which turned into such a grievous ulcer, that Moses speaks of it afterwards as an unusual plague, which he calls the "booth of Egypt" (Dent. xxviii. 27). Dr. Lightfoot, indeed, observes, that in the book of Job (ii. 7, 8) it signifies only a burning itch, or an inflamed scab; an intolerable dry itch, which his nails could not scratch off, but he was glad to make use of a potsherd to scrub himself. But then he confesses, that this *shechin*, here spoken of, was higher than that having blains and boils that broke out with it; which Job's had not. So that the Egyptians, he thinks, were vexed with a double punishment at once; aching boils and a fiery itch. But our interpreters take it otherwise, and say that Job also was smote with *boils*, which, in conclusion, perhaps, had a scab that itched very much.

Ver. 10. *They took ashes of the furnace, &c,]* This plague was inflicted about the third day of the seventh month, according to archbishop Usher's computation: who thinks it probable (as many others do), that from hence the tale was spread among the heathens, that the Egyptians drove the Israelites out of Egypt because they were scabby; lest the infection should spread all over the country. For they endeavoured in future ages, to make it be believed, that what befell themselves was a plague upon the Israelites.

Ver. 11.] This plague seized on them, as well as the rest of the Egyptians, and that in the presence of Pharaoh (as these words seem to import), which perfectly confounded them. For though, since the plague of lice, which they could not counterfeit, we read of no attempt they ventured to make to vie miracles with Moses and Aaron, yet they still continued about Pharaoh (it appears from this place), and endeavoured to settle him in his resolution not to let Israel go; persuading him, perhaps, that though Moses for the present had found out some secret beyond their skill, they should at last be too hard for him. But now, being on a sudden smote with these ulcers, they were so amazed, that we do not find they appeared again to look Moses in the face. For now, as the apostle speaks, "their folly was manifested to all men" (1 Tim. iii. 8, 9); in that they could not defend themselves from this terrible stroke; which publicly seizing on them before Moses, in the sight of Pharaoh and all his servants, rendered them so contemptible, that we never hear more of them.

Ver. 12. *The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, &c,]* If we suppose that the magicians, who had hitherto confirmed Pharaoh in his obstinacy, were forced to withdraw in great confusion, when they were smitten with the boils; one would have thought the next thing we should have heard would have been that Pharaoh relented. But here is not the least token of that mentioned in this history, but rather the express contrary; that God was so angry with him, that he himself hardened his heart, which he had never done before. This hardening, therefore, which is said to be God's doing, was something sure very extraordinary. Yet it was not an infusion of any bad quali-

early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

14 For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and

ties or ungodly resolutions into Pharaoh's heart, but only that God did not vouchsafe him those convictions that might have softened him, and gave him up to his own heart's lusts; and likewise ordered things so to fall out, that he should hereafter be made by them more and more obdurate. For he had hardened himself against five plagues; therefore God leaves him to himself, and resolves he shall continue in his hardness. Accordingly he doth not so much as desire to be freed from this plague, no more than he had done in the former, which was nothing so grievous. The effect of such induration is well expressed by Dav. Chytraeus in these words, "Cor induratum est, quod nec compunctio scinditur," &c. "A hardened heart is neither cut by compunction, nor softened by any sense of piety. It is neither moved by prayers and entreaties, nor yields to threatenings, nor feels the smart of scourges. It is ungrateful for benefits; treacherous to counsels; sullen to judgments; shameless to things most base; fearless of dangers; forgetful of things past; negligent of things present; improvident for the future. In short, it neither fears God, nor reverences man."

As the Lord had spoken unto Moses.] The margin of our Bible directs the reader to iv. 21, where God saith *I will harden*, &c. See there, and iii. 19. And observe that all along from thence to this place, it is very often said, in the close of the former plagues, that "Pharaoh's heart was hardened as the Lord had said" (vii. 13, 22, viii. 15, 19, 32). But this is the first time that it is said, *the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh as he had spoken unto Moses*. Which different close gives us to understand, that now, after the plague of blains, the sentence of destruction was irreversibly denounced against him; and God resolved to dispose things so, that he should not repent, but run headlong to his ruin.

Ver. 13. *The Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning,*] That he might speak with Pharaoh before he went abroad; or at his going out of his palace.

Stand before Pharaoh, &c.] Present thyself unto him, with the same message that I have often sent to him (see v. 3, vii. 16, &c.).

Let my people go,] But why doth he send any more messages to him, may some say, after he had hardened him, and knew he would not submit? To which Dr. Jackson's answer is very apposite; that God dealt with Pharaoh just as he had done with the poor oppressed Israelites, after Moses had delivered his first message to him. Pharaoh immediately forbids his taskmasters to give them any straw, and yet required the same tale of bricks which they made when they had straw enough. The Lord in like manner demands the same obedience of Pharaoh, after he had deprived him of understanding, and of all good motions, which he had demanded of him before, or at the first exhibition of his signs and wonders. And this is that which gave occasion to the question we find, Rom. ix. 19. *Why doth he yet find fault?* To which there needs no further satisfaction in this place.

Ver. 14. *For I will at this time*] For now I will begin to send more terrible plagues upon thee, one after another, till I have destroyed thee.

Send all my plagues] All that I have resolved to inflict, as Menochius truly expounds it: "Not all that Vol. I.—30

upon thy people; that thou mayest know that *there is none like me in all the earth*."

15 For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.

16 And in very deed for this cause have I

I am able, but all that I design to send for thy destruction."

Upon thine heart,] Such as shall make thy heart ache (as we now speak); not only afflict thy body and goods, but fill thy soul with terror, or grief, or rage.

That thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth.] To teach thee, by sad experience, that my power is superior to all other. To which another reason is added in the next verse; that all the world might see the same. And a third (x. 2), that Israel might learn to worship him alone, and teach their children to do so likewise.

Ver. 15. *For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence,* &c.] I do not see how this translation can be maintained; for we do not read that God after this sent a new pestilence upon Pharaoh, and the Hebrew word *deber* signifies nothing else. This, therefore, must needs refer to the time past: and the sense of these three verses (14—16), must be this; "I will send more plagues on thee, and on thy servants (as was threatened ver. 14), for the truth is, I had now stretched out my hand to destroy both thee and thy people by my late pestilence, wherewith you had all been cut off, had it not been that I reserve you for further punishments: for which very cause I made thee to stand, when thou wast falling (i. e. kept thee from dying), that I might send more plagues upon thee, and make thy destruction more notorious to all the world." See Paulus Fagius, and Theod. Hacksplan, and Fr. Junius also, who translate these words, "I had smitten thee and thy people with pestilence" (i. e. when he destroyed their cattle with a murrain), and then "hadst thou been cut off from the earth," as it follows in the end of this verse; that is, when the boils broke out upon the magicians.

Ver. 16. *For this cause have I raised thee up,*] In the Hebrew the words are, *I have made thee stand*; that is, preserved thee alive, when the pestilence would have cut thee off, as the murrain did thy cattle, if I had not kept thee from perishing then, that I might destroy thee in a more remarkable manner. And thus the LXX. understood it, when they translated it *διετηρέσθης*, "thou hast been preserved," that is, from destruction. With which the apostle agrees, though he doth not here follow their translation, *ἐξήγεμα*, "I have raised thee," i. e. from the foregoing sickness (Rom. ix. 17), spared thee in the midst of malignant ulcers.

For to shew in thee my power;] By sending more dreadful plagues upon him: and at last overwhelming him in the sea.

That my name may be declared throughout all the earth.] If Pharaoh and his people had all perished by the pestilence, when the cattle did, or died when smitten with blains; the terror of God's powerful displeasure had not been so visible to all the world as it was in overthrowing the whole strength of Egypt in the Red Sea.

Ver. 17. *As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people,* &c.] In these words he returns to finish his message begun ver. 13, which he concludes with this expostulation, which upbraids him with his senseless obstinacy. Which, in other words, may be thus paraphrased; "Dost thou still (notwithstanding all

raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.

17 As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go?

18 Behold, to-morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now.

19 Send therefore now, and gather thy cattle, and all that thou hast in the field: for upon every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.

20 He that feared the word of the Lord among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses:

21 And he that regarded not the word of the

LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.

22 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch forth thine hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt.

23 And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the Lord sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground; and the Lord rained hail upon the land of Egypt.

24 So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.

25 And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field.

that I have done to humble thee) proudly insult over my people, and resolve to keep them in bondage!"

This expostulation, which is very sharp and cutting, may seem to some unreasonable, now that God himself had hardened him, and taken his understanding from him; though before nothing could have been more proper, while there was a possibility of penetrating his heart. But God cannot lose his right to demand that obedience, which men have made themselves unable to pay: and it was but just he should be upbraided with his obstinacy, even when he could not comply, because he had brought upon himself this punishment of stupid insensibility (see ver. 13).

Ver. 18. *Behold, to-morrow about this time*] As his destruction was determined, so it was to come speedily upon him; and therefore there was but one day between this plague and the former.

Very grievous hail,] Great hailstones, falling very thick, as we speak.

Such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof] Since it hath been inhabited. This shows that though rain was not frequent in Egypt, yet sometimes they had both rain and hail also. Otherwise, there could not have been a comparison made between this and former hail, if there never had been any at all.

Ver. 19. *Send therefore now, and gather thy cattle, &c.*] It appears by the next verse, that though Pharaoh and his grandees could not be moved by all these judgments, yet there were some persons in the court who were better disposed, for whose sake God gives this warning of the danger that they might avoid it.

Ver. 20. *He that feared the word of the Lord*] That which is opposed to this in the next verse is, "he that set not his heart unto the word of the Lord;" or, as we translate it, *regarded it not*, i. e. did not attend to what was said and done by Moses, and seriously consider it. Unto which the fear of God moves all those who are possessed with it; and serious consideration will not fail to work in men the fear of God and of his judgments.

Ver. 21. *He that regarded not the word of the Lord, &c.*] This was the cause of the ruin of all that perished; they did not set themselves to consider the irresistible power of him who inflicted such terrible judgments upon them, as Moses threatened. For at last they grew so stupid that they could not consider; but were perfectly infatuated.

Ver. 22. *Stretch forth thine hand*] With his rod in it, as it is explained in the next verse; and as he had directed on other occasions (viii. 16, 17), where it is said, "Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod."

Toward heaven,] To show the plague was sent from God.

That there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, &c.] Here he more fully expresses the damage it would do both to men and beasts, and to the herb of the field, which comprehends all the trees (ver. 25).

Ver. 23. *Moses stretched forth his rod*] Sometimes Aaron did it; but it was at the command of Moses, and as his minister; who sometimes did it himself, and was commanded by God so to do (ver. 22). He gave warning of this plague about the fourth day of the seventh month, and inflicted it upon the fifth, and removed it the sixth. The author of the Life and Death of Moses fancies that God sent this plague to punish the Egyptians for the drudgery they imposed upon the Israelites, in making them till their fields for them.

The Lord sent thunder and hail, &c.] It was no wonder there should be thunder; but the claps of this were far more terrible than any that had been heard before in that country. As the hail also was more ponderous, and came down with a greater force, and was mixed with fire. Which the author of the Book of Wisdom observes (chap. xvi.), as a thing unusual. And herein consisted the miraculousness of this plague; that whereas other storms of hail generally reach but a little way (sometimes not a mile), this spread itself over the whole country (ver. 25). And flashes of lightning were not only mingled with it, but fire ran upon the ground, and killed their cattle (Ps. lxxviii. 48), when, at the same time, all the land of Goshen, though a part of that country, felt nothing of this storm (ver. 26).

The Lord rained hail] This is repeated to show that it fell as thick as rain, and was not a mere shower, but a continual hail: and that this was the principal part of this plague, being alone mentioned ver. 22 and 26 (whereas nothing is said of thunder or fire), and put, in the first place, by the Psalmist, both in lxxviii. 48, and cv. 32.

Ver. 25. *The hail smote*] That is, killed every man and beast that was in the field (ver. 19).

Smote every herb,—and brake every tree] Especially their vines and fig-trees, as the Psalmist tells us, lxxviii. 47, cv. 33. Very great hailstones have fallen in several countries; some of a prodigious bigness (as credible historians relate), whereby some living creatures have here and there been killed; but none ever made such a general destruction as this storm did. Yet we are not to understand it as if no green thing escaped, nor a bough of any tree was left: but the meaning is, that a great many of every kind were

26 Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel *were*, was there no hail.

27 ¶ And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, I have sinned this time: the Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked.

28 Intreat the Lord (for *it is enough*) that there be no more mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer.

29 And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands unto the Lord; and the thunder shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail; that thou mayest know how that the earth is the Lord's.

30 But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the Lord God.

destroyed: though some, as appears by the following chapter, still remained.

Ver. 26. *Only in the land of Goshen,*] So that the Egyptians that lived among them fared the better (it is thought) at this time for their sake.

Ver. 27. *Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses*] This is no more than he had done several times before (viii. 8, 25), but it may seem strange he should do it now, after the Lord had hardened his heart. The clearest account of it is, that he acted now as a man distracted and frightened out of his wits: which made him rave and cry out for help, in very passionate words, without any serious meaning.

I have sinned this time, &c.] The meaning is not that he had not sinned before; but, *I now acknowledge my offence, and the justice of God in punishing the wickedness of me and of my people.* Which confession doth not argue any tenderness of heart; but was extorted by the horrible fright he was in of being undone, if he did not make some submission.

Ver. 28. *Intreat the Lord*] Or, beseech him that what I have already suffered may suffice.

That there be no more mighty thunderings and hail;] The words import frightful claps of thunder, which sounded as if God was angry with them; especially since the hail fell like thunderbolts upon their heads, and struck those down that walked abroad. This was the reason that he begged their prayers: for he and his servants could not always continue within doors; and while the hail lasted, there was no safety abroad.

I will let you go,] Not quite away, but three days' journey into the wilderness, as they desired.

Ye shall stay no longer.] He promises to dismiss them immediately.

Ver. 29. *Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city,*] By this he demonstrated the great power of God, who he knew would protect him, from receiving any harm by the thunder, lightning, and hail, which killed all others that went abroad into the fields.

I will spread abroad my hands unto the Lord;] This was an ancient posture of supplication in all nations (as many learned men have shown), whereby men declared, that God is the giver of all good things: and that they hoped to receive help from him. For our hands are the instruments whereby we receive any gift that is bestowed upon us.

That thou mayest know how that the earth is the Lord's.] Have a demonstration (which was sufficient to make him know), that the Lord governs all things: as appeared by the ceasing of this dreadful storm, upon Moses's prayers to God, as well as by the pouring of it in such violence upon them.

31 And the flax and the barley was smitten: for the barley *was* in the ear, and the flax *was* bolled.

32 But the wheat and the rie were not smitten: for they *were* not grown up.

33 And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread abroad his hands unto the Lord: and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not poured upon the earth.

34 And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants.

35 And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, neither would he let the children of Israel go; as the Lord had spoken by Moses.

Ver. 30.] The generality of the court he knew would continue as obstinate as their prince; though some of them had some sense of God, and of his judgments, as we read ver. 20.

Ver. 31. *The flax and the barley were smitten,*] From hence our learned N. Fuller gathers, that this fell out in the month of Abib, as Archbishop Usher observes in his Annals. For it appears, by Pliny and others, that *barley* began to ripen in those countries in March; but *wheat* not till April. Herm. Conringius differs from this account a little; for he thinks (in his treatise de initio anni Sabbatici) that this hail fell in the month of February; flax being sown here, and among the Romans, from the calends of October to the seventh of the Ides of December, as he observes out of Columella.

Ver. 32. *The wheat and the rie were not smitten: for they were not grown up.*] In the Hebrew, they were *hidden*; i. e. were as yet under ground, as Kimchi, and from him Junius and Tremellius expound it. But that cannot be the meaning; for there was but a month's difference between the growth of wheat and of barley to maturity. And therefore Bochartus hath more truly expounded the meaning (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 3), that they were *not yet eared*: and so being tender and flexile, yielded to the stroke of the hail, and received less harm than the barley which was in the ear, and the flax which was bolled.

Ver. 33. *Moses went out of the city, &c.*] As he had promised (ver. 29).

The rain was not poured] It seems there was rain together with the hail and fire; which made this plague still the more wonderful. Or, by rain must be understood the shower of hail which the Lord "rained from heaven" (ver. 18), which sense is confuted by the next verse.

Ver. 34. *When Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased,*] As soon as the storm was over, and the heavens clear again.

He sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, &c.] That which should have made him acknowledge the power of God (which was as apparent in stopping the hail, as in pouring it on his country), made him the more contumacious. For seeing this danger over, he fancied there would be no more.

Ver. 35. *The heart of Pharaoh was hardened, &c.*] Continued in hardness: for God would not soften it, having resolved still to harden him, as he had begun to do (ver. 12), and did now (x. 1). For he neither moved his heart to remember his confession and his promise (ver. 27, 28), nor continued the means which extorted that seeming repentance from him. But by granting his desire, to have this stroke removed, suffered him to return to his wonted obstinacy.

CHAPTER X.

1 *God threateneth to send locusts.* 7 *Pharaoh, moved by his servants, inclineth to let the Israelites go.* 12 *The plague of the locusts.* 16 *Pharaoh sueth to Moses.* 21 *The plague of darkness.* 24 *Pharaoh sueth unto Moses,* 27 *but yet is hardened.*

1 AND the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh: for I have hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might shew these my signs before him:

2 And that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son, what things I have wrought in Egypt, and my signs which I have done among them; that ye may know how that I am the LORD.

3 And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? Let my people go, that they may serve me.

4 Else, if thou refuse to let my people go,

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh.*] Perhaps Moses might think that after seven messages delivered to him, and as many plagues for his refusal, and God's declaration that he had hardened his heart, it was to no purpose to make any new address unto him. Which it is likely he would have forborne, if he had not received this express command from God to go to him again.

I have hardened his heart, &c.] This is rather a reason why he should not go; and therefore the particle *ki* is not to be translated *for*, but *although*, as it many times is used in these books, and then the sense is clear; *although I have hardened his heart*, yet let not that hinder thy going to him, but still importune him; because I intend to take occasion from his refusing to obey me, to work greater signs and wonders for your benefit (as it follows in the next verse), and for his ruin.

That I might shew these my signs before him:] The signs, he speaks of, were those already done since he hardened him, and those which were to follow. For he had threatened, when he said he would harden Pharaoh's heart (vii. 3), to multiply his signs and wonders in the land of Egypt.

Ver. 2. *That thou mayest tell*] The LXX. translate it, *that ye may tell*; for he speaks to Moses, as sustaining the person of the whole people of Israel.

In the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son,] All future posterity.

What things I have wrought] This may refer to the ten plagues which he inflicted on the Egyptians.

My signs which I have done among them:] The turning of his rod into a serpent, and two other miracles, mentioned at his first mission, are called signs (iv. 8, 9, and see vii. 9, 10).

That ye may know how that I am the Lord.] That there is no other God but me.

Ver. 3. *And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh.*] As God had commanded Moses (ver. 1).

Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews,] This is the style wherein they began to deliver their message to him, and which they continued all along (v. 1, 3, vii. 16, &c.).

How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?] We meet not with this chiding question in any of the former messages; which was most proper now

behold, to morrow will I bring the locusts into thy coast:

5 And they shall cover the face of the earth, that one cannot be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field:

6 And they shall fill thy houses, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; which neither thy fathers, nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he turned himself, and went out from Pharaoh.

7 And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, How

that he had so often refused to yield; or instantly revolted from his seeming submissions.

Ver. 4. *Behold, to morrow*] This word *behold*, denotes the speedy execution of a remarkable judgment (see ix. 3). And, according to the computation before mentioned, it was threatened on the seventh day of the month Abib, to be executed the next day.

Will I bring the locusts into thy coast?] The Hebrew word *arbeh* comes from *rabah*, which signifies to be multiplied. For there is no living creature multiplies more than this. Whence they are said (in the next verse) to cover the face of the earth: and the Psalmist, speaking of them, saith they came without number (Ps. cv. 31).

Ver. 5. *Cover the face of the earth, &c.*] So that nothing could be seen but locusts (see ver. 15).

They shall eat] How devouring they are, and destructive to the fruits of the earth, Vossius shows at large (lib. iv. de Orig. et Pr. Idol. cap. 19, and Bochartus, par. i. lib. iv. Hieroz. cap. 3), whole countries having been laid so bare by them, in a few hours, that it hath brought a famine upon the inhabitants (see Pliny, lib. xi. Hist. Nat. cap. 29).

The residue of that which is escaped,] By this it appears that as the wheat and the rye escaped the stroke of the hail (ix. 31), so the trees were not broken, but some boughs remained.

Shall eat every tree, &c.] These creatures spare not the very bark of the trees; eating all things that come in their way, as Pliny testifies in the forecited place, "Omnia morsu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum."

Ver. 6. *They shall fill thy houses,*] The author of the Book of Wisdom (xvi. 9), seems to think that they killed men and women. But that mistake, it is likely, arose from ver. 17, which may have another interpretation: see there. Though if the locusts died in their houses, the stench of their dead bodies was so offensive that it often bred the pestilence, as Bochart observes (par. i. Hieroz. lib. iv. cap. 3, 5).

Which neither thy fathers,] They exceeded all that had been seen (and they were a frequent plague in those countries), either in bigness, or in number, or in both. That is, all that had been seen in Egypt: for in other countries, perhaps, there might have been as large: if Pliny may be believed, that in India there had been some seen three feet long. The Jews, in the book called the Life and Death of Moses, fancy these to have been of such a vast bulk, that "their jaw

long shall this man be a snare unto us? Let the men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?

8 And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve the LORD your God: *but who are they that shall go?*

9 And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we *must hold a feast unto the LORD.*

10 And he said unto them, Let the LORD be

teeth were like those of lions." But, it is likely, Moses speaks here only of their multitude. For the prophet Joel hath such an expression, when he speaks also of their being without number (Joel i. 6), "Whose teeth are the teeth of a lion," i. e. they devoured all things greedily and speedily.

He turned himself, and went out from Pharaoh.] Either Moses did not stay for an answer, knowing he would give him none better than formerly; or Pharaoh answered so churlishly, that Moses hastily turned about (as the words seem to import), and went away in some indignation.

Ver. 7. *Pharaoh's servants said*] Some of his counsellors or courtiers, who feared the word of the Lord, (ix. 20). Or, perhaps the whole court began now to be sensible of their danger.

How long shall this man?] They seem to speak contemptibly of Moses, to please Pharaoh: who they were afraid would not like counsel, unless they flattered him.

Be a snare unto us?] The LXX. and the Vulgar translate it, *be a stumbling-block*: i. e. lay before us the occasion of our falling into one calamity after another. Or, involve or entangle us in so many mischiefs.

Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?] Dost thou not consider that so many plagues have ruined our country?

Ver. 8.] Upon this advice, he commanded them to be called back again: and consented to let them go, with some limitations; to which Moses could not agree.

But who are they that shall go?] In the Hebrew the words are, *but who and who?* that is, name the particulars. For his covetousness would not suffer the whole nation to go; but he would keep some fast in his hands, as a pledge for the return of the rest.

Ver. 9.] The reason of this large demand is given in the end of this verse. They did not know what and how often they must sacrifice to the Lord: and therefore it was necessary their flocks and herds should go with them. And they being to *hold a feast unto the Lord*, none of them were to be absent from the solemnity.

Hold a feast unto the Lord.] It appears from v. 1, 3, that it was to be a *feast upon a sacrifice*; of which every one was to be a partaker.

Ver. 10. *Let the Lord be so with you, as I will let you go, &c.*] Most take this for a form of imprecation, as if he had said, *I wish you may prosper no better than I will accord to your desire.* But some look upon it as an irrision or jeer; as if he had said, *You trust in the Lord, let him do all he can to deliver you, as I am resolved to keep you here.* This justifies the truth of their observation, who say that Pharaoh at the first behaved himself like a *proud fantastic humorist*, who slighted all that Moses said or did; but since the plague of murrain on the cattle, and blains upon the

so with you, as I will let you go, and your little ones: *look to it; for evil is before you.*

11 Not so: go now ye *that are men*, and serve the LORD; for that ye did desire. And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.

12 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of the land, *even all that the hail hath left.*

13 And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the LORD brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all *that*

Egyptians, like a *fantastic distracted bedlam*, who raved, as if his brains had been blasted (to use Dr. Jackson's phrase), with the fumes of a seared conscience.

Look to it; for evil is before you.] It is uncertain, whether he meant *evil* that they designed against him; or which he designed against them. The former best agrees with what follows; as if he had said, *you intend a rebellion*; therefore I will let none but the men go. Or, more plainly, *it is visible you design some evil*; i. e. you have conspired to be gone, and make a revolt. Or, it is plain and manifest, by your very countenances, that you intend some evil. If we take it the other way, for *evil* which he threatened to them, the meaning must be, *Mark what I say, I will take a course with you, unless you be content to go and sacrifice upon my terms*; i. e. the men only.

Ver. 11. *Not so:*] You shall not have your will. *Go now ye that are men, and serve the Lord; for that ye did desire.*] So he interprets their demand (v. 1), pretending that women and children needed not to attend upon sacrifices.

They were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.] It is likely he said, *I have no more to say to you; or, you know my mind, and therefore get you gone*; and then commanded his officers to thrust them out of doors; which they did with some violence. This shows he was in a fury; which made him neither regard God nor man: but reject the good counsel his own servants had given him (ver. 7), as well as the commands which Moses from God had delivered to him.

Ver. 12. *Stretch out thine hand*] Upon this the Lord immediately ordered Moses to execute the judgment he had denounced. Which, as I said before, was threatened about the seventh day, and inflicted upon the next; and removed on the ninth day of Abib. Compare ver. 4, 13, 19.

Ver. 13. *Moses stretched forth his rod*] See viii. 6. *The Lord brought an east wind, &c.*] Though the Hebrew word *kadim* doth properly signify *the east*, yet it is sometimes used for the *south*, as Bochart hath demonstrated (par. ii. Hieroz. lib. i. cap. 15), and so the LXX. here understood it. For though in Arabia, which lay east of Egypt, there were great store of locusts, yet not such numbers as were in Ethiopia, which lay south of it; and abounded with them more than any country in the world. Some people there lived upon nothing else but locusts; which were brought thither in the spring, about the vernal equinox, in vast quantities; partly by the western, and partly by the southern winds, as the same Bochart shows out of good authors (lib. iv. cap. 3). And now it was about that time of the year, when, by a wind blowing from those parts, they were brought into Egypt (see Ps. lxxviii. 26).

Ver. 14. *The locusts,*] Being lifted up by the wind (as Pliny speaks), they fly in the air in a great cloud; which now it seems spread itself over all the land of

night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts.

14 And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt: very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such.

15 For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.

16 ¶ Then Pharaoh called for Moses and

Egypt, *solicitè spectantibus populis*, &c. (as the same author speaks), "people looking on them with great fear," lest they fall down and cover their country; as the words following tell us they did here in Egypt.

Rested in all the coasts:] After they had hovered a while in the air over the whole country, they came down and settled upon the ground in every part of it.

Very grievous were they;] By their vast numbers. For so the word *caved*, I have often observed, signifies; and so the Vulgar Latin here translates *immemorable*.

Before them there were no such locusts.] See ver. 6.

Neither after them shall be such.] i. e. Not in the land of Egypt; though in other countries there might; particularly in Judea, when God brought this plague upon it (Joel i. 2).

Ver. 15. *They covered—the whole earth, &c.*] The word in the Hebrew which we translate *face*, signifying properly *the eye*, it induced Onkelos to translate this passage, *they covered the sun*; which is the eye of the earth: that is, there was such a thick cloud of them before they fell, that they darkened the sun; as when they were fallen they darkened the land, as it here follows. Or, the meaning is, there were such numbers, that they not only covered the earth, but the sun also. For many authors mention such prodigious clouds of them, as have so thickened the sky, that the day hath been turned into night (see Bochart, par. ii. Hieroz. lib. iv. cap. 5).

They did eat every herb.] See ver. 5.

Ver. 16. *Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste;*] This Dr. Jackson not improperly calls *another raving fit, or phrenetical symptom*; into which this new calamity threw him.

I have sinned] Whom he had lately caused to be driven out of his presence (ver. 11), but now humbles himself before them, more than he had done at any time before. For this was such a plague as all men accounted a manifest token of the Divine displeasure. According to that of Pliny (lib. xi. cap. 29, *Deorum ira pestis ea intelligitur*. This is taken for "a plague of the anger of the gods:" or, as some copies have it, *mira pestis*, "a wonderful plague" sent from above.

Ver. 17. *Forgive, I pray thee, my sin*] Nothing could be spoken more humbly, and seemingly penitent, than this supplication: which includes in it also a promise never to offend again. But there was no sincerity in it, being the effect only of a great fright, which extorted this confession and submission from him, without any serious meaning to continue in this resolution. "Thus we all naturally think of repenting (as Pellicanus here piously reflects) when we are in great straits; nay, and promise it too, till we are out of danger; when we perform little of what we promised, as our whole life testifies."

Aaron in haste; and he said, I have sinned against the LORD your God, and against you.

17 Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the LORD your God, that he may take away from me this death only.

18 And he went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD.

19 And the LORD turned a mighty strong west wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red sea; there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt.

20 But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go.

21 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be

That he may take away from me this death only.] We cannot gather from hence, that the locusts killed men and women as the hail did: for the fields, and the trees, &c. are said to die; as well as men (Gen. xlvii. 19; Job xiv. 8, &c.). But the locusts, destroying the supports of life, (by eating up the corn, and the grass, &c.) might, by consequence, be said to kill the people. In both which regards, Pharaoh might call them *deadly locusts*.

Ver. 18.] Both Moses and Aaron were called to Pharaoh; and therefore now went both out; but one only is mentioned, viz. Moses; because by his prayers this plague was removed.

Ver. 19.] This is supposed to be done the next day, as I observed ver. 12, according to what is said, viii. 29.

Mighty strong west wind,] Strong winds are the only remedy to free a country from this plague, as Pliny hath observed. For if they die in those fields on which they settle, the air is so corrupted by the stench, that it breeds pestilential diseases.

The Red sea:] That which we call the *Red Sea*, the Hebrews call the *Sea of Suph*, i. e. of flags; as we translate the word *Suph*, in the second chapter of this book, ver. 3, because it was full of a certain weed (which the Latins call *alga*, and the Greeks *φυκίον*), which some travellers have affirmed to be of a red colour, and to make the water appear as if it were red also: from whence some fancy it was called the *Red Sea*. Certain it is it had the Hebrew name of *Suph* from hence; there being such abundance of this weed in that sea, that the inhabitants of the coast plucking it up out of the water, and laying it in heaps to be dried by the sun, it becomes so compact that they build houses of it, as Bochart hath observed in his *Phaleg*. lib. iv. cap. 29. But it is most likely to have had the name of the *Red Sea* from this: that what the Hebrews call the *Sea of Suph*, the nearer neighbours called the *Sea of Edom*, from the country which it washed, viz. *Idumæa* (1 Kings ix. 26; Numb. xxi. 4). From whence the Greeks, who knew not the reason of the name, called it *ἑρυθρὰν θάλασσαν*, the *Red Sea*; because *Edom*, in Hebrew, signifies red, as we find Gen. xxv. 29. Now this sea (which late writers call *Sinus Arabicus*) lies east of Egypt: and therefore a west wind was most proper to drive the locusts thither.

There remained not one locust] The power of God appeared no less in sweeping them all away, than in bringing them upon the country: for both were done at the instance of Moses.

Ver. 20. *The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, &c.*] See ix. 12. He left him to himself: and did not move him to persist in his late good resolution.

Ver. 21. *The Lord said unto Moses,* He left off now to treat with Pharaoh; and only proceeds in the

darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness *which* may be felt.

22 And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days:

23 They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.

24 ¶ And Pharaoh called unto Moses, and said, Go ye, serve the LORD; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed: let your little ones also go with you.

execution of the sentence of utter destruction, which he had decreed against him.

Stretch out thine hand toward heaven,] See ix. 22.

That there may be darkness,] So that they should not see any thing at noonday.

Even darkness which may be felt,] In the next verse he calls it *thick darkness*: which was made, I suppose, by such clammy fogs, that they sensibly affected the Egyptians.

Ver. 22. *There was a thick darkness—three days:]* Some think, that during this *three days'* darkness the Israelites were circumcised; when the Egyptians, by reason of the great horror they were in at that time, could take no advantage of them. And so Dr. Lightfoot expounds Psalm cv. 28. "They rebelled not against his word;" but submitted to be circumcised. For the words seem to signify some special piece of obedience, which they then performed. The author of the Life and Death of Moses will have it, that they punished and cut off several wicked people among the Israelites themselves: which they did at this time, that the Egyptians might not know it, and rejoice at it. But that which is more certain, is, that if the former plague ended on the *ninth* day, this judgment was ordered upon the *tenth* of the month Abib. On which day they began to prepare for the passover, by taking up the lamb which was to be then slain *four* days after. And God appointed this to be the *first* month of the year, which hitherto had been the *seventh* (xii. 2, 3, 4).

Ver. 23. *They saw not one another,]* We may well look upon this as an emblem of the blindness of their minds; which was so great, that they had not the least discerning of their approaching destruction. Some of the Romans mention such darkness for a short time, as was counted prodigious by Livy and Julius Obsequens. Particularly at the death of the Emperor Carus, there was such a mist, that *one man could not know another* (see more examples in Huetius, lib. ii. Alnet. Quæst. cap. 12, p. 203, &c.). But of such a darkness as this, which continued to obscure all things *three days* together, there is no record, but in this sacred story. Which no man hath the least reason to disbelieve; it being as easy for God to continue it for three days, as for one hour; there being also a very great reason for it, both to punish the Egyptians, and relieve the Israelites.

Neither rose any from his place] None stirred out of their houses: for they could not see one another within doors: no, not by the help of a candle, or a fire, as the author of the Book of Wisdom understood it (xvii. 5), where he also supposes, that they were affrighted with apparitions; and their own evil consciences were also a great terror to them, while they remained prisoners so long in dismal darkness. And the Psalmist justifies him, in part, when, instead of mentioning this plague of darkness (as he doth the rest which were inflicted on the Egyptians), he saith, "God sent evil angels among them" (Psalm lxxviii. 49).

25 And Moses said, Thou must give us also sacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may sacrifice unto the LORD our God.

26 Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind; for thereof must we take to serve the LORD our God; and we know not with what we must serve the LORD, until we come thither.

27 ¶ But the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go.

28 And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no

The children of Israel had light] Whereby they were enabled to go about their business, and get all things ready for their departure, without any notice of the Egyptians, much less any hinderance from them; who were in a mist, and could not see what they were doing.

Ver. 24. *Pharaoh called unto Moses,]* He was so terrified by the horrible apparitions he had seen, that, at the end of the three days of darkness, he sent a messenger to call Moses: for before that time none could find their way to him. Or perhaps the meaning may be, that, in his ravening fit, he called for Moses as if he had been near him.

And said,] When Moses came, he made his former confession a little larger: but had not the heart to comply entirely.

Go ye, serve the Lord, &c.] It was a perfect infatuation to higgel (as we speak) with Moses, and still drive his bargain as low as he could, when he was reduced to such distress, that he was upon the brink of destruction. But this was the effect of his covetousness, which was incurable; and would not suffer him to part with them, but still to keep a pawn for their return to his servitude.

Let your little ones also go with you.] His blindness made him think this a great condescension, because he had denied it before (ver. 10).

Ver. 25. *Sacrifices and burnt offerings,]* The difference between *sacrifices* and *burnt-offerings*, see xviii. 12. As they were to *sacrifice* unto the Lord their God, which was the service he required, so they were to hold a feast unto him; at which both *sacrifices* and *burnt-offerings* were necessary.

Ver. 26. *Our cattle also shall go with us,]* i. e. Therefore we cannot leave our cattle here, because we must use them in sacrifice, &c.

There shall not an hoof be left behind,] i. e. The smallest thing. For it was a proverbial speech in the eastern countries, as appears by the like saying among the Arabians; which was first used about horses, and afterwards translated to other things; *present money even to a hoof*: that is, they would not part with a horse (or any other commodity) till the buyer had laid down the price of it, to a farthing, as we now speak. Or, according to the present German language, the *hoof* may be put for the whole beast; and the meaning be, We will not leave so much as one behind us. So Conr. Pellicanus.

For thereof must we take to serve the Lord our God,] To offer sacrifice to him.

We know not with what we must serve the Lord,] Who was to appoint his own sacrifices: as he afterwards did, when they came into the wilderness.

Ver. 27.] He did not incline Pharaoh to comply with this motion; but suffered him to persist in his obstinate resolution, not quite to part with them (see ver. 20).

Ver. 28. *Get thee from me,]* This sounds as if he intended again to have him driven from his presence (as ver. 11), so soon did he forget his own humble

more; for in *that* day thou seest my face thou shalt die.

confessions and supplications to him (ver. 16, 17), and returned to his frantic rage and fury against him.

See my face no more, &c.] A speech more foolish than proud (as Dr. Jackson observes), to come from a man whom the Lord had so much impoverished, and so often humbled; and given sufficient proofs of his power, not only to bring greater plagues immediately upon him, but to cut him off.

Ver. 29. *Moses said,—I will see thy face again no*

29 And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more.

more.] That is, unless I be called for; as one would think he was: because Moses did deliver one message more to him (xi. 4—8). Though we may suppose he delivered it now; or, that he did not deliver it himself, but by some other person. But that doth not agree with the last words of ver. 8, of the next chapter. And we read also (xii. 31), that “Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron by night:” who perhaps did not go, but only receive his message.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *God's message to the Israelites to borrow jewels of their neighbours.* 4 *Moses threateneth Pharaoh with the death of the firstborn.*

1 AND the LORD said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague *more* upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let *you* go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether.

2 Speak now in the ears of the people, and let every man borrow of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold.

CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] It is uncertain when the Lord spake this: I suppose it was as soon as he came out from Pharaoh, at the end of the three days' darkness; which continued the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the month Abib; and on the fourteenth, in the morning, Moses received this new revelation.

I will bring one plague more upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt;] The killing of the firstborn; which was the last plague inflicted on them in Egypt.

Afterwards he will let you go hence,] Not only consent to dismiss you entirely, but be earnest with you, and urge you to depart. So we find it came to pass (xii. 31, 33).

Thrust you out hence altogether.] Perfectly and completely, with some kind of compulsion.

Ver. 2. *Speak now in the ears of the people,*] Give order therefore to the Israelites, as I formerly promised to direct (iii. 21, 22).

Let every man borrow of his neighbour,] See iii. 21, 22. Unto which this may be added, that some of the ancient fathers looked upon this as a piece of justice, that they should be paid their wages for the labour they had undergone in the service of the Egyptians; which God orders in this manner. So Epiphanius, in his *Anacrotus*, Num. cxii. cxiii. I, where he gives this account of the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians, That they had served them a long time for nothing (he makes account 215 years), and therefore οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον καὶ παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, &c. “was it not just, both before God and man, that their wages should be paid them before they left the country?” See Petavius on that place. And Hæres. lxvi. lxxi. lxxxiii. and Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 49. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. ii. cap. 20. And so the author of the Book of Wisdom took it (x. 17), where he saith, the Lord gave the Israelites the goods of the Egyptians, μισθὸν κόπων αὐτῶν, *the reward of their labours.* (See more, xii. 35).

Ver. 3. *The Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians.*] According to his promise (iii. 21).

3 And the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses *was* very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.

4 And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, About midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt:

5 And all the firstborn in the land of Egypt

Moses was very great.] This seems to be given as a reason, both why the court durst not meddle with Moses, though he had brought so many plagues upon them; and why the people were forward to grant the Israelites what they desired, because they all highly esteemed him, and had him in great reverence, as a person that had extraordinary power with God: from whence some think it credible, that their posterity might give him Divine honours, as is reported by some ancient writers.

Ver. 4. *Moses said, Thus saith the Lord,*] It is manifest (from ver. 8), that these words were spoken from the Lord to Pharaoh; but it is a great question, when they were spoken. It is commonly thought that Moses said this, when he last parted with Pharaoh, and told him, he would see his face no more (x. 29). And then the first words of this chapter must be translated in the time past, *the Lord had said unto Moses*, that he would bring one plague more upon the Egyptians: which he now denounced to Pharaoh, because he said he should not have the liberty of being admitted to him again. Or else Pharaoh, contrary to his peremptory resolution, sent once more to speak with Moses; as it is plain he did after the firstborn were slain (xii. 31).

About midnight] About the midst of the following night. For they having kept the passover, in the evening of this fourteenth day of Abib, the firstborn were slain in the middle of that night. Not precisely (the Hebrew indicates) but it might be a little before or after midnight (see Theodorici Hackspan, of such kind of speeches. Disput. de Locut. Sacris, N. iv.).

Will I go out] By an angel, who was sent from the Shechinah (which resided in some part of the land of Goshen), and ordered to go and do this execution.

Into the midst of Egypt:] Perhaps he means the royal city; where he began this execution, and then smote the whole country round about.

Ver. 5. *All the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die,*] This was the sorest plague that had been hitherto inflicted: nothing being so dear to parents as their children, especially their firstborn.

shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of beasts.

6 And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more.

7 But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.

From the firstborn of Pharaoh, &c.] i. e. From the highest to the meanest person in the kingdom.

That sitteth upon his throne;] It is uncertain whether this relate to Pharaoh, or to his firstborn. The LXX. seem to incline to the former; having left out the pronoun *his*, and simply translated it, *that sitteth upon the throne*. But the Chaldee determines it to the latter, by translating it, *who is to sit upon the throne of his kingdom*; i. e. to be Pharaoh's successor, the heir of the kingdom of Egypt.

The maidservant that is behind the mill;] None were more miserable than those slaves, whose work it was to turn a mill with their hands, and grind corn perpetually; especially when they were condemned to this in a prison, nay, in a dungeon: that so we are to understand this, appears from xii. 29. The ancient comedians often mention this; and we find an instance of such drudgery in the story of Samson (Judg. xvi. 21).

Ver. 6.] The calamity being general in every house, it made a general and very loud lamentation: men, women, children, and servants, bemoaning the loss of the prime person in the family.

Ver. 7.] A great wonder! that when so many thousand people were upon their march, with abundance of cattle, &c. not a dog should stir; who, though never so gentle, yet commonly bark when they hear the least noise, especially in the night. All travellers know this.

A difference between the Egyptians and Israel.] This was indeed a plain testimony of God's special care and providence over the Israelites: that when there was such a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt (ver. 6), all was quiet, still, and silent among them.

Ver. 8.] You that now forbid me to come to you (for Pharaoh himself is included, it appears from xii. 31, &c.) shall be forced to come to me; and submissively entreat, nay, press me to be gone, &c.

Come down] It was a descent from that part of Egypt where the court was, unto Goshen: though it may simply signify, *come to me*.

Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee:] In the Hebrew the words are, *that is at thy feet*: that is, *to the very last man*. For they that bring up the rear,

8 And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in a great anger.

9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you; that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt.

10 And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh: and the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go out of his land.

as we speak, or march last after their commander, are said in Scripture, to be *at their feet*: as Wagenseil hath observed in his confutation of R. Lipman's Carmen Memoriale (see Gen. xlix. 10).

After that I will go out.] When you shall think I oblige you, to leave your country.

He went out from Pharaoh in a great anger.] It moved the meekest man on earth to a just indignation (which, it is likely, he expressed in his countenance and behaviour) to see Pharaoh remain so stupidly insensible as not to regard this threatening; which he well might think would be as certainly executed as all the rest had been.

Ver. 9. *Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you;]* That is, I told thee at the first how it would be, and the reason of it (iii. 19, 20). Of which it was very proper to put Moses in mind at this time, when he was going to fulfil the last part of those words: "after that (after this last plague) he will let you go."

That my wonders may be multiplied] That he might do one wonder after another until he had finished Pharaoh's destruction (see vii. 3).

Ver. 10. *Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh:]* This seems to be a summary of what hath been said hitherto, concerning the wonderful plagues of Egypt: which as God designed to inflict upon that country, so he did, by Moses and Aaron as his instruments.

The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, &c.] The obstinacy of Pharaoh, under several severe judgments, is so notorious, that it need be no wonder that the Lord himself hardened his heart, so that he would not suffer the people to depart, until what is here threatened was executed upon him. There is nothing more agreeable to the rules of justice, than to inflict heavy judgments upon contumacious offenders; and no punishment heavier than to let them undo themselves by their own wickedness, and blindly run on, without any stop, in their evil courses unto utter ruin. This was the case of Pharaoh; of which the heathen had a broken notion, when they said, Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat: "Those whom God intends to destroy, he first infatuates."

CHAPTER XII.

1 The beginning of the year is changed. 3 The passover is instituted. 11 The rite of the passover. 15 Unleaved bread. 29 The firstborn are slain. 31 The Israelites are driven out of the land. 37 They come to Succoth. 43 The ordinance of the passover.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying,

2 This month shall be unto you the beginning

of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you.

3 ¶ Speak ye unto all the congregation of

this to them: but it is very likely it was on the tenth day of this month, before he brought the plague of darkness on the land; wherein he gave the Israelites

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CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1.] We are not told here when the Lord spake
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Israel, saying, In the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of *their* fathers, a lamb for an house :

4 And if the household be too little for the lamb, let him and his neighbour next unto his

house take *it* according to the number of the souls; every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb.

5 Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take *it* out from the sheep, or from the goats :

opportunity to prepare for their departure: and then he changed this month from the seventh (as it was before) to the first, as it here follows.

Ver. 2. *This month*] Which in process of time was called Abib (xiii. 4, xxiii. 15), because then the corn was eared, and grew towards ripeness (for *Abib* signifies an ear of corn), and was in after ages called Nisan (Nehem. ii. 1; Esth. iii. 7), which is a Chaldee word, denoting this to be the month wherein they went out to war; from *nissin*, which signifies ensigns or banners (as Bochart probably conjectures), which at that season were usually advanced; viz. in the spring time. So the Hebrews understand that place (2 Sam. xi. 1).

Shall be unto you the beginning of months:] i. e. The principal month of the year.

It shall be the first month of the year to you.] And therefore was hereafter to begin the year. Which is a plain intimation that the year had another beginning before this time, which was in the month they called Tisri, about autumn; but was now translated unto the spring. And so we find that all the ancient nations began their year, after their harvest and vintage, which were the conclusion of their year. But from henceforward the Jewish computation was from this month of Abib; at least, as to their feasts and things sacred; though their civil year still began where it did before. For after this, we find the old account continued, as appears from xxiii. 16, where the harvest is said to be in the end of the year. And yet the author of Meor E Najim (as Guliel. Vorstius shows in his observation upon R. D. Ganz) affirms, that the ancient Hebrews followed this new account from the time of their going out of Egypt, till the building of the temple (in all their contracts and affairs using this era of Exodus, in memory of that illustrious deliverance), as after that time, till the captivity of Babylon, they dated all their writings from the building of the temple.

Ver. 3. *In the tenth day of this month*] This is a law which hath respect to all future ages, as well as to this present time; that they should begin to prepare for the passover, four days before: for which the Jews give such reasons as these: viz. it was necessary when they went out of Egypt to make this preparation, lest a multitude of business when they were pressed to be gone in haste, should have made them neglect it. And it was necessary afterwards, that they might more narrowly observe if there were any blemish in the lamb; and that they might be put in mind to dispose themselves for so great a solemnity.

And it is observable, that our blessed Saviour (the true paschal lamb) came to Jerusalem on this very day (viz. the tenth of Nisan), four days before he was offered (John xii. 1, 13). Yet there are those who think, that this precept was peculiar to this time of their departure out of Egypt. For they that came in after ages, out of all parts of the country to worship God at this feast, could not so well observe it; unless we suppose them to have come some days before to Jerusalem (as it is certain some did, John xi. 55), or to have sent beforehand thither, to have a lamb prepared for them, which is not unlikely.

They also, who think the Egyptians now worshipped such kind of creatures, imagine withal that this day was chosen in opposition to them: who, because the sun entered then into Aries, began on this day the solemn worship of this creature, and of that celestial

sign. Thus the author of the *Chronicon Orientale*, in express words: "This was the day in which the sun entered the first sign of Aries, and was most solemn among the Egyptians." And therefore God commanded the Israelites to sacrifice that creature which they worshipped. But there is no certainty of this, nor of what the author of Tzeror Hamor observes, that the feast of the Egyptians being at its height on the fourteenth day, God ordered the killing of this lamb at that time: which was the greatest contempt of their Corniger Ammon (whom they worshipped then with the greatest honours), showing he could be no god whom the Israelites ate.

A lamb.] The word *seh* signifies a *kid* as well as a *lamb* (Numb. xv. 11; Deut. xiv. 4), and it is evident from the fifth verse of this chapter, that they might take either of them for this sacrifice. But commonly they made choice of a lamb, as the fittest of the two; being of a more mild and innocent nature. They that are of opinion, the Egyptians now worshipped such creatures, imagine also this was ordained to preserve the Israelites from their idolatry, by commanding them to kill such beasts as they adored. So R. Levi ben Gerson, God intended by this, "to expel out of the minds of the Israelites the evil opinion of the Egyptians," &c.

An house.] Some translate it for a family. But that is not true: for as tribes were divided into families, so were families into houses; and when many lambs were few enough for a whole family, some houses were so small that they could not eat one, and therefore were to call in the assistance of their neighbours, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 4. *If the household be too little*] They were not to be fewer than ten persons, nor more than twenty, to the eating of one lamb. At which meal, men, women, and children, masters and servants (if circumcised) were entertained, and every one did eat a piece at least as big as an olive, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors.

Every man according to his eating] This is, every master of a house shall take such a number of persons to him, as will be sufficient for the eating of the lamb.

Ver. 5. *Your lamb shall be without blemish.*] In the Hebrew perfect, or without defect. There are ten blemishes mentioned in Levit. xxii. 22—24, which made a sacrifice unfit for the altar. About which the heathen themselves were very curious, as I noted above out of Herodotus; who relates how exact and scrupulous the Egyptian priests were in the scrutiny, whether a beast were fit to be offered (see viii. 26).

A male] Because the male was counted more excellent than the female (Mal. i. 14), and therefore all whole burnt-offerings (which were the most perfect sort of sacrifices) were to be males only (Lev. i. 3, 6). From hence this custom (as Bochart thinks) was derived to the Egyptians; who offered only males, as he proves out of Herodotus (par. i. Hieroz. lib. iii. cap. 33, 50). But whatsoever the Egyptians did, the Romans did otherwise: for Servius saith (in *Æneid*. viii.), In omnibus sacris feminini generis plus valent victimæ; "that sacrifices of the female kind were of greatest value in all their holy offices." Such different fancies there were in the world in after ages; but what opinions they had in Moses's time, none can certainly resolve.

6 And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month : and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening.

7 And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side posts and on the upper door post of the houses, wherein they shall eat it.

Of the first year:] It doth not signify that the lamb was to be a year old (for then it was incapable to be offered) but under a year old. It was fit for sacrifice at eight days old, though not before, xxii. 30, Lev. xxi. 27, (which laws, Maimonides saith, were observed in the paschal lamb, as they were in the daily sacrifice, Exod. xxix. 38; Numb. xxxviii. 3, and in others, Lev. xxiii. 18, 19), and so it continued fit from that time till it was a year old; after which it was not accepted. For which Bochart gives a very likely reason in the forenamed book (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50, p. 585).

Ver. 6. *Ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month:]* When it was to be offered to God by all the people, as our Saviour was upon the very same day. Which the Jews expected, as appears by a memorable passage which Andr. Masius (in Josh. v. 10), quotes out of that tract in the Talmud, called Rosh Hashanah, where they say it was a "famous and old opinion among the ancient Jews, that the day of the new year, which was the beginning of the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt, should in future time be the beginning of the redemption by the Messiah." Which was wonderfully fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour; who keeping the Passover the day before the rulers of the Jews observed it, it fell out that he, the true Lamb of God, was offered on that very day, which Moses here appointed for the offering this typical sacrifice.

The whole assembly—shall kill it:] God here grants a liberty to any man among the Israelites to kill the passover. Which act did not make him a priest (whose work it was to offer the blood), for in other sacrifices any man that brought them might do the same (Lev. i. 3, 4, 5), and this is given as a reason, why the people did not kill the passover in Hezekiah's time, because they were unclean; and therefore the Levites had the charge of it (2 Chron. xxx. 17).

But, besides this, Moses seems to mean that all the company who were to eat, were to be present at the sacrifice: by which means, "the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel" were engaged in this service. And this was exactly also fulfilled in our blessed Saviour (whom the apostle calls our passover), against whom the priests, and scribes, and Pharisees, and all the people, conspired to take away his life.

In the evening.] In the Hebrew the words are (as is noted in the margin of our Bibles), *between the two evenings*. The first of which began, when the sun began to decline from its noon-tide point, and lasted till sun-set. Then began the second evening, and lasted till night. Between these *two evenings*, between the middle of them, was the passover offered. For after the offering of incense, they began on this day to kill the daily evening sacrifice, between two and three in the afternoon (a little sooner than on other days), and having finished that, and trimmed the lamps (as Maimonides in his treatise on this subject, cap. i. sect. 4, describes the order of it), they went about the paschal sacrifice; which continued till sun-setting. That is, there were about two hours and a half for the despatch of all the lambs. For the daily evening sacrifice, and all belonging to it, being over in an hour's time (by half an hour after three), all the rest of the day till sun-set (which was two

8 And they shall eat the flesh in that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread; and with bitter *herbs* they shall eat it.

9 Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast *with fire*; his head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof.

hours and a half at the time of the year) remained for the killing of the paschal lambs. (See Bochart, Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50, p. 558, and our learned Dr. Lightfoot, in his gleanings on Exodus). Now our three o'clock in the afternoon being the same with the Jews' ninth hour, it is evident our Blessed Saviour offered up himself to God for our redemption about the same time that this lamb was slain, for their deliverance out of Egypt (Mark xv. 43, 37).

Ver. 7. *Take of the blood,]* Which was the means that God now appointed for their preservation.

Strike it:] By dipping a bunch of hyssop into it (ver. 22).

On the two side posts,] Upon which folding doors moved. For from thence, Bochart thinks, they had their name in the Hebrew.

Upper door post] The Hebrew word *maskuph* is nowhere to be found but in this chapter; and its carrying in it a signification of *looking through* may induce us to think they had lattices at the top of their doors, through which they could peep, to see who knocked, before they opened them. Both these were sprinkled with the blood, but not the threshold, lest any body should tread upon it, which had been profane, this being a holy thing. This striking or sprinkling of the blood upon the posts, seems to have been peculiar to the first passover at their going out of Egypt; and not to have been used in aftertimes, when there was not the same occasion for it, viz. to distinguish their houses from the Egyptians, for their preservation from the destroying angel.

Of the houses,] In which the whole nation was gathered together; and so all delivered.

Ver. 8. *Eat the flesh in that night,]* For it was not lawful to let any of it remain till the morning, (ver. 10). And the Hebrews say, they were to eat it after they had supped, and were well filled with other meat.

Roast with fire,] Neither raw, nor sodden (as it follows in the next verse) for it might be sooner roasted than sodden: and they were in haste to be gone when it was offered.

Unleavened bread:] Partly to put them in mind of their hardships in Egypt (for unleavened bread is heavy and unsavoury) and partly to commemorate their deliverance from thence in such haste, that they had not time to leaven it, ver. 39; Deut. xvi. 3.

Bitter herbs] They were used for the same end, to put them in mind of their hard bondage in Egypt, which made their lives bitter to them (i. 14). Maimonides says, there were five of these herbs, whose names he mentions: but it is hard for us to tell what they were. That great man Bochartus hath given some guesses at them; and thinks the first of them was *wild lettuce*, which is extremely bitter (see Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50, p. 603, &c., and his Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 15, p. 857).

Ver. 9. *Eat not of it raw,]* i. e. Half roasted; when some of the blood remains still in it. So Maimonides expounds it: and see Hottinger in his *Smegma Orient.* p. 169. For it doth not seem necessary to forbid them to eat it quite raw, mankind generally abhorring such food; unless we suppose there were such barbarous customs now, as there were in aftertimes; when, in some of the gentile

10 And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning; and that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire.

11 ¶ And thus shall ye eat it; *with your*

feasts (particularly those of Bacchus) which had their original in Egypt (as Herodotus tells us, lib. ii. cap. 49, and Plutarch also, lib. de Isid. et Osir.), they tore the members of living creatures in pieces, and did eat them, the blood running about their mouths, as Julius Firmicus observes. But the opinion of Theodor seems to me probable (Serm. x. Περὶ χρησμάτων), that in old time, the wicked demons were in love with the sacrificing of men to them: but when they saw mankind began to abhor such sacrifices, and to abstain from them, as abominable cruelty, then they invented τὰς διαμαρτυρίας καὶ ὠπαγίας, &c. "Scourgings and whippings, eating of raw flesh, and other such like rites" (tom iv. p. 625).

Nor sodden] It seems superfluous to say sodden, or boiled, *with water*: there being no other way of boiling things. But the Hebrew word *bashal* signifying to *roast*, as well as to *boil*, according as the matter is, Moses takes away that ambiguity, by adding *with water*; and also by expressly naming the opposite to it, *but roast with fire*. Which was ordained in opposition to some gentile customs in the eastern countries (if they were so ancient as the times of Moses), where they boiled the flesh of their sacrifices, when they prayed to their gods against drought, by the scorching heat of the sun. So Athenæus relates, out of Philocorus, that the Athenians did, in their sacrifices to the Ὠπας, who came, in all likelihood, from the Egyptian Horus, which signifies *Apollo*, or the sun. The Zabii also were wont to boil kids in milk.

Roast with fire;] Contrary to the manner in all other peace offerings, whose flesh, that was allowed to be eaten, either by priest or people, was to be sodden; even in the feast of the passover: as we read expressly 2 Chron. xxxv. 18, where these things are accurately distinguished. And Maimonides gives this as the reason of it (why they are commanded to *eat it roasted*), because they went out in great haste, and had not time to boil it (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 46). Some of the gentiles in aftertimes *roasted* their meat in the sun, as Heliodorus tells us, lib. i. Ethiopia. And some Grecian woman (as Plutarch tells us) did the same in their feast called Θερμοπάγια.

His head with his legs.] They were to roast the lamb whole; to avoid perhaps the superstition of the gentiles, who were wont to rake into the bowels of their sacrifices, to make curious observations; and also (in the Ὠμοπάγια of Bacchus) thought themselves full of their deity, when they ate the entrails of their sacrifices, with the blood running about their mouths, as Arnobius tells us.

Ver. 10. *Let nothing of it remain until the morning*;] This was a law about *eucharistical sacrifices* (Lev. xxii. 30), and before that, Lev. vii. 15 (only there is an exception in the two following verses, 16, 17, for sacrifices that were a *vow*, or a *voluntary offering*), by which God provided that holy things should not be in danger to be corrupted, or put to profane uses; and that they might not lose their just estimation: as even common meat doth, which is not so much valued when it is kept till the next day; for men desire that which is fresh and newly dressed.

In this paschal sacrifice, also, it was the more necessary it should not remain, lest they should have been forced, either to carry it away with them, which might have been troublesome; or, if they left it behind them, it might have been profaned, and exposed to contempt by the Egyptians, or at least have

joins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in haste: it is the Lord's passover.

12 For I will pass through the land of Egypt

been corrupted, which would not have seemed so holy a meat. Besides, there might have been danger also of turning such relics to superstitious uses, as the brazen serpent was: God working as great a deliverance by the one, as by the other. And this we may the rather think, because it is certain the ancient idolaters were wont to save some part of their sacrifices for superstitious purposes, as appears from Baruch vi. 27. Herodotus testifies the same concerning the ancient Persians (lib. i. cap. 132). Which the Hebrews might have been easily inclined to do, if they had left any remains of this sacrifice, which had such wonderful effects for their preservation.

And that which remaineth of it—ye shall burn with fire.] We read in Macrobius of such a custom among the ancient Romans, in a feast called Protervia: where the manner was (as Flavianus there saith), ut si quid ex epulis superfluis, igne consumeretur: "that if any thing was left of the good cheer, it should be consumed with fire" (lib. ii. Saturnal. cap. 2).

Ver. 11. *Thus shall ye eat it*;] He here orders the habit and posture wherein they should partake of the passover: which was like travellers, or like those who were going about some laborious work. So the three following particulars plainly import.

With your loins girded.] They wearing long and loose garments in the eastern countries, it was necessary to tie them up, and gird them about their loins, whosoever they either went a journey, or undertook, as I said, any great labour; that so their garments might not be an impediment to them, as they would have been, if they had hung down about their heels (see 2 Kings iv. 29).

Your shoes on your feet.] Many fancy this refers to the ancient custom of putting off their shoes (which God now forbids) when they went to eat, lest they should make the beds dirty, on which they lay leaning. But Bochart hath demonstrated that this custom was not so ancient; but that in Moses's time, and after, they sat at their tables as we do now: of which there are many instances, in the book of Genesis, and elsewhere. And therefore it is more likely the Jews were wont to go without shoes when they were in Egypt; for anciently men did so; and that being a hot country, there was no need of them. And besides, they were so oppressed, that they may well be supposed to want many such conveniences of life. But now God commands them to put on shoes, being to travel a long journey (see his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50, p. 508).

Your staff in your hand.] Still the posture of travellers, who never went without a staff; both to support them in slippery places, and to defend them against assaults (Gen. xxxii. 10). They seem now to have eaten the lamb, leaning on their staves; and therefore stood all the time, as men ready to depart. But these were things peculiar only to that passover which they kept in Egypt: afterwards they were not tied to them.

In haste.] As men expecting every moment to begin their journey. This was the foundation of many of the laws about the passover, as Maimonides observes (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 46).

It is the Lord's passover.] To be kept in memory of his wonderful mercy in sparing the Israelites, when he destroyed the Egyptians, and delivering them from their cruel bondage.

Ver. 12.] See xi. 4.

this night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment: *I am the LORD.*

13 And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.

14 And this day shall be unto you for a me-

Will smite all the firstborn, &c.] A most grievous judgment; all children being very dear to their parents, especially their firstborn; and those more especially who are their only children, as it is likely they were too many in Egypt. It was the sorer plague also, because no man's children were spared, that he might comfort his neighbours; but they were all at the same time bewailing their loss. It is not certain by what sort of death they were smitten; but it was sudden, and extinguished them all in the same moment.

Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment:] And so Moses tells us he did, Numb. xxxiii. 4. From whence it appears that the Egyptians were idolaters in Moses's days; and the Jewish doctors will have it, that all their idols were destroyed this night. So Jonathan in his Paraphrase: "Their molten images were dissolved and melted down; their images of stone were dashed in pieces; their images made of earth were crumbled into bits, and their wooden ones reduced to ashes." Of the truth of which we cannot be assured; though we meet with it not only in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 48, but in the author of Dibre hajamin, &c. or, the Life and Death of Moses; whose words are these: "All the first-born, both of man and beast, were smitten; the images also and pictures destroyed; whereupon the Jews borrowing gold, silver, and garments of the Egyptians, they went away laden with riches, according to what God said to Abraham (Gen. xv. 14), 'That nation whom they serve will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance.'" This the heathen seem to have understood (for this story reached them) as if they had carried away the gold and silver and garments of the Egyptian idols: for so Trogus reports it (Justin, lib. xxxvi. cap. 2), that when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, *Sacra Egyptiorum furto abstulit*; "he stole away the holy things of the Egyptians," which he makes the reason why Pharaoh pursued them. Artapanus also in Eusebius saith, that most of their temples were overthrown by an earthquake (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27).

There are those, who by Elohim understand nothing but their princes or judges, the great men of the kingdom, upon whom the judgment of God was now executed. But another place in this book (xx. 23) plainly determines it to signify images.

I am the Lord.] There is no other God but me: as he had said he would make both the Israelites and Pharaoh also to know (x. 2, xi. 7).

Ver. 13. *The blood shall be to you for a token]* Or a sign, by which the Israelites were assured of safety and deliverance from the destroying angel. Of which token, if we may believe Epiphanius, there was a memorial preserved even among the Egyptians themselves, though they were ignorant of the original of their own rites. For at the equinox (which was the time of the passover) they marked their cattle and their trees, and one another *ἰν μέλινον*, with red ochre, or some such thing, which they fancied would be a preservative to them.

and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever.

15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel.

16 And in the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall

When I see the blood,] Wheresoever my angel finds this blood upon the door-posts.

I will pass over you, &c.] Here is the reason of the name of *pesach*, as the Hebrews call it; or *pischa*, or *pascha*, as it is called by the Chaldees: because God ordered his angel to pass over, or pass by, the children of Israel, and not to smite anybody in their families, when he smote every firstborn of the Egyptians (ver. 23).

Ver. 14. *This day shall be unto you for a memorial;]* To preserve in mind God's wonderful works, which "he made to be remembered" (Ps. cxi. 4), that is, ordered and disposed things in such a manner, that they should not be forgotten: particularly by instituting a festival solemnity upon this day, as it here follows.

Ye shall keep it a feast] Called the feast of the passover: the rites of which are all manifestly contrived to preserve a memory of the benefits they now received.

An ordinance for ever.] To the end of that economy. For it often signifies only a long duration, as Deut. xv. 17. And here imports no more, but that they should keep this ordinance, not only now, but when they came into the land of Canaan.

Ver. 15. *Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread;]* The seven days following the feast of the passover, were observed as a distinct festival, and called "the feast of unleavened bread" (ver. 17), because no bread that had any leaven in it, might be eaten all that time. Which the Jews expound thus: not that they were bound to eat unleavened bread all those seven days (which was necessary only on that night when the passover was killed), but only not to eat leavened bread. That was utterly unlawful; but they might eat rice, or parched corn, or any such thing (see Patavius in Epiphanius. Hæres. lxx. n. 11).

At their march, indeed, out of Egypt, they were forced to eat unleavened bread (having none else to eat) not only for seven days, but for a whole month: that is, from the fifteenth of the first month, to the fifteenth and sixteenth of the next, when God gave them manna and quails (xvi. 1, 12, 13). But necessity, as I said, compelled them to this; they having nothing else to support them in the wilderness during that time; because through haste, they were constrained to bring their dough out of Egypt unleavened (ver. 39).

The first day ye shall put away leaven] Which they searched with great diligence the evening before; that the smallest crumb might not be left behind. So their doctors tell us, particularly Maimonides in his treatise on this subject (see Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. cap. 17).

That soul shall be cut off] See concerning this *cereth* (or cutting off), which is often mentioned in these books, Gen. xvii. 14. Most think it a punishment by the hand of God, and not of man.

Ver. 16.] The first and the last days of the feast of unleavened bread were kept holy (the other five were working days), because, as God delivered them from their cruel bondage in Egypt upon the first day,

be an holy convocation to you; no manner of work shall be done in them, save *that* which every man must eat, that only may be done of you.

17 And ye shall observe *the feast of unleavened bread*; for in this selfsame day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day in your generations by an ordinance for ever.

18 ¶ In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even.

so he overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea upon the seventh.

No manner of work shall be done in them,] No manner of servile work (see Lev. xxiii. 7, 8).

Save that which every man must eat, &c.] He that did any other work was to be beaten. For they equal these days with the Sabbath in this regard; that whatsoever work was forbidden on the Sabbath might not be done on any such days as these, which they call *good days*. But they might provide good cheer on these days; though not more than could be eaten. See Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 19, where he shows at large what things might be done, and what not on these days, according to the opinion of their doctors.

Ver. 17. Ye shall observe the feast of unleavened bread, &c.] He repeats it again because it was a thing of great moment, to have these seven days observed entirely, and not only the passover upon the fourteenth day in the evening: that they might every year think so long of God's great goodness, in delivering them from their miserable condition in Egypt, as not to let the sense of so singular a benefit slip at any time quite out of their minds.

By an ordinance for ever.] See ver. 14.

Ver. 18. In the first month, on the fourteenth day] The passover was celebrated in the conclusion of the fourteenth day of this month; just before the beginning of the fifteenth day. For the next morning, when the Israelites, immediately after they had eaten the lamb, were hastened out of Egypt, was not part of the fourteenth day, but of the fifteenth: as we read Numb. xxxii. 3.

Until the one and twentieth day of the month at even.] That is, for seven days (as was said before, ver. 15, and again is repeated ver. 19), which began immediately after the eating the paschal lamb, in the end of the fourteenth day. For if they should be reckoned from the beginning of the fourteenth day, there would be not seven, but eight days of unleavened bread.

Ver. 19. Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses:] This still makes the precept stricter; that they were not only to abstain from any thing leavened, but not so much as to have it in their habitations. Accordingly the Jews tell us, of an exact search which every one was bound to make, with lighted wax candles, lest it should remain in any corner or crevice of the house. Their scrupulosity in this matter is exactly described by Buxtorf, in his Synag. Jud. cap. 17, p. 394, &c.

Whether he be a stranger, &c.] This is one of another nation; but had embraced the Jewish religion, by receiving circumcision. For none else were admitted to eat of the passover (ver. 48). Such a person was called by the Greeks, a *proselyte*.

Ver. 20. Ye shall eat nothing leavened:] This according to the Jews, explains what follows: "In all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread."

19 Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger, or born in the land.

20 Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.

21 ¶ Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them, Draw out and take you a lamb according to your families, and kill the passover.

22 And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike

That is, if they eat any bread at all, it was to be without leaven (see ver. 15). Accordingly, on the day before the passover, they were very busy in making cakes, which they call *mazzoth*, without any butter or oil, or so much as salt in them; of mere water and flour, which being very insipid, some made bold (as their authors tell us) to add eggs and sugar; and sometimes the richer sort made them of mere almonds; both for the honour of the feast (as they pretended) and for the comfort of sick and infirm people, as well as to render them more pleasant. Yet on the first day of the feast they would eat none of these, but only the *bread of affliction* (as they called it), made merely of meal and water.

Ver. 21. Moses called for all the elders of Israel,] Immediately after he had received the command from God, he summoned them to deliver it to the people, that it might be put in execution. Concerning *elders*, see iii. 16.

Draw out, and take you a lamb] It is thus expounded by Jonathan in his Paraphrase, "withdraw your hands from the idols of Egypt, and take a lamb to your families," &c. By which it appears, he thought this was opposed to the rites of the Egyptians: but I know not on what ground; for the Israelites offered no sacrifices there.

According to your families.] See ver. 3.

Kill the passover.] It belonged to every man to do it (as was said v. 6), and now there was no priest, as yet, ordained: but every father of a family exercised that office. I need not mention the manner after which the Jewish writers say it was to be slain.

Passover.] The Hebrew word *pesach* signifies principally the angel's *passing by* the Israelites when he slew the Egyptian children. From whence it came to signify also the lamb that was offered in memory of this deliverance: and was a means of it at this time. So it signifies here, and in many other places. And likewise it signifies all the sacrifices which were wont to accompany this lamb, and were offered to God with it, at this festival (Deut. xvi. 2). And, lastly, the feast itself is called by this name, Luke xxii. 1.

And here it may be fit to note, that the lamb being first killed in Egypt, it was killed in every man's house, for they had no altar there, nor any other place where they had liberty to kill it. But after they came to the land of Canaan, it was not lawful to sacrifice it anywhere, but in the place which God appointed for his worship (Deut. xvi. 2). From whence Maimonides concludes, that whatsoever they did with other sacrifices, yet this could not be offered in the high places, but only at the temple. And it is likely they did so in the wilderness, the tabernacle being newly erected at the keeping of the second passover (Numb. ix. 5).

Ver. 22. Ye shall take a bunch of hyssop,] So the leper was to be cleansed, and the house infected with leprosy (Lev. xiv. 6, 7, 49, 50, &c.), and so the prophet David prays to be purged from his sin, (Ps. li. 9).

the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the basin; and none of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning.

23 For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the Lord will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you.

24 And ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.

25 And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the land which the Lord will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service.

Whence it is that Hesychius calls this herb *βοτάνη καθαύουσα*, "an abstersive and purging herb," because it was appointed by the law of Moses for this purpose; otherwise, there is nothing abstersive in its nature.

Dip it in the blood that is in the basin.] The Hebrew word *saph*, which is here translated *basin*, is translated *cup* in Zach. xii. 2, but the LXX. and Vulgar take it to signify the *door* or *threshold* of the house where some suppose the lamb was killed. Certain it is, that some of the vessels of the sanctuary are called in the plural number *sippim* and *sippoth* (1 Kings vii. 50; Jer. lii. 19), though the vessels which received the blood of the beast at the altar of burnt-offerings are called by another name (see Exod. xxvii. 3). There were no such now, and therefore they received the blood at present in a common *basin* or *cup*.

Strike the lintel, &c.] Or *sprinkle* it, as many understand it. For there being, as yet, no altar, the blood is ordered to be *sprinkled* in this manner: having in it something of the nature of a propitiation. Because by this *sprinkling* of the blood, God's displeasure was turned away from the Israelites, when it fell upon those houses where his blood was not seen.

The two side posts.] See ver. 7.

None of you shall go out at the door.] The destroying angel could have discerned an Israelite from an Egyptian though he had met him in the street; but this was required, to teach them that their safety consisted in being under the protection of the blood of this lamb, which was shed to save their blood from being spilt. Thus in the flood there was no safety but in the ark: nor could Rahab have been saved, when Jericho was destroyed, out of the house where the scarlet thread was tied.

Until the morning.] When they were importuned by the Egyptians very early (not long after midnight, ver. 31, &c.) to be gone with all they had, out of their country.

Ver. 23. *For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians.*] As he had threatened (ver. 12). For he rehearses to the elders what God had told him.

When he seeth the blood, &c.] So he had promised before (ver. 13). Maimonides being of the opinion that the Zabii and other idolaters abhorred the killing of such creatures, thinks that God ordained this killing of the lamb, &c. both to purge the minds of the Jews from such false opinions, and make profession of the contrary; and to persuade men that that action which they accounted deadly preserved from death; according to these words, *The Lord shall pass over the door, &c.* (Par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 46).

Ver. 24. *Ye shall observe this thing, &c.*] Keep this feast, by sacrificing a lamb, and eating no leavened bread: though some of the ceremonies wherewith it was now observed, in aftertimes were not necessary.

26 And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service?

27 That ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And the people bowed the head and worshipped.

28 And the children of Israel went away, and did as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

29 ¶ And it came to pass, that at midnight the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that

Ver. 25. *When you be come to the land which the Lord will give you, &c.*] This deliverance is not to be forgotten when God hath given you rest, in the land he hath promised you. But there you are most carefully to preserve the memory of it, by keeping this feast every year. And, indeed, most think they were not bound to keep it till they came thither: but what they did in the wilderness the next year was by a special direction, not by virtue of the command in this chapter (Numb. ix. 1, 2, &c.).

Ye shall keep this service.] In all things, except what was proper and peculiar to their coming out of Egypt.

Ver. 26. *When your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service?*] When children were twelve years old, their parents were bound to bring them to the temple; where, seeing what was done at this festival, they would be apt to inquire into the meaning of it. At every feast also of the passover, the eldest person at the table instructed all the younger sort, that were there present, in the reason of this institution, rehearsing these very words, as Conradus Pellicanus observes: "This is the sacrifice of the passover, in remembrance that the Lord passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses."

Ver. 27. *It is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover.*] Or, the sacrifice of the passover to the Lord: i. e. in honour of the Lord, who passed over the Israelites, when he smote the Egyptians. It is frequently called by the name of a *sacrifice* (xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25; Deut. xvi. 4—6), and it is called *corban*; which is a name given only to those things which were brought to be offered up to God. See Numb. ix. 13, where, as it is called *corban*, so the same word is used for *bringing it*, which is commonly used about other sacrifices. And it further appears to have been properly a *sacrifice*, by the rites belonging to it: for the blood of it was sprinkled by the priests (2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11). Which, though it could not be done here, because they had no altar in Egypt; yet the posts of their houses (as I observed before) were sprinkled with it; and it had an effect accordingly.

The people.] To whom the elders (ver. 21), reported these things from Moses.

Bowed the head and worshipped.] Expressed their belief of what Moses had said; and humbly acknowledged God's goodness to them.

Ver. 28. *The children of Israel went away.*] To their several habitations.

And did as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron.] (ver. 1) They kept the passover.

So did they.] According to all the forenamed rites belonging to it.

Ver. 29. *At midnight the Lord smote, &c.*] According to the foregoing threatening (xi. 4, 5), see there.

The captive that was in the dungeon.] The pit or

was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle.

30 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for *there was not a house where there was not one dead.*

31 ¶ And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have said.

32 Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and bless me also.

hole under ground. For the Hebrew signifies the lowest part of the prison (see xi. 5).

Ver. 30. *Pharaoh rose up in the night,*] I suppose the angel made a great noise when he came to give the blow; which made the Egyptians start out of their sleep, and behold the calamity which was come upon them. Or perhaps the firstborn gave such a lamentable shriek, when they were struck, that it awakened the whole family.

There was a great cry in Egypt;] It is no improbable conjecture, which was made a great while ago by Fortunatus Scacchus, in his *Mirothec. Ebæochrism* (lib. i. cap. 6), that the solemn feast among the Egyptians, wherein they went about with candles in the night, seeking for Osiris, with tears and great lamentations, took its original from Pharaoh's rising up out of his bed at midnight, and all the Egyptians with him; who, lighting candles, and finding their children dead, bewailed them with loud cries. And it is not unreasonable to think, as he doth, that Pharaoh's eldest son, who was now slain, had the name of Osiris; whose sudden death, by this stroke, all posterity lamented in one night of the year. Which was when the moon was at full, as he observes out of Apuleius: which still confirms this conjecture; it being at a full moon when this slaughter was made, and the Israelites delivered out of Egypt.

There was not a house where there was not one dead.] If there were any children in it.

Ver. 31. *He called for Moses and Aaron*] By some of his servants whom he sent to them; as ver. 33 seems to signify.

By night,] He durst not stay till the next morning, for fear he should have been cut off also before that time.

Rise up,] One would think by this that they found them sleeping securely in their beds, when this deadly blow was given to the Egyptians.

Get you forth] For he was sorely afraid, if they stayed any longer, they would bring some greater mischief upon him.

Go, serve the Lord,] He had several times made this concession; but was never so much in earnest as now.

Ver. 32. *Take your flocks, &c.*] Though his heart had been often hardened, yet this slaughter of all their firstborn made such a deep impression upon him that he comes fully up to their terms, yielding for the present to all they had desired; though he did not continue constant in this mind, but soon revolted.

Bless me also.] Pray for me, as the Chaldee translates it.

Ver. 33. *The Egyptians were urgent upon the people,*] They that brought from Pharaoh a grant of all the Israelites desired (and others also who had lost their children), pressed very hard upon them to accept it, and that with all speed: not out of love to the Israelites, but for fear they should perish themselves, if they did not leave their country. Pharaoh, especially, seeing his firstborn, the heir of his crown, struck suddenly

33 And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, *We be all dead men.*

34 And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneadingtroughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.

35 And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment:

36 And the LORD gave the people favour in

dead, had reason to conclude the next blow would be at his own life.

Send them out of the land] This shows they were not merely dismissed, but entreated, nay, importuned, to depart. Such a change had this slaughter, and the general outcry that followed upon it, made in their hearts.

In haste,] They that were unwilling before to hearken to the Israelites' petition, now make their petitions to them: and were so glad to be rid of them, that they would not suffer them to delay their departure: nay, made a *golden bridge* (as we speak) for their speedy passage out of Egypt (ver. 35, 36).

We be all dead men.] They were desirous the Israelites should enjoy their liberty, rather than they lose their own lives.

Ver. 34. *The people took their dough before it was leavened,*] They seemed to have newly mixed their flour and water together, and kneaded it into paste or *dough*, as we translate it: but had not put any leaven into it, nor had time to make it into cakes, and bake them.

Their kneadingtroughs] The Hebrew word comprehends both the *dough* and the thing wherein it was contained: which in viii. 3, we translate *ovens*, and here *kneadingtroughs*, in which their dough was carried.

Being bound up in their clothes] The Hebrew word for *clothes*, signifies any thing that covers another; or wherein it is wrapped; as the *dough* was in linen clothes, it is most likely (for that is usual), to keep it from the cold air, which was sharp in the night, and would have hindered its rising.

Upon their shoulders.] For we do not read of any wagons or horses they had for the carriage of their goods out of Egypt.

Ver. 35. *The children of Israel did according to the word of Moses;*] Who had commanded them from God, to do as it here follows (xi. 1, 2), which was their warrant, and justified the fact.

They borrowed of the Egyptians, &c.] So most understand it: though some think it was a free gift which the Egyptians bestowed upon them; when they were very desirous (as we read before) to have them gone out of their country; which made them not only entreat but hire them to depart. So Jacobus Capellus, ad A. M. 2503. They that had denied them leave to go away for a few days (saith he), now press them to depart with all speed; quin et precibus Israelitas demulcent, ac donis onerant Ægyptii (see iii. 23). But it is commonly thought, that the Egyptians imagined the Israelites only desired to appear as well adorned as they could before their God, at the great feast they were to hold in the wilderness, and so they readily lent them these jewels and fine clothes to deck themselves withal: which they hoped would be restored to them again as soon as the sacrifice was over.

Ver. 36. *The Lord gave the people favour, &c.*] As he had promised, iii. 21, and see xi. 3.

the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them *such things as they required*. And they spoiled the Egyptians.

37 ¶ And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot *that were men*, beside children.

38 And a mixed multitude went up also with

So that they lent unto them such things as they required.] Though the men borrowed as well as the women (xi. 3), yet the women are only mentioned (iii. 23), because they borrowed most: and the women and maidens of Egypt might be the more willing to bestow their jewels and earrings upon them, that they might woo their husbands, children, and relations, to be gone with all speed.

They spoiled the Egyptians.] God hath a supreme right to all things; and there was a just cause why he should transfer the right of the Egyptians unto the Israelites (see xi. 2). Unto which add this story, which is told in the Gemara of the Sanhedrim; that in the time of Alexander the Great, the Egyptians brought an action against the Israelites, desiring they might have the land of Canaan, in satisfaction for all that they borrowed of them when they went out of Egypt. To which Gibeah ben Kosam, who was advocate for the Jews, replied, that before they made this demand, they must prove what they alleged, that the Israelites borrowed any thing of their ancestors. Unto which the Egyptians thought it sufficient to say, that they found it recorded in their own books; mentioning this place. Well then, said the advocate, look into the same book, and you will find the children of Israel lived four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; pay us for all the labour and toil of so many thousand people as you employed all that time, and we will restore what we borrowed. To which they had not a word to answer. Tertullian mentions such a controversy, or plea between the two nations (lib. ii. advers. Marcion.), where he relates this from an ancient tradition (see Mr. Selden, lib. vii. de Jure Nat. et Gen. cap. 8). Besides this, it is not impertinent to observe that the Egyptians were declared enemies to the Jews; now it is not unlawful to spoil an enemy; nor ought this, upon that account, to be called a theft. This reason Clemens Alexandrinus joins to the former (see lib. i. Stromat. p. 345, D.). But nobody, I think, hath expressed this in better words, and more full of sense, than our famous Dr. Jackson, book x. upon the Creed, chap. 40, where considering God, as become the King of this people, in a proper and peculiar manner; and considering, also, what unsufferable wrongs the king and people of Egypt had done unto this people of God, who were now become his peculiar subjects or *proprietary lieges*; he concludes, that this fact, even by the course of human law, or law of nations, was more justifiable, than royal grants of letters of mart, or other like remedies are, against such other nations as have wronged their subjects, or suffered them to be wronged by any under their command, without restitution, when they solemnly, or by way of embassy demanded it. In short, whatsoever the Hebrew women took from the Egyptians, they took and possessed, *by the law of reprisal*: that is, by virtue of a special warrant, granted by the Lord himself, as he was now become, in special, not only the God of his people, but their King.

Ver. 37. *Rameses*] Whether this were a city or a country, the Israelites seem in this place to have made a general rendezvous (as we now speak), it being well known to them: for they were thereabout first planted (Gen. xlviii. 11).

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them; and flocks, and herds, *even very much cattle*.

39 And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual.

40 ¶ Now the sojourning of the children of

Succoth.] This being the fifteenth of Nisan, they began to keep the feast of unleavened bread at this place: called Succoth from the booths or tents which were here first erected (no houses being there), wherein they continued while they lived in the wilderness; and many preferred them before houses, when they came to Canaan. Whence we read so often such expressions as these: *To thy tents, O Israel, or, They went every man to his tent.*

It is an idle fancy of R. Solomon upon this place, that they travelled this day one hundred and twenty miles, and that in an hour, because it is said (xix. 4), that God *carried them on eagles' wings*. Some will have this place called Succoth, because the cloud of glory began here first to overspread them.

Six hundred thousand on foot that were men.] i. e. Were twenty years old, and upward; all fit for war.

Beside children.] If we reckon all under twenty years of age, with all the women and old men, there could not be less than *fifteen hundred thousand persons*. A vast increase in the space of a little more than two hundred years, from seventy persons that went down into Egypt.

Ver. 38. *A mixed multitude went up also with them*:] Some think these were only a rabble that marched along with them; imagining they would return at three days' end. Which when they saw they did not, they began to mutiny, and quarrelled with Moses, &c. as the author of Dibre Hajanin tells the story. Others think that many Israelites had made marriages with the Egyptians (as some it is plain did, Lev. xxiv. 10), who now accompanied them at their departure, being loth to leave their relations. But it is most probable they were proselytes of the gate (as the Jews call them), who had renounced idolatry, but were not entered into the covenant, by being circumcised (see Selden, lib. i. de Synedriis, cap. 3). It is uncertain what number there was of these; but it appears they were a *multitude*.

Flocks and herds.] Some of which perhaps belonged to the mixed multitude: for they among the Egyptians that feared the Lord's word, preserved their cattle from the stroke of the hail, which destroyed all that was in the field (ix. 20).

Ver. 39. *They baked*] When they came to Succoth. *Unleavened cakes, &c.*] The Scripture often mentions such bread (Gen. xviii. 6; Numb. xi. 8; 1 Kings xvii. 13), *for it was not leavened*. They could not stay till it was leavened; being thrust out in haste as they were preparing it (ver. 33), which doth not signify that they put leaven to it, when they came to Succoth (as Grotius understands it), for that was inconsistent with the *feast of unleavened bread*; which they were commanded to keep (ver. 15), and which it is reasonable to suppose they now observed, as well as killed and ate the paschal lamb (ver. 6, 28).

Neither had they prepared for themselves any victual.] This justifies what I observed upon ver. 15, that they lived a whole month upon unleavened bread, till God sent them manna to eat.

Ver. 40. *Now the sojourning*] So the Hebrew word *nashab* must certainly signify: not merely dwelling (as the Vulgar Latin renders it) but dwelling like strangers, who are not in their own country. Thus

Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, *was* four hundred and thirty years.

41 And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame

Abraham is said to *sojourn* (Gen. xx. 1), and Isaac and Jacob (xxviii. 4). And therefore, whereas the Roman copy of the LXX. reads here *κατοικησας*, the "habitation," the Alexandrian copy hath *παροικησας*, the "peregrination" or "sojourning," as we well translate it.

[Of the children of Israel,] These words comprehend their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; as is evident from hence: that otherwise Israel himself should not be included in the sojourning, who was the person that brought them into Egypt, and lived there with his family seventeen years. Nor is any thing more ordinary in Scripture, than under the name of the father to comprehend all his posterity: and likewise, when the posterity is only mentioned to intend also their fathers: there being such a near union between parents and children, that they are considered as one person (Deut. xxvi. 5, 9; Judg. x. 11, 12; Hosea xii. 4, and many other places). And therefore the Samaritan copy here rightly reads, "the habitation of the children of Israel and of their fathers," &c. Which is not to be taken for a translation of these words, but an interpretation. And so some copies of the LXX. had it, as St. Austin observes, anciently; and Drusius lately mentions an edition, wherein it was thus paraphrased, *αυτοι και οι πατερες αυτων*, "they and their fathers."

[Who dwell in Egypt,] Here also the Samaritan copy hath it (as an explication, no doubt, not a literal translation), "who dwell in the land of Canaan and in Egypt." And so the Vatican edition of the LXX. "The habitation of the children of Israel, which dwell in the land of Egypt and in Canaan." Which is no late addition, but was in ancient copies; for Aben Ezra testifies in his commentary on this place, that they thus explained it, "which dwell in Egypt and in other countries:" as Drusius observes, in his *Quæstia per Epistolam*, 51.

[Was four hundred and thirty years.] That is, from the time of Abraham's coming from Charran into the land of Canaan (when this *sojourning* began) till their going out of Egypt, was just *four hundred and thirty years*. For from Abraham's coming to sojourn in Canaan, to the birth of Isaac, was *twenty-five years*; and Isaac was *sixty years* old when he begat Jacob; who was a *hundred and thirty years* old when he went down into Egypt: which numbers put together, make *two hundred and fifteen years*. And from his family's coming into Egypt, till the departure, was just as many more. Which agrees perfectly with what the apostle saith, that the promise made by God to Abraham and his seed could not be made void by the law, which was *four hundred and thirty years* after (Gal. iii. 16, 17). Now the first promise made to Abraham was, when God bade him go to Canaan, Gen. xii. 3 (see Gen. xv. 13). There are some indeed, that reckon their stay in Egypt to have been only *two hundred and ten years*; and then they took in the *five years* Abraham stayed at Charran, after he left Ur of the Chaldees, to make up these *four hundred and thirty years*: of which opinion is Drusius, in the place above mentioned. But Josephus saith expressly, that they departed out of Egypt, *διακοσιοις προς τοις δεκαεπτε ινιαυτοις υστερον*, "two hundred and fifty years after Jacob came into it" (lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 5).

All the difficulties that have been raised by commentators in the exposition of these words, are

day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt.

42 It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of

avoided by this interpretation; if we admit, that is, only these two synecdoches (the figure of part for the whole), first, that under the name of the children of Israel is comprehended Israel himself, with his father and grandfather: and secondly, that their sojourning comprehends the whole time that this nation dwelt in a land that was not theirs; half of which time, at least, was spent in Egypt (see Guliel. Vorstius, in his notes upon Tzemach David, p. 200, 205; Ludov. Capellus Chron. Sacra, p. 135). But especially our most learned primate Usher, Chron. Sacr. (cap. 8), where he largely confutes the contrary opinion: which, if any one desire to see defended, I know none that hath done it better than Gerhardus I. Vossius, in his *Isagoge Chronologica*, Dissert. vii. cap. 1, &c. where he fairly represents the arguments on both sides; but inclines himself to think the children of Israel dwelt four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; and endeavours to answer those who assert that interpretation which I have given (cap. xii.). But acknowledges ingenuously (cap. 6), that it is the sense, not only of the ancient Jews but of the ancient Christians (such as Eusebius, Epiphanius, and St. Chrysostom among the Greeks, and St. Jerome, St. Austin, &c. among the Latins), and of a vast number of later writers.

Ver. 41. *Four hundred and thirty years.*] These years (says St. Jerome in Gal. iii.), are to be computed, ab eo tempore, quo Deus ad Abrahamum locutus est, &c. "from the time when God said to Abraham, 'In thy seed shall all nations be blessed;'" i. e. when he went first to Canaan.

[Even the selfsame day.] They all went out on one day: or, they went out that very day four hundred and thirty years after Abraham came to Canaan. So faithful was God in his promise to his faithful servant.

[That all the hosts of the Lord, &c.] So they are called, for the Lord was become their king (as I observed, iii. 10), and now led them forth as their captain-general. And this word *hosts* imports that they went out not confusedly, but in good order (see xiii. 18); which is the more wonderful, there being such a vast number of them (ver. 37, 38), that one would think they could not so soon get together, especially in any order. But Josephus hath well resolved this: That Moses, having notice of God's intentions some days before (see ver. 1), had disposed them for their departure, *και διαταξας εις φρατριας*, "and distributing them into several companies," had appointed them the place of general rendezvous, as we now speak: or at least directed who should march first, and what order they should observe, that they might not hinder one another in their march.

Ver. 42. *It is a night to be much observed*] In the Hebrew (as the margin notes) *a night of observations*. That is, a *very remarkable night*; or a night in which there were many precepts to be observed, as some will have it. Or, as Conradus Pellicanus, a night in which the Lord, after a special manner, watched over the children of Israel. For which reason the Jews expect their Messiah to come in this night; foolishly imagining he will then find them all most ready to follow him to Jerusalem. For they are now corrupted in ancient tradition, which (I observed before, ver. 6), was remarkably fulfilled in our Saviour's suffering that very evening, when the paschal lamb was killed, and the children of Israel redeemed from the Egyptian bondage.

Egypt: this is that night of the LORD to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.

43 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof:

44 But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.

[*Unto the Lord*] In honour of him, who had graciously begun to fulfil his promise made to their forefathers (vi. 2-4).

[*This is that night of the Lord, &c.*] Which God hath commanded to be observed; because they came out at that season (Deut. xvi. 6), under his conduct from the Egyptian bondage. Or, it may be called *that night of the Lord*, because his power, and mercy, and faithfulness to his promises, so signally appeared that night.

Ver. 43. [*The Lord said unto Moses*] At the same time, I suppose, that he instituted the passover (ver. 1), he added this caution about it.

[*This is the ordinance of the passover:*] A further rule to be observed at this feast.

[*There shall no stranger eat thereof:*] Several of the Jewish doctors, by the son of a stranger, understand an apostate from the religion of Israel to strange worship, i. e. idolatry; as Mr. Selden observes (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 12, p. 479). But it is not to be so restrained, as appears from the next verse: which is a further explication of this. Wherein he ordains, that no man who did not embrace their faith and religion should eat of the passover, though he was a proselyte so far as to be permitted to live among them. For this being a commemoration of the great deliverance bestowed upon the Israelites, none but they were to partake of it; unless they would be circumcised, and thereby come into the covenant made with Abraham. Which gave them a title to all the privileges of his children; and obliged them, as well as the natural Israelites, to give public thanks for this work of their redemption from Egyptian bondage; to worship and serve their God according as he directed.

Ver. 44. [*But every man's servant that is bought*] As many were in those times and countries; who became their masters' proper goods, as much as their cattle.

[*When thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.*] He was not to be circumcised against his will: but if he refused, after a year's trial (as Maimonides expounds it), to receive circumcision, his master was to sell him again. For it is very unreasonable to think, that he was to be compelled to be circumcised, as those Hebrew doctors seem to understand it, who say, "That both master and servant were forbid to eat of it, till the servant was circumcised" (see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1). Where he shows at large, that, according to the Hebrew doctors, no man was to be admitted a proselyte, to partake of the paschal lamb, unless his whole family was circumcised with him, both children and servants.

Ver. 45. [*A foreigner*] The Hebrew word *toshab*, literally signifies a dweller or inhabitant: by which name those pious gentiles were called who renounced idolatry, though they did not embrace the Jewish religion; because they were permitted to settle among them, and dwell in their country, which was not allowed to other foreigners who continued idolaters (see Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 3, et cap. 5). Where, he observes, Maimonides makes this exception, that no such persons might dwell in Jerusalem,

45 A foreigner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof.

46 In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof.

47 All the congregation of Israel shall keep it.

48 And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the LORD, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him

because of the singular holiness of that city; but anywhere else they might, without the profession of Judaism.

[*An hired servant*] Some of them were servants to the Jews, and so dwelt in the same house with them: and were called *hiredlings*, when they bound themselves to serve their masters for three years: as the Jews gather from Isa. xvi. 11.

Ver. 46. [*In one house shall it be eaten, &c.*] In the first night wherein this sacrifice was slain, they were enjoined not to stir out of doors (ver. 23), and therefore not to carry forth ought of the flesh abroad into another house. Besides, they were in such haste, that they had no time to send messengers from one house to another; which Maimonides makes the ground of this precept (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46). In aftertimes also, that law being in force (ver. 4), that lesser households, who had not company enough to eat the lamb up, should join with some other; it is here explained, that, for maintenance of friendly society, they should not divide the lamb, and carry half of it to another house, but all meet together in one, and feast upon it. Which the ancient fathers looked upon as a figure of the unity of the church of Christ.

This seems to be the most natural interpretation, that it should be eaten under one roof. But R. Simeon saith, "That God only bound them to eat in one company or society, not in two; but it was lawful for that family or society to eat it in two places, if they pleased" (Halicoth Olam, par. iv. sect. 3).

[*Neither shall ye break a bone thereof.*] The Jews fancy this law doth not speak of the lesser bones; but only of those in which there was some marrow. So Maimonides in his treatise on this subject (chap. 10, sect. 1). And indeed, being eaten in haste, they could not have time to break the bones, and suck out the marrow: which in the place before named (in his More Nevochim), he makes the foundation of this precept: which was exactly fulfilled in the true paschal lamb; of which this was a figure, when he was offered for us, as St. John observes (xix. 33, 36).

Ver. 47. [*All the congregation of Israel shall keep it.*] Women and children, as well as men. In aftertimes, indeed, only men were bound to come up at the three feasts (xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16). But devout people were wont to carry up their wives and children with them, as appears by Elkanah (1 Sam. i. 3, 4), and by Joseph, who went up with the blessed Virgin (Luke ii. 41). And that place in Samuel informs us, that their sons and daughters did eat of the sacrifice.

[*When a stranger, &c.*] See ver. 43, 44.

[*No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.*] Which is the reason, some have thought, why they observed no passover, as far as we can find, after that in the very next year that followed their coming out of Egypt; because they were generally uncircumcised. But this seems to relate to men of another nation: who, though they were not admitted to eat of the lamb, unless they received circumcision; yet having renounced idolatry, the Jews say they might eat of the unleavened bread, and of the bitter herbs.

come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is born in the land: for no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.

49 One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you.

Ver. 49. *One law shall be to him that is homeborn, &c.*] Nothing could be more equal than this, that no man should enjoy this privilege who was not of their religion; but whosoever embraced it should partake of the same benefits.

Ver. 50. *Thus did all the children of Israel;*] They kept this passover; and afterwards another, by a special direction (Numb. ix.), but afterward, during their stay in the wilderness they seem to have omitted it; because they omitted circumcision, without which (ver. 48) they were not capable to partake of it.

As the Lord commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.] Observed it according to all the rites here enjoined: though in future ages several of them were omitted, as peculiar to this time.

Ver. 51. *It came to pass the selfsame day, &c.*] On the day after they celebrated the passover, they began their march out of Egypt. Which was a thing so notorious, that the memory of it was preserved in nations far distant from them: though the story was much corrupted, for want of the knowledge of these sacred records. For Strabo mentions it (to name no more) but saith the report was, that the Jews were descended from the Egyptians (which might be believed by strangers, because they dwelt so long in that country), and that Moses was an Egyptian priest, who had a certain part of that country; but being dissatisfied with the present state of things forsook it, and many worshippers of God (πολλοὶ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον) followed him. For he affirmed and taught that the Egyptians had not right concep-

50 Thus did all the children of Israel; as the Lord commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

51 And it came to pass the selfsame day, that the Lord did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their armies.

tions, who likened God to wild beasts and cattle: nor did the Africans or Greeks conceive of him better, who represented him like to men: εἴη γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ μόνος θεός, τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὃ κατοικεῖμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ χόσμον: "For there is but this one only God, that which comprehends us all, and the earth and the sea, which we call heaven, and the world," &c. In which words, he makes Moses not so foolish as the Egyptians and other nations, but attributes a senseless opinion to him (that the world, which we see, is God), if this be the right reading of his words. But I rather think the place is corrupted, and it should be, εἰς οὗτος μόνος θεός ὁ ποιῶν τὸ περιέχον, &c. For this is Moses's true opinion, with which he begins his books, that "he only is God who made the heaven and the earth." And this perfectly agrees with what follows in Strabo, "That no image can be made of this God, and therefore a temple without any image must be erected to him," &c. Which is not true, if we take the visible world to be God; for the image of the heaven and the earth may be made, as well as of a man or a beast. However, it is true, which he adds, That Moses persuaded many good men, and brought them into that country, where Jerusalem is the chief city; where they lived a long time happily, δικαιοσυνήντες καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες, "doing justly, and being sincerely religious." Which is a notable testimony from a pagan, to be noted aureis literis "with letters of gold," as Casaubon speaks in his Annotations on this place (lib. xvi. p. 760, 761).

CHAPTER XIII.

1 The firstborn are sanctified to God. 3 The memorial of the passover is commanded. 11 The firstlings of beasts are set apart. 17 The Israelites go out of Egypt, and carry Joseph's bones with them. 20 They come to Etham. 21 God guideth them by a pillar of a cloud, and a pillar of fire.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatso-

ever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast: it is mine.

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses, saying,*] After they came to Succoth; where I suppose the Shechinah appeared to him, as it had done in Midian and in Egypt; to direct him in his conduct.

Ver. 2. *Sanctify*] Separate, or set apart, from common uses, for I appropriate them to myself, as it follows in the end of the verse. This word (*sanctify*) as our Mr. Mede observes, signifies differently in several conjugations. Sometimes it signifies to devote, and consecrate to the service of God; and sometimes to use a thing as holy, being already devoted to him. And thus he reconciles this place, where he bids him sanctify all the firstborn (i. e. look upon them as things separated to his own use, and therefore not to be used by them), with another place (Lev. xxvii. 26), where he saith concerning the firstborn, "No man shall sanctify it, it is the Lord's;" i. e. the Lord hath already set it apart to himself, and therefore no man is to consecrate that again, which God hath already consecrated, that is, taken for his own (see lib. ii. de Sanctuario Dei, p. 552).

Firstborn,] There were two sorts of firstborn. Some

who were the firstborn of the father, called, "the beginning of his strength" (Deut. xxi. 17). The other, the firstborn of the mother, which are called here, "whatsoever openeth the womb." The Hebrews make a great difference between these two; and say, that to the former sort belong the prerogatives, both of having the inheritance of his father, and also the priesthood: but to the latter only belongs one of these prerogatives, viz. the priesthood. And they gather it from this very place, "whatsoever openeth the womb" (which is the firstborn of the mother) is mine; i. e. shall be employed in my service. But instead of these, God took the Levites to attend upon him (Numb. iii. 12). After which, the firstborn were to be redeemed at a certain rate, which was part of the priests' maintenance (Numb. xviii. 15, 16). See Selden de Successionibus, ad Leg. Hebr. cap. 7.

Among the children of Israel,] Whom this precept concerned peculiarly, but no other people. Therefore the Jews say, that if one of them and a gentile had any beast in common between them, the firstborn was free (as their phrase is), because it is here said, *among the children of Israel*, not the gentiles (see Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 38).

3 ¶ And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of bondage; for by strength of hand the Lord brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten.

4 This day came ye out in the month Abib.

5 ¶ And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which he sware unto thy

fathers to give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this month.

6 Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord.

7 Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters.

8 ¶ And thou shalt shew thy son in that day,

Both of man and of beast:] And is further directed and explained (ver. 12, 13).

It is mine.] And therefore was to be offered to God, if it were a male of any beast; only an ass was to be redeemed (xxxiv. 19, 20). God intended by this law to teach them (saith R. Levi Barzelonita) that the whole world was his; and that men had nothing in it, but by his gracious grant: who challenged the firstborn of every thing to himself, because all was his. For the firstborn male was dearer to a man, saith he, than the apple of his eye (as no doubt he was), yet he was bound to consecrate him to God. But the plainest reason of this law was, to put them in mind of God's miraculous providence, in sparing their firstborn, when those of the Egyptians were all killed. To which the Jewish doctors add a more ancient right God had to them: being the persons who sacrificed to God, before priests were ordained by the law of Moses. Onkelos takes the "young men" (xxiv. 5) to have been the firstborn, and the priests mentioned xix. 22 (Aben Ezra also upon Numb. xvi. 1, saith the same), the truth of which I shall examine there.

Ver. 3.] God seems to have commanded Moses, at the same time he gave this precept, to repeat here at Succoth, what he had said to them in Egypt, concerning the observation of the passover, and of the feast of unleavened bread. It being of great moment to have the benefits hereby commemorated in perpetual remembrance.

Remember this day,] Which was the first day of unleavened bread; commanded to be kept holy (xii. 16).

By strength of hand the Lord brought you out] That is, by a miraculous power; which constrained Pharaoh to let you go, much against his will. So God promised at his first appearance to Moses (iii. 19).

There shall no leavened bread be eaten.] Unleavened bread was to be eaten on the passover night, and afterwards no leavened bread. See xii. 15, &c., where this is represented as the sense of the Jews: but the sixth and seventh verses following seem to say otherwise.

Ver. 4. *This day same ye out]* In the morning of this day they began their march.

Abib.] This word *Abib* signifies an ear of corn: for then barley began to ear. The Syriac word *hobaba* hath something of its sound, which signifies a flower: and so they here translate it, the month of flowers. Whence Macarius saith, God brought Israel out of Egypt, *iv τῷ μηνί τῶν ἀνθῶν*, "in the month of flowers;" when the pleasant spring first appeared (see xxxiii. 15).

Ver. 5.] From hence they conclude, this precept did not oblige them in the wilderness: but it was by a special direction and command that they observed it the year after this (Numb. ix. 1, 2, &c.). See xii. 25, 50. In confirmation of which (Deut. xii. 1) is alleged, where he begins to recapitulate all the laws they were to observe in Canaan; among which

this is one (xii. 5, 6), yet this alone would not have been sufficient to prove this (for he might be thought now only to reinforce his laws, at their entrance into Canaan), if he had not added, (ver. 1), "Ye shall not do after all the things you do here this day," &c. Which supposes, that in the unsettled condition wherein they were in the wilderness, they had not kept themselves to all those rules which follow, and had been formerly delivered.

Which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee, &c.] Gen. xv. 18, 19, &c.

Keep this service] Both the passover, and feast of unleavened bread (xii. 25).

Ver. 6. *Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread,]* This seems to confute what the Jews say, that they were not bound to eat unleavened bread, but only when they ate the passover (see xii. 15).

In the seventh day shall be a feast] As the first day was holy (ver. 3), so was the last (xii. 16), that they might not fail in their gratitude for so great a benefit as they now commemorated.

Ver. 7. *Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days;]* This seems still to make the injunction plainer that for seven days together they should eat *unleavened bread*. Which is so often repeated, because this made them sensible, more than any thing else, of the wonderful hand of God in bringing them out of Egypt; which was so sudden and hasty, that they had not time to bake the dough they had prepared, nor so much as put leaven to it (xii. 39).

No leavened bread be seen with thee,] From whence the Jews conclude, that not only all such bread is to be carefully sought for and thrown out of their houses, but all their vessels that have been used the year before thoroughly scoured, lest any thing should remain in them, that might give a tincture of acidity to the bread that might be made in them. In which work they spend some days before the passover, as Buxtorf observes in his Synag. Jud. cap. 17.

Neither shall there be leaven seen with thee, &c.] For which cause, as he there observes, they abstain, all the time of this feast, from all such things as may possibly have some leaven in them. As from honey and sugar, which are often adulterated with flour, &c.

Ver. 8. *Thou shalt shew thy son in that day, &c.]* That is, on the first day of unleavened bread, it was to be a part of their religion, to instruct their children in the meaning of their killing the lamb, and their abstinence from leaven. This the Jewish doctors make one of the DCXIII. precepts, that parents should tell the whole story of their going out of Egypt on the fifteenth day of Nisan: when every one, according to his ability, was bound in his own language, to bless and praise the name of God, for all his miracles, which he wrought for them. They are the words of R. Levi of Barcelona.

Ver. 9. *It shall be for a sign unto thee]* These seem to be still the words that the parents were to say to their children upon the festivals; whereby

saying, *This is done* because of that *which* the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.

9 And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt.

10 Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year.

they taught them to look upon this observation as a token or memorial of what God had done for their forefathers, when he brought them out of Egypt.

Upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes.] To make thee as sensible of God's goodness, as of that which thou hast in thy hand; or of a thing that is continually before thine eyes. The Jewish superstition about their phylacteries took its rise from hence, but without any good ground: it being evident he speaks not of tying parchments, or any thing else about their wrists, &c., but of teaching their children the meaning of their holy rites. And so some of themselves have expounded it; particularly the forementioned R. Levi of Barcelona, who gives this reason why such abundant care was taken to have these things remembered: "Because (saith he) this is the foundation of our law and of our religion: for which cause, in all our blessings and prayers, we commemorate our coming out of Egypt; because it is a sign to us, and a perfect demonstration of the creation of the world, and that our Lord God is the author of all creatures, and doth what he pleases, &c. For who but he could change the course of nature, and work such great and unheard of signs as he did? This is sufficient to confute those that deny the creation of the world; and to establish us in the belief of God most blessed: to and to persuade both that there is a providence, and that his power extends to all things, both in general and particular." So he (see ver. 16).

That the Lord's law may be in thy mouth.] That their children might be able to declare to their posterity the law of the Lord about these matters.

For with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt.] By slaying all their firstborn in one night (see iii. 19).

Ver. 10. *Keep this ordinance*] Of the passover; and of the feast of unleavened bread.

In his season.] On the fourteenth, and the seven following days of the first month.

Ver. 11.] Under the name of Canaanites he comprehends all the rest of the seven nations. And these words seem to import, that the law of the firstborn was not to take place till they came into the promised land. Yet we find (Numb. iii. 12, 13), that God demanded all the firstborn of them, though he took the Levites in their stead: and both being numbered, and there being two hundred seventy-three firstborn males more than there were Levites (ver. 41—43), he required them to be redeemed at five shekels a piece, and the money to be given to the priests (ver. 46—48). But, perhaps, after this the law was not observed till they came to Canaan.

As he sware unto—thy fathers, &c.] See ver. 5.

Ver. 12. *Thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix.*] Here he shows what he means by that sanctification of the firstborn, which was mentioned, ver. 2, and for what end and reason this was ordained. For that which is called sanctifying there, is here called *setting apart*, or separating it from the rest of that kind of creatures, for another use, viz. to be sacrificed to the Lord. For the word *hecarta*,

11 ¶ And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee,

12 That thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix, and every firstling that cometh of a beast which thou hast; the males shall be the Lord's.

13 And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem

which we translate *set apart*, is, in the Hebrew, *made to pass over*. Which is explained, xxii. 30. *Thou shalt give it unto me*; viz. to be offered at the altar.

The males] The firstborn are only mentioned (ver. 2), but here it is explained to signify only the males. If a female came first, and afterward a male; that male was not devoted unto God, because it did not open the womb, a female coming before it.

Shall be the Lord's.] And therefore *set apart* from common uses, to be employed in his service. That is, every firstling male of a cow, sheep, or goat, was to be offered in sacrifice; and the blood being sprinkled on the altar, the flesh of them was given to the priests (see Numb. xviii. 17, 18), where what is here briefly delivered, is there more largely explained.

Ver. 13. *Every firstling of an ass*] There was the same reason for horses and camels; but an *ass* is only mentioned, because abundance of asses were bred in Judea; where there were few horses or camels. And therefore Numb. xviii. 15, it is said in general, "the firstlings of unclean beasts thou shalt redeem."

Thou shalt redeem with a lamb;] Which was to be sacrificed to God. If a man had not a lamb, he was to give the price of one. And because all lambs were not of an equal price (some being worth more than others), the rabbins say that a *good eye*, i. e. liberal man, gave a shekel; an *evil eye* half as much; and a *middle sort* of men gave three quarters. It was to be redeemed also within thirty days.

If thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break (or cut off) his neck.] It was to die, one way or other, and not to be employed in common use; but thus to be disposed of, if they would not give a lamb, or its value, in exchange for it. Which men might sometimes be unwilling to do, because asses being so plentiful in that country, they might not be worth so much as a lamb. It is no improbable conjecture of Mr. Selden, that from this law of redeeming asses, the gentiles took up a fancy, which was common among them, that the Jews worshipped an ass's head (see lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1). Which was one of their calumnies also of Christians (whom they took to be the same with the Jews), as we read in Minutius Felix, Tertullian, and others.

All the firstborn of man among thy children shalt thou redeem.] See ver. 11. Human sacrifices were not acceptable to God. For though he once commanded Abraham to offer his son, yet it was not actually done: and here he declares he did not approve of such sacrifices, by commanding them not to offer their firstborn to him, as they did the firstling of clean beasts; but to redeem them. For the way of the gentile world, even in those days, was to offer their children to Moloch, as appears from (Lev. xx. 2), where he orders him to be put to death, who "gives any of his seed to Moloch." The very same phrase which is used (as I observed, ver. 12), concerning sacrificing the firstlings of their oxen, &c. And in Lev. xviii. 21, he uses both phrases, saying, "Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to pass through to Moloch, or to pass over to Moloch." The very same word, which we here translate (ver. 13), *set apart*. And it

it, then thou shalt break his neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy children shalt thou redeem.

14 ¶ And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage:

15 And it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: therefore I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix,

was but necessary to give such precepts; for, notwithstanding these prohibitions, the Israelites fell into this barbarous way of worship, as we read Ps. cvi. 37, 38.

Now this redemption of their firstborn, was not long after ordered by God himself; who took the Levites instead of them (as we read, Numb. iii.), where a certain sum of money was paid for all the rest of the firstborn, that were above the number of the Levites. Which sum, they who were born after that time paid to the priest.

Nor was this a thing unknown to the gentiles. For Paulus Venetus saith (lib. i. cap. 45), that the inhabitants of that region in India, called Tanguth, redeemed their sons with a ram, which they offered after the manner of the Hebrews: which makes it probable that this law of Moses had reached them; there being several remainders of the Hebrew language upon those coasts; as Huetius observes in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 6.

Ver. 14. *When thy son asketh—What is this?* Desires to know the meaning of this; or, whence this custom of offering or redeeming the firstborn males is derived.

Say unto him,] Great care was taken for the instruction of children in the rites of their religion; it appears by this, and by ver. 8, where they are commanded to teach them the reason of eating unleavened bread, as here of their consecrating the firstborn.

By strength of hand, &c.] See iii. 19.

Ver. 15. *Pharaoh would hardly let us go,]* Obstinately persisted in his resolutions to keep us in slavery or hardened his heart (as it may be translated by adding the word *libbo*) against all the monitions which had been given him, and the plagues inflicted on him.

The Lord slew all the firstborn] Which struck such a terror into him, that immediately he dismissed us (xii. 30, 31, &c.).

Therefore I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix, &c.] Because when he slew all their firstborn, he spared ours (xii. 13, 23, 27).

Ver. 16. *It shall be for a token upon thine hand,]* By this means there was a perpetual remembrance preserved, of God's gracious deliverance of them, when the firstborn of Egypt were slain. For nothing else can be meant by these words, but that they should endeavour, by consecrating their firstborn, to keep that Divine benefit in mind as carefully as if they had put a sign upon their hand, or bound it upon their forehead before their eyes, to help their memory. For it is a plain allusion to those, who, having frail memories, are wont to tie a thread, or some such thing upon their finger, that they may not forget what they desire to remember: that which is upon their hand being continually in view, and so not easily forgotten.

For frontlets] Whatsoever be the original of the

being males; but all the firstborn of my children I redeem.

16 And it shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt.

17 ¶ And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had led the people go, that God led them not *through* the way of the land of the Philistines, although that *was* near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt:

18 But God led the people about, *through*

Hebrew word *totaphot*, which we translate *frontlets*, it is certain it signifies no more than *zicaron*, in the ninth verse: a *memorial*, or *monument*, as the Vulgar translates it. And so Aben Ezra expounds it, *ke nu zicaron*, as it were a memorial; and that *immoveable*, as the LXX. take it. Yet from hence the Talmudists have extracted their phylacteries (or pieces of parchment, wherein this and other texts were written) which they fancied were a kind of amulets to defend them from dangers. For so they are said to be in the Gemara Shabbath; and therefore used in their prayers, to drive away evil spirits, as J. Braunius, and many others have observed. I shall only note further, that this word is found but three times in the law, and yet the Vulgar translates it three several ways; which shows how little the original is understood, though the sense of it is plain and certain (see Petitus, his Var. Lectiones, cap. 20).

For by strength of hand the Lord brought us forth] This hath been often mentioned in this very chapter (ver. 3, 9, 14), and now here repeated again, to make them very sensible, both that they owed their deliverance entirely to God, and that nothing was too hard for him to accomplish.

Ver. 17. *God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, &c.]* That was the nearest way from Egypt to Canaan, by the Mediterranean, to the river of Egypt (as the Scripture calls it), and so to Azotus and Gaza: which was a journey of not above three days, as Philo says; others say of ten. But certainly it was no great way, for the sons of Jacob went it often to and fro (Gen. xlii. xliiii. &c.).

Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, &c.] The Philistines being a very warlike people, would, in all likelihood, have opposed their passage; and God knew the temper of the Israelites to be so timorous, that they would run away, and rather return to Egypt, than fight their way through Canaan. For all people grow cowardly by being kept long in slavery; which breaks their spirits, and sinks them as low as their condition. They fought indeed about forty days after this with Amalek; but it was only one battle; and then they were provided with arms (which they had not now) from the Egyptians, whom they found dead on the sea-shore. But their base temper appeared too plainly the next year, when they heard the report of the spies concerning the inhabitants of Canaan; which put the whole congregation into a fit of despair, and made them think of returning to Egypt (Numb. xiv. 1, 2, &c.).

Ver. 18. *But God led the people about,]* The pillar of cloud mentioned ver. 21, in which the Lord was conducted them in a way further about.

Through—the wilderness] He led them to the right hand towards the Red sea, and the desert of Arabia.

Of the Red sea:] See x. 19.

Children of Israel went up harnessed] Or, in military order: for though it is not likely the Egyptians

the way of the wilderness of the Red sea; and the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt.

19 And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and

suffered them to have any arms, yet they did not go away tumultuously, like fugitives; but marched like soldiers, in good order; and, as in our margin it is translated, *five in a rank*. Which is the interpretation of Theodotion anciently, and of Montanus, and others, lately. But Hottinger translates it, *in the form of an army*. For the Arabic word *chamis* (from whence, it is likely, comes the word *chamushim*, here used) signifies *exercitus πενταμερης*, "an army consisting of five parts;" which are the front, the main battle, the right wing and the left, and the rear; Smegma Orient. p. 71. And so David Chytraeus long before him, quinque agminibus, "in five bodies," as we now speak. But the interpretation of Aben Ezra seems to be the most proper of all others, who simply expounds it, *girt about their loins, i. e. expedite or ready*, as Onkelos expresses it. For the Hebrew word *chomash*, signifying those parts that are under the five small ribs, about which men were wont to be girt when they went to fight or to travel; this word may well be rendered *εὐχρηστοι*, "well girt," as the LXX. translate it (Josh. i. 14, iv. 13). Here indeed they translate it, *ἐμπνεύοντες διὰ γενναῖα ἀνέβησαν*, "they went up in the fifth generation" (which St. Austin follows), taking Jacob for the first; Levi the second; Coath the third; Amram the fourth; and Moses the fifth. But as this exposition doth not agree with the Hebrew word, which doth not signify the fifth, but *in fives*; so it cannot be said of the children of Israel in general; for all the tribes were not yet come to the fifth generation. Our Nic. Fuller hath a learned discourse upon this word, in his Miscellan. lib. v. cap. 2.

Ver. 19. *Moses took the bones of Joseph with him*; And of the rest of the patriarchs, it is very probable (see Gen. i. 25). To which add, that the Jews say, every tribe took care of the founder of their family. Which is far more likely than the story which the author of the Life and Death of Moses tells, that he carried Joseph's coffin out of Egypt upon his own shoulders; it being more probable that some of that tribe undertook the care of it. That it was buried in the bottom of Nile, is not affirmed only by him, but by Jonathan: though others say in the banks of Nile. And they seem all to have it out of the Talmud; where in the Gemara of the title Sota, cap. i. sect. 47, they say the Egyptians themselves buried their relations in the Nile, to make the waters prosperous. And tell a vain story, how a woman called Serach told Moses where the body was, when he was at a loss where to find it, after he had searched for it three days (as the forenamed author tells the tale, while the Jews were borrowing jewels of gold and silver of the Egyptians), and that he called it up from thence, throwing (as he adds), the ineffable name into the river; which brought it up presently, though in a leaden, or, as others say, a marble coffin.

He had straitly sworn the children of Israel, &c.] See Gen. i. 25. From whence Gaulmyn (lib. ii. cap. 2, Annot. in Vit. Mos.) not improbably conjectures, that the custom was derived of carrying the ashes of their ancestors into their own country; first by Hercules among the Greeks, and long before by the Egyptians and Chaldeans: whom the Arabians, as he shows, imitated in following ages.

Ver. 20. *They took their journey from Succoth.*] They stayed but one day at Succoth (as Jac. Capellus

ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you.

20 ¶ And they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness.

21 And the LORD went before them by day

supposes), where Moses gave the foregoing directions to them: and upon the sixteenth of Nisan they marched to Etham.

Encamped in Etham.] So called, he thinks, because the way here was very rugged and craggy.

In the edge of the wilderness.] Next to the Red Sea, called the wilderness of Shur (xv. 22).

Ver. 21. *The Lord went before them*] By the Lord we are here to understand the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, which appeared to Moses in the bush (iii. 2), when he gave him commission to bring his people out of Egypt, and directed him all along in his embassy to Pharaoh, and his treaty with him (vi. 1, &c.), and now appeared in a glorious cloud to conduct them, and to assure them that he would take care of them. For this cloud was a symbol of his gracious presence with them, and special providence over them; it being an emanation from him (saith R. Levi ben Gerson), which was a sign (as others of the Jews speak) that God was night and day with them, to keep them from all evil. To which the prophets allude (Isa. lii. 12; Micah ii. 13). And though his going before them be not mentioned before this time, yet it is most likely he appeared in this cloud, as their conductor, from their first coming out of Egypt, and led them to Succoth, and then to Etham; as he did afterwards to their stations (Numb. x. 11, 12, &c.). Which doth not signify that God himself moved from place to place (for he is always everywhere), but this cloud was moved by him from whom it came, as a token that he was present, by his special favour, care, and providence, wheresoever it went.

By day in a pillar of a cloud.] It appeared from heaven, I suppose, in the form of a great long pillar; which below spread itself abroad, and covered the whole host of Israel. For it is certain, it was not only their guide to lead them the way (as it here follows), but also was a covering to them, whereby they were assured of the Divine protection. For so we are informed, Numb. x. 34, xiv. 14; Psalm cv. 39; 1 Cor. x. 1. And I can see no reason to think these were different clouds, since one and the same would serve both purposes.

By night in a pillar of fire.] The same pillar appeared in the night like fire, which in the day was like a cloud. The reason of which follows:

To give them a light;] That they might be able (as the next words tell us) to travel by night as well as by day. Which made the Psalmist say, he went before them *all the night with the light of fire* (lxxviii. 14). This flaming light I take to have been a glorious appearance of angels from the Shechinah; for they always attend upon the Divine Majesty, "who maketh his angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire" (Psalm civ. 4). Some fancy there were two distinct pillars, as these words and the next verse seem to import: but it is plain by other places, it was but one and the same pillar, which had these different appearances (see the next chapter, xiv. 19, 24; Deut. i. 33). Therefore Salvian rightly describes it (lib. i. de Gubern. Dei), where he calls it, *Mobilis columnam, nubilam die, igneam nocte, congruas colorum diversitates pro temporum diversitate sumentem*: sc. ut et diei lucem lutea obscuritate distingueret, et caliginem noctis flammæ splendore claritatis radiaret. And see Greg. Nyssen. de Vita Mosis, p. 175.

in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night:

Now that the Shechinah, or the *glory of God*, was in this cloud, appears from hence: that it was the same cloud which afterwards rested upon the tabernacle as soon as it was set up, and is called the *cloud of the Lord* (Exod. xl. 38; Numb. x. 34). For the *glory of the Lord* was within the tabernacle, as the cloud was without it (Exod. xl. 34, 35, &c.). And it is there also described just as it is here, that it appeared as a cloud upon the tabernacle by day, and as a fire by night (xl. ult.). And so it is also Numb. ix. 15, 16. "At even there was upon the tabernacle as it were the appearance of fire, till the morning. So it was always, the cloud covered it by day, and the appearance of fire by night." And then it conducted them in their journeys, as it did now (Exod. xl. 36; Numb. ix. 17, 18, &c.). Which shows that this cloud, which now conducted them out of Egypt, was the very same with that which afterwards settled upon the tabernacle; and the *glory of the Lord* being in that, I make no doubt it was so in this. Which is the reason that the Lord is said to *go before them*, and to *lead them* by this cloud. For though the Lord of all doth not go from place to place, yet this visible *glory*, which represented him as in a special manner present with them (and therefore called the *glory of the Lord*), did go along with them in the cloud, to their several stations, whither they removed.

It is no improbable conjecture of Taubman, in his notes upon Virgil, that from hence it was, that the poets never made a deity to appear but in a cloud with a brightness in it. Ad hoc exemplum credo poetas sancivisse nullum numen mortalibus apparere

22 He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, *from* before the people.

sine nimbo. Est autem nimbus, nubes divina, seu fluidum lumen, quod Deorum capita tingit.

Ver. 22. *He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night.* That is, it continued with them as long as Moses lived, till they came to pass over Jordan into Canaan; when not this cloud but the ark was their guide. And it need not seem incredible, saith Clemens Alexandrinus (lib. i. Stromat. p. 348), that they were thus led by a pillar of fire, when the Greeks consider that Thrasylulus, they believe, was thus directed, ἵπρ ἑωρᾶτο προηγούμενον, &c. "by a fire which went before him," and conducted him in a dark winter night through unknown ways, when he brought back the Athenian exiles to their country. The wonder was, that this fire continued to lead the Israelites forty years in the wilderness; whereas that of Thrasylulus (if it be true) was but a short appearance. As that light also was, which they say shone from heaven to bring Timoleon unto his port when he sailed to Italy.

This pillar, also, the same Clemens thinks (in the place now named), signified τὸ ἀνικνύοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ, "that no image could be made of God." From whence he thinks likewise it was, that the ancient heathen, before they learnt to make images, set up pillars and worshipped them, ὡς ἀνιδρύματα Θεοῦ, "as representatives of God." Which Huetius hath lately made out in many examples (in his *Quæstiones Aletane*, p. 205, 206), and thinks that from this pillar, which had two appearances, the two pillars were erected to Hercules in his temple at Tyre; and two likewise set up in the Temple of the Sun in Egypt.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 God instructeth the Israelites in their journey. 5 Pharaoh pursueth after them. 10 The Israelites murmur. 13 Moses comforteth them. 15 God instructeth Moses. 19 The cloud removeth behind the camp. 21 The Israelites pass through the Red sea, 23 which drowneth the Egyptians.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between

Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea.

3 For Pharaoh will say of the children of

CHAP. XIV

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses.*] Out of the cloud (where the Shechinah was) from whence he afterwards gave all his laws.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn.*] They were going directly towards Horeb: unto which they asked leave to go, three days' journey. And might have reached it this night, if they had proceeded forward on the left hand into the wilderness. But by this order they turned to the right hand, into a road that led them towards the Red Sea; which made Pharaoh think they had lost their way.

Encamp before Pi-hahiroth.] Before the straits of two great mountains; full of dangerous holes: as many think the word *Hiroth* imports. And *pi*, in Hebrew, signifying a *mouth*, this word *Pi-hahiroth* may properly be translated in our language, the *chaps of Hiroth*. The former day they had marched about eight miles; but now they doubled their pace, and marched sixteen miles from Etham hither.

Between Migdol and the sea.] Some take *Migdol* to have been a *tower* or *fortress* (for the word carries that signification in it), upon the top of one of the moun-

tains before mentioned. But there was a tower called *Μάγδαλος*, by Herodotus, and Hecateus, and others; which Bochart probably conjectures was this place. Certain it is, there was a city in Egypt called Migdol (Jer. xlv. 1). And Stephanus de Urb. expressly saith that *Μάγδαλος* was πόλις Αἰγύπτου; but whether the same with this place, I cannot determine.

Over against Baal-zephon.] This, I doubt not, was the name of a town also, or city; as Ezekiel the tragedian expressly calls it. For *Baal* was the name of a city (1 Chron. iv. 33), and it is likely there being more of the same name, this was called *Zephon*, to distinguish it from some other *Baal* in those parts. Either because it lay north, or had an eminent watch-tower in it. There are those indeed, who, following the Jewish doctors (see Selden de Diis Syr. Syntagma. i. cap. 3), imagine there was an image of *Baal* set up by the magicians of Egypt, by Pharaoh's order, near this Arabian gulf, to hinder the Israelites in their passage. And Varenus doth not quite disallow this: for he takes *Baal-zephon* to have been a great plain, into which they were to enter, by the chaps of Pi-hahiroth: in which an idol was worshipped, which looking from the Red Sea towards the north, was called

Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.

4 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; that the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord. And they did so.

5 ¶ And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and

of his servants was turned against the people, and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?

6 And he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him:

7 And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.

8 And the Lord hardened the heart of Pha-

the lord of the north; as Baal-zephon imports. And Kircher seriously maintains it had a power of fascination, to stop the Israelites in their journey: which there is no ground to believe. For such images made under a certain constellation, to avert evil things, &c. were not now in use: being no older, there are good reasons to think, than the time of Apollonius Tyaneus, who was the first inventor of them.

Ver. 3.] Here he gives the reason for this order; that Pharaoh might be enticed to pursue them, imagining they were in such difficulties that they could not avoid falling into his hands.

Entangled in the land,] Perplexed, or dubious; not knowing which way to go.

The wilderness hath shut them in.] They were cooped up, he thought, by the sea, and by craggy mountains, which it was impossible for them to pass; especially being encumbered with a multitude of women, children, and cattle.

Ver. 4. I will harden Pharaoh's heart,] He had hardened it before (ix. 12, x. 1), but now ordered things so, that he was more senseless than ever he had been. For having lately felt such a heavy stroke upon all the firstborn, as mollified his heart for the present, and moved him to let Israel go; it was the highest degree of infatuation not to fear (as formerly they had done, xii. 33), that the next blow (if he pursued them) would be at himself and his followers.

I will be honoured upon Pharaoh;] Show my power and justice in their destruction. Which would not have been so visible, had they died of the pestilence, when the cattle died of the murrain, and Pharaoh's heart was first hardened, as it was by hardening him so far as to follow the Israelites into the Red Sea, where he and his whole host were overthrown; which made the terror of the Lord's wrath manifest to all the world.

That the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord,] Have the greatest demonstration of my irresistible power (vii. 5). For the more strange the infatuation was, which led Pharaoh and his host to such an ignominious death, the more apt the hearts of the people that remained would be to acknowledge the hand of God therein.

They did so,] They marched to this place on the seventeenth day of Nisan; which was their third day's journey. Jacobus Capellus thinks they rested this day, being the Sabbath, and came not hither till the eighteenth.

Ver. 5. It was told the king of Egypt that the people fled:] Some of the mixed multitude that went along with them (xii. 38), seeing this strange turn, it is likely forsook the Israelites, and returned to Pharaoh, to inform him that they had lost their way: and were shifting for themselves by flight into dangerous places. Or as it is commonly interpreted, some spies, which Pharaoh had upon them, seeing them leave the way to Horeb, whither they desired to go three days' journey to offer sacrifice; concluded they never intended to return to Egypt, but would run quite away from them. This news, we may suppose, was brought to Pharaoh on the eighteenth day.

The heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people,] They had quite forgot their late fears, (xli. 33), which made such a change in them, they would not suffer the Israelites to stay any longer in their country; but those fears being vanished, their minds altered again, and they repented they had dismissed them.

And they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go?] What a gross error have we committed, in losing the labour of so many slaves? Covetousness, as I have observed, often had a principal hand in hardening Pharaoh's heart.

Ver. 6. He made ready his chariot,] Caused it immediately to be made ready: which we may suppose was done on the nineteenth day, when he began to pursue them.

Took his people with him:] All that were wont to attend him on such occasions.

Ver. 7. He took six hundred chosen chariots,] The best chariots in Egypt, which were always ready prepared for such expeditions.

All the chariots of Egypt,] That could be got ready on a sudden: for he had not time to muster all his force; but made all the haste possible, lest the Israelites should get out of the straits wherein they were, and go so far away that he could not overtake them. For which reason he pursued them with chariots and horsemen, who could make larger marches than the Israelites on foot. The strength also of this kingdom consisted in chariots, which carried men in them, who fought out of them. And every one knows that Egypt abounded with horses, as well as chariots; and that they were accounted very strong in these (Isa. xxxi. 1); yet Bochartus thinks all besides the six hundred chariots royal were only carriages for their baggage (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 9).

Captains over every one of them,] This shows there were men in them, and that to every chariot there belonged a troop of horsemen (we know not of what number) who were commanded by a captain. The Hebrews say there were fifty thousand horsemen: the Arabians make them as many more.

Ver. 8. The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh,] As he said he would (ver. 4).

He pursued after the children of Israel:] Of all the infatuated resolutions (to use the words of a famous divine of our own, Dr. Jackson, book x. chap. 11), that either king or people adventured on, the pursuing of the Israelites with such a mighty army, after they had most earnestly entreated and urged them to leave their country, may well seem to every indifferent reader the most stupid. And so the author of the Book of Wisdom justly censures it (xix. 3); "For whilst they were yet mourning and making lamentations at the graves of the dead, they added another foolish device, and pursued them as fugitives whom they had entreated to be gone." Yet Josephus gives good hints, that even this effect of Divine infatuation, was but such as had seized upon worldly-wise princes and statesmen in former ages, and may hereafter be inflicted upon more.

Went out with an high hand,] Boldly and with as-

raoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: and the children of Israel went out with an high hand.

9 But the Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon.

10 ¶ And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord.

11 And they said unto Moses, Because there

were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? Wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt?

12 Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness.

13 ¶ And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show to you to day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to day, ye shall see them again no more for ever.

sured confidence; not sneakingly, like slaves or fugitives. So Onkelos understood it, when he translated it *bareheaded*, i. e. confidently, fearing nothing; having been delivered and conducted by the powerful hand of God; as it is often repeated (xiii. 9, 14, 16), unto which some refer this phrase, and not to the Israelites (see Drusius, lib. xvi.; Observat. cap. 2).

Ver. 9. *The Egyptians pursued after them.*] This did not discourage Pharaoh and his servants: who, perhaps, were of the same mind with the Syrians: who fancied the God of Israel might not be alike powerful in all places; but though he was stronger than their gods in the hills, yet they might be too hard for him in the plain (1 Kings xx. 23). So the Egyptians, who had seen how much superior Moses was to their magicians, might possibly thus reason with themselves (as the same learned doctor expresses it), "Who knows whether all this power was given unto Moses to be exercised only within the meridian or climes of Egypt; or whether his commission extend over Palestine and Midian?" They presumed, at least, that the Lord God of the Hebrews had not granted Moses such a command over the armies or host of men (though he had done wonders among reasonless creatures), as the king of Egypt had: because the Israelites, they knew, had no skill in feats of arms, no captains of infantry, and no cavalry at all, no weapons or engines of war; of all which the Egyptians had great abundance. Upon these, or some such-like presumptions, and vain collections, they became fool-hardy, and desperately resolute to be revenged upon the children of Israel, for all the losses they had sustained by their leaders, Moses and Aaron.

All the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen and his army.] By this it appears that there were both horse and foot, who pursued them; though it is likely the foot were mounted, to make the greater speed.

Overtook them encamping by the sea, &c.] On the twentieth day of Nisan, towards evening, they had got within sight of the Israelites, who were just settling their camp where God directed them (ver. 2), having had no time to rest themselves after so long a march.

Ver. 10. *When Pharaoh drew nigh, &c.*] So that the Israelites could discern with how great a force the Egyptians were about to attack them.

They were sore afraid.] They who had marched hither with an high hand (ver. 8), full of alacrity and courage, now on a sudden were so dismayed, that their spirits sunk within them. For they had not a settled confidence and resolution wrought in them, by all the wonders God had done for them: but, though whilst they thought Pharaoh disheartened to meddle any more with them, they went on boldly; now their hearts began to fail them, when they saw

him at their backs. For they were unfit for war, weary also, and in a very bad place.

The children of Israel cried out unto the Lord.] This had been the proper remedy against their fears, if, in a thankful remembrance of what God had often done for them, they had humbly beseeched him to deliver them in this great strait: which was as easy for him to do, as to work all the miracles they had seen in Egypt. But these cries seem, by what follows, to have been rather the effect of despair, than of hope in God: such shrieks as naturally proceed from men when they are ready to perish. Pellicanus, indeed, thinks, that by the *children of Israel* is meant such as were good among them, who fell to their prayers, when the rest fell to railing, as it follows in the next verse. But such words comprehend the generality of the people, and not only the better sort.

Ver. 11. *Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?*] This is very sarcastical and reproachful language; arguing the height of discontent, or rather of rage against their deliverer. From whence we may learn the wicked temper of those who are ungrateful and unmindful of benefits.

Wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us.] They seem to have been of the very same temper with the Egyptians, who had no remembrance what they had lately felt, nor made any reflections on what God had done in a wonderful manner among them. This neglect of God bred such a hardness of heart in them and their posterity, as was in Pharaoh and his people; which provoked God to harden them, in the same manner, to their utter destruction. For, as the apostle observes, "God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth" (Rom. ix. 18). His mercy, that is, was not so tied to them, because they were Abraham's seed, but he could and would harden them, as he had done Pharaoh, if they proved as obstinate as he was.

Ver. 12. *Let us alone.*] Do not increase our miseries, by attempting in vain to deliver us. This they seem to have said, after the first message Moses and Aaron delivered to Pharaoh: which only moved him to lay greater burdens on them (v. 21, vi. 9).

For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians.] This is the language of base and servile spirits; who chose rather to live miserably than die gloriously in pursuit of their liberty.

Ver. 13. *Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not.*] These words argue a most admirable spirit that was in Moses: who was neither angry with them, nor dismayed at the approach of Pharaoh: but meekly and sedately exhorts them to be of good courage, and to trust in God; who, he assured them, would perfect what he had begun for them.

Stand still, &c.] I do not desire you should do any thing else, but only hope in God; and wait

14 The LORD shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.

15 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward:

16 But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea.

17 And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and

upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

18 And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

19 ¶ And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them:

20 And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a

to see what he will do for you before this day be done.

For the Egyptians whom ye have seen to day, ye shall see them again no more for ever.] Never see them more as they saw them now, alive; though they saw them lie dead (ver. 30), after their overthrow in the sea. For the power of Egypt was so shattered by that loss, and they were so confounded by it, that we never read of the least inclination in them to attempt any thing upon the Israelites, though they wandered forty years in the wilderness.

Ver. 14. *The Lord shall fight for you,]* He would not have them discouraged for want of arms, because they should have no need of them: God himself undertaking to defend them, and to discomfit their enemies.

Ye shall hold your peace.] Be still, and do nothing: not so much as strike one stroke. Or, as some understand it, do you forbear your cries. Or, he will silence all your murmurings.

Ver. 15. *And the Lord said unto Moses,]* See ver. 1. *Wherefore criest thou unto me?* He doth not blame him for crying unto him for help; but bids him continue his prayer no longer, for he would do as he desired. Grog. Nyssen calls this *ἀλάλητος κραυγή*, "a cry without a voice;" a silent cry without speaking a word (de Vita Moysi, p. 175).

Speak—[that they go forward:] Towards the sea, before which they lay encamped (ver. 3, 9).

Ver. 16. *Lift thou up thy rod,]* By that rod where-with he had done such wonders in Egypt, he bids him believe he would work a passage for them, even through the sea.

Divide it:] Command that it be divided, and I will effect it. For so it is explained, ver. 21, nor could it be done by any power but God's.

And the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea.] See ver. 21, 22.

Ver. 17. *And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them:]* The Lord would have this noted, as a special judgment of his upon them. For of all the hardenings or infatuations which had possessed the hearts of the Egyptians, this was the greatest and strongest, that they should adventure to follow the Israelites, when they saw, or might have perceived, the Red Sea to open her bosom, to give the children of Israel a passage.

I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, &c.] By giving them such an overthrow, as shall magnify both my power and my justice in their destruction. All the former judgments upon their cattle, or corn, and the annoyances on their bodies by frogs, and lice, and blains, were the just awards (as the forenamed Dr. Jackson speaks) of God's punitive justice upon Pharaoh and his servants, for the wrongs that he had done to his people, by bringing them into undeserved bondage. But he had not yet called them to an exact account, for making away so many infant males of the Hebrews as they drowned in the river. For that in-

nocent blood he reckons with them now, and made them the executors of his vengeance on themselves, by giving them over to their own proud presumptions of good success, in pursuing those whom they had lately besought to depart out of their land.

Ver. 18. *The Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord,]* See ver. 4.

When I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, &c.] By overthrowing them in the Red Sea; that the blood of the Hebrew infants might be required of them, according to the law of retaliation, or most exquisite rule (as the above-mentioned author speaks) of punitive justice.

Ver. 19. *The angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them:]* The Lord himself is said to go before them, xiii. 21 (see there). But we must understand, that, where the Lord is, he is attended by his angels. Some of which were sent from the Shechinah, which was in the cloud, to conduct the Israelites, and take care of them. The Jews take this angel to have been Michael, as we read in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 42. "He sent Michael the great prince," &c. for so he is called, Dan. xii. 1. Others say it was Gabriel. But whichever of them it was, he was only the commander of that host, which by the Lord's commandment went before the Israelites to fight for them. The Jews call him by the proper name of Metraton; because he marked out their camp for them [where they were to stay; and described their way in their journey to their several stations; especially here in the Red Sea (Vid. Buxtorf. Histor. Arææ, cap. 14, p. 131, &c.)]

The pillar of the cloud went from before their face, &c.] This, it is evident, was done in the day-time, before the night came: for the cloud appeared only in the day: in the night there was the appearance of fire.

Stood behind them:] To protect them from the Egyptians, who were at their backs (ver. 9, 10), but, by the intervention of this cloud, quite lost the sight of them; as it follows, ver. 20.

It may be noted here therefore once for all, that there were several uses of this cloud. First, to guide them in their journey. Secondly, to protect them from the heat of the sun in the wilderness; where there were few trees, and no houses to shelter them. Thirdly, to defend them from their enemies, that they might not assault them. And lastly, God from hence, when there was occasion, spake with Moses. For it is plain, he appeared in this cloud (Deut. xxxi. 15). And from thence talked with Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 9, 10). And out of it called for Aaron and Miriam to come before him (Numb. xii. 5).

Ver. 20. *It came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel:]* This was done, as I said, in the day-time: and in the next words Moses informs us how it appeared in the night.

It was a cloud and darkness to them,] i. e. To the Egyptians.

cloud and darkness *to them*, but it gave light by night *to these*: so that the one came not near the other all the night.

21 And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the LORD caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry *land*, and the waters were divided.

22 And the children of Israel went into the

It gave light by night to these:] To the Israelites.

It was at the same time both a cloud and a fire: being dark on the one side, next to the Egyptians; but bright and shining on the other side, next to the Israelites. So that they might see their way, and the Egyptians not see them, nor come near them (as it here follows) all the night.

Ver. 21. *Moses stretched out his hand over the sea;]* Having his rod in his hand (ver. 16). This was done in the beginning of the night.

The Lord caused the sea to go back] By this it is evident that the Shechinah, or the Divine Majesty, was present, and employed his angel (ver. 19) in this work. As it is well explained by Pirke Eliezer, cap. 42. "The holy blessed God appeared in his glory upon the sea, and it fled back," &c. So the Psalmist understood it (lxxvii. 16). "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee: they were afraid," &c. And (ver. 19), "Thy way is in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters," &c.

By a strong east wind] Or rather a south wind, as the LXX. translate the Hebrew word *kadim*. Which, though it properly signifies the east, yet in many places it is used, as Bochart hath demonstrated, for the south (par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 15).

All that night,] All the forepart of the night.

Made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided.] Or rather, *after the waters were divided*, as Bochart shows it should be translated. Thus Isa. lxiv. 5, "Thou art wroth, and we have sinned;" the meaning is, "for we have sinned," as Kimchi, and we ourselves also there translate it (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 2, p. 409).

Dry land,] The memory of this was preserved by the heathen, as we find in Diodorus Siculus (lib. iii.), Παρά δὲ τοῖς πλησίον κατοικοῦσιν Ἰζυθοφάγους παραδίδοται λόγος, &c. "There is a tradition among the Iethyophagi, who border upon the Red Sea, which they had received *ex προγονῶν*, 'from their progenitors,' and was preserved unto that time; how that, upon a great recess of the sea, every place of that gulf (*κόλπου*) was quite dry; and the sea falling to the opposite part, the bottom of it appeared green (from the weeds, I suppose, that were in it), but returning back with a mighty force, possessed again its former place." No man is so blind as not to see that this is a description of the miraculous work of God for the Israelites: the memory of which those barbarous people did not suffer to perish, but propagated it to their posterity; as Bochart well observes in his Phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 29. The Egyptians, indeed, we may well think, endeavoured to blot out the memory of this shameful overthrow, and kept no record of it; for Diodorus, it seems, could learn nothing of it among them (though he lived a considerable time there), but received this intelligence from the poor Iethyophagi, among whom this tradition was carefully preserved.

Waters were divided.] Into twelve parts (*εἰς δώδεκα ὁδοῦς*), according to the number of their tribes, as the tradition is in Epiphanius Hæres. lxiv. n. 6, 9, which he had from the Hebrews, who affirm the same in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 42. And Kimchi mentions it upon Psalm cxxxvi. 13, where, because God is said

midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters *were* a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

23 ¶ And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, *even* all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.

24 And it came to pass, that in the morning watch the LORD looked unto the host of the

to have divided the Red Sea into parts, they fancy there were twelve divisions; every one defended with a wall of water. But there is no foundation for this in these words, nor in Psalm lxxvii. 19, where *paths* being in the plural number, they thence also deduce the same conceit, of a several path to every tribe. See Simeon de Muis on that place.

Ver. 22. *The children of Israel went into the midst of the sea]* About the second watch of the night (which was at midnight), and about break of day they were got quite through.

Upon the dry ground.:] This was not looked upon by the ancient heathen as incredible: for Homer makes Neptune driving his chariot upon the waves; and the sea withdrawing its waters. And the waters of Scamander being swelled to destroy Achilles, he makes to be dried up by Vulcan. As Nonnus also makes Bæcehus drying up Hydaspes; and smiting Orontes with his Thyrsus to have gone over it. See the learned Huetius in his *Questiones Alnetanæ*, p. 206, &c.

And the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.] The strong east wind contributed, no doubt, to the cutting of the waters in two; though not without the help of angelical powers. But I do not see how it could do any thing to the compacting of the waters to such a degree, that they were no longer fluid, but firm as a wall or bank on each side of them (see xv. 8), which was effected wholly by the angelical ministry; who upheld the waters in that solid posture, till the Israelites were got quite out of the sea.

It hath been an old question, whether they went quite cross the Red Sea, or only fetched a compass, and came out upon the same shore from which they went in. The Hebrew doctors are of opinion, that they did not go over to the opposite shore: but making a kind of semicircle, found themselves, when they came out, in the same country where they were before: their reasons are, because they could not in so small a time have marched so far; for in the narrowest place, that gulf is twelve or fifteen German miles over; so that they could not all have passed through in less than three or four days, as David Chytræus makes the computation. But especially, because Moses expressly makes their next station to be in the wilderness of Etham (Numb. xxxiii. 8.), in which place they were the day before they came to the sea (Exod. xiii. 20). Therefore they were still in the same wilderness.

Ver. 23.] Imagining, perhaps, they were still upon the land, or on the shore where the sea was retired; the darkness of the night not suffering them to see the mountains of water on each side: or rather their minds being so intent to overtake the Israelites, that they regarded nothing else: for when men are engaged in a fierce chase of any thing, with eager desires and confident hopes of it, it takes up all their thoughts, and makes them overlook what lies before their eyes. Thus by their own violent passions and proud imaginations, God blinded their minds and hardened their hearts (as he said he would, ver. 17), to rush into their own destruction.

Ver. 24. *In the morning watch]* The Romans, and

Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians,

25 And took off their chariot wheels, that they drove them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians.

26 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen.

27 And Moses stretched forth his hand over

the Hebrews also, divided the night into four parts, containing three hours apiece. At the beginning of which the guard of soldiers, who kept watch by night, was changed; and thence they were called *watches*. Two of them we find mentioned by St. Luke, xii. 38, and St. Mark mentions them all (xiii. 35), and particularly the fourth watch (Mark vi. 48), called here the *morning watch*; which was the last of them; between day-break and the morning.

The Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians] He frowned upon them; as we speak now in our language. For in Scripture, God is said sometimes to *look* upon those whom he is about to punish (Psalm civ. 32; Amos ix. 4; Hab. iii. 6).

Through the pillar of fire and of the cloud,] By this it is manifest that there was but one pillar, which had different appearances: and that the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, was in it. It seems to me also very probable, that whereas the cloudy part of the pillar had been towards the Egyptians hitherto, now it turned the other side towards them: and the fiery part appearing, let them see the danger wherein they were: and by its amazing brightness perfectly confounded them. So Philo seems to have understood it, when he saith (lib. iii. de Vita Mosis) that "from the cloud that was in the rear of the Israelites, there shone a fiery appearance of the Diety." Which may well be the meaning of the Lord's *looking through the pillar of fire*.

And troubled the host of the Egyptians,] This glorious light, I suppose, flashing in their faces, put them into a consternation. But Josephus adds, in the conclusion of his second book of Antiquities, that there was a dreadful storm or tempest, with thunder, lightning, and hailstones from the cloud, which put them into the greatest disorder; as it follows in the next verse. Hither Dr. Hammond refers those words of the Psalmist (lxxvii. 17, 18), "The clouds poured out water; the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad. The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven: the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook," &c.

Ver. 25. *And took off their chariot wheels,*] Some of their wheels were broken by the hailstones, or burnt with lightning: with which, it is likely, their horses were so affrighted, that they fell into disorder; and one chariot running against another, some of their wheels were taken off.

Drove them heavily:] They could scarce move, or but very slowly, when their wheels were broken, or taken off: and those wheels that remained sunk deep into the sand, when the waters returned upon it.

So that the Egyptians said, &c.] They cried one to another, Let us give over the pursuit.

For the Lord fighteth for them, &c.] Now Moses's words were made good (ver. 14), and the Egyptians themselves acknowledged it (ver. 18).

Ver. 26. *And the Lord said unto Moses,*] He spake to him out of the cloud, where the Shechinah was; as I have often said.

the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.

28 And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them.

29 But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters

Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, &c.] God was pleased to use the ministry of Moses in the drowning of the Egyptians, as he had done in the preservation of the Israelites in the sea (ver. 16, 21), that all the people might honour and reverence him, and be obedient to his direction.

Ver. 27. *And the sea returned to his strength*] The sense is truly expressed by the Vulgar, "the sea returned to its former place." The great walls, or heaps of water, which were on each side of them, falling down, and rushing upon them with a mighty force, overwhelmed them, and filled the whole channel as before.

When the morning appeared;] When it was light.

The Egyptians fled against it;] They were so frightened by the light which shone in their faces, and by the thunder and hail, &c. that they turned back; and, like men distracted, ran and met the waters, which came tumbling down upon them.

The Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.] The Hebrew word imports throwing down with violence and precipitation: and may be translated, *threw them headlong*. Artapanus in Eusebius (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27) tells this story from the Heliopolitans, after the same manner that Moses doth: only he makes some of them to have been killed with lightning, and the rest drowned.

Ver. 28. *And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, &c.*] The sea returned to its former depth; so that they were swallowed up.

All the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them;] Some have fancied that all the host of Pharaoh did not perish; but only so many of them as pursued the Israelites into the sea; which they fancy this place intimates some did not. But the plain meaning is, that they all *came into the sea* after the Israelites, and were all drowned in it. It is a wilder fancy, that Pharaoh alone was saved by the angels Michael and Gabriel; because he cried out, as he had done heretofore (ix. 27), "The Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked." Thus the author of Dibre Hajamin (or, the Life and Death of Moses), who says they transported him to Nineveh, where he reigned as long as the Israelites wandered in the wilderness. The same is related by other such fabulous writers, who are soberly confuted by Aben Ezra from the following words, "There remained not so much as one of them;" and from xv. 4, 19, where Moses in his song plainly makes Pharaoh to have perished among the rest. And with them an old Midrash saith, that Jannes and Jambres were drowned, who had been the great instruments of hardening Pharaoh's heart (see our learned J. Gregory's Observ. chap. 15).

Ver. 29. *But the children of Israel walked upon dry land, &c.*] Or, *had walked*: for it seems to be a mere fancy, that they were still in the sea, and had not passed quite through it, when Pharaoh and his host were drowned. For which there is no ground but this word *walked*; which may as well be trans-

were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

30 Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.

lated in the time perfectly past, as in the present. And so, I doubt not, Moses meant, that the Israelites were safe on shore, when the sea returned upon the Egyptians.

The waters were a wall unto them] See ver. 22.

Ver. 30. *Thus the Lord saved Israel*] As he had promised (ver. 13).

That day] Which was the twenty-first of Nisan; and the last day of the feast of unleavened bread; which, by God's command, was to be kept holy (xii. 16). And now there was a very great reason for it: and for that triumphant hymn which they sung upon this solemnity (chap. xv.). Mr. Mede will have this day to have been that which they afterward kept for their sabbath, in memory of their redemption out of the land of Egypt and the house of bondage. This he gathers from the repetition of the decalogue in the fifth of Deuteronomy; where, leaving out the reason for this commandment, from the creation of the world, Moses inserts this other of their redemption out of Egypt, as the ground of observing that seventh day rather than any other (ver. 15), "Therefore the Lord commanded thee to keep the sabbath;" namely, not for the *quotum* of one day in seven (of that there was another reason, from the example of God in the creation), but for the *designatio*n of that day, after the preceding six days, rather than any other (Discourse xv. p. 74).

Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore.] It may be interpreted, that, as they stood upon the sea-shore, they saw their dead bodies floating upon the waters. But it is likely, also, that by the working of the sea, and by the Divine providence, many of their bodies were cast on shore, that the Israelites might have the benefit of the spoil, and especially of

31 And Israel saw that great work which the LORD did upon the Egyptians: and the people feared the LORD, and believed the LORD, and his servant Moses.

their arms, which they wanted, and were now by this overthrow furnished withal.

This shore was inhabited by the Ichthyophagi, among whom the memory of this recess and return of the sea was preserved (as I observed upon ver. 21), and unto whom the dead bodies were given for food, as the Psalmist saith (lxxiv. 14); that is, to the beasts and birds of prey which peopled the neighbouring wilderness. This was done by the righteous judgment of the Lord God of the Hebrews: who made this proud prince, his statesmen, and army, a prey, not only to the fishes and sea-monsters, but a *visible booty* (as Dr. Jackson speaks) to the promiscuous sorts of ravenous creatures which inhabit the deserts.

Ver. 31. *Israel saw that great work, &c.*] Of making a path for them to walk on dry ground in the middle of the sea, and then drowning the Egyptians when they followed them in the same path.

The people feared the Lord.] They beholding and considering the powerful hand of God, which appeared in this great work; it begat in them, for the present, high and awful thoughts of him, and devout affections to him. For the *fear of the Lord* includes all religion. Or, if we take the word *fear* in a restrained sense, for a dread of the Divine Majesty; the meaning is, they were sensible how dangerous as well as vain it is to oppose his authority, to set themselves against his will, or slight his warnings, as Pharaoh and the Egyptians did.

Believed the Lord, and his servant Moses.] Believed the promises which God had made them by Moses, of bringing them into the land of Canaan (iii. 17), looking upon Moses as a servant of his, who faithfully declared the mind and will of God unto them.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *Moses' song.* 22 *The people want water.* 23 *The waters at Marah are bitter.* 25 *A tree sweeteneth them.*
27 *At Elim are twelve wells, and seventy palm trees.*

I THEN sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the LORD, and spake, saying, I will sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumph-

ed gloriously: the horse and the rider hath he thrown into the sea.

2 The LORD is my strength and song, and he

CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *Then sang Moses and the children of Israel, &c.*] Upon the twenty-first of Nisan, as I said before, which was the last day of unleavened bread, when they came safe though the sea, and saw the Egyptians drowned, they sang this song of praise to God, for their wonderful deliverance. So the constant tradition of the Hebrews is, and there is great ground for it.

This song] Called the song of Moses the servant of the Lord (Rev. xv. 3), because he composed it by a Divine inspiration, to be sung by all the people. And it is the most ancient song of which there is any memory.

Unto the Lord.] In praise of the Divine power and goodness; which remarkably appeared in this deliverance.

Josephus (lib. ii. cap. ult. of his Antiquities) saith, this song is composed *in ἱεραϊκῷ τόπῳ*, "of hex-

ameter verse:" which Eusebius represents as the opinion of many others (lib. xi. de Præpar. Evang. cap. 3). But I do not see how this can be made out: nor what St. Jerome saith concerning such songs; in many places. And after all the pains that Franc. Gomara hath taken in his *Lyra Davidus*, to find of what sort of numbers this and other songs in Scripture consist, he hath not given any satisfaction to learned men: who think (as Ludov. Capellus doth in his *Animadversions* on that book) that all the Bible may be made verse, according to his method; nay, by his way of resolving sentences, all the orations of Tully and Demosthenes may be turned into verse of some sort or other. The author of *Sepher Cosri*, seems to me to deal ingenuously, who, when the king of Cosar objects to them, that the songs in the Bible are not artificially composed, according to numbers and quantities of feet and syllables, makes the Jew answer, That the Scripture poetry was of a nobler sort, not formed to tickle the ear, but affect the heart,

is become my salvation: he *is* my God, and I will prepare him an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him.

by great height and elevation of the sense, together with lofty expressions, whereby men were moved to attend to it, and to keep it in mind (par. ii. sect. 69, &c.). And so much Abarbinel acknowledges upon this place, "that no such verses, consisting in the number and quantity of syllables, are to be found either in the Bible or in the Talmud (either in the Mishna or the Gemara), but are of later invention among the Jews, in imitation of the Arabians and other nations among whom they dwelt in this long captivity. Yet in the Scripture poetry, there is a certain disposition of words, which makes them melodious, and fit to be sung to musical instruments; and so sententious, that they might be more easily remembered than simple narrations: though now, after so many ages, they cannot reduce this poetry to rules." He tries indeed to bring this song under certain regulations; fancying that it consists of eight orders or ranks (as he calls them), two of which are very short, and two very long; and four of a middle size: which he prosecutes with much subtlety, but with little satisfaction.

Saying, I will sing unto the Lord, &c.] Every one joined in this song of praise; which may be thus paraphrased:—

Ver. 1. "We will joyfully praise the Lord; for he hath in a most illustrious and magnificent manner shewn his power; by throwing horse and men, when they little thought of it, into the sea.

Ver. 2. "It is he who hath given us this victory, and therefore he is to be praised and acknowledged as our deliverer. He is our most gracious and mighty God; for whom we will prepare a tabernacle wherein to worship him. Our fathers had great experience of his goodness, and therefore we are the more bound to make him our most thankful acknowledgments, and give him the highest praises.

Ver. 3. "There is none can stand before the Lord, who hath perfectly subdued our enemies: and faithfully fulfilled his promises to his servants.

Ver. 4. "For he hath cast Pharaoh, and all his chariots, and great commanders, into the sea, as easily as one sends an arrow out of a bow.

Ver. 5. "They are buried, and shall rise up no more.

Ver. 6. "Thou hast manifested thy omnipotence, O Lord, most magnificently: it was thy irresistible power, O Lord, which dashed in pieces such mighty enemies.

Ver. 7. "It was a work of thy most excellent power; which will be ever magnified in the overthrow of such adversaries, with whom thou no sooner showedst thyself displeased, but they: vanished as stubble doth before the flame.

Ver. 8. "Thou didst but give the command, and by a vehement wind the waters of the sea were divided and heaped up, so that they swelled into little mountains; and were compact like a wall, which was upheld from falling down till the people passed through the midst of the sea.

Ver. 9. "Our enemies pursued us with a full confidence, that they should overtake and make a prey of us; and after they had satisfied their revenge upon us, as certainly reduce us under their yoke, as they drew their swords against us.

Ver. 10. "But with a turn of the wind all their vain hopes sunk on a sudden, together with themselves, to the bottom of the sea.

Ver. 11. "There are none among all that are called gods, in heaven or in earth, that are comparable to

3 The LORD is a man of war: the LORD is his name.

4 Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast

thee, O Lord, whose perfections infinitely transcend all other, and therefore thou art to be praised with the greatest fear and reverence; for thy very works are wonderful, and to be had in admiration.

Ver. 12. "By thy mighty power they were buried in the bottom of the sea, into which they sank.

Ver. 13. "And in great mercy thou hast preserved thy people, whom thou hast brought out of Egypt, and rescued from cruel servitude, and conducted, by a mighty providence, towards the holy land, which thou hast promised to them, there to dwell among them.

Ver. 14. "And why should we doubt of our coming thither? The fame of this wonder shall go before us, and strike a terror into the most valiant inhabitants of that country.

Ver. 15. "Nay, all their neighbours, as well as they, shall find their hearts fail them, and become as weak as water.

Ver. 16. "Such a terror shall fall upon them, that they shall be no more able to stir than a stone, when they hear of this dreadful execution; but suffer thy people, O Lord, to pass to their inheritance, which thou hast prepared for them.

Ver. 17. "Thither shalt thou bring them, and there make them to take root in the highest mountains of that country, where thou hast designed a place for thine own dwelling, of which thy power also will lay the foundation.

Ver. 18. "And thou shalt do more wonders; since thy dominion and power endures to all ages.

Ver. 19. "For who can dethrone thee? Who in the same sea hath made a grave to bury the Egyptians, and a path for thy people Israel to walk in, as if they had been on dry ground."

And now having given the sense of the song in this paraphrase, it may be proper to confirm it, by the explication of some phrases in it.

Ver. 1. *Hath he thrown into the sea.*] The Hebrew word *ramah*, signifies a sudden precipitation; when they were in the height of their hopes to overtake and subdue the Israelites.

Ver. 2. *He is my God.*] Though some think the word *El* to be a contraction of *Elohim*, yet it seems to be derived from *ajal*, and is generally thought to import *might* and *strength*. But I have taken in the other notion of *goodness* also (see ver. 11.)

Prepare him an habitation.] As if they thought a cloud too mean a habitation for the Divine Glory, they resolve to build him a tabernacle: just as David, ashamed he should dwell in a tabernacle, designed to build him a temple.

My father's God.] i. e. Jacob's; of whom God took a singular care, both before and after he came into Egypt.

Ver. 3. *The Lord is a man of war.*] i. e. Gets great victories, as the Targum expresses it. For when the Hebrews would express any eminent quality, they put the word *isch* before it. As in 1 Sam. xvii. 33, we meet with this very expression concerning Goliath, "a man of war from his youth;" i. e. a great warrior. And in the foregoing chapter, David is called both *isch milchamah*, a man of war, and *isch toar*, a man of form or beauty; i. e. a beautiful or comely person, as we translate it 1 Sam. xvi. 18. And in this very book, *isch devarim*, a man of words, is an eloquent man.

The Lord is his name.] He seems to allude unto that which God said to Moses, when he first appeared to him (iii. 14—16, vi. 3, 4, 6).

Ver. 4. *Pharaoh's chariots*] The Hebrew word *mer-*

into the sea: his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red sea.

5 The depths have covered them: they sank into the bottom as a stone.

6 Thy right hand, O LORD, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O LORD, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee: thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.

8 And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

9 The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be

satisfied upon them; I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.

10 Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

11 Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?

12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.

13 Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

14 The people shall hear, and be afraid: sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.

15 Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed;

carah, comprehends the horses by which they were drawn; which were commonly four to each chariot, as Maimonides probably gathers from 1 Kings x. 29. Where a horse is said to come out of Egypt at a hundred and fifty shekels, and a chariot at six hundred; because it comprehended four horses (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 70).

Chosen captains] The Hebrew word *shalish* imports something extraordinary; either in their stature, or in their command; which they had, perhaps, over three squadrons, as we now speak. But Hen. Valesius, a very learned man, thinks the LXX. rightly translated the word by *επιστάτας*; which he translates "three fighting out of a chariot." For *επιστάτας* and *παροστάτας*, are both words belonging to military discipline (which they call tactics), and *επιστάτας* he takes to be of the same kind, and rightly rendered by Rufinus, *ternos statores*, in Euseb. *Histor. Eccles.* lib. ix. c. 9, p. 358.

Ver. 5. *Sank into the bottom as a stone.*] The waters which stood up like a wall, falling down with great violence upon them, they sank under their weight to the bottom of the sea; from whence, after some time, they rose up again, and were thrown upon the shore (xiv. 30), though not all of them; but some seem to have been buried in the bottom of the sea (see ver. 12).

Ver. 6. *Right hand.*] Is frequently used for the height of power exerted in the preservation of good men, or the destruction of the bad (Psalm xx. 6, xxi. 8).

Ver. 7. *In the greatness of thine excellency, &c.*] All words being too low to declare the greatness of God's power, which appeared in the overthrow of the Egyptians; he endeavours to rise higher and higher in his expressions, to show how much he admired it.

Thou sentest forth thy wrath.] He seems to allude to God's looking upon them through the pillar of fire and of the cloud (xiv. 24), and to the thunder and lightning, which are supposed to have come from thence.

Ver. 8. *With the blast of thy nostrils*] This may relate to the strong wind which drove the sea back, (xiv. 21).

The waters were gathered together.] This word *Aram*, or *Haram*, signifies *heap up together*: from whence the Arabians call those great banks, which are raised to keep in waters from overflowing a country, by the name of *Aram* or *Haram*, as Bochartus hath observed in his *Phaleg*, lib. ii. cap. 26. And so the word may be here translated, *the waters were heaped up as banks*, on each side of the Israelites.

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Ver. 9. *I will divide the spoil.*] It belonged to kings, and chief commanders, to divide the spoil; as Moses, David, and Joshua did among the soldiers.

My hand shall destroy them.] Or, *repossess them* (as it is in the margin), bring them back to their slavery in Egypt.

Ver. 10. *They sank as lead*] It signifies the suddenness of their destruction: for a talent of lead sinks in a moment.

Ver. 11. *Who is like unto thee—among the gods?*] Or, *the mighty ones* as it is in the margin. For *Elim* is the plural of *El*, which comes from *Ejalah* (saith the author of *Sepher Cosri*), which denotes *fortitude* or *strength*. For from him proceeds all power and might: but is himself more sublime and eminent, than to be likened to any other power, according to these words, which he quotes for the proof it (par. iv. sect. 3).

Fearful in praises.] I see no solidity in the gloss of R. Eliezer, that Moses speaks in the plural number, because the angels praised God above when the Israelites praised him below (Pirke Eliez. cap. 42). The plain meaning is, that he ought to be praised with the greatest reverence; for to him alone (as Conradus Pellicanus glosses) belongs all honour and glory, who can never enough be praised.

Ver. 12. *The earth swallowed them.*] They who were drowned in the sea are here said to be swallowed up in the earth; just as Jonah saith, when he was in the sea, that "he went down to the bottom of the mountains; and the earth with her bars was about him for ever" (ii. 6), because the sea, which swallowed both him and the Egyptians, is in the depths of the earth. R. Eliezer thinks that they being thrown upon the sea-shore (xiv. 30), the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up. Which is possible; but there is no necessity of so understanding it. Rather after the Israelites had spoiled them, the sea which had cast them on shore, afterwards, as is usual, carried them off again, and buried them in the sand or mud.

Ver. 13. *Thy holy habitation.*] The country where God himself intended to have a dwelling-place (ver. 17).

Ver. 14. *Inhabitants of Palestina.*] The Philistines seem to have been the most valiant people in that country to which the Israelites were to go, and therefore here mentioned.

Ver. 15. *Dukes of Edom*] Concerning the word *alluphe*, see Gen. xxxvi. 18. By this it appears, that Idumæa was at this time under the government of dukes; though before Moses's death they had kings

the mighty men of Moab, trembling shall take hold upon them; all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.

16 Fear and dread shall fall upon them; by the greatness of thine arm they shall be *as still as a stone*; till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, *which* thou hast purchased.

17 Thou shall bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, *in the place*, O Lord, *which* thou hast made for thee to dwell in, *in the Sanctuary*, O Lord, *which* thy hands have established.

(Numb. xx. 14). For they often changed their government, as I observed upon Gen. xxxvi. where Moses gives an account both of their *dukes* and of their *kings*.

Ver. 16. *Shall be as still as a stone*;] The LXX. translate it, ἀποκαθάρτισαν, "turned into stones;" i. e. so struck with the terror of the Lord, that they remained unmoved as stones; having no heart to oppose the passage of the Israelites into Canaan.

Ver. 17. *Mountain of thine inheritance*.] Moses seems to have foreseen, by the spirit of prophecy, that God would place his habitation upon Mount Zion. Which he understood, perhaps, from the sacrifice of Isaac upon Mount Moriah (Gen. xxii.).

Ver. 18. *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever*.] It may signify, that when they came thither, they would always acknowledge him for their Sovereign, who had done such mighty things for them.

Ver. 19.] In this, which the Greeks call the *epiphonema* of the song, Moses briefly comprehends the whole matter of it, and makes it end as it began.

Ver. 20. *Miriam*] Or, as the LXX., the Syriac, and others read it, *Mariam*; which some think comes from *marah*, which signifies *bitterness* (as the Arabic word *marara* doth), and that their cruel usage by Pharaoh, especially his decree that all the male children should be slain, was the occasion of this name; for it *made their life bitter* to them, as the text saith (i. 14). Thus the author of Dibre Hajamin (or, of the Life of Moses) and our Dr. Lightfoot, and others. But Le Moine guesses, not unhappily, that it signifies as much as *marjama*, which is, in English, *a drop of the sea*; from which the story of Venus was framed, among the Greeks, who feigned her to have been born of the *foeth of the sea*, which gave her the name of Aphrodite. The fable of Diana also, as well as Venus, had no other original, but from that which is here said of Miriam; as Huetius hath probably conjectured, in his Demonstratio Evang. propos. iv. cap. 12, sect. 4.

The prophetess.] She was called by this name, I suppose, because she had a gift of composing hymns in praise of the Divine Majesty, which, it is certain, is meant sometimes by *prophesying* in Scripture (see 1 Sam. x. 5, 6). And thus among the Greeks, a *prophet* and a *poet* were the same thing; and the Latin word *vates* signifies both. For, as Quintilian saith (lib. i. cap. 10), music was had in such veneration in ancient times, that "iidem musici, et vates, et sapientes judicarentur." But there are other places of Holy Scripture, which would incline one to think that she also received revelations from God, for the direction of the people. Particularly Mic. vi. 4, where she is mentioned as one that conducted Israel out of Egypt; and her own words, with Aaron's (Numb. xii. 2), "hath not the Lord spoken by us also?" Which the Lord *heard*, and doth not contradict, but rather allow to be true; though they had

18 The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.]
19 For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry *land* in the midst of the sea.

20 ¶ And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances.

21 And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

not such near communication with him as Moses had (ver. 6). Perhaps she instructed the women, as Moses and Aaron did the men.

Sister of Aaron.] And why not of Moses? The common answer is, that Aaron and she lived longest together; Moses having been absent from them forty years. Or, perhaps, Moses was not by the same mother which Aaron and Miriam had. She was married to Hur, if we may believe Josephus.

A timbrel in her hand.] So the manner was in aftertimes when they prophesied (1 Sam. x. 5, 6; 2 Kings iii. 15), and when they sang hymns (Psalm xxxiii. 2, lvii. 7, 8), and upon any occasion of great rejoicing (Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6). From which we may learn, how ancient music was in the service of God: there being nothing in which it can be better employed than in his praises. Therefore it was no part of the gentle idolatry, that they used such instruments as these in their Divine worship; but they honoured false gods in that manner, that Moses and the Israelites had done the true. And it ought to have a remark set upon it, that this way of praising God was no part of the Mosaic institution; but derived from more ancient times before the law was given.

All the women went out after her] To join with her in the praises of God, as the men did with Moses and Aaron, *with timbrels and dances*. As they played with these instruments in their hands, so their whole bodies made a decent motion with their feet. Which afterwards tended to lasciviousness, but anciently was very grave, and so becoming, that such dances were as devout expressions of joy, as their solemn music. This appears by the example of David, dancing before the ark, when it was brought up from the house of Obed-Edom, in a joyful procession both of men and women, with vocal and instrumental music (1 Chron. xv. 27—29; Psalm lxxviii. 26). From which patterns all nations, from the most ancient times, made dancing a part of the worship of their gods; as Huetius observes, in his Demonstratio Evang. propos. iv. cap. 6, n. 2, who ingeniously conjectures, in another place of that work (cap. 12, n. 4), that from this dancing of Miriam, and her companions, on the seashore, Callimachus, in his Hymn to Diana, ascribes to her ἐξήκοντα χορηγίδας δαεαίνας, "threescore dancers, the daughters of the ocean."

Ver. 21. *Miriam answered them, &c.*] i. e. She and the women answered Moses and the people, verse by verse: or after every verse sung by Moses and the men, Miriam and the women interposed and repeated this verse (which is the first of the song), saying, "Sing to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously," &c. And this was a way of singing in aftertimes, as appears from Psalm cxxxv. and Ezra iii. 11, of which I have given some account in my preface to the Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms. Which justifies, or rather commends, our way of read-

22 So Moses brought Israel from the Red sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water.

23 ¶ And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called Marah.

24 And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink?

ing or chanting the Psalms interchangeably by responses, as we call them, or answering one to another: which certainly, it appears by this place, is the most ancient way of all other. And is represented in Isa. vi. 3, as practised by the angels themselves, in their worship of the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 22. *So Moses brought Israel from the Red sea,*] Not without some importunity; they being eagerly bent upon gathering the spoil of the Egyptians. Some such thing the Hebrew word seems to import, which is *jassa*, *he made them to go up*. Which signifies some unwillingness, or backwardness; arising either from that cause, or from a desire to return to Egypt (as some fancy), which now perhaps they thought to be so empty, that they might get it for themselves.

And they went out] From the station where they were at the Red Sea.

Wilderness of Shur;] Mentioned Gen. xvi. 7, and was a part of the wilderness of Etham; which was the general name for this desert (Numb. xxxiii. 8).

And they went three days] viz. The twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth of Nisan.

Found no water.] Which was a very great trial of them. For their cattle, as well as they, suffered much by it; and could not afford them milk sufficient to quench their thirst.

Ver. 23. *Marah,*] This was the fourth station of the Israelites after they came out of Egypt; and in the same wilderness; which had this name given it after they came there, from the bitterness or brackishness of the water.

They could not drink of the waters, &c.] This was the more grievous, because they had wanted this refreshment three days.

Ver. 24. *And the people murmured against Moses,*] It is the conceit of Abarinel, that Moses brought them from the Red Sea without the direction of the cloud which conducted them thither: but then left them to his guidance. Which made the people think it was Moses's fault that they were in distress; who did not know how to lead them to the most commodious and likely places for the finding good water. And therefore from Marah they stirred not, till the cloud again led them; because it is said (xvii. 1), they journeyed from Sin, by the commandment of the Lord. But all this is a mere fancy, to excuse his forefathers; who should rather have prayed to God than murmured against Moses. For we read expressly, God "did not take away the pillar of the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, from before the people" (xiii. 22), that is, it constantly guided them in the way wherein they should go, whether they travelled by day or by night. And in that very place, which he builds his opinion upon, where it is said, they "journeyed according to the commandment of the Lord;" it is also expressly recorded, that "there was no water for the people to drink" (xvii. 1).

Ver. 25. *He cried unto the Lord;*] He did what they should have done: made his earnest prayer to God to relieve them in this distress; which he instantly vouchsafed to do.

25 And he cried unto the Lord; and the Lord shewed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet: there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them,

26 And said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee,

And the Lord shewed him a tree,] We are not told what tree this was, whose wood being thrown into the waters took off their bitterness; but, to increase the miracle, the Jews will have this to have been a tree of bitter taste (which Jonathan calls Ardophne), which naturally would have made the waters bitter, if they had been sweet. Demetrius mentions this wonderful cure of the waters, in Eusebius's *Præpar. Evang.* lib. ix. cap. 29.

Which when he had cast into the waters,] By the order of the Lord, who showed him the tree. For the wonder did not consist (as Huetius thinks, in his *Quæstiones Alnetanæ*) in curing the water by throwing the wood into it (for that may be done naturally, as Pliny shows), but that he found this wood in the wilderness, by the direction of God: as Elisha found, by the same Divine direction, that the throwing in of meal would make water sweet: which the same Pliny saith is a natural remedy.

There he made for them] Propounded to them, or appointed them.

A statute and an ordinance,] This seems to signify, that for their better government, God now gave them a few rules to be observed for the present, till he should more fully declare his will to them from Mount Sinai. And it is a most ancient constant tradition of the Jews, that now he commanded them to observe the *Sabbath* (which they understand by *statute*) and to do justice: particularly honour their parents; which they understand by *ordinance or judgment*, as the Hebrew word imports. And they instance especially in keeping the Sabbath, and honouring of parents; because those two commandments are pressed upon them in Deuteronomy, with this particular enforcement, "As the Lord commanded thee" (Deut. v. 12, 16), which they will have to relate unto this command at Marah (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 9, p. 314, 333, &c.). And perhaps these two might be in the number; but it is probable there were more commands besides these, which were now given them; as the following verse seems to intimate.

And there he proved them,] He began there to make a trial of their obedience, whether they would observe these laws or no.

Ver. 26. *If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God.*] This was the main thing he required of them, as Jeremiah observes, vii. 22, 23. Where, he saith, God spake nothing to them, "in the day when he brought them out of Egypt (i. e. at this time), concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices," but only commanded them, saying, "Obey my voice." And this Maimonides confesses in his *More Nevoch.* par. iii. cap. 32, "It appears from the Scripture, and the Cabala also, that the first precept which God gave us after we came out of Egypt, was not concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices; but it was that given us at Marah, 'If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God:' where he gave us a statute and a judgment. And it is a certain tradition, that the statute was the Sabbath; and the judgment was the taking away all iniquity;" i. e. doing justly.

I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I

which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee.

27 ¶ And they came to Elim, where were

have brought upon the Egyptians:}] He encourages their obedience by a gracious promise, to preserve them from those terrible plagues which he inflicted upon the Egyptians for their disobedience. Which is an indication withal, that if the Israelites proved like them, they should be punished in the same manner, as he threatens afterwards (Deut. xxviii. 59, &c.).

I am the Lord that healeth thee.}] There are two parts of a physician's office; to cure men when they are sick; and to preserve them in health when they are well. The latter is here chiefly intended: which the Psalmist takes notice of, when he saith (cv. 37), "There was not one feeble person among their tribes."

Ver. 27. *And they came to Elim.}]* They seem to have stayed but a day at Marah, and on the twenty-fifth of Nisan to have come to this place called *Elim* (which signifies *rams*), from the good pasture which was here for the feeding sheep; as Jacobus Capellus will have it. But Bochartus thinks that *El* signifies in general a field: as *El-paran* (Gen. xiv. 6), he interprets the *field or plain of Paran*: and consequently *Elim* signifies a part of the wilderness, where there were large and spacious plains. Thus I find Ezekiel the tragedian (mentioned by Eusebius) understood it, in his Exagoge: where he brings in one talking with Moses, and pointing him to this place: where a great light shone, on a sudden, as a pillar of fire, to show it to them. Which he calls *λεμώνα κατάσκιοι*, "a shady meadow," and saith it was *δαψιὺς χώρος βαθύς*, "an exceeding fertile ground" (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 29).

Where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees.}] Twelve wells of water, according

to twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters.

to the number of the twelve tribes; and seventy palm trees, according to the number of the elders of Israel, says the Jerusalem Targum and Jonathan's Paraphrase. Which Nachmanides so much believed, that he saith each tribe pitched their tents about one of these fountains; and the seventy elders sat down under the shadow of the palm trees; giving thanks to God for the benefits they now received upon dry land, as lately they had done in the sea. But there is no reason to think that the high court, consisting of so many elders, was now constituted, as I have observed before: of which see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15, p. 626, &c. There is nothing in the story neither to warrant what Ezekiel says in the place before named, that these twelve springs all gushed *ἐκ μιᾶς πέτρας*, "out of one rock," which was in this beautiful plain. No more than there is for what follows in him, concerning a marvellous strange bird, such as no man ever saw before, as big again as an eagle, of various colours and a most sweet voice, which appeared to them upon this occasion. Which he seems to have had out of some Talmudical fable.

Palm trees.}] This tree delights in watery places; and therefore no wonder so many were planted here by these fountains. For it is noted by Pliny, that *gaudet irriguis et toto anno bibere amat*, "the palm-tree delights in places well watered, and loves to drink all the year." There were two sorts of these trees: the common, and that which was called *χαρπυρόν*, because it bare dates; as Salmasius hath observed in his *Plinianæ Exercit.* p. 472, 1326. If these were of the latter sort, they gave them the better entertainment.

Encamped there by the waters.}] To refresh themselves and their flocks in this delightful place.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 The Israelites come to Sin. 2 They murmur for want of bread. 4 God promised them bread from heaven. 11 Quails are sent, 14 and manna. 16 The ordering of manna. 25 It was not to be found on the sabbath. 32 An omer of it is preserved.

1 AND they took their journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt.

CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1. *And they took their journey from Elim.}]* After they had rested a good while there; as appears by the end of the verse.

All the congregation—came unto the wilderness of Sin.}] Not directly; but first they went back towards the Red Sea; which was their next station after they left Elim: as Moses tells us, Numb. xxxiii. 10, where he gives an exact account of all their stations; one of which is here omitted, because nothing remarkable, I suppose, fell out there, and they did not stay long in it. This *Sin* is different from that where Miriam died (Numb. xx. 1), and written with different letters.

Which is between Elim and Sinai.}] So the direct way to *Sinai* had been into this wilderness of *Sin*: but, for some reason which we know not, they first returned to some part of that sea where they had been before.

On the fifteenth day of the second month, &c.}] Just a

2 And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness:

3 And the children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the

month after they came out of Egypt. And therefore, it seems, they stayed a good while at Elim, where there was plenty of water and some shade: which was now very comfortable; this second month (which they called *Ijar*) answering to part of our April and May. Or otherwise, we must suppose they spent some time at the Red Sea: whither God conducted them, perhaps, to put them in mind of his late great mercy to them there; which might incline them to be more obedient to his commands, mentioned xv. 25, 26.

Ver. 2. *And the whole congregation of the children of Israel.}]* Their elders and all are included in these words, they being the same with those ver. 1, which certainly comprehend all that came out of Egypt. Though, it is likely, there were some more pious among them, who were not guilty of what follows: when the generality were so mutinous, that they who were better disposed could scarcely be discerned.

Murmured against Moses and Aaron.}] This seems

flesh pots, and when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger.

¶ 4 Then said the Lord unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a certain rate

to be a higher discontent than the former (xv. 24), because the whole congregation were engaged in it: whereas there it is only said the people were concerned in it. And there they quarrelled only with Moses: but here with both their leaders. And as that was for want of water, so this for want of bread: all their dough, which they brought out of Egypt, being now spent. So Josephus and R. Bechai, which latter saith, the dough they brought out of Egypt sufficed for a whole month, from the fifteenth of Nisan to the fifteenth of Ijar, and the night of the sixteenth they still ate of it. And then on the sixteenth, he thinks, the manna descended; which fell on the first day of the week, as he argues from those words, ver. 5, when on the sixth day they are commanded to gather twice as much as on other days. Which was (says he) both the sixth day of the week and of the descent of the manna.

Ver. 3. *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord, &c.*] As some of the Egyptians did. A strange wish! proceeding from great ingratitude to God, and forgetfulness of his benefits.

When we sat] That was the ancient posture of eating before this time (xxxvii. 25, xliii. 33), and afterwards (Exod. xxxii. 6; Judg. xix. 6).

By the flesh pots, and when we did eat bread to the full.] This is not likely: when they were not only mere slaves, but under cruel hardships. But they untruly magnify their former condition, that they may represent their present to be more miserable than really it was.

For ye have brought us forth into this wilderness,] They were glad to be brought out of Egypt: but their discontent arose from their being brought into a wilderness; where they wanted all provisions, but what they brought along with them.

To kill this whole assembly with hunger.] There was no danger of their perishing presently; they having so many flocks to feed them. But without bread this would not satisfy them; and they were loth, it is likely, to lose any of their stock, which they hoped rather to increase than to diminish. Or else they longed for dainties, as they did afterwards; which moved God to send them great store of fowl; as we understand ver. 12.

Ver. 4. *Then said the Lord unto Moses,*] He spake to him out of the cloud of glory, where the Shechinah was: as I observed above.

I will rain bread] Send you down that which shall supply the place of bread, in a very plentiful manner: like drops of rain from heaven from above out of the clouds. Which was, as Greg. Nyssen speaks, τὸ πᾶσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων θάψμα, οὐκ ἐκ γῆς κατὰ τὸ νομισμένον "the most incredible of all wonders," that bread should be given them, not as usually out of the earth, but out of the air, where no seed is ever sown (L. de Vita Mosis, p. 177).

Every day,] It came down in daily showers; as much only as would suffice for one day; that they might be kept in a perpetual thankful dependence upon God's providence; and that this might more evidently appear to be a miraculous work of his, who made it fall at all times of the year alike. The heathen themselves preserved some memory of this, in that fable of Pan (whom Huetius shows to be Moses) finding out Ceres, when she had been long wanting,

every day, that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no.

5 And it shall come to pass, that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.

to give men bread when they were ready to starve with hunger.

That I may prove them,] Some think this relates to what goes before, concerning his sending them bread every day; which was so ordered, that he might prove whether they would murmur, because they had not enough at once for a whole year: or humbly hope in his mercy for a constant supply. But the following words (*whether they will walk in my law or no*) direct us to a larger sense: which is, that he tried whether they would be obedient to all his commands, when he let them want nothing to support and encourage them in his service.

Prove them,] Not as if he was ignorant; but that it might plainly appear to others, and to themselves, what they were. Or, as Maimonides interprets it, that it might openly appear to the world that God sustains him who follows his worship and service, by means that he did not think of. So he expounds this very place (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 24), "That every one may see and know, whether it be beneficial to give one's self to the service of God or not."

Ver. 5. *On the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in;*] When they had gathered it, and brought it into their tents, they were to grind and hake it, &c. (ver. 22), and make ready all things that were necessary against the next day, which was to be a festival (viz. the Sabbath) on which they were to do nothing. For the Sabbath was not to be disturbed with such kind of work; but though on other festivals they might prepare their meat and only abstain from labour, yet on this they might not so much as dress their meat: but it was to be done the evening before; on which they were to prepare every thing for the next day. From which preparation this day was called the *paraseue* (Luke xxiii. 54), the preparation for the sabbath.

It shall be twice as much as they gather daily.] Enough, that is, for two days, viz. that sixth day, and the next, which was to be the Sabbath, ver. 23, where what is here briefly said in general, is more particularly and largely explained.

The Talmudists are generally of an opinion, that the fifteenth day of the second month, when they came hither (ver. 1), was the seventh day of the week (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 11). Which, if it be true, they knew nothing of the rest of the Sabbath; for they travelled upon this day. But Mr. Mede hath observed, that it is altogether uncertain, whether or no it was the seventh day from the creation. It might possibly fall out so, by the providence of God, that the seventh day, designed by him for their Sabbath, might be both the seventh in order from the creation, and also from the day of their deliverance out of Egypt. But that which now determined this seventh day, after six days' labour, to be their rest, was their redemption out of Egypt; and the overwhelming of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea: which was upon this very day. The example of the creation was a reason for sanctifying one day in seven; but the designation of this seventh day, was, as I said, from their wonderful deliverance (see Discourse xv. book 1).

Ver. 6. *And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel,*] What God spake to Moses alone (ver. 4), is delivered to the people by Aaron also,

6 And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then ye shall know that the Lord hath brought you out from the land of Egypt:

7 And in the morning, then ye shall see the glory of the Lord; for that he heareth your murmurings against the Lord: and what are we, that ye murmur against us?

8 And Moses said, *This shall be*, when the Lord shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the full; for that the Lord heareth your murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against the Lord.

9 ¶ And Moses spake unto Aaron, Say unto all the congregation of the children of Israel,

who was assistant to his brother in the government of them.

At even,] On the evening of this fifteenth day God sent them quails, as we translate ver. 13.

Then ye shall know] Be convinced, that it was by the Lord's direction and command that you were brought out of Egypt into this place. And therefore you have no reason to quarrel with us, who did nothing of ourselves without his order: but rather to trust in him; who can make as good provision for you here in the wilderness, as ever you saw in Egypt.

Ver. 7. *In the morning,*] When the manna fell down (ver. 13).

Then ye shall see the glory of the Lord;] His great power (some interpret it) in sending them bread from heaven, and flesh also with it. But I take it rather to refer unto the visible appearance of the Divine Majesty, which they saw presently after this (ver. 10), and were convinced of his real presence in that cloud, by the descent of the manna from thence next morning; which no power but the Divine could produce. And so I find Abarinel himself interprets it; "Their seeing the glory of the Lord, is not to be understood of the bread or the flesh he sent them, but of the fire which appeared to all the people, to reprove them for their murmurings."

For that he heareth your murmurings] He is present among you; and takes notice of your ungrateful behaviour towards him.

And what are we, that ye murmur against us?] Alas! we are but poor instruments of his; who hath done all the wonders you have seen, and by that means brought you hither: and therefore why do you complain of us, as if we acted any thing by our own authority?

Ver. 8. *When the Lord shall give you, &c.*] I say again (therefore mark it), *when the Lord shall give you flesh to eat in the evening, and in the morning bread to the full*; then you shall be convinced that he hath taken notice of your murmurings: which are really against him, who employs us only as his ministers; and will be so gracious as not to punish your discontents, but provide for your necessities.

Ver. 9. *Moses spake unto Aaron,*] Who was his minister, as Moses was more immediately God's.

Say unto all the congregation] Who were all engaged in this undutiful murmuring (ver. 2).

Come near before the Lord:] Before the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, which was in the cloud (as I observed, xiii. 21), and now was about to break forth upon them in a glorious manner. But, because of their murmurings, the cloud was removed, it is probable, to a greater distance from them than it used to be. Bonfrerius will have it, that they were to come

Come near before the Lord: for he hath heard your murmurings.

10 And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud.

11 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

12 I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God.

13 And it came to pass, that at even the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the host.

near to the tabernacle of Moses, where the glory of the Lord appeared (xxxiii. 7, 9). But there is no proof that it was wont to be there till that occasion. See upon that place.

He hath heard your murmurings.] He will show that he is among you, and observes how ungratefully you requite him. It is not unlikely that Moses bade Aaron go and speak to the people, because he himself retired to speak to God. That is, to pray for them, and to acknowledge his great goodness in passing by their murmurings.

Ver. 10. *That they looked*] They were suddenly surprised, I conceive, with an unwonted brightness; which made them look about to see whence it came. Or Aaron, perhaps, bade them look that way.

Toward the wilderness,] Whither the cloud had conducted them; and stood at some distance from them.

The glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud.] The Divine Majesty appeared in flaming light; such as they had never seen before (see xiii. 21.). Thus N. Lyra truly expounds, "Fulgur quidam insolitus," &c. an unusual splendour, representing the Divine power, to reprove the murmurings of the people.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord spake unto Moses,*] Who was gone, as I said, to pray unto God; whilst Aaron was speaking unto the people.

Ver. 12. *Have heard the murmurings*] He repeats to Moses what he had bidden him tell them (ver. 4—6), and perhaps spake it from the cloud of glory, in the audience of all the people.

At even ye shall eat flesh,] Ver. 8.

And ye shall know that I am the Lord your God.] Who brought you out of Egypt; and will provide for you here in the wilderness.

Ver. 13.] See ver. 6, 8.

The quails came up,] The only person among the Jews, that adventures thus to translate the Hebrew word *selau* (which is used here, and Numb. xi. 31, and Psalm cv. 40) is Josephus. All others either keep the Hebrew name, or make it another thing than quails. For Jonathan translates it *pheavants*; and Abarinel makes them a kind of *sea-fowl*; and the Talmudists comprehend four sorts of birds under this name; viz. that which feeds upon figs (which the Greeks call *oxyatis*), and *thrushes*, and *pheavants*, and *quails* (see Bochartus, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 14). But all this is without good ground; for the account which Moses gives of *selau* in the book of Numbers agrees to none of these, nor any thing we have knowledge of, but a kind of *locusts*: which Job Ludolphus therefore pitches upon, and gives very solid reasons for it; as I shall show when I come to that place, Numb. xi. 31.

14 And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness *there lay* a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground.

15 And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, *It is manna*: for they wist not what it was. And Moses said unto them, *This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.*

16 ¶ *This is the thing which the Lord hath*

Came up.] From the country over against the desert: from the sea, saith Aben Ezra; and Josephus, from the Arabian Gulf. Not that they were a sea-fowl; but were in great quantity upon that coast.

Covered the camp.] It seems they fell in the very streets, and we speak: so that they needed not do more than step out of doors, and take up as many as they pleased. This lasted no longer than that evening: for the manna which fell next morning was to be their constant food.

In the morning the dew.] Besides the morning dew, there was an evening (Hos. vi. 4; Cant. v. 2), and Moses in Numb. xi. 9, mentions the dew that fell in the night. From whence, I suppose, came the opinion among some of the Jews, that there was a double dew in which the manna was enclosed: a dew below it, which fell in the night; and a dew above it, which after the manna was fallen came upon it, and covered it in the morning: by which means, being thus enclosed, it was kept very clean.

Lay round about the host.] Not in the camp; but round about it on the face of the wilderness (ver. 14). For the camp was not so clean a place, nor so apt to congeal the manna, that fell with the dew.

Ver. 14. *When the dew that lay was gone up.*] This shows the dew fell first, and then the manna fell upon it (as we read expressly, Numb. xi. 9), whereby it was kept pure, and free from the dust that was upon the ground.

Upon the face of the wilderness.] When the dew was exhaled by the sun, the manna appeared; which covered the wilderness round about them.

There lay a small round thing.] This word is nowhere else to be found in the Holy Scripture; which bath made it differently rendered. But our translation is authorized by what is said, ver. 31, that it was like *coriander seed*: which hath respect not to its colour or taste, but to its form and figure. And so the LXX. here understood it, when they translated it *ὡς αἰς κορίανδρου*.

As small as the hoar frost.] This seems to relate to the colour, which was white: but expresses also that it was very small, like a drop of dew frozen to the ground.

Ver. 15. *When the children of Israel saw it.*] Which was as soon as they rose in the morning, and went out of the doors of their tents.

It is manna.] The Hebrew words *man hu*, are thought by some to signify as much as *mah-hu*, i. e. *What is it?* So Philo, Josephus, and a great number of the ancient and modern expositors, who take *man* to be an Egyptian word, signifying as much as the Hebrew word *mah*. But it doth not seem likely, that they joined an Egyptian word to a Hebrew; as *hu* is acknowledged to be. Therefore it may be better expounded, *it is a gift, or a portion*. For *manah* signifies to appoint or order one's diet (Dan. i. 10), and as *kav* comes from *kavah*, by casting away the last letter; so may *man*, in like manner, from *manah*. And the meaning is, *This is the gift of God*; or, *This is it which God hath appointed us*: not knowing (as it here follows) determinately what to call it. Suidas

commanded, Gather of it every man according to his eating, an omer for every man, according to the number of your persons; take ye every man for *them* which are in his tents.

17 And the children of Israel did so, and gathered, some more, some less.

18 And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating.

seems to have thought of this, when he defines it to be *ἡ ἀνάβητος χορηγομένη τροφή*, &c. (see Drusius, in his Quæst. Hebraicae, lib. i. cap. 62).

For they wist not what it was.] Had not a distinct conception what kind of food it was, not having yet tasted it; not knowing certainly (as Abarbinel fancies) whether this was the bread that Moses bade them expect: who therefore tells them, in the next words, that it was that bread.

This is the bread which the Lord hath given you.] You rightly called it, a Divine gift (as Abarbinel goes on), for this indeed is the bread which the Lord bestows upon you for your sustenance, according to his promise which he made you by me (ver. 4).

Ver. 16.] Here now Moses shows how the use of this food was to be regulated.

Gather of it every man according to his eating.] As much as will suffice for him and his family's sustenance for one day.

An omer for every man.] That they might be sure to have enough, he allows every person among them to have an *omer*: which was something less than half a peck of our measure. Here Abarbinel hath a pertinent observation; that it, being a Divine food, was not to be used as common things are, which men gather into heaps, lay up in barns, traffic withal, or lay up for their children: but it was to be spent as a gift of God both to poor and rich. Some can get more of worldly goods, and some less; by which means some give, and others receive: but here all received from the bounty of heaven; and God ordered it so, that they who were poor should not want, and they who were rich should have nothing beyond their wants, to lay up, or to sell, as they did other things. For every one was to have only as much as he could eat: and no man could eat above an *omer*. Which doth not signify that they gathered it by measure; but as much as they thought would amount to that quantity: with an intention, that if they had more than they needed, others should have it, who had gathered less than they needed.

Take ye every man for them which are in his tents.] For the old and the young, who could not go out to gather for themselves.

Ver. 17. *And the children of Israel did so, &c.*] Gathered what they thought would be sufficient for themselves and their families: according as they were larger, or less in number. And when they came home, they dealt to every one the proportion which God ordered.

Gathered, some more, some less.] They were not all alike able (it is like) to gather, not alike diligent; and so did not gather an equal quantity. But the true reason I have given already, viz. that some families did not require so much as others.

Ver. 18. *When they did mete it with an omer.*] When it was brought unto their tents (ver. 16), then the father of the family, or some of the rulers of the congregation (ver. 22), measured what they had gathered with an *omer*; and gave to every one according as God directed.

Had nothing over.] Had no more than his omer.

19 And Moses said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.

20 Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning, and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with them.

21 And they gathered it every morning, every

And he that gathered little had no lack;] He that had not gathered enough to make an omer for every man, had it made up to him out of other men's gatherings, who had more than enough. Abarbinel will have it, that they were so directed by a miraculous providence, as to gather just so much for their several families, that every person's share would come to an omer, and neither more nor less. And so Greg. Nyssen calls this the second miracle which was in the manna, having observed one before, ver. 14. But others think, that if any part of it remained after every one in the family had an omer, it was food for their cattle; which in the wilderness wanted grass sufficient for them. And this seems the more probable, because otherwise we must make a new miracle, that every man, woman, and child, should be able to eat an omer; which all grant was sufficient for the sustenance of any man whatsoever; but was too much, sure, for a child.

Ver. 19. *Moses said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.*] It was therefore to be all spent, one way or other, the same day it fell. Which was the law of all the holy feasts, particularly of the passover (xii. 10), and of the sacrifices of peace-offerings (Lev. xxi. 30). Besides, God would have them depend upon his providence, and trust him for fresh supplies every day; as Aben Ezra well notes. And R. Levi ben Gersom; "He that kept it till the morning betrayed his want of faith, and feared God would send no more;" for if he believed, to what purpose should he be at the pains to keep it?

Here was a new wonder, that, as it fell every day for forty years together, both in winter and in summer; and likewise fell in such quantity, that every one had an omer, and none wanted this measure; so it would not keep till the next morning; which it might have done in its own nature, and did once in a week; and in the ark was preserved to many generations.

Ver. 20. *They hearkened not]* Either through unbelief, or mere negligence, or a wanton inclination to make an experiment, some among them disobeyed his command.

It bred worms, and stank:] This was a wonder also, that such a heavenly food, so pure and simple, should not only breed worms, but also stink. Which was a punishment for their disobedience, though a merciful one, in that God did not inflict it upon themselves, but upon their food.

The Jews commonly take these words to be transposed; things being wont first to putrefy, and then to breed worms; and in that order Moses relates this matter, when it was laid up for the Sabbath (ver. 22), "That it neither stank, neither was any worm therein." But Abarbinel thinks that Moses here speaks of it according to the order wherein they found it: which was, that first worms appeared in it to their eyes, and then they smelt the stink. But in speaking of what fell out on the seventh day, he follows the natural order, and saith it did not stink, neither was any worm in it.

Moses was wroth] Chid them severely for their disobedience to him, who had bestowed such a singular benefit upon them.

Ver. 21. *And they gathered it every morning, every*

man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted.

22 ¶ And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for one man: and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses.

23 And he said unto them, This is that which

man according to his eating:] This is not needlessly repeated; but a further explication of their care and diligence, to furnish themselves early in the morning with as much as was necessary, before the sun grew hot and melted it; or (as some of the Jews add) raised the wind, which blew dust upon it.

When the sun waxed hot, it melted.] That it might not be trod upon, or putrefied. Which seems to be spoken of that which remained in the open field ungathered: though Abarbinel will have it, that what they had brought into their tents melted also when the sun grew hot; which obliged them not only to gather it early, but to bake and prepare it presently, while it was yet hard and not dissolved. But I see no ground for this; nor is it likely that they were constrained to prepare it all together; but might any time that day, at supper as well as dinner, order it according to their liking. Others of the Jews fancy, that, being melted, it made little brooks and rivulets in the fields, &c.; but the plain sense is, that the sun which melted it, exhaled it also into the air, from whence it came, and returned again the next morning.

Ver. 22. *On the sixth day]* According to the command of God, ver. 5. It appears by this place, where it is called *bread* (as it is ver. 4, 12), that it was of a hard substance when it fell, though it dissolved by the heat of the sun; being like the corn of which bread is made.

And all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses.] He had hidden them gather a double quantity on the sixth day; but had not told them the reason of it (ver. 5), and therefore they come to inquire what they should do with it. By this one would think they were the rulers, who saw a distribution made to every one, in a just proportion: or, that they appointed overseers to take care of it.

Ver. 23. *This is that which the Lord hath said,]* This is the commandment which I have received from God about this matter.

To-morrow is the rest] Or shall be the rest.

Of the holy sabbath] To be kept holy, so as to do no work therein. And therefore you must not so much as go in the field and gather your food; which is the reason why you are ordered to make two days' provision in one. The words in the Hebrew (which we translate *the rest of the holy sabbath unto the Lord*) may be rendered, as they lie in order, *the sabbath, the holy sabbath unto the Lord*. Which Abarbinel explains, as if the word *Sabbath*, being repeated, signified, that it was to be a cessation from all manner of work, because it was the *Sabbath* of the Lord himself, wherein he ceased from his works.

At this time, and not before, the rest of the seventh day seems to have been appointed. They performed religious offices upon one day in seven; but did not cease from all labour until now. These very words seem to show, there had been some observation of a Sabbath, heretofore, and was not wholly a new thing; for if it had, they could not have understood Moses, nor known what he meant. See what I have noted upon the second of Genesis: where I thought it reasonable to assert, that God intended to preserve a memory of the creation in six days, by appointing the seventh day to be kept holy. And therefore the more

the LORD hath said, To morrow is the rest of the holy sabbath unto the LORD: bake that which ye will bake to day, and seethe that ye will seethe; and that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning.

24 And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein.

25 And Moses said, Eat that to day; for to

day is a sabbath unto the LORD: to day ye shall not find it in the field.

26 Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the sabbath, in it there shall be none.

27 ¶ And it came to pass, that there went out some of the people on the seventh day for to gather, and they found none.

28 And the LORD said unto Moses, How long

pious any people were, the greater respect they had to this day. But when the world grew very wicked before the flood, as they little thought of God, so it is likely they neglected all distinction between this day and others. And the dispersion of people after the flood very much blotted it out of their minds, as it did many other good things. But in the family of Abraham we may well suppose it was continued; though not with such strict abstinence from all labour, as, for special reasons, was afterwards enjoined. Which is the cause why we read nothing of their resting in their travels upon that day, before their coming out of Egypt: where they were under such cruel servitude, that all observation of the seventh day, it is likely, was laid aside; they being pressed, day and night, by their taskmasters, to hard labour without intermission. And therefore, when God brought them out of that slavery, he renewed his command for the observation of the Sabbath, with this addition (in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage), that they should rest from all manner of labour upon that day. Both these reasons are given by Moses, why God commanded it to be observed, in memory of the creation in six days (Exod. xx. 11), and in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage (Deut. v. 15).

Bake that which ye will bake to day, &c.] The words to day are not in the Hebrew; but are necessary to make the sense plain, because they were enjoined on this day to prepare or make ready all things against the next (ver. 5).

And that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning.] From which words some have inferred, that there was no prohibition of baking and seething on the Sabbath, but the contrary rather is here supposed (see Dr. Heylin in his History of the Sabbath, par. i. p. 100). But I do not see how this consists with the further explication of this matter in Exod. xxxv. 3, where they are forbidden to kindle a fire upon this day. Unless any one will say, that for the present they might do it, but shortly after were prohibited: which is not at all likely. For the plain meaning is, that if they would make any baked meats or boiled with the manna, they must do it upon the sixth day: though what they did not then bake, nor boil, they might safely keep till the next day, and it should not breed worms nor stink. But what they so kept, was to be eaten without baking or boiling, as it well might; being a food prepared in heaven for their eating; without any need of further art. And therefore called bread, even when they gathered it (ver. 22).

Ver. 24. *They laid it up, &c.]* Without any preparation of it by baking or boiling; and it kept the whole seventh day without any putrefaction.

Ver. 25. *Moses said, Eat that to day;]* Simple as it is, without baking or boiling.

For to day is a sabbath unto the Lord:] The frequent repetition of this in this chapter (ver. 23, and again, ver. 29, 30), hath led the Jews into this mistake, that the Sabbath was not ordained by God till they came out of Egypt: directly contrary to what we read in the second of Genesis, that it was instituted from the

beginning. And therefore Moses here only gives an account why this precept was renewed at their coming out of Egypt: when there was a new religious observation added to it, which was not necessary before, viz. resting wholly from all manner of work. There is an excellent discourse on this subject in a late learned author, J. Wagenseil (in his Confutation of R. Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 559, &c.), who well observes, that this precept having a peculiar respect to the Jews, we are not bound to observe the rest of the Sabbath with such strictness as they did; but only as the patriarchs did before the giving of the law (p. 564). As for the translation of the day from the seventh to the first day of the week, it is impossible for the Jews to prove, that the day they observe is the seventh from creation. And besides that, the whole world cannot be tied to the circumstance of time precisely: for in some parts of it, the Sabbath will fall eighteen hours later than in Palestine; as he evidently shows, p. 572, &c.

To day ye shall not find it in the field.] This Moses said to them, as Abarinel thinks, in the evening of the Sabbath; which was, in effect, a prohibition to them, not to go out to gather it on that day.

Ver. 26. *Six days ye shall gather it, &c.]* The same author thinks this is repeated to signify that as long as they continued in the wilderness, they should gather it six days in a week, as they did now: but never find any on the seventh.

There shall be none.] As you rest, saith he, from doing any thing about the manna, so God will cease from sending it unto you. Upon which he makes this pious reflection: That in this world we must work for our souls, if we would be happy in the next world, which is an entire Sabbath, or rest. "For he that labours in the evening of the Sabbath, shall eat on the Sabbath." To the same purpose Origen, long before him (Hom. vii. in Exod.).

Ver. 27.] The same wicked disposition remained in them, which made them on other days keep it till next morning (ver. 19, 20).

Ver. 28. *How long refuse ye to keep my commandments, &c.]* These chiding words are full of indignation: and yet signify the long-suffering patience of God, with an untoward generation. Abarinel expounds this passage, as if, upon this occasion, he upbraided them with all their other transgressions; saying, "You kicked against me at the Red Sea, and believed not my words: at Marah also you murmured; and uttered very discontented words at Elim. Nay, after I had given you manna, you violated my precept, in reserving it till the next morning. And now you break my Sabbath; what hope is there that you will observe any of my laws?"

Refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?] He speaks thus, say some of the Jews, because that in which they now offended is a thing upon which the whole law, all his commandments depend. So the same Abarinel. Because the Sabbath instructed them in the creation of the world, upon which all the law depends, therefore he saith, *My commandments and my laws.*

Ver. 29. *See.]* Consider.

refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?

29 See, for that the Lord hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day.

30 So the people rested on the seventh day.

31 And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.

32 ¶ And Moses said, This is the thing

For that the Lord hath given you the sabbath, &c.] You have no reason to seek it on the Sabbath, being provided beforehand with as much as is sufficient for that day.

Let no man go out of his place] The Jews say that a man went out of his place, if he went above two thousand paces from his dwelling. That is, if he went beyond the suburbs of his city (Numb. xxxv. 5).

Ver. 30.] The reprehension which God gave them by Moses (ver. 28), and the solemn renewal of the precept (ver. 29), wrought so much upon them, that for the present they rested upon this day. And they not having been used to this rest, God did not immediately punish their disobedience in going abroad to gather manna: though afterwards he ordered a man to be stoned for gathering sticks on this day; for he had often repeated this law to them before that time.

Ver. 31. *Called the name thereof Manna:]* This is repeated again, to show that the name which they gave it at first (ver. 15), continued to it afterward: being so apt and proper to signify God's providence over them, that they could find no better.

It was like coriander seed.] Of a round figure, like that seed (ver. 14).

White:] Being like *bedolach*, as Moses saith, Numb. xi. 7, which signifies *pearl*, as Bochart shows in his *Hierozyco*. (par. ii. p. 678), where he observes the Talmudic doctors (in the title Joma) expressly say it was like *margalith* (or *margarith*), i. e. *pearl*.

The taste of it was like wafers made with honey.] All things of a pleasant relish are compared in Scripture to honey. Whence those words of David, Psalm xix. 11, cix. 130. Onkelos saith, manna tasted like *escarite*: which was a delicious food at Rhodes (as Bochart observes out of Julius Pollux), between bread and cake (like our biscuit, I suppose), which was so grateful, that they who did eat it were never satisfied, but still desired more.

In Numb. xi. 7, 8, manna is said to taste like *fresh oil*. Which doth not contradict this: for, as Abarinel and others observe, the meaning is, that when it first fell, before it was prepared, it tasted like *honey-wafers*; but when it was baked, then it tasted like *fresh oil*. And so the words, Numb. xi. 8, plainly import; "They took it, and beat it in a mortar, and baked it, &c. and the taste of it (i. e. thus prepared) was like the taste of fresh oil." Nay, the Jewish doctors commonly say it had all manner of pleasant savours, according to men's different palates; and thence they fancy it is called (ver. 29) the bread *mishne* (which we translate of *two days*), because it was changed according to the diversity of those that did eat it; children, young men, and old. Which conceit the author of the Book of Wisdom follows (xvi. 20, 21).

Ver. 32. *Moses said, This is the thing which the Lord commandeth.]* I have this further command to deliver from God concerning the manna.

which the Lord commandeth, Fill an omer of it to be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt.

33 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for your generations.

34 As the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept.

35 And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited;

Fill an omer of it] Just so much as was assigned to every one for his daily bread (ver. 16).

To be kept for your generations;] For your posterity in future ages.

May see the bread wherewith I have fed you, &c.] For seeing with one's eyes (saith Isaac Aramah) mightily confirms a thing, and leaves one in no doubt of it. And he took care they should see both the manna itself, and the measure which he bountifully allowed to every one of them.

Ver. 33. *Moses said unto Aaron.]* What God commanded Moses, he now commands Aaron to do.

Take a pot,] He saith nothing of the matter of this pot, or urn; which some say was an earthen pot, others say of lead, brass, or iron: and Abarinel thinks it was of glass, that one might see what was within. But the apostle hath settled this controversy, by calling it a *golden pot* (Heb. ix. 4), and so do the LXX. in this place. And indeed all the vessels of the sanctuary being of gold, it was but reason that this, which contained such a precious monument of God's mercy, should be of the same metal.

Lay it up before the Lord,] i. e. Before the ark of the testimony, as it is explained in the next verse: which shows that this command was given after the building of the tabernacle; and is here mentioned, because it belongs to the same matter which Moses relates in this chapter. Others suppose it was spoken by way of prolepsis; which seems not to me so probable.

Ver. 34. *So Aaron laid it up]* When the tabernacle was built.

Before the Testimony,] This is the same with *before the Lord*, in the foregoing verse. For the Divine glory dwelt between the cherubims, which were over the ark; which is commonly called the *ark of the testimony* (xxx. 6, xl. 3, 5). But here, and xxv. 36, is simply called the *testimony*; by an ellipsis, or leaving out the first word, which is very usual in other instances: for thus it is called the *ark of God's strength* (2 Chron. vi. 41), but elsewhere the first word being omitted, it is called only his *strength* (Ps. lxxviii. 61, cv. 4). And therefore the ark is called the *testimony*; partly because there God gave them a special token of his dwelling among them; and partly because the two tables of stone were in the ark, which are called the *testimony* (xl. 20): where it is said, Moses put the *testimony into the ark*: and then immediately (ver. 21), he calls it the *ark of the testimony*.

Ver. 35. *And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years,]* Within a month; which wanted to make complete *forty years*. For it began to fall just thirty days after they came out of Egypt (on the 15th of April), and ceased to fall on the 15th or 16th of March, the day after the passover, which they kept in the fortieth year (Josh. v. 11, 12). Now in all writers, some days under or over are not wont to be considered, when there is a round number.

But there are those who fancy these words were

they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.

put into this book after Moses's death: for which I can see no ground. For it is certain he lived the greatest part of the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt, and brought them to the borders of Canaan, within sight of it (Deut. i. 3, xxxiv. 1, 2, &c.). And therefore may well be supposed to have added these words himself to this history, as he did the foregoing (ver. 32), that all belonging to this matter might be put together in one place.

Until they come to a land inhabited;] i. e. To Canaan, or the borders of it, as it here follows. For these words, saith Aben Ezra, have respect to the wilderness in which they now were, which was not inhabited.

Until they came unto the borders of—Canaan.] That is, saith he, to Gilgal, which was the borders, when they had passed over Jordan; when they did eat of the corn of the land, and had no farther need of manna.

Ver. 36. *An omer is the tenth part of an ephah.*] From hence also some would fain conclude that Moses did not write this: because, say they, it is not usual, when measures are in common use, to tell in other words how much they contained; which then only is proper when they are grown out of use. But such observations seem to proceed from a humour of cavilling. For why may not an author set down distinctly things very well known in his time, that posterity also may have as distinct a knowledge of them? Besides, the very same men complain, on other occasions, that the writers of history have omitted to

36 Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.

give us an account of several things, which in their time were most notorious; whereby posterity suffers much for want of such information. Nor do I see any proof that these measures were not as common in aftertimes as they were when Moses lived.

Several learned men have taken a great deal of pains to reduce these measures to those of the Greeks and Romans, particularly Salmasius in his epistles (n. lxvii.), and Herman. Conringius, in a treatise on this subject, de Mensuris Hebraicis. But none have done it so clearly and exactly as a very learned person of our own country (Bishop Cumberland, in his Scripture Weights and Measures, chap. 3), who computes an ephah to have contained seven white-gallons, a bottle, and half a pint: so that an omer was near three quarts: which, if any one imagine too great a proportion to be allowed to one person every day, he propounds these things to be considered: that manna, being of a globular figure (like coriander-seed), must needs have many empty spaces between every three or four grains; and those vacuities may reasonably be estimated a third part of the vessel's capacity: and it being a light, aerial food, must needs be inwardly porous, and of a spongy contexture of parts. So that it wasted something in dressing by fire, as it melted by the sun when it grew hot: and consequently three quarts might, it is probable, be reduced to three pints of an oily liquid substance. Which was not too much in a hungry desert, where they might well be thought to have refreshed themselves thrice a day. See also what I have noted before, ver. 18.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 The people murmur for water at Rephidim. 5 God sendeth them for water to the rock in Horeb. 8 Amalek is overcome by the holding up of Moses' hands. 15 Moses buildeth the altar JEHOVAH-nissi.

1 AND all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment

of the LORD, and pitched in Rephidim: and there was no water for the people to drink.

2 Wherefore the people did chide with Moses,

CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *The children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin.*] Where they had been for some time (xvi. 1), and now pitched in Rephidim. That is, they rested here, after some other stations, in their passage hither: for Moses mentions two between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim, Numb. xxxiii. 12—14. And that is the reason of the words here following.

After their journeys,] They proceeded in their journey to Dophekah, and then to Alush; and so to Rephidim: where they stayed some time.

According to the commandment of the Lord.] By the direction of the glorious cloud which went before them, and fixed their station for them where it rested.

Pitched in Rephidim.] This place was in the wilderness of Sin also: but called by a particular name; as the place from whence they came was called by the name of the whole. So St. Jerome. All the wilderness, as far as to Mount Sinai, was called Sin, which was the name also of one of their stations (as Moab was both the name of a province and of a city), and there were four others in this wilderness; those by the Red Sea, Dophekah, Alush, and Rephidim.

There was no water for the people to drink.] This gave occasion to another remarkable mercy of God to them; whereas nothing considerable fell out at the

two former stations: which is the reason they are here omitted. So Abarbinel judiciously observes. Moses would not set down in this history any of their stations but those in which some new and notable thing happened: the rest, in which no such thing was done, he describes in the book of Numbers, xxxiii.

Ver. 2. *The people did chide with Moses,*] Expostulate with him in such an undutiful manner, that it may be translated scolded with him.

Give us water] The word for *give* is in the plural number; and therefore this was spoken both to Moses and to Aaron; though Moses be only mentioned as the person they contended with. For there was no need (as Aben Ezra and others observe) to mention Aaron, because Moses was not wont to speak to the people but by him. Abarbinel carries it further, and will have this speech directed to Moses and to God, because they came hither by God's commandment: which made them insolently say, if by God's providence we were brought to this place, let him take care we be not killed with thirst.

Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me?] Who brought you hither by God's order.

Wherefore do ye tempt the Lord?] And why do you distrust his power, and goodness, and faithfulness to his promise?

Ver. 3. *The people thirsted there for water;*] This looks like a needless repetition; it being said before,

and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the Lord?

3 And the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?

4 And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying,

there was no water in this place (ver. 1), which made the people chide with Moses, for bringing them into such an inconvenient station. But if we consider it well, we shall find it a necessary explication of the growth and progress of their discontent. For, as Abarbanel hath well observed, as soon as they came to Rephidim, they saw it was no commodious place, because it would not supply them with water: which made them begin to quarrel with Moses before they needed; merely out of fear, that when the water they had brought from Elim was spent, there would be none for them. And now, when after a day or two it was all gone, they were really very thirsty, and so fell into the murmuring here spoken of from a sense of their misery, as before only out of a fear of it.

Murmured against Moses,] They proceeded from a lower to a higher degree of discontent; which made them at first only expostulate and argue with him; but now they murmur against him; and at length fell into such a rage, that they seemed to be ready to stone him (ver. 4). It is necessary to stop such motions in their beginning.

Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt?] This shows the necessity of preserving the remembrance of God, and of his benefits, in our minds. Which if this people had done, they could not have fallen a third time into such a discontented fit, as made them speak reproachfully of their deliverer, and slight the wonderful deliverance itself, which God had lately given them out of cruel servitude. The character which Plato (in his *Axiochus*) gives of the vulgar sort of people, belongs to the Israelites above all other; viz. that this sort is ἀχάριστον, ἀξίωρον, ὡρὸν, βιάζανον, ἀπαίδευτον (tom. iii. p. 369).

To kill us—with thirst?] Children, as Abarbanel observes, can less endure thirst than grown men: and cattle need abundance of water, which is the reason they mention them.

Ver. 4. Moses cried unto the Lord,] Which he did not upon their first complaint (ver. 2), because their necessity was not so urgent: but now, seeing their distress, and the height of their discontent, he prays God to take care of them: hoping he would supply them with drink, as lately he had done with bread.

What shall I do unto this people?] He said enough, no doubt, to quiet them; by remembering them what God had already done for them, and what reason they had still to trust in his good providence: but this would not satisfy them, unless their thirst was presently quenched; which he could not do for them, and therefore knew not how to appease them.

They be almost ready to stone me.] He represents to God not only their importunity, but his own great danger. For having promised to bring them to Canaan, he was afraid (as Abarbanel fancies) that if they continued to think they should die with thirst, they would take him for a false prophet, who had deceived them with lies; and consequently inflict the punishment upon him, which the law enacts against a false prophet, which was stoning. But the law being not yet given, this could not be in their thoughts.

What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me.

5 And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go.

6 Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that

Ver. 5. Go on before the people,] Be not afraid of their stoning (saith the same Abarbanel), but though they murmur, and are in a great passion, and impatient, go on before them confidently through the midst of their camps; and thou shalt see they shall not touch the hem of thy garment.

And take with thee of the elders of Israel,] Not valiant young men to thy life-guard; but grave persons, to be witnesses, that thou dost really bring water out of a rock; and the people may not say there was a spring there before. Concerning the elders of Israel, see iii. 16.

And thy rod,] Not a sword, or a lance (saith the same writer), but that wand wherewith thou smotest the river of Egypt, and turnedst it into blood; or didst divide the Red Sea, as some understand it: an arm of the sea being by good authors called a river.

And go,] As I bid thee.

When he is commanded to march before the people, it is supposed they were to follow: but they could not all move so soon as he and the elders, who went before to the very place. Which the whole body of the people could not do; the passage to the rock, it is likely, being narrow; so that they could not all see him smite the rock, and behold the water gush out; but expected till it flowed from thence unto their camp.

Ver. 6. I will stand before thee there upon the rock] That is, the glory of the Lord, which in the cloud appeared in this place (as Abarbanel truly expounds it) to strengthen his faith: and to persuade the elders that this water was divinely given them, even as the manna was. For before that fell from above, the glory of the Lord appeared (xvi. 10), as it did now, before this water flowed to them from the rock. So that they were fed continually by the Divine Providence; from whence they received both their meat and their drink.

There is an emphatical *he* (as they call it) before the word for *rock*; and therefore it should be translated, *upon that rock*. Where Abarbanel fancies the Lord was wont to appear to Moses: but this being a rocky place, it may only denote that particular part of the rock to which God directed him to go; and was the same (that author probably thinks) with that mentioned xxxiii. 22.

In Horeb;] This was not a distinct mountain from Sinai, but only a different part of the same mountain, which was long, and had many risings, of which this was one.

Smite the rock,] With the rod wherewith he smote the river (vii. 17, 20).

There shall come water out of it, that the people may drink.] According to their petition, ver. 2.

Moses did so] i. e. Smote the rock, and brought water out of it, in such plenty, that the Psalmist saith *it ran down like rivers* (lxxviii. 15, 16), to supply the want of the whole camp, unto which it flowed as far as Rephidim; so that they needed not to go to Horeb for it. Which is the difference (as Abarbanel thinks) between this miracle and that mentioned Numb. xx. where the waters were but like a well, to which they must go; and did not come to them,

the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.

7 And he called the name of the place Massah, and Meribah, because of the chiding of the children of Israel, and because they tempted the Lord, saying, Is the Lord among us, or not?

8 ¶ Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim.

9 And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us

much less follow them in their journeys, as this did. For this was a continued fountain of water, which flowed out of the rock (Psalm cxiv. 8), and made this part of Arabia habitable in future ages, which no man dwelt in before. Moses doth not add, "and the people drank, and their cattle," because (as Aben Ezra observes) he studied brevity; and this was easily understood.

In the sight of the elders] That they might be able to testify to the people the truth of this miracle, whereby they were relieved in their distress, and preserved in their travels through the wilderness: the fame of which, no doubt, reached other nations; the memory of it being remaining in several of their fables. For there is a manifest allusion to it in Euripides' Bacchæ, ver. 703, where he makes one of them smiting the rock at Clithæron, and waters gushing out of it.

Ὅσον δὲ τις λαβοῦσ', ἔπασεν εἰς πέτραι,
Ὅθεν ῥοοῶνδης ὕδατος ἐκπηᾷ νοτί.

This I find observed by Bochartus, in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 16; and Huetius hath observed many more such instances out of Nonnus, Pausanias, and divers other authors, in his Alnetanæ Questiones, lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 18. And he thinks it very probable, that the fable of Janus was forged from hence; for which he alleges many arguments (in his Demonstratio Evan.), and this among the rest; that Albricus describes his image holding a rod in his left hand, with which he smites a stone, and out of it water flows.

Ver. 7. *He called the name of the place Massah, and Meribah, &c.*] That place which before was called Rephidim, was after this called Massah and Meribah; with respect to their chiding there with Moses, which is the import of Meribah; and their tempting God, which is the signification of Massah. Some think this one place was not called by two names; but that, upon the second striking of the rock, almost forty years after this, it was called Meribah, and till then only Massah. But in that story it is not said the place was called Meribah, but the water (Numb. xx. 13).

Is the Lord among us, or not?] Doth he take care of us, or not regard what becomes of us? For God is said to be among, or (as the phrase is in the Hebrew) in the midst of those whom he protects, and provides for, by a special providence, as we find Deut. vii. 21, xxiii. 14; Josh. iii. 20, and many other places.

Ver. 8.] The ground of their enmity is commonly thought to be the ancient grudge of the seed of Esau to those of Israel; for Amalek was descended from the eldest son of Esau by a concubine (Gen. xxxvi. 12). But it may very fairly also be supposed, that there was some league between the Amalekites and the people of Canaan, of mutual defence, which might move the Amalekites to oppose the passage of the Israelites, and endeavour to hinder their settlement in Canaan; unto which, perhaps, they imagined their own pretences to be as good, though the Israelites challenged the promise of it belonged to them alone.

out men, and go out, fight with Amalek: to morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand.

10 So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.

11 And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed.

Then came] These words import that the Amalekites were the aggressors, without any provocation. If they fancied the Israelites would invade them, they might have prepared to defend themselves; but it was no ground for assaulting them. Unto which perhaps they were moved (as for other reasons, so) out of greediness of prey, hearing the Israelites were loaded with the spoils of the Egyptians.

Fought with Israel] They came out of their own country to fight with them in the wilderness. Or we may suppose that they attacked their rear, as they were upon their march from Rephidim to Horeb; and cut off some stragglers, or such as lagged behind through faintness and weariness, as Moses relates, Deut. xxv. 18. The author of Dibre Hajamin makes the army of Amalek to have consisted of an incredible number, all exercising divinations and enchantments.

Ver. 9. *Moses said unto Joshua,*] Who, it seems, was an eminent person, at their first coming out of Egypt.

Choose us out men] Whom he knew to be as valiant as himself.

Go out, fight with Amalek:] Meet them, and give them battle.

I will stand on the top of the hill] To pray to God, who had lately appeared to him there (ver. 6).

With the rod of God] This he said, to encourage Joshua to hope God would not fail to deliver them, though a miracle was required to bring it to pass.

Ver. 10. *So Joshua did as Moses had said*] Nothing but a strong confidence in God could have animated men, inexperienced in the arts of war, to encounter such mighty enemies.

Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.] The Jews do but conjecture who this Hur was; but we may be certain he was a person of great eminence for wisdom and piety, otherwise he would not have been joined with the leaders of God's people, Moses and Aaron. We read, indeed (1 Chron. ii. 19), of one Hur, who was the son of Caleb, and grandfather of the famous Bezaleel, who was of the tribe of Judah. But there is nothing to persuade us that he was the person here spoken of, nor that he was the son of Moses's sister, as some of the Jews tell us. See Pirke Eliezer, cap. 45, where strange stories are told of him. But it is more probable that he was Miriam's husband, as Josephus affirms (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 2), though we cannot tell whence he himself was descended.

Ver. 11. *When Moses held up his hand,*] Lifting up the hands was a posture of prayer, and imploring the Divine aid, as we find in many places; particularly Lam. iii. 40, "Let us lift up our hearts with our hands to God in the heavens." And it implies great earnestness in prayer; as doth also *lifting up the eyes*, and *lifting up the soul* (Psalm xxv. 1, cxxi. 1, &c.). But though this be true, and no doubt Moses and his companions prayed to God most earnestly, yet this was not the occasion of his *lifting up his hand*; which was to advance the *rod of God*, which he held in his hand, and lifted up as their *standard* or banner, to which they should look and hope for help, from the

12 But Moses' hands *were* heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon: and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun.

mighty power of God, who had done such wonders by that rod.

That Israel prevailed.] The sight of the rod of God inspired them with such courage, that their enemies could not stand before them.

When he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed.] Their spirits flagged when they did not see the rod; and they began to give ground: imagining, perhaps, that Moses despaired of victory; who (the fight being long) was not able always to keep his hand erect.

Ver. 12. *Moses' hands were heavy.*] Through weariness, by long holding them out upon the stretch.

And they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon.] It seems he had been standing before, which gave them the greater advantage of seeing the rod, but made him the more weary.

Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands.] Were his supporters; which it is probable was in this manner. Sometimes Moses held up the rod in his right hand, and sometimes in his left (for ver. 11, he speaks only of one hand which was lifted up, or let down), and Aaron stood on one side of him (suppose his right hand), and Hur stood on the other: who, by that means, helped by turns to uphold his hands in that posture: for if they had done it both together, they might have been as weary as he.

His hands were steady, &c.] Were kept up stretched out, without falling down, till sun-set.

Ver. 13. *Joshua discomfited Amalek, &c.*] Routed their whole army. One would think the name of their kings was Amalek (as the kings of Egypt were called Pharaoh), because he mentions *Amalek and his people*. Otherwise, if Amalek signifies collectively the Amalekites, then his people must signify those who were confederate with them.

Ver. 14. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] He appeared, it is likely, to him again in this place (as he had done, ver. 6), and gave him this order.

Write this for a memorial in a book.] Make a record of it; as he did both here, and Deut. xxv. 17, &c. And nobody was so fit to do it, as he, who saw all that fell out in this fight; and was the undoubted author of what we read in this book; which was written by himself.

Rehearse it in the ears of Joshua.] That he, who was to be the leader of God's people after Moses, might never enter into any league with the Amalekites. For his prosperity depended upon the observation of the commands given by God to Moses: which therefore were carefully written in a book, and delivered to him, that they might not be forgotten. See Josh. i. 7, 8, where there is a plain proof, that the laws delivered by Moses were written before Joshua entered into the land of Canaan.

I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek] Have a perpetual quarrel with them, till they be quite extinct; as they were partly by Saul (1 Sam. xv.), and partly by David (1 Sam. xxx. 17), and partly by the children of Simeon (1 Chron. iv. 43). Balaam also prophesied of their utter destruction (Numb. xxiv. 20). Which may seem a hard sentence; but it was (as Maimonides observes) to terrify others from the like malice. For as particular persons are sometimes punished very severely, for an example to others; so are families and nations. And Amalek, being the very first that drew a sword against Israel, unpro-

13 And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.

14 And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.

voked, God passed this heavy doom upon them: whereas Ammon and Moab (saith he) who out of mere covetousness committed what they did against Israel, and wrought mischief to them by craft and subtlety, had only this punishment inflicted upon them, that Israel should not contract affinity with them, &c., Deut. xxiii. 3, 4; xxv. ult. (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41).

Ver. 15. *Moses built an altar,*] Commonly altars were built for sacrifice: which Moses, perhaps, here offered in thankfulness to God for his benefits, particularly this great victory. But they were also built sometimes only as memorials (Josh. xxii. 26, 27), as this perhaps was: he thinking it fit to preserve the memory of this victory, not only by writing, but by this monument also, and the inscription he left upon it.

Jehovah-nissi.] Or, the Lord my banner; i. e. by him we overcame them. Some will have it translated, not he called it, but he called him; i. e. the Lord, by the name of the Lord who lifted up a banner; i. e. fought for them (Psalm lx. 6). From which inscription Bochartus thinks came the name of Dionysius among the Greeks: who, from this word *Nissi*, called him *Nisseus*, or *Nyseus*; and adding the name of their own Jupiter to it, called him Διόνυσος (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 18). For Bacchus is said to have been a great warrior, and to have made mighty conquests. And, as Huetius observes, is called Arsaphes, which is the very name given to Moses by the Egyptians, who called him Osarsiph. Nay, in Orpheus's hymns, Bacchus is called Mises, which seems to be the same with Moses. Out of whose story all that the Greeks and others say of Bacchus, seems to have been framed; as he shows with great probability (Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 4, n. 3).

Ver. 16. *Because the Lord hath sworn, &c.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *the hand upon the throne of the Lord*. Which is commonly interpreted, *the Lord hath sworn by his throne*. So R. Solomon, and Aben Ezra; and the Chaldee, whose paraphrase is, "this is spoken with an oath, from the face of the terrible One, whose Majesty is upon the throne of glory, that the Lord will have war with Amalek, &c. That is, saith Maimonides, he hath sworn by himself (More Nevoch. par. i. p. 9), for in this, and all other places, the word *kisse* (i. e. *throne*) signifies his magnificence and power: which is not any thing without his essence; but is himself.

But here being no mention of *lifting up the hand*, which is the phrase for swearing (Exod. vi. 8; Deut. xxxii. 40), it may more simply be expounded, "because the hand of the Lord, sitting upon the throne" of his Majesty, is stretched out, and holds up his banner, to fight with Amalek throughout all generations. For Moses seems to allude in this phrase to what he had said, ver. 11, 12. "When Moses lifted up his hand, then Israel prevailed," &c., and bids them take notice, it was his hand, i. e. the omnipotent power of God, which gave them this victory: and would perpetually prosecute Amalek, till they were destroyed.

Joseph Scaliger would have *Kes-jah* to be but one word, and to signify the same with *Kese*, which, according to him, is the last day of the month, on which this battle was fought. And so this to be a part of the inscription upon the altar; as if he had

15 And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it JEHOVAH-nissi:

16 For he said, Because the Lord hath sworn

that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

said, "this pillar was set up on the last day of the second month, to declare ἀσπιδον πόλεμον, irreconcilable war with Amalek for ever" (lib. iii. de Emend. Temp. p. 223). But this is too bold a conceit, and is confuted by Hackspan and Glassius. There is a more ingenious conjecture (which I have somewhere met with), if there were any thing in Scripture to warrant it, that *laying the hand on the throne* was a form of swearing: as *touching the altar* was among some nations, which was as much as our *laying the hand on the Bible*: a principal external character of a solemn oath. Whence Juvenal saith, atheists do intrepids altaria tangere, "touch the altars boldly without trembling; i. e. make no conscience of an oath.

But the marginal translation, after all, is very literal, and makes the sense exceeding plain and clear: "because the hand (of Amalek) is against the throne of the Lord (i. e. against God himself), therefore the Lord will have war with Amalek, from generation to generation." This is easy and natural, and agrees with the whole history: that because they came out and opposed the design of God, who in a visible and most glorious manner conducted the Israelites to the land he had promised to give them, he would never be reconciled to them. For it was a high affront to his Majesty, who had lately done such astonishing wonders as were famed, no doubt, in all the neighbouring nations (xv. 14, 15).

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 Jethro bringeth to Moses his wife and two sons. 7 Moses entertaineth him. 13 Jethro's counsel is accepted. 27 Jethro departeth.

1 WHEN Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, and that the Lord had brought Israel out of Egypt;

2 Then Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her back,

3 And her two sons; of which the name of the one was Gershom; for he said, I have been an alien in a strange land:

4 And the name of the other was Eliezer;

for the God of my father, said he, was mine help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh:

5 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness, where he encamped at the mount of God:

6 And he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *Jethro, the priest of Midian, &c.*] Many ancient and later versions have it, *prince of Midian*: (see ch. ii. 16).

Heard of all] The fame of which went into all the countries thereabout (xv. 14, &c.).

Ver. 2. *Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her back.*] It is uncertain when Moses sent her back to her father: but it is likely it was done at her own desire, when she saw how difficult his work was likely to prove in Egypt (see iv. 26). The Hebrew word seems to some to intimate a divorce, as the Mauritanian Jews take it. But all Christian versions, and that of the German Jews, and the Persian, understand it as we do (see Selden de Uxor. Hebr. p. 929).

Ver. 3. *Her two sons.*] Whose names carry in them a thankful remembrance of God's great mercy to him.

Gershom.] See ii. 22.

Ver. 4. *Eliezer.*] Who is thought to have been born a little before he left Midian, and went out of Midian into Egypt by God's special direction (see iv. 25).

Ver. 5. *Jethro, &c. came—unto Moses*] Took a journey out of Midian to give him a visit.

Into the wilderness.] Into the same wilderness where Moses and the Israelites now were.

Where he encamped at the mount of God.] viz. At Horeb, which was not far from Midian, it appears from iii. 11, where we read that when Moses fed Jethro's flock, he led them thither to this mount. Which is called *God's mount*, because there he ap-

peared first to Moses (iii. 2, &c.), and had lately appeared there again upon the rock (xvii. 6), unto which place he bid Moses lead the congregation (xvii. 5), who were now, I suppose, encamped thereabout, after the fight with Amalek in Rephidim; which was not far from it.

Ver. 6. *He said unto Moses.*] By a letter which he sent him from the place where he was encamped (of which these were the contents), to give him notice of his coming. Which was but necessary; that he might without any impediment pass the guards, which we may well think Moses had set very carefully, after the fight with Amalek; who had suddenly surprised the hindmost of the people (Deut. xxv. 18).

I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, &c.] Am upon the way, and come near to thee.

Here it may be fit to take notice that there is a great dispute among interpreters, about the time when Jethro came from Midian, with Moses's wife and children: whether immediately after the fight with Amalek, as it is here set down; or some time after, when the Israelites were better settled. One would think, that he could not but take the first opportunity to visit Moses, and to bring him and his nearest relations together, after he heard the news of their coming out of Egypt, and their passing the Red Sea, &c. the news of which could not but reach him, who was a borderer upon this wilderness. Yet the Hebrews are generally of an opinion, that this fell out after the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, and many Christians have been of the same mind: particularly such great men as our most learned primate Usher, ad A. M. 2514, and Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 2,

7 ¶ And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and they asked each other of *their* welfare; and they came into the tent.

8 And Moses told his father in law all that the LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, *and* all the travail that had come upon them by the way, and *how* the LORD delivered them.

9 And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the LORD had done to Israel, whom he had delivered out of the hand of the Egyptians.

where he saith, no other account of it is to be received; nec aliam sanè sententiam omnino amplexandum sentio: but they are not agreed in what year he came. Some say it was in this first year, after their coming out of Egypt: and the Hebrews have an opinion that it was in the month of Tisri, and on the eleventh day of that month, when Jethro gave the following counsel to Moses (ver. 19, &c.), i. e. above three months after God gave the law from Mount Sinai; or after Moses received the second tables. But others are as confident that it was in the second year; and place this story, according to order of time, after Numb. x. 28, or, as Dr. Lightfoot thinks, it should come in between the 10th and 11th verses of that tenth of Numbers. And primate Usher, in like manner, judges his coming to have been about that time. But though all this be uncertain, yet Mr. Selden thinks he hath a strong ground to affirm, it was after the giving of the law, from what we read Deut. i. 6, 9—11, &c. And I confess it seems plain from thence, that the regulation which Moses made by the advice of Jethro, was after God spake to them in Horeb, which is the same with Mount Sinai. For though he did appear at Horeb before this (as I observed xvii. 6), yet he said nothing then of that which Moses mentions Deut. i., which was after the giving of the law. At which time he saith there (ver. 9) it was that he told them, “he was not able to bear them himself alone.” &c. But notwithstanding this, I cannot think that the coming of Jethro to Moses was deferred so long (for no reason can be given why Moses here places the story of it, if it did not follow their fight with Amalek), though he did not give him the *advice* for the better administration of justice, till after God had delivered the law from Mount Sinai; as I shall observe in its proper place.

Ver. 7. *Moses went out to meet his father in law.*] Before he came into the camp; or at least before he came to his tent: that he might show the great respect he bare to him, and his joy to see him.

Did obeisance, and kissed him;] Welcomed him according to the custom of those countries.

They asked each other of their welfare;] Had such discourse together, as friends commonly have at their meeting, till they came into the tent.

Came into the tent.] Into the tent of Moses; or rather, the tent prepared to entertain Jethro. But the Talmudists are so possessed with the opinion, that this happened some months, if not a whole year, after the law was given, that they take this *tent* to have been Beth-midrash, the house of exposition; or the school where Moses made the people understand the law. For so Jonathan, in his paraphrase upon this and the foregoing verse; “I, thy father in law, am come unto thee, that I may be made a proselyte. And if thou wilt not receive me for my own sake, yet admit me for the sake of thy wife and children, which I bring with me. And Moses went out from under the cloud of glory to meet him, &c., and when they had mutu-

10 And Jethro said, Blessed be the LORD, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh, who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians.

11 Now I know that the LORD is greater than all gods: for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly he was above them.

12 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father in law before God.

ally saluted, they came into the tabernacle of the house of learning.” But nothing can be more absurd than this fancy; that he carried him immediately to hear a lecture upon the law.

Ver. 8.] It seems to me from these words, and those that follow, that all we read hitherto about this matter fell out in order of time as it is here set down. For if it had happened after the giving of the law, it is most probable he would have said something of the most remarkable passage of all other, God's glorious appearance to them on Mount Sinai, and the law he had delivered to them, &c. Whereas, at this meeting, he only relates what God had done to Pharaoh, and to the Egyptians, and how the LORD delivered them; and all the travail that came upon them by the way: which comprehends their passing through the Red Sea, and their want of water and bread, and their fight with Amalek: that is, all that we read in the foregoing chapters. And, accordingly, Jethro rejoiced for their deliverance from the Egyptians (ver. 9), and gives thanks to God for it (ver. 10), taking notice of nothing else.

Ver. 9. *Jethro rejoiced, &c.*] The gentiles, as Conradus Pellicanus here observes, more devoutly acknowledged God's mercies when they understood them, than the Jews themselves did. With which our Saviour, when he came, upbraids that people: finding such faith among the gentiles, as he could not meet withal in Israel.

Ver. 10.] This may relate to the preservation of Moses and Aaron, who had brought the sorest plagues upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians: and yet God suffered them not to hurt them.

Who hath delivered the people] And then this relates to the deliverance of the whole body of the people from the Egyptian bondage; and to the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea: whereby the Israelites were finally delivered from under the hand, i. e. the tyranny and oppression of the Egyptians.

Ver. 11. *Now I know that the LORD*] He knew the true God before; but was now fully convinced that he alone was the Most High.

Is greater than all gods.] Than all that the world accounted gods. For he did not acknowledge any more Divine powers than one; but he speaks according to the common opinion men had in those days of other gods besides the Most High. This is a common acknowledgment of good men in aftertimes (Psalm lxxxvi. 8, 10, cxxxv. 5).

For in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them.] If we refer this to what immediately goes before (viz. all gods), the meaning is, that the LORD appeared superior to all the Egyptian gods, who insolently attempted, by the magicians, to equal him in his wonderful works; but were baffled and exposed to contempt, and at last thrown down in their images (viii. 19, ix. 11, xii. 12). But it is commonly thought to relate to the Egyptians and Pharaoh, mentioned in

13 ¶ And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the people: and the people stood by Moses from the morning unto the evening.

14 And when Moses' father in law saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people stand by thee from morning unto even?

the foregoing verse: and then the meaning is, that the Lord confounded them that proudly contemned his authority, saying, "Who is the Lord," &c. (v. 2), whom he forced to beg his pardon (ix. 27), and at last drowned him and his host in the Red Sea, when they said, in a haughty boasting manner, "I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, my lust shall be satisfied upon them," &c. (xv. 9). And to this purpose the Chaldee expounds it: "in that very thing wherein they thought to judge (i. e. to punish or destroy) the Israelites, they were judged themselves;" i. e. drowned in the sea, as they intended to drown all their male children.

Ver. 12. *Jethro, Moses' father in law.*] He is constantly thus described (ver. 1, 2, 5—8, and everywhere else but ver. 9, 10), to distinguish him from any other Jethro, to whom these things might possibly be thought to belong.

Burnt offering] Which was to be wholly consumed upon the altar, and nothing of it eaten by any body (Lev. i. 9). This now may be thought to have been done, after the giving of the law at Mount Sinai: which Moses here mentions, because he would put together all that belongs to Jethro's story (though not all done at the very same time), just as I said he did what belonged to the history of the manna, xvi. 33, 35 (see there).

Sacrifices] i. e. Peace-offerings; of which the people as well as the priests were to be partakers (Lev. vii. 34; Deut. xxvi. 7). And regularly there never were any *burnt-offerings* made, which were wholly consumed upon the altar, but *peace-offerings* attended upon them: if they were not offerings for the whole congregation, but for particular persons; that so they who brought them might feast also with God upon the sacrifices. For feasting upon sacrifices was an appendix unto all sacrifices whatsoever, one way or other; if not by themselves, yet by the priests, who ate of the *sin-offerings*, as the proxies of the people. Of this there are numerous instances, not only among the Jews after the law was given, but among other people, who had this custom antecedent to it: as appears from Numb. xxv. 2, where the Midianites invite the Israelites "to the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat," &c. Which they did not learn from Moses, but derived from higher antiquity; it is probable even from Abraham himself.

For God.] To be offered unto God. Who offered them we are not told: but it should seem by the word *took*, that Jethro himself (who was a priest) was permitted to perform this office; in token that they owned him to be a faithful servant and minister of the most high God, as Melchizedek was. And accordingly it follows that Aaron was invited, with the elders of Israel, to come and feast with him upon these sacrifices.

Aaron came.] This seems to signify, that Aaron was but a guest, and had not been the priest who offered the sacrifices. For though we suppose the law to have been now given, yet it is likely Aaron and his sons were not yet consecrated, nor the service of God as yet ordered, according to the law that had been delivered: no more than judica-

15 And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people come unto me to enquire of God:

16 When they have a matter, they come unto me; and I judge between one and another, and I do make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.

17 And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good.

tures were erected, as after this they were by the advice of Jethro.

But of these things we can have no absolute certainty, but only make probable conjectures.

And all the elders of Israel.] See iii. 16.

To eat bread] To partake of the sacrifices that had been offered: for this comprehends the whole meal (Gen. xliii. 25).

Before God.] Before the tabernacle where God dwelt. Or, if that was not yet set up, in the place where God appeared in an extraordinary manner, which it is likely was in the tent of Moses (xxxiii. 7).

Ver. 13. *It came to pass on the morrow.*] The next day after this solemn sacrifice: which the Jews (I observed above) say was on the eleventh day of Tisri. So Sepher Mechilta, and others from thence, as Mr. Selden hath noted (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 2, p. 75).

That Moses sat] That was the posture of judges.

To judge] To hear causes and determine them.

The people stood by Moses, &c.] That was the posture both of the plaintiff and the defendant. And there were now so many causes brought before him, that they took up the whole day; so that he had no time to eat and refresh himself.

Ver. 14. *When Moses' father in law saw all that he did*] He either was present and observed himself; or was informed by others what insupportable pains he took.

He said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people?] What a burden is this, to judge the causes of a whole nation!

Why sittest thou thyself alone.] Takest more upon thee than any one person is able to bear.

All the people stand by thee from morning unto even?] Till both thou and they are tired.

Ver. 15. *Because the people come unto me*] I cannot refuse to do justice: and there is none but myself to declare what the law of God is in such cases as are brought before me.

To enquire of God.] Doth not signify here, to desire him to consult the Divine Majesty for them; but to decide their controversies according to the mind of God, declared in the laws he had given him. So the LXX. *to seek for judgment from God*: and the Vulgar, *to seek God's sentence*. For what was determined according to God's law was the *judgment of God*, and so it is called by Moses (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15, p. 610).

Ver. 16. *When they have a matter.*] Of controversy. *Thy come unto me.*] That I may decide it.

I judge] Determine where the right lies.

I do make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.] This explains what is meant by *inquiring of God*; i. e. what was the law of God in the case brought before him.

From which we may probably gather, that the law was already given from Mount Sinai, and all the other laws and statutes which follow (ch. xxi. xxii. xxiii), before this happened. Unless we will say, as some do, that Moses was directed, upon the spot (as we speak), by a secret inspiration, how to determine every cause.

18 Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou, and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.

19 Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee counsel, and God shall be with thee: Be thou for the people to God-ward, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God:

20 And thou shalt teach them ordinances and

laws, and shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do.

21 Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens:

22 And let them judge the people at all seasons: and it shall be, that every great matter

Ver. 17. *The thing that thou doest is not good.*] Neither profitable for thyself nor for the people: as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 18. *Wear away.*] Decay apace, and without remedy; as the phrase in the Hebrew signifies.

Both thou, and this people.] Such tedious attendance will impair them also, as well as thyself.

For this thing is too heavy for thee, &c.] Too much for one man to undergo.

Ver. 19. *Hearken now.*] Be advised by me.

I will give thee counsel.] Though I am no Israelite, I will take upon me to be thy counsellor: and I doubt not, God will show my advice to be good, by the good success which will attend it.

Be thou for the people to God-ward, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God.] Appoint others to hear causes, and do thou give thyself *μὴν ἐν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπεύειν*, "to the worship and service of God alone," as Josephus expounds it (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 3), or, as Rufinus glosses, "reserve thyself only to the ministry of God;" to attend, that is, upon him, and know his mind. Which, if it be the sense, must be understood with this exception, *only in greater causes* (as it follows afterward), which he was to hear himself. And that may well be the meaning of these words, "When the people bring any matter to thee, which is too hard for other judges to determine (ver. 22), do thou, if need be, carry it to God, that he may resolve thee." Not that he was always to consult the oracle; for he knew in most causes the sense of God's law: but in some it might be necessary to have a particular direction from heaven. As in Numb. xv. 34, 35, xxvii. 5, &c.

Ver. 20. *Ordinances and laws.*] How these two differ is not certain: but *ordinances* are commonly taken to concern matters of religion; and *laws* civil matters of justice and charity. In both which he was, if the case required it, to bring it to God: and then to report to the people, what his resolution was about it.

Shall shew them the way wherein they must walk.] How to behave themselves towards God.

The work that they must do.] How to behave themselves one towards another.

Ver. 21. *Moreover.*] Now in order to this.

Provide out of all the people.] Look out such men as are qualified according to the following directions. Which he did in this manner, as he himself relates, Deut. i. 13, where he saith to the people, "Take ye wise and understanding men," &c. In the Hebrew it is *give ye*; i. e. present to me such men as you think fit for this office: and then it follows, "I will make them rulers over you." They chose them; and then he approved them, and gave them authority. Or, perhaps they presented a good many whom they thought qualified; and out of them he appointed such as he judged most meet. And thus he saith again (ver. 15), "So I took the chief of the tribes," &c. (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15, p. 632).

Able men.] Men able to endure labour; or men who are not needy, but rich and wealthy; or men of parts, or men of courage; for it may refer to any of these, especially the last; such as did not fear potent persons, but God alone, as it here follows.

Such as fear God.] Men truly religious; who would fear to offend God by doing injustice, but not fear to offend men by doing right.

Men of truth.] Honest, upright men; whose love to truth would make them sift it out; by hearing both sides patiently, with impartial attention and unbiassed affection.

Hating covetousness.] Not greedy of money; but abhorring bribes, and all base ways of gain. Which, as Demosthenes says, *ἰσχυρὸς καὶ παρακλητὴς ποιεῖ τοὺς δικάζοντας*, "make judges beside themselves, and no better than mad."

For all these good qualities they were to be eminent and noted among the people, as Moses's words import (Deut. i. 13), where he bids them present to him, not only *wise men and understanding*, but also *known among their tribes*; generally accounted men of understanding and integrity.

Place such over them.] The Hebrew words are such, that it cannot be determined by them, whether this relate to the number of rulers, or of people that were to be ruled by them: as Mr. Selden observes, and discourses upon it very largely, in the forementioned place (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15, p. 615). Where he shows, that *Decemvir*, for instance, was not only one set over ten; but one of the ten judges of which a court consisted; and so the rest may be interpreted. But the most ancient and most received sense is, that he doth not speak of the number of judges (for what a strange court would that be in which there was a thousand judges!) but of the people, of whose causes they were to take cognisance; and it is commonly thought also there was but one ruler over a thousand (families or men, it is uncertain which), and so of the rest: though the words may import more than one in each of their jurisdictions; whether greater or smaller. The Talmudists make a prodigious number of judges of each sort: but it is most rational to think that Jethro's meaning was, that he should constitute greater and lesser judicatures, according to the division of their several tribes, into thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, and appoint a competent number of persons to be judges in these greater or lesser courts.

For, that their tribes were divided into *thousands* (for instance) is apparent from several places, Josh. xxii. 14; Judg. vi. 15, [where Gideon saith, *my family* (in the Hebrew it is *my thousand*) *is the meanest in Israel*;] 1 Chron. xii. 20; Mic. v. 2. These *thousands* Corn. Bertram takes to be *families*, whom the Hebrews call *houses*: which were divided into so many *heads*, as they call them, as the tribes were into families. And of these, he thinks, Jethro advises him to make such rulers as are here mentioned, of several degrees. But others (particularly Herman. Conringius de Republ. Hebr. sect. 19) think we are to understand only *rulers over a thousand men*, not *families*: as it is certain in military affairs, the captains of *thousands* were only of a thousand soldiers (Numb. xxxi. 14).

Rulers of hundreds, — fifties, and — tens.] There were four orders of these rulers: but whether there was a subordination of the lower order to the higher, as in armies there is of the captain to the colonel (as

they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge: so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear the burden with thee.

23 If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this people shall also go to their place in peace.

24 So Moses hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said.

we now speak), and the inferiors to him, I cannot determine.

Ver. 23. *Let them judge the people at all seasons.*] Sit every day, some or other of them, in their several districts (see ver. 26).

Every great matter they shall bring unto thee,] Not if they were able to determine it themselves. For they had power to hear all causes; but when they found any too difficult, they were to refer it to be heard by Moses himself. So R. Levi ben Gerson explains it: "Every great cause, in which they know not what to judge, they shall bring to thee, and thou shalt show what is right:" or how it is to be decided.

There are those, indeed, who think there were several sorts of causes, that might not be brought before these inferior courts; but were to be reserved for Moses's hearing and judging. These they make to be four: First, all sacred matters or things belonging unto God; which they gather from ver. 19. Secondly, all matters of equity; where the rigour of the law was fit to be mitigated. Thirdly, all capital causes. And lastly, such as the *chiliarchs*, i. e. rulers of thousands, and the other judges referred to him. But this is said without ground; for it is plain, all sorts of causes might be determined by the inferior courts, if they were able to make an end of them, whether civil or sacred. Only those which were too difficult for them; that is, when they did not find a law to direct them, or it was obscure, or they could not agree about the punishment, then they were to be brought before Moses. So he himself charges; not that the people should bring such causes to him as they thought difficult, but that the judges themselves should bring them; i. e. order an appeal to him; (Deut. i. 17), "bring it unto me (speaking to the judges) and I will hear it." Which shows the cause had been at the bar of other courts before, and that it was not unlawful for them to meddle with it if they had been able to determine it. And accordingly we read here below (ver. 26), that the judges did so. In short, these words do not intimate that there were some causes the other judges might not try, if they were able; but only that such things as they found themselves not skilful enough to determine, they should bring to him (see Mr. Selden in the forenamed book, p. 633, &c.).

But every small matter they shall judge.] Hitherto Moses had heard all causes promiscuously, great and small: but Jethro well advises him to delegate the labour of judging all causes *liquidum juris* (as the lawyers speak) where the right was clear: and to reserve no part of the judicature to himself, but where the law itself was either defective or obscure.

So shall it be easier] Thou wilt ease thyself of a great

25 And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.

26 And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.

27 ¶ And Moses let his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.

burden, by appointing others to take their share of it.

Ver. 23. *If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so,*] If thou wilt follow this advice, by God's approbation; who was to be consulted whether he allowed it.

Then thou shalt be able to endure,] Thy days will be prolonged; which otherwise will be shortened with this intolerable labour.

Go to their place in peace.] Go home very much satisfied, with such quick despatch, and happy composure of their differences.

Ver. 24. *Moses hearkened to the voice of his father in law, &c.*] Followed his counsel, by God's approbation, with whom no doubt he advised (ver. 23). Here the Samaritan copy inserts those words of Moses (Deut. i. 9, &c.), "I am not able to hear you myself alone, the Lord your God hath multiplied you," &c. Which he spake indeed, when he made this constitution, but did not set it down in this book, where he intended only a short account of these transactions.

Ver. 25. *Moses chose able men*] Out of those who were presented to him by the people (see ver. 20).

Ver. 26. *Judged the people at all seasons:*] Whosoever they resorted to them: for some court or other sat every day that was not appointed by God for other business, i. e. for religion.

Hard causes they brought unto Moses,] It is plain by this that the judges, not the people, brought the hard causes unto Moses, for the people could not know whether they might not have a remedy nearer hand (than by going to him on all occasions) till they had tried.

Ver. 27. *Moses let his father in law depart:*] After he had stayed some time, and he could not prevail with him to stay longer (which he earnestly desired), and go with them to see the accomplishment of God's promises to them; as those words, Numb. x. 29, &c. are thought to signify. But perhaps that Hobab there mentioned, was not Jethro himself, but his son; whom Moses also persuaded not to return to his own country: for he makes no reply, much less denies to stay with Moses, when he pressed him the second time, though he refused at first (ver. 32). But this I shall consider in that place.

He went his way into his own land.] To make his children, or the people of the land, proselytes, saith the Chaldee paraphrase. Which it is probable he endeavoured (i. e. to bring them to true religion) and effected in some measure: so that piety was propagated in some families among them to future generations. For the Rechabites came out of this country (1 Chron. ii. 55), whose virtue Jeremiah praises in the latter end of the Jewish church (ch. xxxv.).

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *The people come to Sinai.* 3 *God's message by Moses unto the people out of the mount.* 8 *The people's answer returned again.* 10 *The people are prepared against the third day.* 12 *The mountain must not be touched.* 16 *The fearful presence of God upon the mount.*

1 IN the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they *into* the wilderness of Sinai.

2 For they were departed from Rephidim, and were come *to* the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount.

CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *In the third month.*] Or, in the *third new moon*. For the Hebrew word *chodesh* signifies a *new moon*, as well as a *month*: nay, that is the prime signification, from whence the other is derived. And so we are to understand it here; that on the next moon, i. e. the first day of the third month (called Sivan), after their coming out of Egypt, they came into the wilderness of Sinai. Which was just forty-five days after they departed out of Egypt. For, if we add to the fifteen days of the first month twenty-nine, which made the second, these put together, with this new moon, make forty-five. Unto which, if we add that day when Moses went up to God (ver. 3), and reported, when he came down, the message God sent by him to the elders of Israel; and the next day after when he returned their answer unto God (ver. 7, 8), with the three days more, which God gave them to prepare themselves for his coming down among them (ver. 10, 11), there were just fifty days from their passover to the giving of the law upon Mount Sinai: which laid the foundation of the great feast of Pentecost.

Same day] i. e. On the forementioned *new moon* of the third month.

Wilderness of Sinai.] So called from that famous mountain *Sinai*, which gave the name to the wilderness which lay before it. This mountain was also called *Horeb* (Deut. iv. 10), they being only different tops of one and the same mountain; but this higher than *Horeb*; so that one may see the Red Sea from thence, as they that have travelled in those parts affirm, who say it is now called by the Arabians, *Tur*; and by Christians, the Mountain of St. Catherine.

Ver. 2. *Departed from Rephidim, &c.*] They began to move from *Rephidim* towards that part of the mountain called *Horeb*, upon their murmuring for want of water (xvii. 5, 6). But seem to have returned thither to fight with *Amalek* (ver. 8). And then they were led by God to this other side of the mountain, which is called the wilderness of *Sinai*.

Israel camped before the mount.] For the glorious cloud having led them hither, rested upon the mount; as appears from the words following.

Ver. 3. *Moses went up unto God.*] Whose glorious majesty appeared upon the mount.

And the Lord called] Or rather, *for the Lord called to him out of the mountain*, where the Divine glory rested: unto which he would not have presumed to go, if the Lord had not called to him to come up thither. Which was upon the second day of the third month.

Say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel;] There was some reason, sure, for calling them

3 And Moses went up unto God, and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel;

4 Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself.

5 Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice in-

by these two names, *the house of Jacob* and *the children of Israel*: which perhaps was to put them in mind that they, who had lately been as low as Jacob when he went to Padan-aram, were now grown as great as God made him when he came from thence, and was called Israel.

Ver. 4. *Ye have seen*] There needs no proof, for yourselves are witnesses.

What I did unto the Egyptians.] Smote them with divers sore plagues; and at last drowned them and their chariots in the Red Sea.

How I bare you on eagles' wings.] Kept you so safe, and placed you so far out of the reach of your enemies, as if you had been borne up on high by an eagle. Which are observed to carry their young ones, not in their feet, as other birds are wont to do, but on their wings: and to soar so high, and with so swift a motion, that none can pursue them, much less touch them. Bochartus hath observed all the properties ascribed to the eagle; with respect to which, interpreters have thought God's care of his people to be here compared with that bird (*Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 5*). But after all he judiciously concludes, that Moses best explains his own meaning, in his famous song, Deut. xxxii. 11, where the eagle's fluttering about her nest, and making a noise, to stir up her young ones to leave their dirty nest, and try their wings, represents the many means God had used to rouse up the drooping spirits of the Israelites, when they lay miserably oppressed under a cruel servitude, and encourage them to aspire after liberty, and to obey those whom he sent to deliver them.

Brought you unto myself.] And by that means brought you hither to live under my government. For this was the very foundation of his peculiar empire over them, that he had ransomed and redeemed them out of slavery, by a mighty hand and stretched-out arm (as he speaks, xiii. 3; Deut. iv. 34), so as he had not delivered any other nation: and thereby made them his own, after an extraordinary manner, peculiar to them alone. This Joshua also recalls to their mind, when he was near his death, and renewed this covenant of God with them (xxiv. 5, 6, &c.).

Ver. 5.] Having wonderfully delivered them, and supported them in a miraculous manner, by bread from heaven, and water out of a rock; he now proceeds to instruct them in their duty, as Greg. Nyssen observes, *L. de Vita Mosis, p. 172*.

If ye will obey my voice indeed, &c.] If you will sincerely obey me, as your king and governor, and keep the covenant I intend to make with you, then you shall be mine above all the people of the earth; whose Lord I am, as well as yours: but you shall be my peculiar inheritance; in which I will establish my kingdom and priesthood; with such laws as shall not only distinguish you from all other nations, but make

deed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine:

6 And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.

7 ¶ And Moses came and called for the elders

you to excel them. This is the sense of this verse, and the following.

A peculiar treasure unto me] i. e. Very dear to me; and consequently I will take a singular care of you, as kings do of those things which they lay up in their treasury. So the Hebrew word *segullah* signifies. Which Origen proves they really were (notwithstanding all the calumnies of Celsus), their laws being so profitable; and they being so early taught to know God, to believe the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments in the life to come; and bred up to a contempt of divination (with which mankind had been abused), as proceeding rather from wicked demons, than from any excellent nature; and to seek for the knowledge of future things in souls, which by an extraordinary degree of purity were rendered capable to receive the Spirit of God (lib. v. contra Celsum, p. 260). And this the author of Sopher Cosri happily expresses, when he saith, "Our peculiar blessings consist in the conjunction of our minds with God, by prophecy, and that which is annexed to it;" that is (as Muscatus explains it), "the gift of the Spirit of God." And therefore, he doth not say in the law, If you will obey my voice, I will bring you after death into gardens of pleasure; but "ye shall be to me a people, and I will be to you a God" (par. i. sect. 109).

For all the earth is mine:] Which made it the greater honour, that he bare such a special love to them.

Ver. 6. *Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests.]* An honourable, or a Divine kingdom: not like worldly kingdoms, which are defended by arms, but supported by piety. Or a princely people, that should rule over their enemies. For the same word signifies both *priests* and *princes*: and in the first times of the world, none was thought fit to be a *priest* but he who was a king, or the chief of the family; as we see in Melchizedek and Jethro.

That God was peculiarly the king of this people, I observed above (iii. 10), and here he expressly owns this peculiar dominion over them, by saying, ye shall be to me a kingdom. And one reason, perhaps, why he saith they shall be a *kingdom of priests*, is, because they were governed (whilst they continued a theocracy) by the high-priest, as the prime minister under God, who in all weighty causes consulted God what was to be done; and accordingly they ordered their affairs (xxviii. 30; Numb. xxviii. 21). Which is the reason why God commands Moses to make such garments for Aaron as should be for *glory and beauty* (or, for *honour and glory*), as we read ver. 2, of that chapter; i. e. to make him appear great, like a prince; for they were really royal garments. And for his sons, also, he was to make bonnets of the like kind for *honour and glory* (ver. 40), they being in the form of the *tiaræ* which kings wore; and are joined in Scripture with crowns (Job xxix. 14; Isa. iii. 23, &c.). Whence Philo says (in his book de Sacerd. Honoribus), that the law manifestly dressed up the high-priest, *εις σεμνότητα και τιμὴν βασιλῆως*. But the liberty and freedom also wherein they were instated, I doubt not, is signified by these words, *kings and priests* (as Onkelos translates them, and as it is ex-

posed of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the Lord commanded him.

8 And all the people answered together, and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord.

9 And the Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may

pressed in the New Testament, Rev. i. 6, v. 10, and the Syriac also, *kingdom and priesthood*], for *kings and priests* were, of all other men, freed from oppression. And thus I find our Mr. Thorndike, a most learned man, glosses upon these words (Review of the Rights of the Church, p. 132): God called them *kings*, because redeemed from the servitude of strangers, to be a people, lords of themselves; and *priests*, because redeemed to spend their time in sacrificing, and feasting upon their sacrifices (under which figure he afterwards represents the happy state of his church, Isa. lxi. 6), though they sacrificed not in person, but by their priests appointed in their stead, by imposition of the elders' hands (Numb. viii. 10).

Holy nation.] A people separated to God from all other nations, and from their idolatry, to serve God in an acceptable manner.

These are the words which thou shalt speak] The sum of what he was to say to them; comprehending both their duty and their high privilege.

Ver. 7. *Moses came]* Down from the mount, where he had been with God (ver. 3).

Called for the elders] The principal persons in the several tribes (see iii. 16), which he seems to have done in the evening of the second day of the month.

Laid before their faces all these words] Plainly declared to them, what God had given him in charge: which they went and propounded to the people of the several tribes, whom they represented.

Ver. 8.] All with one consent declared as here follows:

All that the Lord hath spoken we will do.] They consented to have the Lord for their king; and promised to be obedient to his will.

Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord.] This seems to have been done the next day, which was the third day of the third month. Upon which report made to God for the people's consent, he proceeds, after a few days' preparation, to declare the laws by which they should be governed (ch. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii.), and then (in the twenty-fourth chapter) these laws pass into a covenant between God and them. Here Moses plainly acted as a mediator between God and the people.

Ver. 9. *The Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee]* Appear upon the mount.

In a thick cloud.] In a darker cloud than that which had hitherto gone before them to conduct them; so that they should see nothing but flashes of lightning which came out of it, in a very frightful manner (ver. 16, 18). For, that there was fire in it, appears from Deut. iv. 11, v. 22, 23, though at first, perhaps, only a thick cloud appeared, as a token of his approach.

That the people may hear when I speak with thee.] Though they saw no similitude, yet they plainly heard a voice speaking unto Moses, and declaring their duty. Maimonides, indeed, thinks that the words were directed only unto Moses; and that the Israelites heard merely the sound of the words, but did not distinctly understand them (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 33). Which is directly against what Moses says (Deut. iv. 12), "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire," &c., and (v. 4, 5), "The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount, &c.,

hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto the Lord.

10 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to day and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes,

11 And be ready against the third day: for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai.

12 And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take heed to your-

selves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death:

13 There shall not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when the trumpet soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount.

14 ¶ And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their clothes.

saying, I am the Lord thy God," &c. Which words are plainly directed to all the people.

Believe thee for ever.] They had been staggered in their belief, after they had professed it at the Red Sea (xv. ult.), but after this, it might be expected they would never question his authority any more.

Moses told the words of the people unto the Lord.] Or rather, *for Moses had told, &c.* Upon which account God was pleased to make the foregoing declaration. Till they had owned him for the *Lord their God*, i. e. their king and governor, he did not speak unto them at all, but only unto Moses: but now that they had consented to be his, he resolves to speak audibly to them; and henceforth to dwell among them; and in order to it, fix his tabernacle with them. For which he gives order (xxv. &c.) immediately after they had entered into covenant to do as they had promised.

Or these words (which seem to be a needless repetition) may relate to that which follows, and be translated thus: "Moses having told the words of the people unto the Lord, the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them," &c.

Ver. 10. Go—and sanctify them to day and to morrow.] This shows that Moses was sent down early on the fourth day, to prepare them for the appearance of the Divine Majesty among them, by sanctifying them; that is, separating them from all uncleanness; or rather, from all common and ordinary employments; that they might give themselves to fasting, and prayer, and abstinence from otherwise lawful pleasures. For Pirke Eliezer takes abstinence from their wives, mentioned ver. 15, as a part of this sanctification (cap. 41). And so doth Gregory Nyssen in his book de Vita Mosis, p. 178. And Maimonides observes, that separation from wine and strong drink is called holiness in the law of the Nazarites (Numb. vi. 5), and therefore may be thought part of the sanctification here required (More Nechoch. par. i. cap. 33).

Let them wash their clothes.] The Hebrews understand it, of washing their whole bodies. For thus Aaron and his sons were to be consecrated to their office (xxix. 4, xl. 12), and therefore thus the people were now to be made a holy people unto the Lord, and made fit for the presence of the Divine Majesty. Under whose wings (as they speak) none were received in future times, i. e. made proselytes, but by baptism (or washing of their whole body), which was taken from this pattern. And accordingly, where we read in the law of particular purifications by washing their clothes in case of any uncleanness, as Lev. xi. 25, 28, 40, xiv. 8, 47 (where Moses speaks of cleansing a leprous person), Numb. xxxi. 24 (where he speaks of cleansing soldiers), and many other cases, they understand it in the very same manner. In some cases indeed it is expressly prescribed (Lev. xv. 5—7, xvi. 26, &c.), and they expound all others, where clothes only are mentioned, by the same rule; as Mr. Selden shows (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 3), where he observes, that, in the pagan language, *pure garments* signify the washing of the whole body (see p. 29).

Ver. 11. Be ready against the third day.] He doth not mean the third day of the month, but the third day after this command to sanctify themselves. In which they were bound to spend *two* entire days; and then the Lord promised to come down in all their sight upon Mount Sinai. That is, when they were fit to receive him, by their professing themselves a holy people, of which that outward washing was a token.

For the third day the Lord will come down, &c.] Not from the mount, but from heaven, upon Mount Sinai. On which the Shechinah descended in a cloud, which struck a great awe into them: for it was darker than the pillar of the cloud by which they had been conducted hither; through which some rays, or glimpse of a glorious majesty that was in it, broke forth upon them.]

Ver. 12. Set bounds unto the people round about.] To keep them at a due distance, out of a just reverence to the Divine Majesty.

Take heed to yourselves, &c.] This caution also was given them, to work and preserve in their minds a most profound reverence of the Divine Majesty, and to those laws which were to be delivered from this mount.

Ver. 13. He shall surely be stoned, or shot through;] Be stoned, if he were near at hand; or shot through with darts or arrows, if at a distance. So Aben Ezra. And so Jonathan, likewise, translates the latter clause, *they shall throw darts at him*: and so our old translation, *stricken through with darts*. But the Talmudists, and the greatest lawyers among the Jews, expound both these clauses of *stoning*, which was twofold, as we read in the Misna Tit. Sanhedrin, cap. 6, either by throwing stones at a malefactor, or throwing him down from a high place upon stones. And thus this last phrase imports in the Hebrew, and may properly be translated, *proieciendo proiecitur*, "he shall be violently thrown down; or, thrown down headlong." It is the very same word with that (xv. 4) concerning the casting of Pharaoh's chariots into the sea. And this was a punishment, as Mr. Selden observes, like that among the Romans, from the Saxum Tarpeium, which the Jews inflicted upon some captive Edomites (2 Chron. xxv. 12), and Jehu inflicted upon Jezebel (2 Kings ix. 32). On which story R. Levi ben Gersom observes pertinently, that as she caused Naboth to be stoned, so she was punished herself in the same kind; for stoning, saith he, was either by throwing stones at malefactors, or throwing them down upon stones: to justify which, he alleges this place in Exodus. And David Kimchi makes the same observation (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 5, p. 74, &c.).

When the trumpet soundeth long.] When the sound of it is protracted, or drawn out; and, consequently, was less terrible than while it was shorter and broken (see ver. 16).

Shall come up to the mount.] To the foot of it (ver. 17), that they might more plainly hear the voice of God.

Ver. 14. Moses went down from the mount unto the people.] As he had been commanded (ver. 10).

15 And he said unto the people, Be ready against the third day : come not at *your* wives.

16 ¶ And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud ; so that all the people that *was* in the camp trembled.

17 And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God ; and they stood at the nether part of the mount.

18 And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire :

Sanctified the people.] Commanded them to sanctify themselves (as the author of Sepher Cosri explains it, par. i. sect. 87), both with internal sanctification and external ; among which the principal was, separation from the company of women, as it here follows (ver. 15).

Washed their clothes.] See ver. 10. Unto which add, that it is no wonder they used this purification before the giving of the law : which had been anciently in use among their ancestors, upon solemn occasions. As appears by what I observed on Gen. xxxv. 2, where Jacob, before the building of an altar to God in Bethel, as he had vowed, cleansed his family after this manner. For so Aben Ezra truly expounds these words *be clean*, wash your bodies : which was the old rite of cleansing (see there).

Ver. 15. *Be ready against the third day.*] Prepared to hear the words of God.

Come not at your wives.] For this time was set apart for solemn fasting and prayer ; that they might be fit to converse with God, by having their minds abstracted from earthly things.

Ver. 16. *It came to pass.*] See ver. 11.

There were thunders and lightnings.] Which broke out of the thick cloud, to awaken them to attend unto his Majesty, who was approaching.

Thick cloud] In which a flaming fire presently appeared (ver. 18), *ὡς ὁπότερον γενέσθαι τὸ ὄρος*, "so that the mountain could not be seen;" as Greg. Nyssen explains it, de Vita Mosis, p. 179.

Voice of the trumpet] The heavenly ministers, who were attendants on the Divine Majesty, made a sound like that of a trumpet, to summon the people to come and appear before God, and receive his commands.

Exceeding loud.] Beyond what the blast of any men could make : for it made the whole camp quake, as the following words tell us.

Ver. 17. *Moses brought forth the people*] When their trembling was abated, by the remission, as we may suppose, of the sound of the trumpet.

To meet with God.] That they might be espoused to him.

Stood at the nether part of the mount.] Below at the foot of it, not presuming to touch it ; which they were severely forbidden, ver. 11, 12 (see Deut. iv. 11).

Ver. 18. *Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke.*] Nothing could be seen but smoke, mixed with a flame.

Because the Lord descended upon it in fire.] The Shechinah came down into the thick cloud (ver. 9, 16), with a glittering company of angels, who appeared like flames of fire, unto which they are compared by the Psalmist (civ. 4). Thus Moses himself seems to expound it (Deut. xxxiii. 2). "He came with ten thousands (or myriads) of holy ones (i. e. of angels) ; from his right hand went a fiery law for them." Which plainly relates to this appearance at Mount Sinai.

The smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a fur-

and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.

19 And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice.

20 And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount : and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount ; and Moses went up.

21 And the Lord said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish.

22 And let the priests also, which come near

nace,] Mixed with fire, which went up even to the midst of heaven, as Moses explains it, Deut. iv. 11.

Whole mount quaked.] See Psalm lxxviii. 8, civ. 32.

Ver. 19. *Sounded long.*] It is a different word here in the Hebrew from that (ver. 13) which we translate *soundeth long* : signifying that it *proceeded* or went on either a long time, or to a greater loudness.

Waxed louder and louder.] In the Hebrew the words are *exceeding strong* : *ἐνέπευεν ἑαυτὴν ἡ σάλπιγξ*, &c. "the trumpet exceeded itself;" the succeeding blasts transcending those that went before, as Greg. Nyssen well interprets the whole.

Moses spake.] The people trembled before at the loud sound of the trumpet (ver. 16), but now it grew so very terrible, that Moses himself said (as the apostle expounds this passage, Heb. xii. 21) "I exceedingly fear and quake." For hither, I think, Junius rightly applies those words.

God answered him by a voice.] Bidding him not to be afraid, but come up unto him, as it follows in the next verse. Greg. Nyssen thinks that the voice of the trumpet *ἦν ἑαυτοῦ*, "became articulate," with the organs of speech, by the Divine power.

Ver. 20. *Came down upon Mount Sinai.*] It is said before that the Lord descended upon it (ver. 18) ; therefore the meaning here is, that the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, settled there to speak unto the people.

Top of the mount.] On the highest part of it, that there might be the greatest distance between him and the people, who stood at the foot of it.

And the Lord called Moses up, &c.] He stood lower before, though not so low as the people : but now is called up higher, even to the very place where God was ; and, consequently, entered into the midst of the fire and smoke, wherein the mountain was wrapped (ver. 18), upon God's appearance there. From which, in all probability, the Persians (who had heard or read what is here related) framed the story of their Zoroaster ; who, wandering in desert places, was carried up to heaven, and saw God encompassed with flames ; which he could not behold with his own eyes (the splendour of them was so great), but with eyes which the angels lent him : and there he received from him a book of the law, &c. (see Huetius, Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 5, n. 2).

Ver. 21. *Go down, charge the people, &c.*] It seems that upon Moses's going up, some of the people thought of approaching nearer, out of curiosity, to see if they could discover more of the Divine Majesty. And therefore God sends him down again immediately, to bid them remember the charge he had given them, and not to dare to come nearer than they were.

Many of them perish.] As many as were so presumptuous. *Many* sometimes signifies *all* : and here all that should adventure to go beyond their bounds.

Ver. 22. *Let the priests also.*] Who these were is much disputed ; for Aaron and his sons were not yet

to the LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth upon them.

23 And Moses said unto the LORD, The people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou chargedst us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it.

24 And the LORD said unto him, Away,

consecrated. The Jews (it is commonly known) readily answer, they were the *firstborn*; whose prerogative it was to minister to God, as his priests, till the law of Moses ordered things otherwise. But I have often observed this not to be true; being confuted by several examples of others who sacrificed and were not the firstborn. And lately there is a learned man, who, in a just discourse, hath overthrown this opinion (see Campeg, Vipinga, Observ. Sacre, lib. ii. cap. 23), which was called in question, and briefly censured some time before, by a very learned friend of mine, Dr. Outram (de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 4). Conradus Pellicanus, in the beginning of the Reformation, seems to have given a better account of the priests here mentioned, which were the prime and most honourable persons in the several tribes; the elders, and such as administered the government under Moses: among which there might be some of the firstborn, nay, it is possible, many of them; but not by any special right which they had to this office.

Which come near to the Lord.] To perform Divine services. By which one would think he speaks of those who had been already employed in this office; for having before this built an altar (xvii. 15), some think it probable sacrifice was offered upon it. But if it were only a monument, and no sacrifices were to be offered till they came to the mount of God, who was to appoint them; then Moses picked out the most excellent persons (as I said before) to perform this service when they came there (xxiv. 5).

Sanctify themselves.] Nothing was said before of their sanctification; which is here enjoined by itself, because their high office required a peculiar separation to prepare them for it.

Lest the Lord break forth upon them.] Lest when they come near to sacrifice, God should be offended with their uncleanness, and destroy them. This supposes they might go nearer than the people.

Ver. 23.] He thought it was needless to go down to restrain the people; having given them the charge which God commanded him (ver. 11, 12), and set bounds about the mount (as it here follows), by drawing a line, perhaps, beyond which they should not pass, and thereby separating the mount from them; which he calls *sanctifying it*.

get thee down, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto the LORD, lest he break forth upon them.

25 So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them.

Ver. 24. *And the Lord*] Or, but the Lord.

Get thee down,] He knew the people's inclinations better than Moses did; and therefore commanded him to make no delay, for fear they should grow more bold than he imagined.

And thou shalt come up,] After he had delivered this new charge to them. Which was the more necessary, because Aaron being also called up, they might think likewise of sharing this privilege.

Aaron with thee:] Unto whom God did this great honour, because he was to be called shortly to the dignity of the high priest: and would be the more respected by the people, when they saw him admitted far nearer to God than they were.

But let not the priests and the people break through, &c.] But let not anybody else, as they love their lives, presume to press beyond their line: no, not the priests, on whom I have bestowed the honour of coming nearer to me than other men (ver. 22).

Ver. 25. *So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them.*] Delivered the message to them, and to the priests, as he was directed: and then (as he was also ordered) returned to the mount, and his brother with him; but not to the top of the mount where he was before (ver. 20), as appears from the nineteenth verse of the next chapter: which shows that Moses was there where the people might speak to him; and therefore, if he went up now to the top of the mount, he came down again, when the Lord spake audibly to them, and stood in a place where he might be a mediator between them. So he himself saith (Deut. v. 4, 5), that when the Lord talked with them face to face in the mount, he stood *between the Lord and them*. And accordingly it follows (ver. 23, of that chapter), that when they heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, *they came near to Moses, and said, &c.*, which shows he was not far off from them, though nearer to God than they.

But perhaps Moses and Aaron did not come up into the mount, till after the ten words (or commandments) were spoken: when Moses, we read (xx. 21), *drew near unto the thick darkness where God was*; though we read nothing of Aaron there. Which inclines me to think the foregoing account of this matter to be the truer.

CHAPTER XX.

1 The ten commandments. 18 The people are afraid. 20 Moses comforteth them. 22 Idolatry is forbidden. 24 Of what sort the altar should be.

1 AND God spake all these words, saying, 2 I am the LORD thy God, which have brought

thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1.] After the trumpet had summoned them all to attend, and sounded a long time louder and louder, there came a voice from the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, out of the midst of the fire (as we read Deut. iv. 12, v. 4, 22), that is, of the angelical host which encircled him, and appeared like flames of fire: which

made the apostle say, *the law was ordained by angels* (Gal. iii. 19), who were then in attendance upon the Divine Majesty, as his retinue, when he *spoke all these words*, that follow to the end of the seventeenth verse; which are called the *ten words*, or commandments, in xxxiv. 28. And he spake them with so great a voice (Deut. v. 22), that all the people, who were very numerous, plainly heard them, which was very wonderful.

3 Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

4 Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth :

This was upon the sixth day of the third month, called Sivan (see Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 11).

Ver. 2. *I am the Lord thy God, &c.*] In this preface to the ten commandments, he asserts his right to give them laws, not only in general, as he is Lord of all, but by a peculiar title he had to their obedience; whom he had taken to himself, after a special manner, to be his people, by bringing them out of the land of Egypt, and the servitude under which they groaned there. This was a benefit fresh in their minds, and most apt to affect their hearts: and, therefore, he doth not say, as the author of Sepher Cosri observes (par. i. sect. 17), *I am the Lord of heaven and earth*; or, *I am thy Creator*; but, *I am the Lord thy God*, who have shown a particular favour and kindness to thee, by bringing thee out of the land of Egypt, &c. When he became their king by a special title (as I observed, iii. 10), and, upon that account, gave them these laws, whereby they were to be governed: and gave them peculiarly to them (as the forenamed author notes), who were tied to the observance of them, by virtue of their deliverance out of Egypt, and God's placing his glory among them. Whereas, if they had been tied to them by virtue of their creation, they would have belonged to all nations as much as unto them. Thus he. Maimonides will have these words, *I am the Lord thy God*, to signify the existence of God; and the next (ver. 3), his unity: which two are the great foundations of religion (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 33). And, indeed, the word Jehovah, or Lord, is generally thought to signify, *he who is of himself*. And the next word Elohim, which is the most ancient name of God in Scripture, learned men of late derive from the Arabic word *alaha* (there being no root in Hebrew remaining from whence it can so regularly come), which signifies to *worship, serve, and adore*. Hottinger hath taken a great deal of pains, in his Hexaemeron, and elsewhere, to confirm this out of that, and out of the Ethiopic language also. The Jews say, indeed, that Elohim is the name of judgment, as Jehovah is of mercy; but Abarbinel confutes this, to establish a notion of his own (*viz. the omnipotent Cause of all things*), which others oppose, as much as he doth the former. And therefore most, I think, now rest in the forenamed notion, that it properly signifies Him, who only is to be religiously worshipped and adored; as it follows in the next words.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt have no other gods*] That is, *believe in one God*; or, *believe there is no other God but me*, as Nachman interprets it; and, consequently, worship no other God. This is the great foundation (as the Hebrews speak) of the law: for whosoever confesses any other God, he denies the whole law. And they truly observe, also, that this negative precept includes the affirmative, *viz. a command to worship him, the only God*. As when Naaman saith, he would neither offer burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God but the Lord; it is plain he meant, that he would sacrifice to him (1 Kings v. 17). See Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1.

Before me.] As they were not to forsake him and worship some other God; so not to worship any other God, *together with him*, as many did (2 Kings xvii. 33). For in his presence he could not endure any competitor.

Vot. I.—37

5 Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me;

Ver. 4. *Graven image, &c.*] The difference between *pesel*, which we translate *graven image*, and *temenah*, which we translate *likeness*, seems to be, that the former was a protuberant image, or a statue made of wood, stone, &c., and the other only a *picture*, drawn in colours upon a wall or board, &c. Both which, some have thought, they were prohibited here so much as to make; whether it were the image, or picture, of the stars, or birds, or men, or beasts, or fishes, for fear they should be drawn to worship them. Thus, it is certain, Origen understood this commandment, when he said, there was permitted to be so much as ζωγράφος οὐτε ἀγαματοποιός ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν, &c. a *picture-drawer, or a maker of statues in their commonwealth*: to take away all occasion of drawing men's minds from the worship of God (lib. iv. contra Cels. p. 181). Clemens Alexandrinus was of the same opinion (lib. v. Stromat. and Tertullian, L. de Spectaculis, cap. 23). Which they derived, in all probability, from the Jews, who, from the time of the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem, thought they were forbidden by this law to make an image or figure of any living creature, especially of a man. This Hermannus Conringius hath plainly demonstrated (in his Paradoxa de Nummis Ebraeorum, cap. 5) out of many places in Philo and in Josephus. The latter of which tells us (lib. xviii. Archæolog. cap. 5), that all their governors before Pilate were wont to use ensigns in Jerusalem, without the image of Cæsar in them, because their law forbade them εἰκόνας ποιεῖν, "the making of images." And when Vitellius was to lead the Roman army through Judea, against the Arabians, with images in their ensigns, the people ran to meet him, beseeching him to forbear it, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον περὶ τῶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτῶν φορεῖναι, "for it was not consistent to the laws of their country to see images brought into it." But whether this was the ancient exposition of the law before those times may be doubted. The Talmudists think it was unlawful to make any figures of celestial bodies, either prominent or plain, though it were for ornament's sake: but as for animals, they might make prominent statues of them, except only of men; the images of whom they might draw on a plain (see Selden, lib. i. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6—8): which distinctions most look upon as ungrounded; and the common opinion is, that Moses did not forbid the very making of an image; but that they should not make them to set up in the place of Divine worship.

Ver. 5. *Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.*] If they saw an image (as they must needs do in other countries, though we suppose they had none among themselves), he requires them not to use any gesture, or to do any thing that might signify reverence or honour given to them. Such were *prostrating* themselves before them, *bowing* their bodies, *kissing* their hands; much less to *offer sacrifice*, or *burn incense*, &c. to them. Here seems to be a plain gradation in this commandment; three things being here forbidden, if we take the first part of it to signify that they might not so much as *make a graven image or any likeness* of any thing, for fear they should be tempted to idolatry. But though this may be supposed to have been a sin, yet not so great as the next, *to bow down to them*; which was a degree of honour too high to be paid unto any image: but was not the

6 And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

7 Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord

highest of all; which was to *serve them*, by offering sacrifice, burning incense, making vows to them; or swearing by them; or consecrating temples to them; or lighting candles before them.

For *I the Lord thy God am a jealous God,*] This reason shows that this commandment is different from the first, and not a part of it. For worshipping of images is forbidden, not merely because he was their God, and there is but one God; but because he is *a jealous God*, who could not endure any corival, or consort, in that which was proper to himself. And so the ancient Jews and Christians also, before St. Austin, took this for the second commandment. The Arabian Christians, in later times, particularly Elmacinus, distinctly name the ten commandments in that order which we now do; as Hottinger observes in his *Smegma Orientale*, p. 436.

Visiting] i. e. Punishing with heavy judgments (Lev. xxvi. 39).

The iniquity of the fathers upon the children] This was threatened to terrify them from this sin, which would ruin their families: being a kind of high treason against the Lord of heaven and earth. Yet Aben Ezra understands it only of such children as trod in the steps of their forefathers; for if they repented, the punishment was mitigated (Lev. xxvi. 40, &c.).

Unto the third and fourth generation] That is, as long as they could be supposed to live (which might be to see the third, and perhaps the fourth generation), he threatens to pursue them with his vengeance in their posterity; whose punishment they themselves should behold, to their great grief. So great was his hatred to this sin; and so odious were such people to him. Thus Maimonides expounds it in his *More Nevoch*, par. i. cap. 54, "Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children," is threatened only against the sin of idolatry: as appears from what follows, that such sinners are called haters of him. And he mentions only to the *fourth generation*; because the most a man can live to see of his seed, is the fourth generation. Accordingly God orders, saith he, that if any city proved idolaters, the inhabitants should be destroyed utterly, and all that was therein (Deut. xiii. 13-15). Fathers, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and the new-born children, were all killed for the sin of their parents." Hence he saith (Deut. vii. 10), he repayeth men that hate him to their *face*: which is there twice mentioned.

Of them that hate me;] For he looked on them not only as enemies, but as haters of him. It is an observation of the same Maimonides, that, in the whole law of Moses, and in the books of the prophets, we shall never find these words, *fury, anger, indignation, jealousy*, attributed to God, but when they speak of idolatry: nor any man called an *enemy to God*, an *adversary*, a *hater* of him, but only *idolaters* (Deut. vi. 14, 15, xi. 16, 17, xxxi. 29, &c.; Neh. i. 2; Deut. vii. 10; Numb. xxxii. 21; Deut. xii. 31, xvi. 22), see *More Nevoch*, par. i. cap. 36, which he repeats, cap. 54. "No man is called a hater of God, but an idolater:" according to that Deut. xii. 31, "every abomination to the Lord which he hateth." By which it appears, that they counted the worshippers of images idolaters; though they did not think these images to be gods (for no man in the world ever thought an image made of wood and stone, silver or gold, to be the Creator of heaven and earth, or the governor of the world), but took them only for things intermediate between God and them, as he there speaks.

thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

8 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.

This was a law so well known to the ancient heathens, that the best men among them would suffer no images to be set up in their temples. In particular, Numa forbade this to the Romans, which he learned, as Clemens Alexandrinus thinks, from Moses. Inasmuch that, for the space of a hundred and seventy years, though they built temples, yet *ἄγαλμα οὐδέν, οὔτε πλαστόν, οὔτε μὲν γραπτὸν ἐκπλαστόν*, "they made no image, neither statue, nor so much as a picture" (lib. i. Stromat. p. 324). Plutarch relates the same in the life of Numa Pompilius, and adds this reason, that he thought it a great crime to represent the most excellent Being by such mean things; and that God was to be apprehended only by the mind. The ancient Persians pretended to have received the same law from their Zoroaster; who, in a number of things, is so like to Moses, that Huetius thinks (not without reason) his story was framed out of these books.

Ver. 6. *Shewing mercy unto thousands*] To invite their obedience, he promises to be kind unto them and their posterity for *many generations* (so *thousands* signifies), who were loyal and faithful to him. Such is the infinite goodness of God, that he delights more in showing mercy, than in acts of severity; there being such a disproportion between the one and the other, as there is between three or four and a thousand. Which made the heavy punishment of idolaters the more reasonable, because they might have enjoyed such great and long-continued blessings, if they would have kept close to their religion.

Of them that love me,] Adhered to him alone, as the only object of worship and adoration; with such an affection as a chaste wife bears to her husband. For God now espoused this nation to himself (as the prophets taught them to understand it), and therefore all the idolatry which is forbidden in these commandments is called *going a whoring* from him.

Keep my commandments.] Not only professed to be his entirely, but proved it by observing his precepts. Which *keeping* or observing of *his commandments*, is mentioned here, perhaps, and not in any of the following commandments, because this and the first were the principal, upon which the rest depended; there being no reason to mind what he said, if they acknowledged any other God but him.

Ver. 7. *The name of the Lord thy God in vain;*] By the name of the Lord, in Scripture, is meant the Lord himself: and *take*, or *lift up* his name, is to swear by him. So this word *nasa* sometimes signifies, without the addition of God's name, (Isa. iii. 7): *jissa*, he shall *lift up* in that day; which we truly render, *in that day he shall swear*: which they did then with the hand lifted up to heaven. And to take his name or swear *in vain*, is to swear falsely. That is the principal meaning undoubtedly, that they should not call God to witness unto a lie; promising in his name that which they meant not to perform; or affirming or denying with an oath that which they knew not to be true. For so the word *shave* frequently signifies in Scripture, a *lie*. This relates not to their giving a testimony before a judge upon oath (of which he speaks afterward in a distinct commandment), but to their intercourse and commerce one with another. For an oath, saith R. Levi, of Barcelona, ought to establish every thing: and thereby we declare ourselves to be as much resolved concerning that which we swear, as we are concerning the being of God.

Heathens themselves accounted an oath so sacred a

9 Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work :

10 But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God : in it thou shalt not do any work,

thing, that it was capital for a man to forswear himself, as Hen. Stephanus (in his *Pontes Juris Civilis*, p. 7) observes out of Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. ; and the reason he gives of it is this : that such a man committed two heinous crimes, by violating his piety to God and his faith to men in the highest degree.

But besides this, both Jews and Christians always understood swearing lightly, upon frivolous occasions, or without any necessity, to be here forbidden. R. Levi, before mentioned, saith this precept may be violated four several ways, besides swearing that which we mean not to perform. And Salvia applies this to the trivial naming of God and our Saviour, upon all occasions, and sometimes upon bad occasions. *Nihil jam pene vanius quam Christi nomen esse videatur, &c.* Everybody then swearing by Christ he would do this or that, though of no consequence whether he did it or no, or perhaps a thing which ought not to be done (lib. iv. de Gubern. Dei, p. 88, edit. Baluz.).

They that understand this of swearing by false gods (which are called *vain things* in Scripture) do but trifle ; that is condemned in the foregoing commandment ; it being a piece of worship to swear by them.

For the Lord will not hold him guiltless, &c.] If men did not punish the false swearer, the Lord threatens that he will. And so mankind always thought, as appears by the law of the twelve tables (mentioned by Hen. Stephanus in the book quoted above), *perjuri pœna divina, exitium, humana, dedecus* : "The divine punishment of perjury is utter destruction ; the human punishment is disgrace or infamy." And Alexander Severus was so sensible of this, that he thought, *jurisjurandi contempta religio, satis Deum ultorem habet* : "The contempt of the religion of an oath hath God for a sufficient avenger." For an oath is the strongest bond that is among men, to bind them to truth and fidelity, as Cicero speaks, (lib. iii. de Offic. cap. 31). Witness, saith he, the twelve tables ; witness our sacred forms in taking an oath ; witness our covenant and leagues, wherein we plight our faith to enemies ; witness the animadversions of our censors ; *qui nulla de re diligentius quam de jurejurando jurabant* ; "who judged of nothing more diligently than of an oath."

Nor was the other sort of *vain* (that is, light and idle) swearing, without any just occasion, suffered to go unpunished : for Mr. Selden observes, out of Maimonides (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11, p. 497), that if any man was guilty of it, he that heard him swear was bound to excommunicate him (what that was he shows in the first book), and if he did not he was to be excommunicated himself. And there is great reason for these civil laws which have provided a punishment for this crime ; not only because it is a great disrespect to God, to use his name so lightly on every trivial occasion ; but because such contempt of the Divine Majesty makes men fall into the fearful sin of perjury.

Ver. 8. *Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.*] Be mindful of the day called the Sabbath ; to make a difference between it and all other days ; so that it be not employed as they are.

Ver. 9. *Six days shalt thou labour,*] This is not a precept requiring labour ; but a permission to employ six days in a week, about such worldly business as they had to do. Which permission also God himself

thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates :

11 For in six days the Lord made heaven

abridged, by appointing some other festival days ; as all governors may do upon some special occasions.

Ver. 10. *But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God :*] Appointed by his authority to be a day of rest from your labours.

In it thou shalt not do any work.] Herein the peculiar respect to the seventh day consisted : on all other days they might work ; but on this they were to cease from all manner of work. In which very thing was the sanctifying of this day ; it being hereby separated and distinguished from all other days in a very remarkable manner. But then it naturally followed, that, having no other work to do, they should call to mind the reason why it was thus sanctified, or set apart from other days. And the reason, say the Jews themselves, was, "That having no other business, they might fasten in their minds the belief that the world had a beginning ; which is a thread that draws after it all the foundation of the law, or the principles of religion." They are the words of R. Levi, of Barcelona.

Besides which, there was another reason, which I shall mention presently. But by this it appears, that the observation of this day was a sign, or a badge, to whom they belonged ; a profession that they were all the servants of him who created the heaven and the earth, as God himself teaches them to understand it, (xxi. 13, 17). And that their minds might be possessed with this sense, he ordered this solemn commemoration of the creation of the world to be made once in seven days. For as, if there had been quicker returns of it, their secular business might have been too much hindered ; so, if it had been delayed longer, this sense might have worn too much out of their minds.

Thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, &c.] They might no more employ others in their worldly business on this day than do it themselves : but their children, though they understood not the reason, were to rest : that in time they might learn this great truth, that all things were made by God.

Nor thy cattle,] Their oxen, and asses, and all other creatures wont to be employed in their labours, were to enjoy the benefit of this rest as well as themselves (Deut. v. 14). Which was absolutely necessary ; it being impossible for their servants to rest (as is here also required) if they were to set their cattle on work.

Nor thy stranger that is within thy gates :] No stranger, who, by being circumcised, had embraced the Jewish religion. But other strangers might work ; who only dwelt among them, having renounced idolatry, but not taken upon them the obligation to observe their whole law. Yet if any such person was a servant to a Jew, his master might not employ him on the Sabbath-day in any work of his ; but the man might work for himself, if he pleased, being not bound to this law (see Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 12).

Ver. 11. *For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth,*] There were two reasons for the sanctification of this day. One was, because God rested from his work of creation on the seventh day, which is mentioned here ; the other was, because he had given them rest from their labours in Egypt, which he mentions in the fifth of Deuteronomy. There is nobody hath explained both these better than Maimonides (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 31) : "There are two dif-

and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.

12 ¶ Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

ferent causes, saith he, for this precept, from two different effects. For when Moses first explained to us the cause of this celebration, in the promulgation of the ten commandments, he saith it was, because *in six days the Lord made heaven and earth*. But in the repetition of them, he saith, 'Remember that thou wast a servant in Egypt, &c., therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day' (Deut. v. 15). The first cause is the glory and magnificence of this day, as it is said, 'Therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it' (Gen. ii. 3). This was the effect of that cause, for *in six days he made heaven and earth* (this was the reason, he means, of the first institution of the Sabbath), but that he gave this precept of the Sabbath unto us (i. e. the Israelites) and commanded us to observe it, was from the other cause, which followed the first cause, because *we were servants in Egypt*. All which time we could not serve according to our own will and pleasure, nor had any rest, or observed a Sabbath: and therefore God gave us this special precept of resting and cessation from labours, to join together these two reasons, viz. the belief of the beginning of the world, which presently suggests to us the being of God; and then the memory of God's benefits unto us, in giving us rest from our intolerable burdens in Egypt."

Wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.] In the beginning of the world he blessed the seventh day (Gen. ii. 3), and now particularly chose this seventh day for a Sabbath; which he ordered them to observe in memory of their coming out of Egypt on that day; as I observed, xvi. 5, 23. By which he preserved in their minds that singular benefit which he had bestowed upon them: "and most manifestly (saith Maimonides in another place, par. iii. cap. 43), procured great ease to all sorts of men, by freeing a seventh part of their lives from wearisome labour: which hath another blessing in conjunction with it, that it perpetually preserved and confirmed that most precious history and doctrine concerning the creation of the world."

Ver. 12. *Honour thy father and thy mother.*] In another place they are commanded to fear them (Lev. xix. 3), and as here the father is put before the mother, so there the mother is put before the father; to show (as Maimonides takes it, in his treatise called *Memarim*, cap. 6), that we ought not to make any difference between them; but they are both equally to be honoured and revered. Which is a duty of such great concernment, that we are taught, by the placing of this commandment immediately after those which peculiarly relate to God's worship, that, next to his Majesty, our parents are to be honoured, with that reverence, love, obedience, and maintenance, which are due to them. And therefore notorious disobedience to them is threatened with death, as well as apostasy from God. Wherein this *honour or fear* doth consist, is taught in all books of religion: and Mr. Selden hath named a great many things wherein the Jews place it, as the learned reader may see (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13, p. 558).

I shall only add, that this was a law among the heathen, mentioned by Seleucus, Charondus, and others, in these words, τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῖς τιμαῖται,

13 Thou shalt not kill.

14 Thou shalt not commit adultery.

15 Thou shalt not steal.

16 Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

17 Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house,

"let children honour their parents." And thus Ulpian expresses it, filio semper honesta et sancta persona patris videri debet. And afterward, filium patrem et matrem venerari oportet. With much more that Hen. Stephanus hath collected, in his *Fontes et Riva Juris Civilis*.

That thy days may be long upon the land, &c.] As disobedience to parents is, by the law of Moses, threatened to be punished with death; so, on the contrary, long life (which is the greatest worldly blessing) is promised to the obedient; and that in their own country, which God had peculiarly enriched with abundance of his blessings. Heathens also gave the very same encouragement, saying, that "such children should be dear to the gods, both living and dead." So Euripides.

*Ὅστις δὲ τοῖς τεκνῶν ἐν βίῳ σέβει,
Ὅδ' ἔστι καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν θεῶς φίλος.*

And this famous Senarius, mentioned by the same Hen. Stephanus, with many other notable passages.

Ἰκανὸς βίωσις γρηγορεῖν τοὺς γονεῖς.

"Thou shalt live long (or, as long as thou canst desire) if thou nourish thy ancient parents." Whence children are called by Xenophon, and others, γρηγοροῖ.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not kill.*] After the command about the respect due to parents, naturally follows the regard we ought to have to all other men who spring from them. And the greatest injury we can do another is to take away his life; whereby he is deprived of all the enjoyments of this world, and human society itself is also wounded, which cannot subsist if its innocent members cannot be safe. *Innocent*, I say, for this commandment doth not hinder men from defending themselves from violence (xxii. 2), nor forbid magistrates to punish those with death who commit crimes worthy of it; for this is to preserve the lives of other men (xxii. 18—20).

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*] Next to a man's self, his wife is nearer to him than any other person; they two being *one flesh*. Which makes the injury done to him in her person a breach of human society next to murder. Nay, the LXX. place this commandment before the other, "Thou shalt not kill:" virtuous women valuing their chastity more than their lives; and the crimes to which mere pleasure tempts men being more grievous, in the opinion of the great philosopher, than those to which they are stimulated by anger. Whoredom is also forbidden in the law of Moses, and incest; as wounding any man is, as well as murder: but in these *ten words*, which are a short abridgment of their duty, it was sufficient only to mention the principal things of every kind which were hateful to God and injurious to men.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt not steal.*] This was to injure men in their goods and possessions; either by open rapine, or by craft and cheating; against which God intended to secure them by this precept. Several sorts of this sin are afterward mentioned in particular laws.

Ver. 16. *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*] As our neighbour is not to be injured by us in deeds, so not in words, by giving a false testimony against him before a judge, which is the chief

thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

18 ¶ And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off.

19 And they said unto Moses, Speak thou

sin of this kind. This is both an injury to our neighbour and an affront to God; in whose place the judge is, whom we go about to deceive.

Large commentaries on these commandments are not to be expected, which may be found in many authors commonly known.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, &c.*] Here is forbidden so much as the designing any mischief to others, in any of the things forementioned. For as all injuries in word or deed are prohibited in the four preceding commandments; so in this he prohibits those which are only in the heart or counsels of men, but never come to light. And in the enumeration of the things they were not to covet, he begins first with that which was last mentioned, and so backward to the other. For he saith, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," by designing to bear false witness, or to commit theft. And then follows, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," by intending to abuse her, if opportunity served; "nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant," &c., which are his principal goods. He saith nothing of thirsting after his life, which is supposed to be unlawful, because less than that is forbidden.

Menander hath something like this :

Μυδὶ βελώνης ἔσται ἐπιθυμία Παμφύλε,
'Ο γὰρ εὐαὶς βλάπτει σε πλείον παρ'αυτῶν.

"Do not so much as covet the thread of a needle, for God sees thee, being intimately present with thee" (see more in Grotius's Prolegomena in Excerpta ex Stobæo.)

Ver. 18. *All the people saw the thunderings, &c.*] Seeing being the principal sense, it is frequently put for the rest: and this passage may be translated *they sensibly perceived, &c.* (see Gen. xlii. 1, and Drusius's Quæstiones Hebr. lib. i. cap. 10).

Thunderings and the lightnings,] See xix. 16.

Noise of the trumpet, &c.] Which ceased, while God spake the ten words to them: but now began again, together with thunders and lightnings, when they were ended. For as they were introduced in a most majestic manner, to raise their attention, and strike an awe into them; so they were closed, that they might be the more sensible of the dreadfulness of that Majesty who spake to them; and that they might have a greater reverence to his law.

They removed, and stood afar off.] They were at the bottom of the mount while God spake to them; but now started back, for fear those flames they saw upon the mountain (Deut. v. 25), and perhaps flashed from thence in a terrible manner, should devour them. How far they removed we know not; some think to the place where they were encamped before this glorious appearance, out of which Moses brought them to meet with God (xix. 2, 17).

Ver. 19. *And they said unto Moses,*] By the heads of their tribes and their elders (Deut. v. 23), who came from the people to Moses while he remained still in his place. For he saith there, *they came near unto him*, when they spake these words; which signifies they were at some distance before.

with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.

20 And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not.

21 And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.

22 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Thus

Speak thou with us, and we will hear: &c.] They desire that what God had farther to command them, he would be pleased to acquaint Moses with it; and they would receive it as his own words; but should die with fear if they heard him speak any more with his own voice. This is more largely related, Deut. v. 24, 25, &c.; and accordingly God afterwards communicated to Moses alone the rest of his laws, both concerning religion and civil government.

Ver. 20. *Moses said unto the people,*] He bade the elders return this answer to the people that sent them.

Fear not.] Be not afraid of your lives. No hurt shall come to you.

For God is come to prove you,] God intends, by this dreadful appearance, to discover unto yourselves and others whether you will be such as you pretend (xix. 8).

And that his fear may be before your faces,] And that you may have an awful sense of him in your mind, by having before your eyes continually the glory of his majesty, of which you were lately sensible (ver. 18).

Sin not.] Let this be your only fear, not to offend God by disobeying his commands.

Ver. 21.] *And the people stood afar off,*] In their tents, within their camp. For God commanded him to bid the elders, after this discourse, to go to their tents from whence they came; where, I suppose, the rest of the people were (Deut. v. 30). But he bade Moses stay with him; and he would, as they desired, tell him all the rest of the things which he intended to enjoin them (ver. 31).

Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.] Who called him to him again, as he had done before (xix. 20). There is a curious observation in Pirke Eliezer, that the Hebrew word here is not *niggesh*, he approached, or drew near, as we translate it; but *niggesh*, he was drawn near: the angel Gabriel, or Michael (as he fancies), coming, and taking him by the hand and leading him up to God (cap. 41). But this signifies rather that he did not go up of his own accord, but was called by God to draw near to his Divine Majesty. Which he did the next day, upon the seventh day of Sivan: and received fifty-seven laws (besides the ten which God himself delivered), partly civil and partly religious: which were explications of the decalogue.

Ver. 22. *And the Lord said unto Moses,*] When they were together in the thick cloud before mentioned.

Unto the children of Israel,] When thou goest down again to them.

Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven.] The apprehension of one sense (as Maimonides phrases it, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 46), is usually in Scripture put for the apprehension of another. As, see the word of the Lord (Jer. ii. 31), that is, hear it, or mark it diligently. Or, the meaning here may be, *you saw*, i. e. perceived, by the thunderings, and lightnings, and all the rest of the tokens of a majestic presence, that it was I who spake from above.

thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven.

23 Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold.

Ver. 23. *Ye shall not make with me*] The Hebrew writers here make a pause, or full stop, as if it were a complete sentence. And the meaning is explained in the Talmud to be, *Ye shall not make the similitude of the ministers that minister before me above*, as the sun, the moon, the stars, or the angels (Gem. Bab. upon Avoda Zura). And so Maimonides upon the same subject; it is unlawful to form the images of the sun, the moon, the stars, the celestial signs, or angels, according to that which is written, *Ye shall not make with me*; i. e. nothing like the ministers that minister to me above (see Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6, p. 198). But if we join these with the following words the sense is the same; that, as they acknowledged no other gods but him; so they should not make any image to represent him. To enforce which, the word *make* is repeated in the end of the verse, whereby greater efficacy is added to the command.

Gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold.] He gives this caution, lest by the splendour of these metals they should be tempted (being prone to superstition and idolatry) to make such kind of representations. For by *gods* are meant images to represent him; which at the first were made very glittering, like the heavenly bodies; but afterward they proceed to worship images of mere wood, or stone.

The coherence of this with the foregoing verses is something obscure: unless we observe how this is reported in the book of Deuteronomy: where Moses puts them in mind, that they "saw no similitude on the day that God spake with them in Horeb" (iv. 15), and therefore ought not to "make them a graven image, the similitude of any figure," &c., ver. 16—19). Accordingly the meaning is here, "ye have seen that I talked with you from heaven," (i. e. you heard only a voice, but saw no similitude of man, or any other creature), therefore ye shall not represent me by any image, though never so rich and glorious. And thus Greg. Nyssen seems to have understood it, de Vita Mosis, p. 180. God gave Moses many divine commandments, the chief of which is, *ἡ εὐσέβεια, καὶ τὸ τὰς προτάσεις ὑποτάξαι περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἔχειν*, "piety towards God, and to have becoming notions and conceptions of the Divine nature," as transcending all visible things, nay, all our thoughts, and like to nothing that we know. And therefore he bids them, in their conceptions of him, not to look at any thing they saw, nor liken *τὴν τοῦ παντός ὑπερβαίνον φύσιν*, "the nature which transcends the whole universe," to any thing that they were acquainted withal.

There was the greater need of this precept, if the Egyptian worship in these days was the same with that in other times; when Osiris was adored in the form of a golden ox, or an ox of wood all *gilded over*, as Plutarch calls it *βοῦς διάζυγος*.

Ver. 24. *An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me.*] For the better observation of the foregoing commandment, he orders that his altars should be made as plain and simple as might be. Either of sods and turfs of earth (which were easily prepared, in most places, whilst they stayed in the wilderness), or of rough and unpolished stone (if they came into rocky places where no sods were to be got), that so there might be no occasion to grave any image upon them.

24 ¶ An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.

Such altars, Tertullian observes, were among the ancient Romans in the days of Numa: when, as they had no sumptuous temples, nor images, so they had only temeraria de cespite alaria, "altars hastily huddled up of earth without any art" (Apolog. cap. 25), which Jamblichus calls *βραβοὶς αὐτοσχεδίων*, "ex tempore," altars (as we would now speak) "thrown up on a sudden." And so Scioippus pretends he found some MSS. have it in that place of Tertullian, not *temeraria*, but *temporaria*; altars made only for a present use, not to remain after the sacrifice was done. Nay, Fortunatus Seacchus will have it that Moses here commands them to *make the earth their altar*; as the words may be translated out of the Hebrew: which he thus interprets, "Thou shalt mark out a place upon the bare ground, and there offer sacrifice" (Myrothec. ii. Sac. Elæochrys. cap. 56).

Sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings.] This form of worship, as Maimonides himself acknowledges, was appointed by God, because it was used in all the world. Which moved him, not to abolish it, but to translate it, from created and imaginary beings, to his own most adorable name. Therefore he commanded us, saith he, to make him a sanctuary (xxv. 8), and consecrate an altar to his name, and offer him sacrifices (for which he alleges this very text), and on the contrary prohibits us to do such things to any other being (xxii. 20; xxxiv. 13, 14. More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 32).

In all places] This shows that the foregoing commandment hath a peculiar respect to the time they were in the wilderness (especially till the tabernacle was erected) when they were in their travels, removing from place to place, and not fixed in any: then these altars were very proper, which might be prepared on a sudden, and as suddenly thrown down again.

Where I record my name] Or cause it to be remembered and acknowledged, by some token or symbol (that is) whereby he signified that he would be worshipped there. Which sense the Chaldee seems to me to have expressed most exactly; "in every place where I shall make my glory (i. e. the Shechinah) to dwell, from whence I will bless thee:" i. e. hear their prayers. This must be the meaning here; because the ark, which was the memorial of God's presence with them, was not yet made. Or else, he means the sacrifices and altars before mentioned, which Mr. Mede thinks may be here pointed at; because these were rites of remembrance whereby the name of God was commemorated and recorded, and his covenant with men testified and renewed (see book ii. p. 453, &c.). And, indeed, the word *zakar* doth most certainly signify, not only to *remember* or *record*, but to *worship* and to perform sacred offices: so the meaning may be, "in every place where I exhibit myself to be worshipped and honoured."

I will come unto thee, or meet with thee.] Upon which account the tabernacle of the Lord was called *Ohel Moed*, the tabernacle of meeting. Not because of the people's meeting there to worship (as is commonly supposed, when we translate those words *the tabernacle of the congregation*), but of God's meeting there with his people, as Mr. Mede observes (p. 36), from many plain places of Scripture (Exod. xxix. 42, xxx. 36; Numb. xvii. 4).

25 And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone : for

I will bless thee.] Give thee testimonies of my gracious presence and acceptance. The gentiles believed their gods were present where their images were worshipped. But he promises to be present in all places whatsoever, where he would have his name celebrated (i. e. where he would be worshipped), though their sacrifices were offered upon the most mean and simple altar.

Ver. 25. *If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, &c.*] If it cannot be made without stone (saith Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 45), take care that the stones remain in their own natural form, and that they be not polished, &c. This was to avoid idolatry; for fear they should make any figure with the tools they employed, in shaping and fashioning the stones, after an artificial manner: or should reserve the pieces of stone that were pared off for superstitious or magical uses. Just, saith Maimonides, as he forbids planting a grove near his altar, for that was to imitate idolaters (Deut. xvi. 22). See Deut. iv. 15, 16, which plainly shows this was the reason of this command.

In short, these altars were built like those of turf, on a sudden, without any art: only by piling stones one upon another. Such an altar David built upon a special occasion (2 Sam. xxiv. 25), and after him Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 31, 32, and Fortunatus Scacchus makes it probable that it was such a one which Ezra built, at their return from Babylon to their own country (iii. 2, 3, Myrothee. ii. Sac. Elæochrys. cap. 59), where he represents the form of such an altar among the heathen, out of an ancient monument (p. 585). And there is little doubt, I think, that the altars built by the patriarchs were of this sort; particularly that which Abraham erected whereon to offer his son Isaac (Gen. xxii. 9), for it was raised so suddenly that no art could be employed about it.

I omit other reasons which the Jews allege for this law, for they seem to me to be fanciful. And shall rather observe, that Plato in his Laws ordered all things belonging to the service of God should be very simple and plain, without any cost or ornament: and therefore forbids gold, silver, or ivory, because they were "things too invidious" (*ἐκείνησαν ἐκείνησαν*), and brass and iron he would not have used, because they were *πολέμων ὄργανα*, "the instruments of wars:" but one single piece of wood or stone should serve for an image, and that made in a day's time, (lib. xii. de Legibus, p. 955, 956, edit. Serran.).

It seems difficult also to reconcile these two verses with God's own ordinance, not long after, in the twenty-seventh chapter of this book; where he bids Moses to make him an altar neither of earth, nor of stone, but of shittim-wood, covered with brass, for the use of the tabernacle, where he recorded his name. But it is to be considered, that these two verses speak only of occasional altars (as I may call them) which they might have use of, not only before but after the tabernacle was erected. These God doth not forbid, when there was a special reason for them; but he intending there should be no stated altar, but that at the tabernacle, he would have these made of unpolished stones, laid one upon another, that they might be thrown down as soon as raised; and that they might not draw people from the tabernacle, nor administer occasion of idolatry, by an artificial workmanship and imagery. Now that there were such altars raised upon certain great occasions, but not to continue, appears from the sacred history. For (xxiv. 4), Moses built one at the foot of Mount Sinai, by God's command it is likely, and of this

if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.

fashion. And he gave order for building one of stone after they came to Canaan (Deut. xxvii. 1—3), which Joshua performed, according to this rule, as is expressly said, Josh. viii. 30, 31. Of this sort were those of Gideon and Manoah (Judg. vi. 24, 26, xiii. 19). And we read of altars built by Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 17), and by Saul (xiv. 35), and David, as was before observed (2 Sam. xxiv. 25), and Solomon (1 Kings iii. 2, 34), besides the altar which was in the tabernacle and the temple.

Ver. 26. *Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar.*] This was most suitable to the state of travellers, to have their altars low, not lofty. Besides, he would not have them imitate the gentiles, who sacrificed in high places; imagining their sacrifices were most acceptable when they were nearest to heaven. Whence the Egyptians, living in a flat country wherein were no mountains, built altars of a very great height, which could not be well done by sods of earth, or stones loosely laid together. Nor would God have it done, when he ordered Moses to make an altar of brass and wood at the tabernacle: which it is evident was so low, that a man might stand and minister there without being raised from the earth; for it was but three cubits high (xxvii. 1), which is less by one cubit than the ordinary stature of men.

Go up by steps] There were steps in the temple built by Solomon unto the brazen altar, which was ten cubits high: and Ezekiel expressly mentions them in the description of his temple (xliii. 17), which seeming to disagree with this command, interpreters are much concerned to reconcile them. And the forenamed Fortun. Scacchus, cap. 63, contends earnestly that no altar was higher than three cubits: and therefore those steps mentioned by Ezekiel did not belong to the altar, but to the basis or groundwork (as we speak) upon which it stood. But this is said without good ground, for we read expressly that Solomon's altar was ten cubits high (2 Chron. iv. 1), at which therefore the priest could not minister, without some steps, whereby he ascended so high, as to be able to lay on the wood and the sacrifice upon it, &c. By steps therefore (to omit other conjectures) I understand many steps (which are here forbidden), such as the gentiles had to go up to their *Bamoth*, or high places; as we see by one of the pyramids in Egypt, and the high tower at Mexico; to which they ascended by a hundred and eighty steps. But a very few served for Solomon's altar; and they were so contrived also, as, the Hebrew writers tell us, that there was no danger of that which God intended hereby to prevent in the words following.

That thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.] The Hebrews say it was a kind of causeway, or bridge, whereby they went up to the altar; which rose by little and little, till they came to the place where they were to stand (see L'Empereur upon the Codex Mid-doth, cap. 3, sect. 3). Or else the steps were so broad and so little distant one from another, and the ascent thereby made so easy and equal, that there was no need of lifting up their legs high, and therefore no danger of discovering the lower parts of the body (their thighs, buttocks, and secret parts) which might have been seen by those below (had they ascended by many large and high steps) under such loose garments as were worn in those countries: and thereby the priests might have been exposed to contempt, and the people moved to laughter, or had bad thoughts excited in them. In short, the meaning is, they should not go up many steps, far distant one from another, so that one must have taken large strides to ascend them.

26 Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

The Jews say, particularly Maimonides (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 45), that the worshippers of Baal-peor were wont to discover their nakedness, that is, their secret parts, before him. Which he takes to be the reason of this command: lest any such thing should happen in God's presence; and this was the reason also of another law, that the priest should have breeches made for them, which none of the people wore, in those times, but the priests alone; and that only

when they ministered. The Gemara Hierosolym. upon the story of Balaam, gives a long account of this impure worship, as L'Empereur observes upon Codex Middoth, cap. 3, sect. 4. But there is no proof of this from any ancient author: and the Babylonian Gemara gives a different account of the worship of Peor; which looks as if the Jews studied how to make it ridiculous, as well as filthy. But if there were any solid ground for it, it would afford the clearest explication of this place.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Laws for menservants.* 5 *For the servant whose ear is bored.* 7 *For womenservants.* 12 *For manslaughter.* 16 *For stealers of men.* 17 *For cursers of parents.* 18 *For smiters.* 22 *For a hurt by chance.* 28 *For an ox that goreth.* 33 *For him that is an occasion of harm.*

1 Now these are the judgments which thou shalt set before them.

2 If thou buy any Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.

3 If he came in by himself, he shall go out

by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him.

4 If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself.

CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *Now these are the judgments*] By judgments are meant such political laws which God thought fit to give for the determination of differences among the people; and that they might be justly and peaceably governed. Which, though they were not spoken with such pomp and majesty as the ten commandments were (and much less were the ceremonial precepts delivered with such solemnity), yet the Israelites believed that they came from the same authority, though spoken to Moses in the mount privately, and not in the audience of all the people; as appears by their submission to these, no less than to the other laws. And there was great reason for it; it being their own desire not to hear God's voice any more; but to be instructed by Moses what God required, and they promised to obey it (xx. 19).

Ver. 2. *If thou buy an Hebrew servant,*] Or a slave. Some persons sold themselves by reason of poverty: of which sort the Hebrews understand that law (Lev. xxv. 39). Others were sold by the court of judgment; which was in case of a theft they had committed: for which, not being able to make satisfaction unto him that had received the damage, they were condemned to be his servants. Of these they interpret this place and Deut. xv. 12. But this sale, they say, did not extend to both sexes; for a woman was not to be sold for theft.

In the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.] If the damage was so great, that his six years' service had not satisfied for it, yet he was not to be kept longer. And his servitude also might end sooner, by manumission, or redemption, or the death of his master, if he were a gentile or a proselyte. Nay, if he were a Hebrew, his death put an end to it, in case he left no son. And his master also was bound to maintain his wife and children (if he had any), all this time giving them food, raiment, and a dwelling, though they were not to be his servants (see Mr. Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 7).

It is remarkable, that he sets this law in the first place, because mercy, next to piety, is the most excellent virtue: and God would have his people, saith R.

Levi Barzelonita, adorned with and full of the noblest qualities, which are benignity and mercy.

This year of release also being a sacred year, the whole land being holy to the Lord, so that no man might challenge any right or propriety in it, to sow his field, or reap that which grew of itself, &c., it was sacrilege for any master to keep a servant from his freedom when the year came which was the Lord's release, as we read expressly Lev. xxv. and Deut. xv. Whence it was, that, because the Jews were so profane as to break this law, and not give their servants liberty (as we read in the thirty-fourth of Jeremiah), God punished them with a captivity of seventy years, in which the land lay waste, till it had fulfilled the years of rest which they would not observe; as Mr. Mede hath truly noted, Discourse xxvi. latter end.

Ver. 3. *If he came in by himself,*] That is, a single man without a wife; so he was to depart. But if he was a married man when he was sold; as the master was not to let his wife and children want food, and raiment, and habitation, while he continued his slave; so, when he was free, he was not to meddle with them or detain them from their father and husband (Lev. xxv. 41).

Ver. 4. *If his master have given him a wife,*] Unto such a servant as this, who was sold by the court of judgment, his master might give a gentile maid to wife (and no other Hebrew, but such as he, might marry a gentile), that he might beget children of her, who were to be the master's servants or slaves for ever. The Hebrew doctors say, the master could not do this unless such a servant had a lawful wife and children before of his own, who were not to be kept from him: but he might beget children for himself, as well as for his master; who could not impose upon him more than one maid-servant to be his wife. He that sold himself also was not subject to this law. But as his master could not impose a wife of this sort upon him, so neither was he bound, when the servant went free, to bestow any gift upon him: which was due only to him that was sold by the court for theft (Deut. xv. 12), to whom the ancient Jews say he was to give thirty shekels.

Born him sons or daughters;] During his service.

5 And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free:

6 Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an aul; and he shall serve him for ever.

7 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do.

The wife and her children shall be her master's.] For the wife was a slave as well as himself when he married her. And she was given to wife, merely that he might beget slaves of her. Who therefore continued with the master, as well as their mother, when the man had his liberty; for they were not so much his, as his master's goods; who had such a power over them, that he might circumcise them, as he did his own children, without their consent (see Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 7, and de Uxore Hebr. lib. i. cap. 6, p. 39).

Ver. 5. *If the servant shall plainly say.*] In the Hebrew the words are *saying, shall say*; i. e. stand in it (as we speak) and steadfastly resolve, by saying it not in a fit, but constantly.

I love my master, &c.] If his love to such a wife and children, who were not properly his own, was greater than his love to liberty; which made him still desire their company, and choose to stay with his master who had been so good to him.

Ver. 6. *His master shall bring him unto the judges.*] That it might appear he was not fraudulently or forcibly detained against the law, but with his own consent, or rather at his desire.

He shall also bring him to the door.] After the case had been heard, and the judges had given sentence.

His master shall bore his ear through with an aul.] In token that he was now affixed to his house, and might not so much as step over the threshold without his leave, but be obedient to his will for ever. This is to be understood only of one that was sold by the court; not of him that sold himself. And though the Hebrews take this to have been a mark of infamy, set upon a man who chose servitude before liberty; yet it being chosen out of love to his master, I cannot think that they intended by this act to disgrace him; but look upon it only as a solemn addition of him to his master's service; which was done, it is likely, in the presence of the judges. This custom of boring the ears of slaves lasted a long time after this in Syria and Arabia, as Bochartus shows out of Juvenal, sat. i. and Petronius (lib. iii. Hierozoic. cap. 6, p. 1).

He shall serve him for ever.] Till the year of jubilee, or till his master died (for his son was not to detain him when his father was dead) unless he would release him, or he was redeemed.

Ver. 7. *If a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant.*] Besides the two former sorts of persons sold to be servants, there was a third here mentioned, which is thus expounded by the Hebrews; that she was to be a virgin under age; that is, less than twelve years old and a day. For if she was more than that it was not lawful for him to sell her; and when she came to be of age it put an end to her servitude, as well as the year of jubilee did, or redemption, or the death of her master. Besides, her father might not sell her, unless he were reduced to extreme poverty. If he did without such necessity, he was forced by

8 If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.

9 And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.

10 If he take him another wife; her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish.

the court of judgment to redeem her. And she was not to be sold neither, unless there was some hope her master or his son might take her to wife.

She shall not go out as the menservants do.] There were other and better conditions for her, than for the servant mentioned ver. 3, 4, particularly, her master could not marry her to anybody but himself or his son.

Ver. 8. *If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself.*] This shows she was sold to him upon the presumption he would take her for his wife; and there was such a previous agreement about this, that there needed no other espousals; but if, after this, he changed his mind, and did not like her enough to make her his wife; then God ordains as follows.

Then shall he let her be redeemed.] She was to serve her master six years, if she was sold for so long; unless she was redeemed (which her master is here required not to refuse) or manumitted; or set free by the year of jubilee; or by the death of her master; or (which was peculiar in this case) the signs of her being ripe for marriage appeared (see Selden in the place before mentioned).

To sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power.] No man had power to sell a Hebrew servant to one of another nation: and therefore, by a *strange people* (as the word is here in the Hebrew) must be meant an Israelite of another family, that was not of her kindred, nor had any right of redemption.

Seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.] Frustrated her hope of marrying her.

Ver. 9. *If he have betrothed her unto his son.*] Which was expected from him, if he did not think fit to marry her himself, *he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.* If the word *he* relate to the father, the meaning is, he shall give her a portion, as if she were his own daughter. If it relate to the son, the meaning is, he shall treat her like a wife.

Ver. 10. *If he take him another wife; her food, &c.*] If after the son had married her, he took another wife besides, he was still to perform to this all those things that belong to a wife, viz. give her food, and raiment, and at certain times (which were determined by law in some countries) cohabit with her as her husband. From this place the Hebrews have made a general rule, that these three things are owing to all wives from their husbands, viz. alimony, clothes, and the conjugal duty. For howsoever the Vulgar Latin understands the last word, the Hebrews generally take it for that which St. Paul calls *due benevolence*, 1 Cor. vii. 3 (see Selden, de Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 4). Now what was accounted alimony, and sufficient for clothes, he shows cap. v., and what belongs to the other, cap. vi. The Hebrew word *ganata*, which we translate *duty of marriage*, properly relates to the stated and determined time wherein every thing is to be done; and therefore here signifies the use of marriage, *certo tempore et modo*, as Bochart hath well expounded it (lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 11). Many indeed will have it derived from *pp*, from which comes

11 And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money.

12 ¶ He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death.

13 And if a man lie not in wait, but God de-

liver him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.

14 But if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

And laid wait for him to execute his design, it was justly judged to be wilful murder, and punished with death. Which was far more equal than Plato's law, that such a man should only be banished for three years; as he that on a sudden killed a man in his anger only for two (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 867).

Upon his neighbour.] The Hebrew doctors by *neighbour* understand only an *Israelite*, or a *proselyte of justice*: as for others, they were not put to death if an *Israelite* killed one of them. Which was not the intent of this law; whereby God would have all men that lived among them safe and secure from being murdered.

To slay him with guile.] By which it appeared the act was designed and deliberate. For two things are denoted by this word *with guile*; first *forethought*, and then *delay*, as Isaac Karo observes (see L'Empereur in Bava kama, cap. iii. sect. 6).

Thou shalt take him.] If it be inquired who should take him, it seems to be determined, Deut. xix. 12, where the elders of the city were to fetch away a wilful murderer from the city of refuge. In after-times the king ordered it, as Moses did while he lived (1 Kings i. ult. ii. 29). By which places it appears that if a man refused to come from the altar (being judged upon proof to be a wilful murderer or other high offender), he might be there killed, as Georg. Ritterhusius shows (L. de Jure Asylum, cap. viii.), where he observes, out of Plutarch in his Laconia, that Agesilaus declared publicly at the altar of Pallas, where he sacrificed an ox, that he thought it lawful to kill one that treacherously assaulted him, even at the altar. And thus the practice was among Christians (as he there shows) when their temples became sanctuaries to malefactors.

From mine altar.] This was an asylum, as well as the cities of refuge; but under many limitations, both with respect to the part of the altar, and to the persons that fled thither, and to the crime they had committed; as Mr. Selden shows in the place above mentioned (p. 475).

That he may die.] Though he was the high-priest, and in the act of sacrifice, he was to be taken away without delay if he had committed wilful murder; if it was involuntarily, then he was to be taken from thence and carried to the city of refuge; for God would not have a pious place (as Conradus Pellicanus glosses) be a protection to impiety (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 8, p. 100).

Maimonides's observation is pertinent enough upon this occasion; "That the mercy which is shown to wicked men is no better than tyranny and cruelty to the rest of God's creatures: and therefore, though such persons sought to God for his patronage, by be-taking themselves to that which was dedicated to his name, he would not afford them any protection; but commanded them to be delivered up to justice" (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 39).

Ver. 15. He that smiteth his father, or his mother,] So as to wound them, and to make the blood come; or to leave a mark of the stroke, by making the flesh black and blue, as we speak (Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13, p. 556).

Shall be surely put to death.] Strangled (say the Hebrews, see ver. 12), by the sentence of the judge, there being competent witnesses of the fact, as in other cases. The giving them saucy words, or mak-

ing, "a habitation;" as if it signified here the co-habitation of a man with his wife. But Aben Ezra rather refers it to *ruy*, from whence comes *ry*, "time;" whence *gonat* signifies the set and appointed time wherein every thing is done. And so the Chaldees uses the word *goneta*, for the term prescribed to every thing (as the same author observes), that it may be done in due time and manner.

Theodoric Hackspan thinks Moses here speaks of the father; to whom all the precedent and subsequent acts belong, and not to the son.

Ver. 11. If he do not these three unto her,] i. e. Neither marry her to himself, nor to his son, nor suffer her to be redeemed.

Then shall she go out free without money.] When she came of age, and was ripe for marriage, she was to be set free, and pay nothing for her freedom: nay, on the contrary, he was to give her something, as appears from Deut. xv. 12, 13, 17. What the signs of puberty were, Mr. Selden shows, Lib. de Successionibus, cap. ix.

Ver. 12. He that smiteth a man, so that he die,] That is, commit wilful murder, as we now speak.

Shall be surely put to death.] Wheresoever we find this word *maveth* (death) absolutely, without any addition, it always signifies *strangling*. They are the words of R. Levi Barzelonita. But the Jewish doctors will not have this law extend unto proselytes of the gate, much less to gentiles, whom, if any *Israelite* killed, he was not to suffer death for it (see Mr. Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1). But Plato, in his Book of laws (lib. ix. p. 872), hath determined more justly than these rabbies, that in the case of murder the same laws should be for strangers and for citizens.

Ver. 13. If a man lie not in wait,] Do not design to kill another.

But God deliver him into his hand;] But he happens, as we speak, to kill a man by that action which aimed at another end. This the Scripture expresses more religiously, by acknowledging God in every thing that falls out, who permits such things as are mentioned, Deut. xix. 5, whereby a man is killed, without the intention of him who was about such actions.

Then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.] He may flee to one of the places which I will appoint for his security. Which place, the Jews say, was the camp of the Levites, while they continued in the wilderness: but when they came to Canaan, there were cities appointed for this purpose, as we read Numb. xxxv. 11, 12; Deut. xix. 2, 3, &c. And there being several kinds of involuntary killing men, the Hebrews make these *φυγαδεύεσθαι*, or "places of refuge," to belong only to one of them, for the rest did not need them, as Mr. Selden shows (lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2). An officer of justice was not bound to flee if he chanced in the execution of his office to kill a man that resisted him: nor a master if he killed his scholar, or a father his son, when he gave him correction.

Ver. 14. If a man come presumptuously] The Vulgar Latin rightly translates it *industriously*, or with design to kill him; for it is opposed to ignorance. The Hebrew word also carries in it a signification of *boiling anger*; which doth not alter the case: for if a man in the height of his rage resolved to kill another,

15 ¶ And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

16 ¶ And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

17 ¶ And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

ing mouths at them, which signified contempt, was punished also with whipping. There was no need to say any thing of killing them: for all wilful murder was punished with death. And Solon, it is commonly noted, made no law about this; because it was not to be supposed any man would be so wicked. Nor was this crime known among the Persians, as Herodotus saith, in his days. Nor do we find any mention of it in the law of the twelve tables. But in aftertimes there were most severe punishments enacted against parricide, which are described at large by Modestinus. And Diodorus Siculus tells us of the like among the Egyptians (see Hen. Stephanus in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis, p. 18). Plato would have him that killed either father or mother, brethren or children, not only to be put to death, but to be disgraced after his execution, by throwing his dead body naked into a common place without the city, where all the magistrates, in the name of the people, should every one of them throw a stone at his head, and then carrying him out of the coasts, leave him without burial (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 873).

Ver. 16. *He that stealeth a man.*] By a man the Hebrews understand an Israelite; whether he was a freeman, or but a servant; as Mr. Selden observes (lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2).

Selleth him.] No Israelite would buy him, and therefore such plagiarists sold him to men of other nations, which made the crime to be punished with death; because it was a cruel thing, not only to take away his liberty, but make him a slave to strangers.

Or if he be found in his hand.] Though he had not actually sold him; yet his intention was sufficiently known by his stealing him.

Shall surely be put to death.] I observed above, ver. 12, they interpret this phrase everywhere to signify *strangling*. If it be said anywhere, *his blood shall be upon him*, it signifies *stoning*. Maimonides makes this the reason why such a man was condemned to die, because it might well be thought he intended to kill him, whom he violently carried away (at least, as I understand it, if he could not find means to sell him), More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.

Ver. 17. *He that curseth his father, or his mother, &c.*] The Hebrews take this law to concern those who cursed their dead parents, no less than those who cursed them when they were alive: but not without premonition and witnesses, as in other capital crimes: and not unless they cursed their parents by some proper name of God, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Jewish doctors (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13). This and the other law (ver. 15), enacted death as the punishment of such crimes, because they were a sign (saith Maimonides, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41) of a desperate malice and audacious wickedness; being a subversion of that domestic order which is the prime part of good government (see Lev. xx. 9). And thus far the Athenians went in this matter, that by their law a son was disinherited who reproached his father. And if the father did not prosecute such a son, he himself became infamous. So Sopater ad Hermogenem; Τὸν ὑβρίζοντα τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα μὴ μετρίως τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸν ὑβριζομένην πατέρα μὴ ἐπιζήντα τῷ πατρὶ ἀτίμων εἶναι. By the same law, also, if he struck his father both his hands were to be cut

18 ¶ And if men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed:

19 If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

off; as we read in Heraclides Ponticus, in Allegor. Homer. and in Quintilian, Declam. 372, “Qui patrem pulsaverit, manus ei incidantur.” And by another law he was to be stoned to death, as the author of Problemata Rhetor. tells us: Νόμος ἐχάλευσεν τὸν τὴν φαντα αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα λιθοβολῆσαι, and that without any formal process against him ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου ἀκρίτως.

Ver. 18. *If men strive together.*] Fall out and quarrel.

One smite another] So that from words they proceeded to blows.

With a stone.] Men usually in their anger take up any thing that is next at hand to throw at him against whom they are enraged; or, finding nothing, smite them with their fists.

He die not, but keepeth his bed.] Sometimes the blow falls in such a place that sudden death follows: or such a wound or bruise is given as confines a man to his bed.

Ver. 19. *If he rise again, &c.*] If a man recovered so far as to get up and walk abroad, after the stroke, it was presumed (though he died not long after) it was by his negligence, or something else, not of the blow he received. And upon the hearing of the cause, the judges were to acquit the man that gave the blow; i. e. he was not to die for it.

Only] The Hebrew participle *rak* signifies *but*, or *truly*, as well as *only*: and here expresses, that the man who gave the blow should not escape all punishment, but suffer something for the hurt he had done. Yet if we take it to signify *only*, the sense is not much altered; for the meaning is (as Constant. L'Empeur observes in Bava kama, cap. viii. sect. 1) by this word to exclude death, but not other punishment in his purse.

He shall pay for the loss of his time, &c.] The Jews say, in Bava kama, cap. viii. sect. 1, that satisfaction was to be given him for the loss he had sustained in five things: for the hurt in his body; the loss of his time; the pain he had endured; the charge of physician and surgeon; and the disgrace: all which they there endeavour to prove out of the Scripture. Two of them are plainly here. The first of which the doctors upon the Misna consider with great nicety, as L'Empeur observes upon the forenamed treatise; some men being able to earn more by their labours than others; and the disability the stroke brought upon them being, more or less, of a larger and shorter continuance; with respect to all which a proportionable compensation was made to them.

Shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.] Here they also distinguished between the cure of the wound, bruise, or swelling, caused by the stroke, and of any other breaking out that he chanced to have at the same time. He was bound to pay for the cure of the former, but not of the latter. And if after a man was cured he fell ill again, he that struck him was not bound to take care of his cure.

The same provision is made in the civil law, as L'Empeur notes, which perfectly agrees with this constitution of Moses: Juxta computat mercedes medicis præstatis, cæteraque impendia, quæ in curatione facta sunt: præterea operas quibus caruit, aut cariturus est ob id, quod inutilis factus est.

20 ¶ And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished.

21 Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he *is* his money.

22 ¶ If men strive, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely punished,

According to Plato's laws, he that wounded another in his anger, if the wound was curable, was to pay τὸν βλάβους τὴν διαράσιν, "double to the damage the wounded man sustained thereby." If it was incurable, he was to pay fourfold; and so he was to do likewise if it were curable, but left a remarkable scar. If the wound was given involuntarily, he was to pay only simple damages: Τίς τις γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδὲς ἱκανὸς ἀρᾶν: "for no lawgiver is able to govern chance" (lib. ix. de Leg. p. 578, 879).

Ver. 20. *If a man smite his servant, &c.]* A slave; who was not an Israelite, but a gentile.

He shall be surely punished.] With death, say the Hebrew doctors (in Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1, p. 463), if the servant died while he was beating him: for that is meant by dying *under his hand*. But it seems more likely to me that he was to be punished for his cruelty, as the judge who examined this fact thought meet. For his smiting *with a rod*, not with a sword, was a sign he intended only to correct him, not to kill him. And besides, no man could be thought to be willing to lose his own goods, as such servants were.

Ver. 21. *If he continue a day or two,]* A day and a night, as the Hebrew doctors interpret it.

He shall not be punished:] Because it might be presumed he did not die of those strokes.

He is his money.] His death was a loss to his master; who therefore might well be judged not to have any intention to kill him; and was sufficiently punished by losing the benefit of his service.

Ver. 22. *If men strive, and hurt a woman with child,]* Who interposed between the contending parties; or came perhaps to help her husband.

So that her fruit depart from her,] She miscarry.

No mischief follow:] She do not die, as the Hebrew doctors expound it (see Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1, p. 461).

He shall be surely punished, according as the woman's husband will lay upon him;] Her husband may require a compensation, both for the loss of his child, and the hurt or grief of his wife. Yet he was not to be judge in his own case; but it was to be brought before the public judges, as it here follows.

He shall pay as the judges determine.] Who considered in their decree what damage was done; which was estimated by the hurt his wife received in her body; and by the lessening of her price, if she were a slave and might be sold. Unto which several other mulcts were added, to be given to the woman herself, as Mr. Selden observes in the place above named.

Ver. 23. *If any mischief follow,]* If the woman died.

Thou shalt give life for life,] In the interpretation of this, saith Jarchi, our masters differ. For some by life understand that which is properly so called, or the person himself: so that it should signify being put to death; but others understand by it, a pecuniary mulct; that so much money should be paid to the heirs, as the person killed might have been sold for. The LXX. carry it to quite another sense; which is, that if a woman miscarry, and the child was μη ἔεικονσμένον, "not yet formed and fashioned," that

according as the woman's husband will lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges *determine*.

23 And if *any* mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life,

24 Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,

25 Burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

26 ¶ And if a man smite the eye of his ser-

the man who occasioned the miscarriage was to pay a fine. But if it were formed, then life was to be given for life. So that this whole law is to be understood of an *abortion*; and according to the condition of the *abortive* (not the life or death of the mother), so the punishment was to be inflicted. And thus Philo takes it, and hath a large discourse upon it (see Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1, p. 464, and Constantine L'Empereur in Bava kama, p. 200, &c.).

Ver. 24, 25. *Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c.]* These and all the rest that follow to the end of the twenty-fifth verse, the Hebrews understand to signify pecuniary mulcts; as may be seen in their Comments upon this place. And Maimonides gives three reasons for it, which L'Empereur takes notice of, and endeavours to confute in his Annotations upon Bava kama, p. 187, &c. 198, &c. But after all, there seems to be a great deal of reason, at least in many cases, to admit of a compensation. As in that mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xii.) where the one-eyed man complained of this law (which was among the heathen), as too rigid; for if he lost the other eye, he should suffer more than the man whom he injured, who had still one eye left. Upon such considerations Phavorinus argues against this law, which was one of the twelve tables, as not possible to be justly executed, according to the very letter of it. For the same member of the body is far more valuable to one man than it is to another. For instance, the right hand of a scribe, or a painter, cannot be so well spared as the right hand of a singer. And therefore the law of the twelve tables concerning taliones (like for like), was with this exception—*Ni cum eo pæct:* that is, if he who had put out a man's eye, or taken away the use of any other member, would not come to an agreement, de talione redimenda, "to make him satisfaction," and redeem the punishment, he was to suffer in the very same kind. So Sex. Cæcilius expounds it in Aulus Gellius (lib. xx. cap. 1).

Ver. 26. *If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, &c.]* It is but reason that this should extend to all servants, though of another nation, not merely to those who were Jews. And so Maimonides seems to allow, when he saith, "This is a precept of piety and mercy to poor wretches, who should not be any longer afflicted with servitude when they have lost a member of their body" (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41). And therefore the common resolution of their doctors is very cruel, that gentile servants (whom they call Canaanites), who were not circumcised, should not have the benefit of this law. For they thus distinguish servants of another nation. Some were circumcised and baptized; others still remained gentiles, or were only proselytes of the gate. The former kind might be set free three ways; by being redeemed by a price paid by themselves, or any friend; by manumission; and by virtue of this law, upon the loss of any member. For though only an *eye* and a *tooth* be here mentioned, yet herein are included all the rest of the principal members of the body, which, being mutilated, cannot be repaired; which they reckon to be four-and-twenty in all. If they did not dismiss such a servant thus

vant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.

27 And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

28 ¶ If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die: then the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit.

maimed, the court of judgment, upon an appeal to it, compelled them to give him his liberty with a certificate of it. But the second sort of gentile servants could be made free only by the first two ways, having no benefit (according to this doctrine) by this third way here mentioned (see Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 8). But heathens themselves were more merciful than these doctors; for the civil laws (as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, cap. 8, sect. 3), made better provision for slaves when they were hardly used.

Ver. 27.] The loss of a tooth was not so great as that of an eye: yet to prevent cruelty, God ordained a master should lose the service of his slave for so small a loss as this.

Ver. 28. *The ox shall be surely stoned,*] This was not a punishment to the ox, as the Sadducees, saith Maimonides, evil against us, but to his owner; who was admonished hereby to look better after his cattle: for which reason also the ox was not to be eaten (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40).

His flesh shall not be eaten;] Because God would have the owner entirely lose all benefit by it, as Maimonides interprets it. And so Josephus (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8), *μὴ εἰς τροφήν εὐχρηστος*, &c. "It was not permitted to be so much as profitable to him for his nourishment." And the Hebrew doctors say, that if a man ate so much as the bigness of an olive of this flesh he was to be scourged. By this means both he and others were admonished to be more careful and cautious: and God also declared how heinous the crime of murder is; the punishment of which, in some sort, reached even unto beasts; which were therefore also stoned, when they had killed a man, that no more might be in danger of their lives by them. Some think its flesh therefore could not be eaten, because, being stoned, it was a carcass whose blood was in it. But Maimonides answers to this in his treatise of Forbidden Meats, that the scope of the law is, that as soon as the sentence for its being stoned was pronounced, it became unclean. Nay, if a man, to prevent this sentence, killed it after a legal manner, no man might eat a bit of it. And when it was stoned, the flesh was neither sold, nor given to the gentiles, nor to the dogs, &c., as Bochart observes (lib. ii. Hierozoic. par. i. cap. 40).

The same Maimonides, in his treatise of Pecuniary Mulets, further extends this law to other creatures, whether beasts or birds, that any man kept; as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, cap. 4, sect. 5. And Plato, I observe, hath the very same law, that *ἐὰν ὑποκρίνῃον ἢ ζῶον ἄλλο τι φονεύσῃ τινα*, &c. "if an ox or any other animal, kill a man (except it were in the public combats), the officers called *Ἀγρονόμοι*, that were set over their fields, were to kill it, and throw it out of their territories," *ἔξω τῶν ὁρίων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείνοντας διορίαις* (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 873).

But the owner of the ox shall be quit.] The loss of his ox was all his punishment. And if the ox did not kill the man, but only wounded him, in that case the owner was obliged to make him such a compensation

29 But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death.

30 If there be laid on him a sum of money, then he shall give for the ransom of his life whatsoever is laid upon him.

as the judges thought equal, and to take care the like happened not again.

Ver. 29. *If the ox were wont to push, &c.*] In the former case, the owner was only punished with the loss of his ox; it being the first time that it had been known to push. But if the ox had formerly been known to have been so unruly, and he had been told of it, and yet did not take care to prevent further mischief, then he, as well as the ox, were to be put to death. The Jewish doctors, indeed, have softened this by divers exceptions; as, first, they say it was to be proved that the ox had pushed upon three several days; for though it appeared he pushed a great many times in one day, it would not make the man liable. And, secondly, it was to be testified, not only to the owner, but before the magistrate, that he had pushed so often. And, lastly, they interpret the last words of this verse (*the owner also shall be put to death*), of punishment by the hand of Heaven: that is, they leave him to God (see Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40). But though Abarbinel propounds this as the opinion of their wise men, yet he was sensible of its absurdity. For he confesses that God doth decree the sentence of death should be executed upon the owner of the ox: only he thinks that he remits something of the strictness of it in the next verse. And there are three cases here mentioned relating to this matter: one in the foregoing verse, where the ox is ordered to be stoned: another in this, where the owner is also made liable to be put to death: and a third in the next verse, where a pecuniary mulct is only set upon him.

Ver. 30. *If there be laid on him a sum of money,*] By this it appears there might be a case wherein the owner of the ox should not be put to death, but only be fined, though the ox had been wont to push, and he was told of it. And the interpretation of this and the foregoing law, which is given by Constantine L'Empereur, is not unreasonable, upon Bava kama, cap. 4, sect. 5. Either the knowledge which the owner had of the ill conditions of his ox was certain or uncertain; and his carelessness in preventing the mischief he was wont to do was greater or lesser; and the friends of him that was killed pressed the strictest justice, or were content to remit it. In the former cases (if the knowledge was certain, the carelessness very gross, and the friends were strict in the prosecution) he was punished with death: but if otherwise, he was punished only by setting a fine upon him. Certain it is, that the foregoing law might prove too rigorous in many cases (as, if the ox pushed, being provoked; or broke loose when he was tied up; or was let go by the negligence of a servant, &c.); and therefore God permitted the judges to accept of a ransom, as they saw cause, which was to be paid according as the Sanhedrim thought meet. So Jonathan.

Whatsoever is laid upon him.] He was to submit to the fine, whatsoever it was; and it was given to the heirs of him that was killed. If a man's wife was killed, the Jews say it was given to the heirs of her father's family, and not to her husband.

Ver. 31. *Whether he have gored a son, &c.*] Because

31 Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter, according to this judgment shall it be done unto him.

32 If the ox shall push a manservant or maid-servant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33 ¶ And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit, and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein;

34 The owner of the pit shall make it good,

what was said (ver. 29) of killing a man or a woman, might have been restrained to the father or mother of a family, whose loss was greatest, and their lives most precious; therefore the same law is here extended to the children: yet both Jonathan and Onkelos confine it to the children of Israelites; as if all mankind besides were nothing worth (see Bochartus in the place above mentioned).

Ver. 32. *If the ox shall push a manservant, &c.*] Whether the servant was of greater or lesser value, saith Maimonides, the punishment was the payment of thirty shekels (and the loss of the ox); half the price of a freeman, who was estimated, he saith, at sixty shekels (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40). He adds, in another place (in his Treatise of Pecuniary Mulcts), that the owner was not bound to pay this ransom, unless the ox killed the man out of his own ground. For if he was killed within the owner's ground, the ox, indeed, was stoned, but no ransom was paid. Divers other cases he mentions in that book, as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, p. 85, where he takes notice that Solon himself wrote βασιλεὺς τερπαρόδων νόμον, "a law concerning the mischief done by cattle," as Plutarch relates in his life.

Ver. 33. *If a man shall open a pit.*] In the street, or public highway, as Jonathan rightly interprets it. For if he opened or digged a pit in his own ground, he was not concerned in this law, though another man's beast fell into it.

And not cover it.] If he did cover it conveniently, though in time the cover grew rotten, and a beast fell into it, he was not bound to make it good, as Maimonides resolves the case.

Ver. 34.] There were so many cases arose upon this law, that it is not easy to number them. Maimonides hath amassed together abundance belonging

and give money unto the owner of them; and the dead beast shall be his.

35 ¶ And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the money of it; and the dead ox also they shall divide.

36 Or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox; and the dead shall be his own.

to this matter, with wonderful accuracy, as Bochartus observes; who hath transcribed a great many of them, in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40, p. 391, &c.

Ver. 35. *If one man's ox hurt another's, that he die;*] Which equally belongs to all other cattle, as Maimonides observes; for the law mentions an ox only for example's sake.

They shall sell the live ox, &c.] Though the ox that was killed was worth as much more as the other, yet satisfaction was to be made only out of the live ox which did the mischief, as the same Maimonides observes, who hath several cases upon this law, as may be seen in the forenamed book of Bochart's, p. 393. But it might so happen that the ox which was killed was of little value, and the live ox worth many pounds: in which case it seems so unreasonable, the man whose loss was small should be a great gainer by the sale of the ox which did the mischief, that the Jewish lawyers resolve the meaning of this law is, the man whose ox was killed should receive half the damage he had sustained; as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, cap. 1, sect. 4.

Ver. 36.] There is a great difference between what is done casually, and what is done constantly. The former verse speaks of the hurt done by a beast that was not wont to push; and this, of the hurt done by one that was notoriously mischievous; and accordingly, greater damages were given in this latter case than in the former. And by this general rule the Jews regulated all other cases: making those mischiefs that were done by beasts which were wont to hurt, or were of a hurtful nature, to be punished above as much more, than the mischief done by a creature that was not wont to hurt, or with a part of his body which uses not to hurt (see L'Empereur in Bava kama, cap. 2, sect. 1).

CHAPTER XXII.

1 Of theft. 5 Of damage. 7 Of trespasses. 14 Of borrowing. 16 Of fornication. 18 Of witchcraft. 19 Of bestiality. 20 Of idolatry. 21 Of strangers, widows, and fatherless. 25 Of usury. 26 Of pledges. 28 Of reverence to magistrates. 29 Of the firstfruits.

1 If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.

2 ¶ If a thief be found breaking up, and be smitten that he die, there shall no blood be shed for him.

CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. *If a man shall steal an ox—and kill it,*] Before the theft was discovered to be done by him.

He shall restore five oxen for an ox, &c.] There is a smaller satisfaction required in other things (ver. 9), and here is also a disproportion observable between the stealing of an ox and of a sheep. The reason of both was this; that money, goods, garments, jewels, which men keep in their houses within towns and cities, are better guarded, and not so easily stolen as

cattle in the field: and of cattle in the field, an ox was more easy to be stolen than a sheep: for sheep feeding in flocks may be all in view of the shepherd; but oxen, feeding scattered one from another, are not so easily observed and kept by the neatherd. Thus Maimonides, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41. But the true reason of the difference between an ox and a sheep seems to be, that an ox was of greater value, and likewise useful to more purposes in husbandry (as ploughing, carrying in and treading out the corn, &c.), which made the punishment of steal-

3 If the sun be risen upon him, *there shall be blood shed* for him; for he should make full restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft.

4 If the theft be certainly found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall restore double.

5 ¶ If a man shall cause a field or vineyard

ing an ox greater than that of stealing a sheep. Yet there was a difference between a thief who came and confessed his sin of his own accord, and him that stood out till he was apprehended and convicted of it: for, in the former case, Moses seems to require only the restitution of that which was stolen, with the addition of a fifth part of the value, and a sacrifice (Lev. vi. 4, 5). All this is far more equal than Plato's constitutions, which for all thefts require the same punishment, which was paying double; *ἵνα τε μίγα ἵνα τε σμεχρὸν κλέπτῃ τις, εἰς εἰς νόμος κείσθω*, &c. (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 857).

Ver. 2. *If a thief be found breaking up,*] Some translate it, *if a man be found with a digging instrument*; or, it may signify any sort of weapon: yet he was to be taken in the very act of breaking up or digging.

And be smitten that he die, &c.] The master of the house might kill the robber in this case; because it might well be thought he intended to kill him rather than lose his booty. The law of the twelve tables allowed this, as A. Gellius relates (lib. xi. cap. 18), *duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impune voluerunt*. It was one of Plato's laws, also, that if a thief entered a man's house in the night, he might innocently kill him: *Νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἶκον εἰσόντα, ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων, ἢν ἰδὼν πτεῖνη τις, καθάρως ἔστω* (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 874). But the Hebrew doctors make some exceptions; as, if he did not fly; and if there were no witnesses present: for if there were, then it was like theft in the daytime (see Grotius, lib. ii. de Jure B. et P. cap. i. sect. 12).

Ver. 3. *If the sun be risen, &c.*] When they might possibly know who he was; and it might be presumed he intended only to steal, not to kill; then to kill him was to be accounted murder.

He shall be sold for his theft.] For six years. But the Hebrew doctors have many mollifications of this law: for they say a woman was not to be sold; nor a man, but for the principal sum. For double, or four or fivefold, he was not to be sold; but have credit for it, till he was able to pay. And he was not to be sold who robbed a Samaritan; nor if he had stolen less than he was worth when sold, &c., with many other, which so mitigate, that they almost abrogate it. But the law of the twelve tables thought it reason, a thief should be delivered to him whom he robbed to be his slave, as A. Gellius tells us, lib. xx. cap. 1 (see Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40).

Ver. 4. *If the theft be certainly found in his hand alive, &c.*] There was a great difference between killing, or selling, after the stealth; and having these cattle found alive with him. In the former case he was punished four or fivefold (ver. 1), but in this only double. Because the former concealed his theft with more industry, and left less hope of discovery and restitution than in the latter, as Bochart there observes. Where he also takes notice of the like law at Athens, mentioned by Demosthenes and by A. Gellius (lib. xi. cap. 18). But the Hebrews here also have their exceptions; and will not have this extended to women, children, and servants.

He shall restore double.] In case he did not confess the fact himself, but was otherwise found out.

to be eaten, and shall put in his beast, and shall feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6 ¶ If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed *therewith*; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

For if he did accuse himself, and had neither sold nor killed that which he stole, he was not to restore double. He that stole from another thief was not bound, as Maimonides thinks, to restore double. But in case a thief killed what he had stolen, and after that consecrated it to God, he was obliged notwithstanding to restore fourfold; though if he consecrated it before he killed or sold it, only to restore double. For though the sanctification of a thing, after the sin was committed, did not take away the guilt: yet before he aggravated his fault by killing or selling what he stole, the sanctification lessened the punishment (see L'Empereur in Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 1, 2).

Ver. 5. *If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten,*] This our rabbins, saith R. Levi of Barcelona, understand concerning the damage done by beasts eating another man's grass or corn, &c.

And shall put in his beast,] This they understand of the damage that may be done by their feet, in treading down the tender grass or corn.

Of the best of his own field, &c.] What is determined in this case, the Jews extend to all other: that men should make satisfaction for the wrong done to their neighbours in any kind with the best of what they possessed of that kind. So the Misna in Bava kama, cap. 1, sect. 1, and Abarinel on this place, *damages are paid out of the best*. Which made men very careful in looking after their beasts, that they did no hurt in their neighbours' ground. For which Plato orders only such satisfaction to be made as the *Ἀγορῶναι* should judge meet (lib. viii. de Legibus, p. 843). But the Jews were so scrupulous in this matter, that, to prevent the damage one man might do another, they made a constitution that no man should keep goats, or rabbits, or any such like small creatures, near the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-yards of his neighbour; no, nor in any parts of the land of Israel (as the Misna hath it in the Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 7), but in Syria, or in the deserts of their own land. This the Talmudists carry so far, as to urge it to inept superstition; as L'Empereur observes on that place.

Ver. 6. *If fire break out, &c.*] The Hebrew word properly imports that which breaks out of itself (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes), so that the meaning of this law is, that though a man kindle a fire within his own bounds, and it spread further to the damage of his neighbour, he shall be guilty, though he had no hand in putting the fire to the stacks of corn which were burnt by it; because he should have looked better after it when he had kindled it. For every man, saith he, is bound to watch the fire that he kindles, lest it do mischief; it being its nature to break out, and catch hold of any thing that is near it. And therefore Plato ordains (in the place mentioned upon the former verse) that *ἵνα περιέω τὴν ἄλκην μὴ διαλαβῇ τῶν τοῦ γειτόνος*, &c. "if a man set fire to any combustible matter, and do not take care his neighbour receive no harm by it, he shall pay such damages as the magistrates judge just." But here the Jewish lawyers consider, at what distance the fire was kindled; and resolve, that if there was a fence of four cubits high, or a public highway, or a

7 ¶ If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, let him pay double.

8 If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall be brought unto the judges, to see whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.

9 For all manner of trespass, *whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing, which another challengeth to be his, the cause of both parties shall come before the judges; and whom the judges shall*

condemn, he shall pay double unto his neighbour.

10 If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it:

11 *Then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both, that he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner of it shall accept thereof, and he shall not make it good.*

12 And if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof.

13 If it be torn in pieces, *then let him bring it for witness, and he shall not make good that which was torn.*

river between the fire and the field, or stack of corn that was burnt, the man that kindled it was free (see Bava kama, cap. 6, sect. 4, 5, and L'Empereur in his Annotations there).

Ver. 7. The equity of the law contained in this and the following verse, is very well explained by Maimonides, par. iii. cap. 42, More Nevoch. He that takes a neighbour's goods or money to keep for nothing, and hath no profit thereby, doth a kindness to his neighbour, and therefore is not to hear the loss of them; which must fall upon the owner himself. But he that desires to be the keeper of his goods, and receives a benefit by the use of them, or is paid for his care, must make them good if they be stolen. Or if the owner and the keeper equally partake of the profit, they must equally bear the loss. R. Levi Barzelonita interprets this place of that which a man takes into his custody *chinna'm* (as his word is), *gratis*, as we speak, without any reward for his care in keeping it.

Ver. 8. *Shall be brought unto the judges,*] The principal judges were called *Elohim, gods*. And there were to be three of them at least; who were to examine upon oath (ver. 11) and endeavour to find out the truth (see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 5, p. 232).

To see] i. e. Find out.

Whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods,] Or, whether through negligence he suffered them to be stolen. In which he was bound to make them good, as Maimonides saith, in the place before-mentioned; who will have the name of *Elohim* originally to belong to judges; and from thence to be translated to God, the Judge above all (par. ii. cap. 2). But of this see xx. 2.

Ver. 9. *For ox, for ass, for sheep,*] Though these be only mentioned, yet the law reaches to all cattle whatsoever.

Which another challengeth to be his,] There is great variety in the translation of these words, as Mr. Selden shows (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 12); but, according to ours, the meaning is, when a man affirms that he either deposited such things with his neighbour, or lent them to him, or that he took them (as R. Levi Barzelonita interprets it, *Præcept. liv.*), both parties were to be brought before the judge; that he might examine where the right lay.

He shall pay double] i. e. He who pretended to have deposited the goods (suppose) was to pay double if he brought an unjust action against his neighbour; or he with whom the goods were deposited was to pay it, if it appeared he had dealt fraudulently: but if it were found that the goods were lost by mere chance, he was not bound to pay any thing.

Maimonides explains it thus, according to the opinion of the Talmudists (as Mr. Selden observes in the place now mentioned); when a man brings an action against another about such things as are here mentioned, and the defendant confesses part of the charge,

but denies the rest; he was to restore as far as he confessed; but for the other which he did not confess, he was to be put upon his oath. Or, if he denied the whole, and he that brought the action had but one witness against him, he was to purge himself by an oath; for, by the law, no man was compelled to clear himself by an oath but in three cases, of which this was one, when a man was guilty by one witness.

Ver. 10.] If he lend any of these things to his neighbour, upon certain considerations, or let them for hire: and his neighbour affirms that they died, or were hurt, or driven away by enemies who carried them captive; but there was no witness of any of these allegations; then the cause was to be brought before the judge to find out the truth, in the manner following:

Ver. 11.] If there was no other way to discover the truth, then he to whom they were delivered, was to purge himself by an oath that he had not killed the beast, nor done any thing to hurt it; and the owner was to trouble him no further: nor was he bound to make any satisfaction, provided he had used these goods according to the agreement between them; for if he had employed them contrary to their contract, then he was bound to make them good to the owner of whom they were borrowed or hired. If he refused to take the oath, he was pronounced guilty; and restitution was ordered to be made out of his goods. But there were some temperaments of this law; for every man was not admitted to purge himself by an oath. For instance; he that was of so bad a reputation, that they had a suspicion he would not stick to perjure himself, was not admitted to be absolved; no, though he that brought the action required it, &c. (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 15, p. 520).

Ver. 12. *If it be stolen from him,*] Through his negligence who was intrusted with it.

He shall make restitution] Because he was bound to have looked better after it; by receiving wages for his care and pains in keeping it (as some interpret), or engaging to make it good, if he did not take the same care of it as if it had been his own.

Ver. 13.] If he could produce any part of it, as an evidence that it was torn, and he endeavoured to rescue it, he was not to make it good. But here the Hebrew doctors make many exceptions: for they would have him make good what was torn by one wolf alone; because they think he might have been able to defend the cattle against one, though not against many. If, also, he put the oxen or sheep into a pasture, wont to be infested with wild beasts or thieves; or, if he did not call in the help of his neighbours, &c. in these and such-like cases, he was to make good that which was torn, as Maimonides reports their judgment (see Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44).

Ver. 14. *If a man borrow ought of his neighbour,*

11 ¶ And if a man borrow *ought* of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the owner thereof *being* not with it, he shall surely make it good.

15 But if the owner thereof *be* with it, he shall not make it good : if it *be* an hired thing, it came for his hire.

and it be hurt, or die.] This the Hebrew doctors think concerns such things as were lent to another out of kindness, without any consideration for the use of them. About which, if there arose any controversy, by reason of some maim that it received, or its death, it was to be determined by the rule following.

The owner thereof being not with it, he shall surely make it good.] These words, and those in the beginning of the fifteenth verse ("but if the owner be with it, he shall not make it good"), seem to signify, that if the owner was with the thing that was lent, at the time of its hurt or death, it was to be presumed he would do his best to preserve it, and see it was not ill used, and so must bear the loss; but if he was not present at that time, then the contrary was presumed, that the borrower was in fault, and therefore bound to make it good. Which, though it may seem hard, was but necessary to make men careful, and do their best to preserve what was lent them in pure kindness. R. Levi, of Barcelona (Præcept. lvi.), interprets it quite another way, in this manner: that if the owner was with it at the time it was borrowed, though not present at the time of its hurt or death, the borrower was free; but if the owner was present at the time of the hurt or death, but not at the time of lending, he was bound to make it good. For "the matter (saith he) depends upon the beginning of it."

Ver. 15. *An hired thing.*] Some make the Hebrew word *sachir* (which we translate *hired thing*) to relate unto the person; if he be a mercenary; i. e. the man who lends agrees to let the borrower have it at a certain price, &c. But this is the same, in effect, with the sense of our translation, which makes this word relate to the thing itself: which, if it were borrowed with a condition to pay so much for the use of it as the lender demanded, then the man who hired it was not bound to make it good, whether the owner were present or not, when it was hurt, or died. But the owner was to run the hazard, because of the hire which he received for the use of the thing.

Ver. 16. *If a man entice a maid that is not betrothed.*] Whosoever lay with such a maid in the city was thought to have been an *enticer* only (unless witnesses came and proved that he forced her), because it might be well supposed her voice would have been heard, if she had cried out upon the force in the city. But if he lay with her in the field, where nobody could hear, it was presumed to be a rape. Thus Maimonides and other Hebrew doctors.

He shall surely endow her to be his wife.] This law doth not say, as the old translation hath it, "he shall endow her, and take her to be his wife," but only "endow her to be his wife:" that is, give her such a dowry that she might be his lawful wife. So the same Hebrew doctors understand it; who will not have it to be a command that he should marry her (though that was best), but only that he should make satisfaction for taking away her virginity; which was by paying so much, in the nature of a dowry, as would render her fit to be his wife, if both of them could agree. Yet so, that if either he, or she, or her father refused (for it was in the power of any of these, as they say, to hinder the marriage), he paid this mulct as the dowry of a virgin to her father (see Selden's *Uxor. Heb.* lib. i. cap. 16). There is another law of

16 ¶ And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife.

17 If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.

18 ¶ Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

this nature (Deut. xxii. 28, 29), but it speaks of a virgin deflowered by force: of which see there.

Ver. 17. *If her father utterly refuse*] Here is mention made only of the father; not of the man that deflowered her; who, one would think, should have been bound to marry her, if she and her father pleased. And so Josephus, ὁ πατήρ παρδόνει, &c. αὐτὸς γαμήσεια. But if the father of the damsel did not like to give her to him, he was to pay as here is directed.

He shall pay money] That is, saith Josephus, fifty shekels, τὴν τιμὴν τῆς ὄψεως, "as a satisfaction for her reproach" (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8).

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.*] This law about witches follows the other about virgins; because witches, among other practices, help by evil arts to allure and entice silly virgins to consent to men's solicitations. Epiphanius reports from one that saw it such a magical operation used by a Jew to procure the love of a Christian woman, who was preserved from the δυνάμεις φαρμακείας, "power of his witchcraft," by the seal of Christ (as he calls the sign of the cross), wherewith she fortified herself, at the first attempt made upon her (Hæres. xxx. n. 7, 8). But such wicked wretches did a world of other mischief, and therefore were to be put to death, whether they were men or women. The Scripture, indeed, mentions a *witch* only (saith the Gemara of the Sanhedrim, cap. 7, n. 10), because, for the most part, they were women who were addicted to magic. So Maimonides also, because the greater part of evil works are performed by women; therefore the law saith, *thou shalt not suffer Mechasshepha, a witch, to live* (par. iii. cap. 37, More Nevochim). Where he discourses of the sorts of witchcraft; and in general affirms, that there were no magical works performed without respect to the stars. For such people held that every plant had its star, and so had every animal, and all metals. For example; they said, "Pluck such a leaf, or such an herb, when the sun, or any other planet, is in such a place; let such a metal be melted under such a constellation, or such a constitution of the moon; and then say such and such words and let a fume be made with such herbs or leaves, and that in such and such a form, and this or that will follow. This was their doctrine, and such works as these were the peculiar worship of the stars, who were delighted, they imagined, with such actions, words, or fumes, and for the sake of them would do whatsoever was desired."

All this, he saith, he took out of their books then extant; from which he concludes, that the scope of the law being, that all idolatry should be taken out of the world, and that no virtue should be ascribed to any star of doing good or hurt to men (which opinion led men to their worship), it necessarily followed that all *witches* and *wizards* should be put to death, because they were idolaters; though after a peculiar and different way from that wherein the vulgar worshipped idols. And he thinks that a *witch* is rather mentioned than a *wizard* (though both intended), because men are naturally more tender towards the female sex, and apt to favour them; and, therefore, it is as if Moses had said, "Thou shalt kill even a woman that is guilty of this crime." But afterwards

19 ¶ Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

20 ¶ He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD only, he shall be utterly destroyed.

21 ¶ Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

(Lev. xx. 27), he commands both men and women to be stoned.

Others of the Hebrew doctors (particularly R. Levi Barzelonita) give this reason why *witches* were not to live, "Because they directly thwarted God most blessed, who made all things when he created them for such and such purposes; which they perverted, and, by devices of their own, made to serve other ends which God never designed" (Præcept. lxii.); but this they could not do without the help of evil spirits; and therefore their crime consisted in entering into a familiarity and a league with them, whose assistance upon such occasions they invoked: which was, in effect, a renouncing of God.

This was an impiety which had overspread the whole world, especially the eastern parts of it. And as for the Romans, we find a law, as old as the twelve tables, against witchcraft; *apud nos in duodecim tabulis cavetur, ne quis alienos fructus excantassit*, as we read in Seneca (lib. iv. Nat. Quæst. cap. 7), where he mentions the like law among the Athenians. For the Greeks were extremely addicted to this, especially in Thessaly. Of which none, that I have read, spake so plainly as Plato, in his eleventh book of Laws, p. 932, 933, where he orders punishments not only for those who destroyed others by potions, but for those who pretended to be able to revenge themselves on others, *ἡ μαγανείας τε τῶν καὶ ἐπιδόους καὶ καταδέσειν λογομίνας*, "either by certain enchantments, or by charms, or by those spells which are called ties, or knots." Concerning which, he acknowledges, it is hard to know any thing, or to persuade others there is nothing in them. For if a man see anywhere, *ἀήρνα μιμήματα πεπασμένα*, &c. 'waxen resemblances,' made and set either at their doors, or in the turning of the ways, or at the tombs of their ancestors; none can prevail with him to neglect these things, because he knows not what efficacy is in them." And therefore he would have even such people, who used these sorts of witchcrafts, to be put to death, if they were professors of any sort of knowledge (as *μάντιες καὶ τερατοσκόποι*), but if they were simple people, he leaves the judges to punish them as they found reason.

Ver. 19. *Whosoever lieth with a beast!* This is so infamous a sin, and such a dishonour to nature, and the Author of nature (as Conr. Pellicanus well glosses), that it was not fit such a person should live upon the face of the earth, but die without mercy. See Lev. xviii. 23, xx. 15, 16, where this is more largely handled.

Ver. 20.] Sacrifice being the principal act of worship in those days, includes in it all other acts of worship and Divine service, which they were required to pay to the Lord alone (xx. 2, 3, &c.); but the punishment of doing otherwise was not enacted till now. Of which he treats more largely Deut. xvii. 2, 3, &c. See there.

Ver. 21. *Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him:* Here are two distinct commands. The first of which [*not to vex a stranger*] the Hebrews will have to consist in not upbraiding him with his former state of heathenism, nor giving him any opprobrious words: as saying, Remember what thou wast; or what thy father did. And this was neither to be done to a pro-

22 ¶ Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child.

23 If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry:

24 And my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.

25 ¶ If thou lend money to any of my people

selyte of justice, nor to a proselyte of the gate, as far as Mr. Selden could judge of their opinion herein (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 4). The second [*not to oppress him*] consisted in not using him hardly in their dealings with him, by making him pay, for instance, for any thing more than it was worth. Which, the same Mr. Selden (lib. vi. cap. 5, p. 690), thinks, the Hebrews were of opinion belonged only to their usage of proselytes of justice, who were perfectly in their communion. But this is very unreasonable: for (as R. Levi Barzelonita himself observes), by thus treating any proselyte, they might endanger their return to paganism again, out of indignation to be so despised: and much more when they saw they were wronged. Which God took care they should not be, because they were more helpless than other men, and had fewer friends. Which is the reason that this precept (as the Jews themselves have computed) is inculcated in one and twenty places (see particularly xxiii. 9; Lev. xix. 33).

For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.] There could not be a more powerful reason to move them to treat strangers kindly, than the remembrance of their own oppressions in Egypt, from which they were delivered by the mere mercy of God, which they ought to imitate.

Ver. 22. *Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child.*] Give them no trouble either in word or deed, as the same R. Levi interprets it (Præcept. lxx.); but in all their commerce with them, in buying, selling, or any other intercourse, treat them not only civilly, but kindly, and benignly. And the reason of the precept, saith he, is the same with the former: because widows and orphans have few or none to protect them, or plead their cause; and therefore the law took care of them, as if their husbands and parents were yet alive.

Ver. 23. *If thou afflict them in any wise,*] By giving them ill language, or by insulting over them, or destroying their goods; much more if any man smote them, he was liable to the judgment of God, as Nachmanides interprets it.

They cry at all unto me,] A child, saith the same R. Levi, cries to his father, and a wife to her husband; but the widow and the fatherless cry unto me, and I will hear them, for I am merciful.

I will surely hear their cry;] Punish you for your ill usage of them, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 24. *My wrath shall wax hot,*] This signifies their punishment should be *θεῖλος*, "sent upon them from God;" who orders no penalty to be inflicted by their judges, because he intended himself to be their avenger, and that in a very remarkable manner, by serving them in their kind; as it here follows.

I will kill you with the sword; &c.] Here the Hebrew doctors cry out, *Measure for measure* (as R. Levi observes); for he threatens that the wives of those that afflicted them should be widows, and their children fatherless, and find none to take pity upon them. For with the measure that men mete withal, others shall mete to them: "if a woman (as he goes on) shall afflict them, she shall die, and her husband shall marry another wife, which shall afflict her children."

If thou lend money to any of my people] That is, to an Israelite.

that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.

26 If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down :

27 For that *is* his covering only, it *is* his raiment for his skin : wherein shall he sleep ?

That is poor by thee,] By a poor man they do not understand one that goes a begging, but one in such want that he is more to be pitied than those who have the confidence to beg in the streets. The foundation of this precept (as the before-mentioned R. Levi observes) was to fix in them the great virtue of mercy, kindness, and clemency ; whereby poor people being helped, in this way of lending them money *gratis*, might recover again to a better condition, by the goodness of God to them.

Thou shalt not be to him as an usurer,] Neither domineer over him, nor make him pray, and entreat, and wait long, as if he were a slave ; nor exact any thing for the use of the money.

Neither shalt thou lay upon him usury,] Not make him find sureties : or, as some of them interpret it, this is a precept requiring all Israelites to have no hand in letting out money to usury, either by writing the bonds, or by being a witness to them, or by being bound with others for the interest of money ; for the word they observe is in the plural number, *ye shall not put upon him usury*. Which law concerning usury is fully handled by Mr. Selden (lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9, 10), where he shows that some usury was forbidden by the law ; and other by the decrees of their wise men. The law forbade them to contract to receive back again any sum of money more than they lent. But it was further required by their wise men, that they should not receive any gift beforehand to induce them to lend ; nor any thing afterward by way of gratuity, or to express their thankfulness. Yet this last was permitted in the loan of orphans' money, as Maimonides saith. And what was thus forbidden to be done to an Israelite, was permitted to be done to a gentile. Nay, some will have that to be an affirmative precept which we read Deut. xxiii. 20, obliging them to take usury of a gentile, if they lent any money to him. But that Maimonides contradicts. And there are those who think this law only forbade them to take usury of a poor Israelite, but not of a rich : it being unreasonable that he should increase his wealth by the use of his neighbour's money, and he have no profit thereof.

Ver. 26. *If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment]* His coverlid, as we speak, or bed-clothes. For it is plain, by what follows, he speaks of that which was to keep him from the cold in the night.

To pledge,] As a security for the payment of the money which he lent him.

Thou shalt deliver it unto him :] This shows that he speaks of a poor man ; which is more fully declared, Deut. xxiv. 13, 13.

Ver. 27. *For that is his covering only,]* It was contrary to humanity, to keep from him the only thing he had to keep him warm in his bed ; for it was in effect to kill him.

When he crieth unto me, that I will hear ;] Punish thee for thy barbarous cruelty (ver. 23), and besides, the Hebrew doctors say, he was to be beaten, by order of the court of judgment.

I am gracious,] And would have you like myself.

Ver. 28. *Thou shalt not revile the gods,]* i. e. The judges, as no doubt it is to be interpreted (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13, p. 268).

and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear ; for I *am* gracious.

28 ¶ Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.

29 ¶ Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors : the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me.

And the Hebrew doctors give this reason for it ; because it tends to terrify them from doing justice, and exposes them to the contempt and hatred of the people : whom it also inclines to sedition. But many of them (see him, cap. i. p. 9), will have another precept contained in this, that they blaspheme not the name of the Most High. Some few also (among whom is Philo) fancy it to be a command not to revile the gods that other people worship, though they be false ones. And so Julian the apostate took it ; who is confuted by St. Cyril, as Mr. Selden there observes.

Nor curse the ruler of thy people,] That is, either the prince of Israel, or the president of the great Sanhedrim. So R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. lxxvii). The intention of the Scripture is to admonish us of our duty to him, who is the prince of the empire of Israel ; with respect both to the dominion of the kingdom, and of the law (as his words are), it being a great crime to speak evil of him, by whose care all differences were composed, &c.

If any man was guilty of this crime, he was to be scourged three times ; and if he were the son of a prince, he had four scourgings. And that very justly, for heathens themselves reckoned this among the greatest offences. It was one of the laws of Charondas (as Hen. Stephanus observes in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis) : *ἴστω δὲ μέγιστα ἀδίκηματα, θεῶν καταφρόνῃς, καὶ γονέων χάριστας ἰκονύσας, καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ νόμων ἀνιστορίας, καὶ ἰκονύσιος ἀτιμία δικαιούντης*, "let these be reckoned the greatest crimes ; contempt of the gods and voluntary abuse of parents, disrespect to rulers and laws, and voluntary dishonour of justice." In like manner Zaleucus ordains, that, next after the gods, and demons, and heroes, *γονεῖς τε καὶ νόμοι καὶ ἀρχόντες συνέργειν εἰς τὰς τιμὰς*, "parents, and the laws and rulers, should be equally had in honour." And Plato thought those that would not be subject to them were unsufferable : because they had the spirit of the old Titans, who would have pulled the gods out of their thrones, *τὴν λεγομένην παλαιὰν Τιτανικὴν φύσιν ἐπαίειν καὶ μωροῦνται*.

Ver. 29. *Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, &c.]* The Hebrews will have this to be a direction for the bringing unto God, in due order, those things which were to be offered to him. As, first, the *trumah* ; which was the first oblation that was made out of the corn, when it was newly threshed out : which was to be, they say, a fiftieth part : which was given to the priest. Then the first tithe, which was given to the Levites ; and the second tithe, which the possessors ate at Jerusalem, when the tabernacle was settled there. This order, they say, God here requires them not to invert, by offering that last which should have been first. So R. Levi of Barcelona (Præcept. lxxviii.). But, from what follows, it seems to relate only to the first-fruits of their harvest, and of their vintage : which they were bound to bring as soon as they were ripe ; and it was the portion of the priests (see Deut. xviii. 4). There was no determinate portion prescribed : but they who were tolerably good (as the Hebrews say) gave a fiftieth part ; liberal men a fortieth ; and covetous men a sixtieth ; less than which was not accepted for a *trumah*.

The firstborn—shalt thou give] The reason of this is given ch. xiii. when it was first enacted.

30 Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, and with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with his dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me.

Ver. 30. *Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, &c.*] See xiii. 2, 12, 15.

On the eighth day thou shalt give it me.] It was not acceptable to God, because not fit to be offered to him till the eighth day; for the same reason that children were not circumcised till the eighth day. For all creatures, when they are newly born, saith Maimonides (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 49), by reason of their abundant moisture, are so weak and feeble, that it is doubtful whether they will live or no; and therefore, till seven days be over, they are looked upon as but abortive (so his words are), and scarce numbered among the living. Besides, they are not sufficiently purged till then from the foulness of their stomach and bowels: which is another reason they were not to be offered unto God; who did not accept that which was imperfect or impure. Whatsoever was the reason, this law was observed also among the gentiles, as Bochart shows out of Pliny in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50.

Yet there was this difference between these and the first-fruits mentioned in the foregoing verse; that though these creatures were fit for sacrifice on the eighth day, yet they might stay longer before they were offered, though not beyond the year, for then they were not accepted (as was observed before, xii. 5), but the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, were to be offered presently, as soon as they were ripe.

Ver. 31. *Ye shall be holy men unto me;*] Because the Israelites were a peculiar people, separated to God by peculiar laws and rites by him instituted (and thence called a *holy nation*, xix. 6), therefore God commanded them to distinguish themselves even in their diet, from other people; and look upon it as below their dignity to eat such things as the gentiles did. This is the meaning of their being holy to God, as appears from Deut. xiv. 2, 3, 21.

Neither shall ye eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field;] Both because the blood was in it and it was devoured by unclean creatures. R. Levi, before mentioned, saith, it was unwholesome; which he makes

31 ¶ And ye shall be holy men unto me: neither shall ye eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

the reason of the prohibition. But whether it was torn by a wolf, a lion, or a bear, or any other beast, it made no difference, if so be it died presently, or not long after. So the Jews interpret the Hebrew word *terephah*, as L'Empereur observes out of Moses Mikkotsi (in his notes upon Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 2), who saith it signifies "that which a beast tears, or bruises, so that it is near to death, though it be not actually dead." For if it was dead, they call it נבלה "nevelah," a carcass; which in their language signifies not only that which dies of itself, but which is killed with a weapon or torn by a wild beast. Accordingly they take *terephah* here to signify, not only that which is torn by beasts, but that which any other way is so hurt that it is near to death. As, if it fall from a house, and break its ribs, or other members; or an arrow be shot through its heart or lungs; or any disease have affected those vital parts. If death were likely to ensue upon such things, it was not to be eaten.

In the field;] Whether it were torn in the field, or any other place, it made no difference; but the *field* is mentioned, because there commonly such things happen.

Ye shall cast it to the dogs.] R. Solomon saith they might sell it to the gentiles, whom the Jews counted no better than dogs. Which agrees with the decree in the Misna (Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 2), that though it appeared afterward a thief had stolen what was torn, yet he was to make the legal restitution: contrary to the opinion of R. Simeon, who absolved such a thief, because he might not eat it, and consequently have no benefit by it. But most thought he might sell it; and therefore was liable to make satisfaction. If any Israelite did eat of it, he was to be scourged. Sir J. Marsham quotes the like precept out of Phocylides's verses, which end thus:

—Σφαῖον δὲ δὴτος ἔσθαι.

"Let beasts be eaten by beasts" (Chron. Egypt. sect. ix.).

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 Of slander and false witness. 3, 6 Of justice. 4 Of charitableness. 10 Of the year of rest. 12 Of the sabbath. 13 Of idolatry. 14 Of the three feasts. 18 Of the blood and the fat of the sacrifice. 20 An Angel is promised, with a blessing, if they obey him.

1 THOU shalt not raise a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.

CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *Thou shalt not raise a false report;*] The Hebrews think this law peculiarly concerns judges; who are not to suffer their minds to be prepossessed with false reports. For that word we translate *raise*, signifies also to *take up*, i. e. to entertain, or receive (as we have it in the margin) and give credit to reports. And, consequently, they were not to hear any man's cause unless his adversary was present; but to look upon all as false, which was said by one party alone without the other. So R. Levi of Barcelona. Yet he confesses, that the law hath respect also to him who brings an action against another; that he

2 ¶ THOU shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment:

should not lay his cause before the judge, in the absence of him that is to answer, though the judge would hear it. And he also adds, that the rabbins take it to comprehend such as report the calumny, or that receive it; or give a false testimony. And Philo thinks the Greeks from thence took that law, μή μαρτυρεῖν ὁσόν, "not to make a proof of a hearsay;" which was in the Attic law, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13, p. 576). And it seems to me most rational to take this to relate to witnesses (as the following clause doth), that they should neither calumniate any man, nor bring ungrounded reports to carry a cause.

Put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous

3 ¶ Neither shalt thou countenance a poor man in his cause.

4 ¶ If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again.

our witness.] This the Hebrews likewise think concerns judges; who are required not to receive the testimony of a wicked man, nor do any thing upon his suggestions. And here they mention ten sorts of persons whose testimony was not to be received. But the last words in this clause incline one to think it rather concerns witnesses than judges. For to *put one's hand with another*, is to help and assist him; to be confederate with him: and therefore to *put the hand with the wicked*, is to help a wicked man in a bad cause, viz. (as the last words interpret it) by giving a false testimony in his behalf. Of the Hebrew word *chamas*, which we rightly render *unrighteous*, or unjust, Bochartus hath a long discourse in his *Hierozioc. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 15.*

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.*] This may well be thought to respect judges, as the foregoing verse doth witnesses. And the most obvious meaning is, that no judge should condemn an innocent man, though the whole court, besides himself, gave sentence against him. But many of the Jews say, that they should not condemn one, whom they thought guilty, if he was cast only by one voice: if there were a majority of two, then, indeed, they say, a judge was bound to join with them. See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 5, p. 229, and cap. 6, p. 259, where he shows they take the word *evil* in this place to signify the *evil of punishment* (see also cap. 12, p. 525). But this seems to be only a subtlety. Their opinion is more reasonable, who, by the Hebrew word *rabbim* here, understand, not a multitude, but *great and potent men*: to whom a judge was not to have respect in judgment, no more than to a poor man; who (ver. 3) is opposed to those men of might. But what follows I think will better interpret this.

Neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment.] This is interpreted by Maimonides to signify, that no judge was to give his sentence in a capital cause, either for absolving or condemning, according to the opinion of the rest, if he were not able to deliver any opinion of his own (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13, p. 529). Other fancies they have about the word *rabbim* in this clause of the verse, which he notes there, cap. 9, p. 421. But the sense I think will be most plain and easy, if we take *rabbim* in the first part of the verse (as we do) for the *multitude*; and in this latter part, for the *great and potent, or ruling men*, who are generally attended by a multitude; and expound the whole thus: that the judges were not to be deterred, either by the people or by mighty men, to pronounce a false judgment. This agrees with what follows and with Lev. xix. 15.

Ver. 3. *Neither shalt thou countenance a poor man in his cause.*] So as to give a wrong judgment in his favour. The word we translate *countenance* (in Hebrew *tehadar*) signifies to *adorn or honour*: and so we translate it, Lev. xix. 15. And so it may be translated here, "Thou shalt not adorn, or set off a poor man's cause with fine words and plausible colours, to make it look better than it is." (See Deut. i. 16, 17.)

Ver. 4. *If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass, &c.*] The Samaritan copy adds (after *ox or ass*) *or any other beast*. And Moses himself extends it to all sorts of goods that are lost (Deut. xxii. 3). But the Jewish doctors (as R. Levi of Barcelona confesses) restrain the word *enemy* to an Israelite: as if they

5 If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.

6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of thy poor in his cause.

thought not themselves bound to any such kindness for one of another nation. This, perhaps, they gathered from Deut. xxii. 1, 2, where, instead of the word *enemy*, we find Moses uses the word *brother*. But this should have taught them, to look upon all men, even enemies, as brethren; having the same common original, and bearing the image of the same God.

This verse may be connected with the foregoing in this manner: *If you be inclined to show pity, do it in such instances as these, but not in judgment.*

Ver. 5. *If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden,*] His ass is only mentioned, but oxen, and other like creatures, are intended; as appears from the former verse. Yet this likewise the hard-hearted Jewish doctors would have belong only to an Israelite who hated them. And they put several cases upon this law: as, what if the beast be a gentile's, and the burden belong to an Israelite, or on the contrary; what is to be done? And if they meet with two beasts belonging both to Israelites, and labouring under burdens; but one the beast of a friend, the other of an enemy; which is he bound to help? In which they resolve, that he is by this precept to have regard to the beast of his enemy: that he may subdue his evil affection, which would persuade him otherways. How far also the word *see* extends is a question among them: that is, how far they were to go out of their way to lend their help: with suchlike niceties, which I shall not trouble the reader withal.

And wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.] The sense is clear enough: but the construction of the words in the Hebrew is not so plain. For the word *azab*, which we translate *help*, signifies to *leave or forsake*: and so the Chaldee here interprets it; "Thou shalt in that moment dismiss or forsake thy enmity to him, and go and help him." And L. de Dieu to the same purpose; "Rather than leave him under his burden, quit thine enmity to him," &c. A great many other ways there are to make out the grammar of the Hebrew words; but Bochart thinks all in vain: unless, instead of the particle *lo* with a *vau*, we admit it with an *aleph*: and then it runs clearly in the Hebrew in this manner, "Thou shalt cease (or abstain) from leaving him" (i. e. not follow thy own inclinations to pass by him); "leaving thou shalt not leave him" (i. e. by no means leave him), viz. to raise up his beast himself, as if it nothing concerned thee. Or, "Thou shalt abstain from leaving it" (i. e. the ass labouring under his burden); "I say, thou shalt by no means leave it." The same thing is repeated, because it is a command so opposite to men's depraved affections; and therefore was fit to be inculcated, that they might not lightly pass it over (see Hierozoi. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40, p. 399).

Ver. 6. *Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of thy poor in his cause.*] As they might not favour a man because he was poor (ver. 3), so much less might they wrong him; or not do him right, because he wanted money to prosecute it. There seems to be an emphasis (as Conradus Pellicanus observes) in the word *thy poor*: importing that they had such a relation to them, that they ought to be as much concerned for them as any other member of their body.

But the Jews, fancying this to be sufficiently in-

7 Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not: for I will not justify the wicked.

8 ¶ And thou shalt take no gift: for the gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous.

9 ¶ Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger:

cluded in the precept before mentioned (ver. 3), understand here by the *poor*, a bad man: who is pauper præceptorum, non facultatum, "one that wants virtue, not money." To whom a judge might not say he was a wicked fellow, and condemn him without any further examination of his cause: for it belongs to God (saith the same R. Levi) to execute judgment upon the ungodly, and not to the judges.

Ver. 7. *Keep thee far from a false matter:*] i. e. From a false judgment (for he seems to speak to the judges), and neither admit that which is false, nor pronounce it.

And the innocent and righteous slay thou not:] That is (saith the before-named R. Levi Barzel.), beware carefully, lest thou take away the life of him that may be innocent of that whereof he is accused. And therefore, he saith, the judges were to condemn no man, but by the testimony of two eye-witnesses. And they make this precept as much as, *thou shalt not judge out of conjectures*. Nay, if there were two witnesses that did not speak to the same matter, he was not to be condemned. As, if one witness said he saw such a man break the Sabbath, and another said he saw him commit idolatry; judgment was not to be given against him upon this testimony; because Moses saith, *slay not the innocent*. Another example of which is still more close, which is mentioned in the T. Sanhedrin: if one said he saw him worship the moon, and another that he saw him worship the sun, the man was not to be condemned who was thus accused, because the witnesses did not speak to the same sort of idolatry (see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13, p. 567). By the same reason they were not to acquit him who was plainly convicted of such impieties.

For I will not justify the wicked.] i. e. Such an unjust judge.

Ver. 8. *Thou shalt take no gift:*] No, not to absolve the innocent; or to condemn the guilty: as it is interpreted in Siphri.

For the gift blindeth the wise,] Such presents made to a judge are apt to cast a mist (as we speak) before his eyes, i. e. to corrupt his understanding; though he be otherwise perspicacious enough to discern between truth and falsehood, good and evil (1 Sam. viii. 3). The word which we translate *wise*, is in the Hebrew *piecehim*, *open* or *seeing*; concerning which consult Bochart, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 16, p. 470.

And perverteth the words of the righteous.] By words seems to be meant the sentence of those who might otherwise have been inclined to be righteous and upright judges.

The Hebrew lawyers say, that not only pecuniary gifts are here forbidden, but such words also (I suppose they mean promises of reward) as may win the affection: and that he who gave the present was guilty, as well as he that received it (see Selden de Synedriis, lib. ii. cap. 13, p. 570). But especially Joh. Coch. ad excerpt. Gem. Sanhedrin. cap. i. sect. 10, Annot. 4, where, among other things, he gives this ingenious derivation of the Hebrew word *shochad*, which we translate *gift* (out of the treatise called Chetuboth, where it is said to be as much as *shechu chad*, that is, *whereby he is one*): for the party who receives the gift hath his mind so drawn to the giver,

for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

10 And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof:

11 But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field

that he becomes one and the same with him. And no man is fit to be judge in his own cause. Plato thought this so necessary a law, that he expressly enacts (lib. xii. de Legibus, p. 955), that all men who served their country in any office, should δῶραν χάρις διακονεῖν, "perform their duty without gifts." Ὁ δὲ μὴ πεῖθόμενος ἀλλῶς τεθνῶτω ἀνὸς τῇ δικῇ, "He that offended against this law was to suffer death." Which was the law of the twelve tables among the ancient Romans; judex qui ob rem dicendam, pecuniam accepisse convictus est, capite punitur: "a judge that is convicted to have received money for giving his sentence, let him lose his head."

Ver. 9. *Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger:*] This was said before (xxii. 21), but then it was a precept to all Israel; which is here applied peculiarly to judges; whom he would have to deal equally with strangers, and to make no difference between them and Israelites, remembering what they themselves were not long ago; and that they found by experience it was affliction enough to be strangers. That is the meaning of what follows in this verse.

For ye know the heart of a stranger, &c.] Ye have felt what a distressed condition that is; how friendless and helpless (see Deut. xxiv. 17, 18, xxvii. 19).

Ver. 10. *Six years thou shalt sow thy land,*] There was the same reason for dressing their trees.

Gather in the fruits thereof:] Together with the fruits of their trees.

Ver. 11. *But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still:*] Neither sow, nor reap, nor prune the trees, nor gather the fruit.

The poor of thy people may eat:] And the Levites, and themselves also; who might take their share, not to lay up, but for present use; though not as proprietors, but in common with the rest of the country. Whence it was that Alexander the Great, allowing them to live by their ancient laws, among other things granted τὸ ἐξέδομον ἕως ἀνέισορον εἶναι "every seventh year should be tribute-free" (Josephus, lib. ix. Archæol. cap. 8). For since they received nothing, it seemed reasonable to him they should pay nothing.

What they leave the beasts of the field shall eat.] This signifies God sent such vast plenty, when they observed his laws, that so much sprung up of itself as would more than satisfy men, and afford food to the beast.

In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy oliveyard.] Under these two are comprehended all other sorts of fruit trees, as the Hebrews themselves acknowledge, who give several reasons for this law. Which was ordained, saith Maimonides (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 39), in compassion to all men in general, that they might have some time of breathing and refreshment. But principally, say others of them, to be a memorial of the creation of the world, and the production of all things by the power of God in six days, and his resting on the seventh. Their exposing all things in common which that year produced, as well as letting the land rest, "put them in remembrance (saith R. Levi of Barcelona, Præcept. lxxix.) that God was their preserver as well as creator: the earth bringing forth fruit every year, not by its own proper strength, or of its own accord, but because it hath a Lord upon whom it

shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy oliveyard.

12 Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.

13 And in all things that I have said unto you be circumspect: and make no mention of

depends; who, where he pleases, hath a right to dispose of its fruit to a public use." This command also bred in them a trust in God and in his providence; and was a curb to covetousness, and taught them mercy also and liberality. Philo adds, that this was a politic contrivance to let the earth rest; partly that it might have time to recruit its strength, that it might bring forth more plentifully; and partly that the people might grow stronger, and more apt for all employments, by so long forbearance of their labours. This Eusebius thought worthy to transcribe out of him at large, in his *Præpar. Evang. lib. viii. cap. 9.*

But this precept about the year of rest is more fully delivered in Lev. xxv. 2, 3, &c., where see what I have noted.

Ver. 12. *Six days thou shalt do thy work:* He would not have them imagine they should rest less on the Sabbath this year than in others, because this whole year was a kind of Sabbath; but keep it with the usual strictness. Which is the reason, perhaps, of the repetition of this precept in this place.

That thine ox and thine ass may rest, &c. This shows that one great end of instituting the observation of this day at Marah (xv. 25, xvi. 23), was, that men and beasts might rest, in remembrance of the rest that God had given them by their burdens in Egypt (see xxxv. 2). R. Levi Barzelonita observes, that this precept is repeated in the law twelve times.

Ver. 13. *In all things that I have said unto you be circumspect:* Be cautious, lest you offend in any of the forenamed particulars; but especially in that which follows.

And make no mention of the name of other gods, Such cautions as these, to prevent idolatry, are repeated no less than forty-four times in the law, as the same R. Levi observes. And the meaning of this is, either that they should not swear by other gods, or make any vows in their names; nor consequently enter into society with gentiles, as the best of the Hebrew writers understand it, and as the Vulgar Latin takes it, or that they should not so much as simply name the gods of other nations. They who are of this last opinion differ in their explication of it. For some of them say, only the calling them by such names as attribute some divinity to them, is the thing forbidden; not calling them by their proper names of Moloch or Bel, or the like; and thus Tertullian understood it. But there are others who think it unlawful so much as to use any of their names in common discourse; though there be no mention of their divinity. For Chemosh and Milcom, and such like names, they say, are not mentioned in Scripture but with detestation and reproach (as the abomination of the Moabites or Ammonites), and therefore they think it unlawful to say, *I invite thee on the feast-day of such an idol of the gentiles*, or the like. Yet some of those who imagine the simple use of their names to be forbidden, except the names of those mentioned in Scripture. So Maimonides; the names of the idols of the gentiles which are mentioned in Scripture it is lawful for us to name; as Peor, Bel, Nebo, Baal, &c. (see Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G.

the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.

14 ¶ Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year.

15 Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread: (thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee, in the time appointed of the month Abib; for in it thou camest

cap. 13, p. 269, &c.). They say this precept binds men and women in all places, and at all times; and the punishment for its violation was beating.

Neither let it be heard out of thy mouth. i. e. With any respect or reverence to them: otherwise, the simple pronunciation of the name was not unlawful.

The Sabbath being instituted partly to preserve them from idolatry, some think the reason why this precept is joined to that.

Ver. 14. *Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year.* viz. At the passover, Pentecost, and when they gathered all the fruits of the earth, and dwelt in tabernacles; as it follows in the next verses. The first of which was plainly instituted, in memory of their coming out of Egypt. The second, some think, was in memory of their coming into Canaan (rather of the overthrow of Pharaoh in the sea, and giving the law on Mount Sinai). And the third, in memory of their dwelling so long in the wilderness, and of the wonders which God did there; as Maimonides observes in his *Moré Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.* At these three great solemnities three things were to be done: first, they were to make a feast: secondly, to appear before God in the court of the temple; and, thirdly, to rejoice. Besides which, they were to bring certain offerings unto God.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread, &c.* See xii. 17, &c. xiii. 6, 7.

In the time appointed of the month Abib; Or in the month of new ears of corn (see xiii. 4). For many learned men (particularly Huetius) think this word *Abib* not to be a proper name, but an *appellative* (as they speak), the proper names of months being not yet used among the Hebrews; who spake of them before the captivity of Babylon, according to the order and number wherein they stood, viz. first, second, third, &c. month (see Demonstr. Evang. prop. iv. Cap. de Libro Joshua, n. 2).

None shall appear before me empty: The phrase in the Hebrew (which we translate *appear before me*) is very remarkable, viz. *None shall see my face:* which does not signify that they beheld the external symbol of his presence; but that they looked directly that way where it was: and that they should not be accepted by God, unless they brought some present with them. For none approached to an earthly majesty in those countries without a present (as we read in the sacred story), which was a token of love and affection as well as of respect and honour. And therefore this precept did not belong only to this feast, but to all the three mentioned in the verse before, as appears from Deut. xvi. 16. And accordingly there were special oblations ordained by the law itself, which were then to be made. At the passover, when their harvest began, they were to bring *a sheaf of the first-fruits of their harvest*, and might not eat any corn till this was done (Lev. xxiii. 10, 14). At the next feast they brought *two wave loaves*, for a second first-fruit of their wheat harvest (Lev. xxiii. 17); and at the feast of tabernacles, they offered the first-fruits of wine and oil (see Mr. Mede, Discourse xlv. p. 355). Besides all which, good men brought free-will offerings; which are often mentioned in the law.

out from Egypt: and none shall appear before me empty:)

16 And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in thy field: and the feast of ingathering, *which is* in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field.

Ver. 16. *The feast of harvest,*] Called also the *feast of weeks* (xxxiv. 22), because it was seven weeks after the passover. Mr. Mede, in the place now named, thinks this was called the *harvest-feast*; because, as harvest began at the passover, so it ended at Pentecost. And thus Bochart also: "At the passover they first put the sickle into the corn; and about Pentecost harvest was finished, and all brought into the barn" (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 13). But this seems not to be true; for now only the firstfruits were brought: which were not offered in the end, but in the beginning of harvest. And so it follows here.

The firstfruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in thy field;] Which is not to be understood of all their labours, but of those fruits which were first sown in the ground. It being therefore called the *harvest-feast*, because the principal part of harvest, viz. the *wheat-harvest* (as it is expressly called, xxxiv. 22), then began: which sort of grain was sown before barley, as that was before flax; and therefore here called the *first-fruits of their labour sown in the field*.

Feast of ingathering,] Called also the *feast of tabernacles*, Lev. xxiii. 34.

Which is in the end of the year,] By this it appears that their year anciently began in the month Tisri, about autumn; at which time the world itself began, as Scaliger, and a great many other learned men assert, with such reasons as are not easy to be confuted.

When thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field,] At this feast their harvest was completed; the fruits of the earth being not only ripe, but gathered into their barns. Which was the foundation of the great rejoicing we read of at this time; because God now gave them some rest and respiration, as Maimonides speaks, from their employments (More Necho. par. iii. cap. 43), where he observes that Aristotle himself, in his eighth book of Ethics, mentions such a feast among the gentiles, and upon the same ground, in these words, as he recites them: "Anciently, sacrifices and public assemblies for the sake of sacrifices, were in the gathering of the fruits and products of the earth; as if the sacrifices were offered for their respiration." The Israelites dwelt in booths at this feast for another reason: and their dwelling in booths was now most tolerable (as the same Maimonides there notes) because the weather was moderate at that time; when they were not wont to be troubled either with heat or with rain.

Ver. 17. *Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God,*] This verse more fully explains what was said ver. 14, by showing where they should keep these feasts, viz. before the Lord; i. e. in the place where his most glorious majesty should settle; which was first in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple: and then who should appear before him there, viz. all the males. Others were not bound to it; though some religious people carried their whole families with them, as appears by Elkanah (1 Sam. i.). This command is repeated (xxxiv. 23), and the true reason of it seems to have been this: that while they dwelt in the wilderness they ate no meat at all at their private tables, but what had been first offered up to God at the taber-

17 Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God.

18 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my sacrifice remain until the morning.

19 The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God.

nacle (Lev. xvii. 4, 5). Which precept was dispensed withal when they came into the land of Canaan, and dwelt, many of them, so remote from the tabernacle, that they could not come up every day to sacrifice (Deut. xii. 21). Instead of which therefore there were these three constant and set times appointed in the year: in which every male was bound to come up, and see God at his tabernacle, and there eat and drink before him. Whence the sacrifice which was then ordered, was wont to be called a *sacrifice of seeing*, as Dr. Cudworth hath observed in his little treatise of the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper. But as the doctors interpret it, they were not bound to bring their males to appear before the Lord till they were able to walk, in their father's hand, up from Jerusalem to the temple.

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice*] That is, the paschal lamb, as Jonathan in express words interprets; and as it appears from xxxiv. 25. That the passover was a sacrifice, I observed before, xii. 27.

With leavened bread;] There being three great solemn feasts appointed in the foregoing verses (ver. 14, 17), in this and the following he prescribes some rules how they were to be observed. And here, in this verse, ordains two things relating to the passover: that it should not be eaten with *leavened bread*; nor any of the *fat of it remain until the morning*. Both which were ordained before (xii. 10, 14, 15), in its first institution; and here repeated, upon its being mentioned again with the other feasts.

It may be fit for me here to observe, that to move the Israelites to keep this passover with the greater care, God calls it both here and in xxxiv. 25, after a peculiar manner, *my sacrifice* and *my feast* (as the latter part of this verse may be translated), being a feast of a most solemn nature; and a sacrifice then offered of singular use. For which reason he requires them, as not to offer it with leaven (which was at that time forbidden for special reasons), so not to reserve the fat of the offering till the next day: for that was not for the honour of the sacrifice; flesh being apt quickly to corrupt in those hot countries, and to offend the palate, or the nose, which had been against the dignity of the sacrifice. Which is the reason the Jews give why the flesh of the peace-offerings was not to be kept till the third day (Lev. xix. 6). It was to preserve the *magnificence of the sacrifice*; things kept so long being apt to stink. Whence *ισχάρα*, "yesterday's meats," in Hippocrates, is the same with *σαπρά*, "corrupt:" and Galen expounds *ισχίζεν* by the word *πρωσπνέιν*, "to tend to corruption;" as Pet. Castellanus observes (lib. i. de Esu Carnium, cap. 5, p. 42).

Ver. 19. *The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God,*] This precept hath a respect to the next feast, that of Pentecost. And therefore, though there were several *firstfruits*, which were all to be offered in their time (which were of seven things, barley, wheat, figs, pomegranates, olives, dates, and grapes), yet here are meant only the two *loaves or cakes* made of their new wheat, which were to be offered at this feast (Lev. xxiii. 17), for till this was done they might not make use of their corn (see more concerning this matter

Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.

20 ¶ Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.

21 Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him.

22 But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice,

on Lev. xxiii. 10). R. Levi of Barcelona, and others, rightly observe that this was brought as an acknowledgment unto God, that he was the giver of all good things.

Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.] This precept hath a particular respect to the third feast, that of the *in-gathering of the fruits of the earth, in the end of the year*, mentioned ver. 16. And the Jews commonly take it to be a prohibition against eating a kid so boiled, or tasting of the milk: taking it to be a precept against cruelty. But here is not a word about *eating*, either of the kid or the milk; but only about *boiling*. The famous Bochartus mentions three other interpretations, but confutes them all: and taking the words simply, as we translate them, supposes there was some such custom as this among the gentiles, which Moses would not have them imitate. And so doth Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 48), where he takes this, indeed, for a command not to eat flesh with such milk; but saith, that, besides it was very gross nourishment, &c., it seems to him it was prohibited, because it smelt of idolatry; the gentiles doing so in their worship, upon some of their feasts. He could not find indeed, as he confesses, any such rite in the books of the Zabii: but yet he was confirmed in this opinion, by the law constantly mentioning this only when it speaks of their feasts; for there are other places where we meet with it, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xvi. 21, in both which he speaks, as he doth here, of their three great feasts. At the last of which, Abarinel expressly affirms, the ancient idolaters were wont, when they gathered the fruits of the earth, to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, that their gods might be the more propitious to them. But as he names no author for his opinion, so he doth not explain the manner of it. Our most learned Dr. Cudworth was the first person who happily found this in a Karaite writer; who saith, "All the trees, and fields, and gardens, were sprinkled with this broth (of a kid seethed in its mother's milk), after a magical manner, to make them more fruitful in the following year." This Bochart also takes to be the truest interpretation, and quotes the forenamed doctor for it, not having seen the author himself (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 52). See Right Notion of the Lord's Supper, p. 25.

To which may be added, that a goat was anciently used in magical rites; and that demons were wont to appear in that form. But it must be noted withal, that in every one of the three places where this precept is mentioned, the LXX. translate the word we render *kid*, by *ἀγρῶν*, a lamb; though everywhere else they translate it *ἱερεῶν*. And I make no question, but we are to understand here either a lamb or a kid boiled in its mother's milk; and the Hebrews say, any other clean creature. Concerning which I shall add no more, but that nothing could be more contrary to nature (and therefore agreeable to the institutions of the devil) than to boil any young creature in the milk of its mother, from whom it came. Which they first offered to their gods, and then ate some of it themselves, and the rest they sprinkled as before said. Some relics of which custom we find even among the Romans themselves, who propitiated Sylvanus, with

and do all that I speak; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries.

23 For mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites: and I will cut them off.

offering him milk, and Faunus with a kid: and every one knows both these were used in the worship of Bacchus.

Ver. 20. *Behold, I send an Angel before thee.*] In the twenty-third verse he calls him *mine angel*; by which the Jews commonly understand Michael; there being but a very little difference between Malachi (which signifies *my angel*) and Michael. But a great many Christians think this was not a created angel, but an uncreated, viz. the eternal Son of God; who, they suppose, appeared to Moses in the bush, and conducted them all along to Mount Sinai. Which I am afraid to assert, because it seems dangerous to me (as I observed upon Gen. xvii. 16), to call him simply an *angel*, i. e. a minister or messenger, without any such addition as that in Mal. iii. 1, *The angel of the covenant*. For so he was at his incarnation, of which he there speaks: before which I dare not ascribe to him such ministerial works as these, of bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt, and going before them to lead them the way to Canaan. This was properly the work of an angel, to whom Moses attributes it, when he orders his ambassadors to say to the king of Edom (Numb. xx. 16), "When we cried unto the Lord he heard our voice, and sent an angel, and hath brought us forth out of Egypt," &c. But this angel was a prime minister in the heavenly host, by whom he was accompanied. So he saith to Joshua (v. 14), "I am come as captain of the host of the Lord:" which is the title of Michael in Dan. x. 13, 21. But though we thus understand it here, this doth not exclude the presence of God himself, but rather proves it: for this angel and his host were sent from the Shechinah, who was in the *pillar of cloud*: which was moved by this angel, and conducted them through the wilderness (see iii. 2).

To keep thee in the way, &c.] To preserve and protect them, as well as to direct and guide them, till they came to Canaan; which was the place God had prepared for them.

Ver. 21. *Beware of him.*] Or observe him. *Obey his voice.*] Because he did but report what God himself commanded; who was there present with them, as long as they obeyed him.

Provoke him not.] By any disobedience.

For he will not pardon your transgressions.] But punish you, when you contumaciously offend me.

For my name is in him.] He acts by my authority and power, and sustains my person, who am present where he is. For the *name of God* is said to be there, where he is present after a singular and extraordinary manner (1 Kings viii. 16; 1 Chron. vi. 5, 6). Maimonides expounds it, *My word is in him*, i. e. saith he, God's will and pleasure was declared by the angel (par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 64). In which he seems to follow the Chaldee, who translates it, "for his word is in my name;" i. e. what he speaks is by my authority.

Ver. 22. *If thou shalt indeed obey his voice.*] By this it appears that the words of the angel were the words of God; who spake by him: and both are to be understood to be present (see Gen. xxii. 11, 15).

Then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, &c.] God and the angel seem to me to be so distinguished

24 Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works: but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images.

25 And ye shall serve the LORD your God, and he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of thee.

in this verse, that we should not look upon the angel as God, but as his minister.

Ver. 23. *For mine Angel shall go before thee.*] The word Malachi (*my angel*) consisting of the very same letters which Michael, the author of Baal-Hatturim takes it, as if he had said "Michael, my proper or peculiar angel," &c.

Bring thee in unto the Amorites.] Who were the principal people in the land of Canaan; and had made themselves masters of the first country which Joshua conquered (see Gen. x. 16).

The Hittites, and the Perizzites, &c.] Concerning these, and the other people here mentioned, see Gen. x. 16, 17, xv. 19, &c. The reader cannot but observe that here are only six nations mentioned, whereas there were seven in all, whom God delivered up into their hands (Josh. iii. 10); yet in another place, where he commands them all to be utterly destroyed, Moses mentions but six, as he doth here (Deut. xx. 17). For, as some have conjectured, the Girgashites, who are here omitted, had been subdued by the Amorites, and were mixed with them; who were the most powerful of all the seven nations, and had spread themselves into many parts of the country; as appears from Gen. xiv. 13; Numb. xiii. 29; Deut. i. 7, 19, 44.

Ver. 24. *Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them.*] This is a caution against the idolatry of the people of Canaan: into whose country, when he had brought them, he charges them to be so far from doing any honour to their gods, either outwardly by bowing down to them, or inwardly by serving them; i. e. as some of the Hebrews interpret it, praying to them, or giving thanks, &c. (Selden, lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3), that he commands them to break them down and utterly destroy them.

Nor do after their works.] These words are so large, that they may comprehend all the abominable things which were done by the seven nations (mentioned in Lev. xviii. and other places); but here the matter seems to restrain them to their worship, which he would not have them imitate, by building temples or altars in honour of their gods, or offering such sacrifices as they did, or observing any of their religious rites.

Utterly overthrow them.] This relates to the people of the land; as it is explained in Deut. xx. 17.

Quite break down their images.] For they were bound entirely to root idolatry out of the land of Canaan: though in other countries which they might conquer they did not think themselves bound to break their images, as Selden observes (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2).

Ver. 25. *Ye shall serve the Lord your God.*] Worship him, as he directs, and no other being. I observed before, that none were so senseless as to imagine a figure of any thing made of wood or stone, &c. to be the Creator of heaven and earth: but they worshipped them (as Maimonides well observes) as things intermediate between the Most High and them; which is here forbidden (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 36).

He shall bless thy bread, &c.] This is a promise that he would abundantly supply them with meat and

26 ¶ There shall nothing cast their young, nor be barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil.

27 I will send my fear before thee, and will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee.

28 And I will send hornets before thee, which

drink, and also give them health; without which they could take no comfort in that plentiful provision.

Ver. 26. *There shall nothing cast their young, nor be barren, in thy land.*] Abortion and barrenness hinder all propagation, both in men and beasts; and therefore, to the two foregoing blessings, of plenty and health, he adds two more in this place; a numerous increase of their cattle and of their own progeny; together with long life in the land which he gave them.

The number of thy days I will fulfil.] Thou shalt come to a good old age, such as healthful men (who are not cut off by any accident) are wont to attain. Procopius Gazæus gathers from hence, that there is not a fixed term set for every man's life. But it rather seems to suppose that there is a term fixed, beyond which men cannot ordinarily go (to some a longer, to some a shorter, according to their several constitutions), but many come short of it, by various accidents, and by their own ill usage of themselves, or by the judgment of God: who also, in regard to their obedience, prolongs the life of some men beyond what it would naturally reach.

Ver. 27. *I will send my fear before thee.*] Strike a terror into the inhabitants of Canaan before thou comest thither, which shall facilitate the conquest of them (see Josh. ii. 9, 10). With which agrees the story that is told in the Gemara Hierosol. ad Tit. Shebiith (by R. Samuel ben Nachman), that upon Joshua's denouncing war against the seven nations, the Girgashites fled into Africa. Which may be true, perhaps, of a part of them, but not of them all; for some of them were remaining, it appears from the book of Joshua, iii. 10, xxiv. 11. This is confirmed by another story in the Talmud, of the Africans suing to Alexander the Great to be restored to their ancient possessions in Canaan (which I mentioned before), and the old inscription in Procopius (lib. ii. de Rebus Vandal) not far from Tangier, which said the ancient inhabitants of that country fled from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun (Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et Gent. cap. 13, p. 736).

And will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come.] Make them more afraid when they come to fight; so that presently they shall run away and be easily slain: for that is the meaning of the last words, "I will make all thine enemies turn their backs to thee."

Ver. 28. *And I will send hornets before thee.*] Either before they came thither, or when they marched against the people of that country. Both seem to be true: that many of them were forced to quit their country, when it was infested by the hornets God sent in great swarms among them; and that they who remained, when they came to fight, were assaulted by these hornets, which flew in their faces, and so sorely pricked their eyes (as Kimchi and R. Solomon take it) that they could not see to strike a stroke. Whence those words of Joshua (who expressly saith this was fulfilled, xxiv. 12, that the Amorites were not driven out by the sword and bow of the Israelites, but by the sting of these hornets. Which seem also to have pursued them when they fled away, and killed them

shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee.

29 I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee.

30 By little and little I will drive them out

in their lurking holes, where they hid themselves after the fight (Deut. vii. 20).

Which shall drive out? That several nations have been driven out of their country, by contemptible creatures, such as frogs, mice, snakes, and gnats, is made good by Bochartus out of several authors. And he hath particularly shown, that by these very creatures, wasps and bees, people have been forced to forsake their country, as Herodotus, Appianus, and Strabo testify (see his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 13, p. 539, &c.): where he shows the sting of this sort of wasp (called a hornet) is of all other the most pernicious: for it is bigger than the ordinary wasp, and fiercer; seldom stinging, as Pliny saith, without putting men into a fever (Ib. p. 543). And of their flying at men's eyes, see what he alleges out of good authors, p. 535.

The Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. These three nations, it seems, were principally infested by the hornets; among whom, perhaps, they were more venomous than elsewhere (for so R. Solomon saith, their poison was deadly), though the rest of the nations also felt their sting, as we read in Josh. xxiv. 11, 12.

Ver. 29. *I will not drive them out.* All the reasons of which are not here declared (as they are elsewhere, Judg. iii. 1—3), because he would not dishearten them.

Lest the land become desolate, &c. i. e. Lest some part of the land should be left without inhabitants, and so be possessed by wild beasts; which might have been very dangerous to the Israelites in other parts where they were settled. For if all the people of the seven nations had been destroyed at once, the Israelites were yet numerous enough to people the whole country; especially when two tribes and a half were settled on the other side of Jordan.

Ver. 30. *By little and little* Diminish them by degrees, till they were wholly expelled.

Until thou be increased, Until the Israelites were grown so numerous, that they were able to stock the whole country.

Ver. 31. *I will set thy bounds, &c.* This was the utmost extent of the country which he intended to bestow upon them (see Gen. xv. 18), but they did not enjoy it till the times of David (2 Sam. viii. 1, 3, &c.) and Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21, 24), when their dominion seems to have been enlarged not only to Euphrates, but even beyond it, Ezra iv. 16, 20 (see my paraphrase upon Ps. lxxii. 8). Before these times, it appears by the book of Joshua, and those that follow, that many of the old inhabitants remained long after his death.

From the Red sea, even unto the sea of the Philistines, These were the bounds from east to west. For though the Red Sea was towards the south, yet the farthestmost part of it lay east. And the sea of the Philistines is that now called the Mediterranean, which was full west.

From the desert Of Arabia, called Shur (xv. 22.)

Unto the river: i. e. To Euphrates: which made the southern and northern bounds of the country God promised to them.

I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; This seems to relate to that land which the seven nations inhabited: for as far as Euphrates they

from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land.

31 And I will set thy bounds from the Red sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee.

never drove out all the inhabitants, but only made them tributaries.

Thou shalt drive them out before thee. In such manner as is mentioned in the foregoing verses.

Ver. 32. *Thou shalt make no covenant with them,* i. e. With the people of the seven nations. But with other gentiles they might make covenants: only not suffer them to live in their land, unless they renounced all idolatry. Nay, Maimonides is of opinion, that such of the seven nations as renounced idolatry, were to be received into their friendship: for that law in Deut. xx. which requires them to send a summons to every city before they besieged it, with an offer of peace, he extends even to them; and grounds his opinion upon Josh. xi. 19, 20. As for that objection which seems to lie against this, about the Gibeonites, who needed not by craft to have obtained a league with the Israelites, if this were true doctrine; his answer is, that Joshua had sent a summons, with offers of peace to them and all the rest, which they rejected; but would afterward have gladly accepted, and then it was not to be admitted: and therefore they contrived that cunning way to be received into friendship with the Israelites. See P. Cunæus, lib. ii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 20. And Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 13, where he quotes a passage out of the Jerusalem Gemara, which says, that Joshua sent three letters to the Gibeonites. But he shows withal, that other Jews contradict this; and expressly declare the seven nations were not to be invited to peace. What the terms were on which others were invited, see there, cap. 14.

All this considered, I am inclined to think Maimonides's opinion to be true; which that place in Joshua very much favours; and so doth the story of Rahab, and the practice of Solomon; who only put the remainders of these nations under tribute (1 Kings ix. 20, 21).

Nor with their gods. This prohibits them to suffer any of the seven nations to exercise idolatry among them, as R. Levi of Barcelona interprets it. Or rather, he forbids them to make any vows to their gods, or oblige themselves to perform any act of worship to them.

Ver. 33. *They shall not dwell in thy land,* If a gentile did renounce his idolatry, he might dwell among them; and was called a stranger, *toshab*, dwelling, or inhabiting. But if he did not forsake it, they might not sell him a foot of land, nor let him hire a house among them: only he might come and sell commodities to them, as the same R. Levi expounds it. But Maimonides says, they might not so much as suffer them to pass through their country, when they had power to hinder it; which others think too rigid an opinion, as Mr. Selden shows (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 3, p. 155, &c.).

Lest they make thee sin against me: All society with idolaters was forbidden, lest they should infect the Israelites with their infidelity (as the same R. Levi speaks), of which there was the greater danger, because they were too prone to follow the gentile customs.

If thou serve their gods. This caution, being repeated three times in this chapter, ought to have been the more diligently observed by the Jews, and made them more fearful of entering into familiarity with idolaters. Who were of various sorts; for not only

32 Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods.

33 They shall not dwell in thy land, lest

every nation had its proper and peculiar gods, but every city, town, house, nay, every man, made themselves gods according to their fancy.

It will surely be a snare unto thee.] Bring great calamities upon thee, and at last be thy ruin; as it is

they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee.

explained Josh. xiii. 13; Judg. ii. 3. For instead of driving out the seven nations, they brought Israel under their yoke, and grievously oppressed them; as we read in the story of the Judges, particularly in the fourth chapter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Moses is called up into the mountain.* 3 *The people promise obedience.* 4 *Moses buildeth an altar, and twelve pillars.* 6 *He sprinkleth the blood of the covenant.* 9 *The glory of God appeareth.* 14 *Aaron and Hur have the charge of the people.* 15 *Moses goeth into the mountain, where he continueth forty days and forty nights.*

1 AND he said unto Moses, Come up unto the LORD, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off.

2 And Moses alone shall come near the LORD:

but they shall not come nigh; neither shall the people go up with him.

3 ¶ And Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD, and all the judgments: and all the people answered with one voice, and

CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *He said unto Moses,]* When God had delivered the foregoing law unto Moses in the mount, where he was with him (xx. 21) after he had spoken the ten commandments, he bade him go down (as we read here he did, ver. 3) and set them before the people (xxi. 1). And when he had engaged them in a covenant to observe these laws (ver. 7 of this chapter), then to come up to him again; and bring Aaron, and the rest that are here mentioned, with him.

Come up] To receive further orders from the Divine Majesty; together with the two tables of stone.

Unto the Lord,] To the mount, where the glory of the Lord appeared; and from whence he had spoken the ten words.

Thou, and Aaron, &c.] But not all to the same nearness unto the Divine Majesty, as appears by the following verse.

Seventy of the elders] This seems to intimate, that there were more than seventy called elders; but these were the chief, being perhaps the heads of those families which came into Egypt, which were just seventy (see xviii. 12). For he doth not direct Moses how to choose them (as Corn. Bertram observes, lib. de Repub. Jud. cap. 5), but speaks as if they were well known, and distinguished from other persons, by the rank they held among them. And therefore called (ver. 11) *the nobles*, or, as the Latin speaks, *magnates*, seu *optimates*, "the great men, of the best quality in Israel." The reason of their being thus called up to God was, to be witnesses of Moses's ascending up to the place where the Divine Majesty appeared; and that they also might have some sight of it (ver. 10).

Worship ye afar off.] All of them, before they came to the mount, were, at a good distance from it, to fall down prostrate before God, that they might be possessed with such a holy reverence to him, as not to presume to approach nearer than they were ordered.

Ver. 2. *Moses alone shall come near the Lord:]* Unto the very top of the mount, where the glory of the Lord abode (ver. 16—18), unto which none was admitted but himself. Who now came nearer than he had done before (xx. 21), for he went into the *midst of the cloud* (ver. 18).

They shall not come nigh:] Unto that part of the mount whither he went; but keep in a lower station.

Neither shall the people go up with him,] But stay at the bottom of the mount (as they did before the giving the ten commandments, xix. 17), below the place where the elders were. So I think Maimonides rightly understands this place, in his *More Nevoch*. par. ii. cap. 32, where, speaking of the several degrees of prophecy, or familiarity with God, he observes that Moses was here placed in the supreme degree (he alone being allowed to *come near the Lord*); below him was Aaron placed; and below him Nadab and Abihu; and below them the seventy elders; and beneath them the rest of the people. Which is the meaning of that saying of their wise men, "Moses is a wall by himself, and Aaron a wall by himself;" that is, they were in separate apartments at this glorious appearance of God.

Ver. 3. *Moses came]* From the mount, where he had received the precepts mentioned in the three foregoing chapters.

All the words of the Lord, and all the judgments:] Some understand here by the *words of the Lord*, the ten commandments, called the *ten words* (xxxviii. 18). But these words the people heard spoken by God himself, and not by the report of Moses. Therefore I take these words to signify rather what he had spoken in the latter part of the foregoing chapter, from the twentieth verse to the end. And then by *all the judgments*, he means those laws which he had received for their good government in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and the former part of the twenty-third chapters.

The people answered with one voice,] In all likelihood Moses had told the elders what God had said to him; and they went and told it to the people, who gave the following answer to them. For thus it was before (xix. 6, 7).

All the words which the Lord hath said will we do.] They had consented before in *general*, to do whatsoever God required of them, having owned him for their King and Governor (xix. 6—8); but now they consent in *particular*, after God had declared what he would have them do (in the twentieth chapter), and Moses had also reported the rest of the judgments delivered in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters.

Ver. 4. *Moses wrote all the words]* Both the ten commandments, and all the rest of the judgments de-

said, All the words which the LORD hath said will we do.

4 And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel.

5 And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the LORD.

6 And Moses took half of the blood, and put

it in basins; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar.

7 And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the LORD hath said will we do, and be obedient.

8 And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you concerning all these words.

livered in the foregoing chapters. God, indeed, wrote the ten commandments himself: but for the present Moses made a record of them, that the people might not only hear, but read what they had to do.

Rose up early] The next morning, it is likely, after he had received those judgments, and delivered them to the people, and wrote them in a book; which was upon the seventh day of Sivan, as I observed, xx. 21, that is, on the sixth of our June, as Jac. Capellus reckons. Therefore on the eighth of Sivan he built the altar, &c., as it here follows.

Builded an altar under the hill,] At the foot of the hill where the people were allowed to stand. This altar was to represent God, to whom sacrifices were offered upon it.

Twelve pillars,] This was to represent all the people. The gentiles abusing such pillars to idolatrous uses, the erecting of them is afterwards forbidden in the law. But before the building of the tabernacle, Moses here erects them, as Jacob had piously done in former times, Gen. xxxv. 14. See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6, p. 185.

Ver. 5. *He sent young men*] These are said by the Hebrews to be the *firstborn*, as Onkelos here expressly translates it, *He sent the firstborn*; and the paraphrase ascribed to Uzielides follows him; adding this reason, *because the Aaronical priests were not yet consecrated*. The Arabic and Persian versions say the same, as Mr. Selden hath observed (lib. i. de Succession. ad Pontif. cap. 1), and most interpreters have been of the same mind. But I have often observed before (particularly xix. 22), that I can see no proof of this, that they only officiated as priests: every man anciently in his own family, having a right to offer sacrifice, till the law of Moses restrained it to the family of Aaron. Therefore I take these *young men* to have been the choicest persons among them, whether *firstborn* or others, who had been appointed to minister unto God. For Joshua, who is called here (ver. 13) *Moses's minister*, is, in Numb. xi. 28, called *his young man*. Such were fittest for all service; especially for that of sacrificing to God. For which they anciently chose the strongest and properest persons, as we see in the Greek story of Jason (which our learned Dr. Spencer observes, p. 140), whose sacrifices were led to the altar by the young men of his company, i. e. men of greatest strength and beauty (lib. i. Argonaut.). And this so far remained, after the priesthood was confined to the family of Aaron, that no man was permitted to officiate at the altar, after he was fifty years of age: that is, when he was past his best (as we speak), the flower and strength of his age (Numb. viii. 25). Fortunatus Scacchus conjectures that there were twelve of these young men, one of each tribe, who offered in the name of their brethren (Myrothee, Sacr. Elæochr. par. ii. cap. 59).

Which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen] Though *oxen* are only mentioned, yet there were other creatures sacrificed, as appears from Heb. xi. 19, 20. And in following times, *peace-*

offerings might be either of calves, or lambs, or goats, as we find in Lev. iii., and so might *burnt-offerings* also (see Lev. i. 2, 10). Our learned primate Usher thinks also there were *expiatory* sacrifices offered, together with these *burnt-offerings* and *peace-offerings*, and that in the first place (ad A. M. 2513, mens. 3).

Ver. 6. *Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basins*:] It may be a question, whether he speaks of the blood of all the sacrifices, or only of the *expiatory* (if there were any), or of the *burnt-offerings*, or *peace-offerings*. But which way soever that be determined, this half of the blood, it is certain, was reserved to be sprinkled on the people (ver. 8).

Concerning the word *agganot*, which we translate *basins*, the learned reader may consult Bochartus, in his Hierozoic. par. i. p. 549.

Half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar.] The altar representing God (as was said before, ver. 4), this blood sprinkled upon it, signified that he, for his part, engaged to be faithful in the covenant he now made with them, and they with him; by performing all the promises he had newly made them by Moses in the latter end of the foregoing chapter; especially those four great promises, of *plenty, health, numerous offspring, and long life* (ver. 25, 26), together with the driving out the people of Canaan from before them (ver. 27, &c.).

Ver. 7. *He took the book*] Some have made it a difficulty to find what book this was; and have been pleased to fancy, that some book which Moses wrote is lost: when this plainly refers to what is said ver. 4, where we read that “Moses wrote all the words of the Lord,” that is, the commandments and judgments mentioned in the four foregoing chapters. Which, though they made no great volume, yet might be called a *book* in their language: for even the bill of divorce which they gave their wives (and was very short), is called by this name of *sepher*, a *book*, Deut. xxiv. 1.

Of the covenant,] That they might remember upon what terms he would bestow upon them the forenamed blessings, he engages them in a solemn covenant to observe the commandments and judgments contained in this book.

Ver. 8. *Moses took the blood,*] That half of it which was in the basins (ver. 6).

Sprinkled it on the people,] As he had sprinkled one half on the altar, in token God was a party in the covenant; so he sprinkled the other half on the twelve pillars, which represented the children of Israel, in token that they were the other party engaged in the same covenant. Thus our forenamed primate and several others understand it: and it carries some show of probability in it. Yet I cannot think it unlikely, that it was sprinkled upon the seventy elders, by whom the people consented; if not upon all the people who stood next to the altar, and are here expressly mentioned. The apostle to the Hebrews (ix. 19) saith, he sprinkled the *book*, as well as the *people*, which is not here mentioned, but supposed. For when he went to sprinkle the blood, we must con-

9 ¶ Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel:

10 And they saw the God of Israel: and *there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness.*

11 And upon the nobles of the children of

ceive he laid down the book, that he might be at more liberty for this other action; and perhaps he laid it on one of the pillars, where it was sprinkled as they were, together with the people whom they represented.

Behold the blood of the covenant,] Look upon yourselves as obliged by this blood, to observe all the commands which I have delivered to you in the words you have heard. For there were two ways of making covenants anciently; both which were here used. The first was, after a sacrifice had been offered, to sprinkle the blood of it upon both parties who were to be confederates; which was done here (ver. 6, 8). And secondly, the confederates thereupon proceeded to eat together some part of the sacrifice; which follows (ver. 11), where we find the elders of Israel (who represented the people) did eat and drink in the presence of God.

Ver. 9.] These things being done, they went up into the mount as they were ordered (ver. 1), i. e. they went up to that part of the mount where Aaron, and his sons, and the elders, were appointed to come; but no further.

Ver. 10. *They saw the God of Israel:]* When Moses is commanded to come near unto the Lord (ver. 2), Maimonides acknowledges it may be understood of his local approach to the place where the light or glory of God then appeared (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 18). And therefore it is something strange that he expounds the elders' *seeing God*, of their apprehension of him by their understanding; and not rather of their beholding some glimpse of that visible majesty which was on the top of the mount. For that, I doubt not, is the meaning, as appears by what follows. And so the Chaldee expounds it, *They saw the glory of the God of Israel*; surrounded, we may well suppose, with a heavenly host of angels, attending upon the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, as it was also called.

And there was under his feet] This hath made some conceive, that this visible glory appeared in the form of a man, with his back towards them, standing upon a shining pavement. But this is contrary to Deut. iv. 15. For though that be spoken of another time and place, viz. the giving of the law, which all the people heard, but saw no similitude, yet, if the elders had afterward seen a similitude, it would have spoiled Moses' argument, they being the representatives of the people. This glorious light, therefore, far surpassing all other, had no form, nor could be described by any art: and consequently, by its *feet* is meant only the lower part of it; which rested, as it were, upon a most glorious pavement. And thus the Divine Majesty is said to have had a *footstool* (which was the cover of the ark), though it had no human shape.

A paved work of a sapphire stone,] The glorious majesty of God was represented as having under it a pavement suitable to itself, very bright and shining. For there is a sort of sapphire called *χρυσόσπειρος*, "spotted with little points, or pricks of gold," which shine like stars interspersed in the body of it (see Salmasius in Solinum, p. 131, 203). Such was this pavement, as we may gather from the following words.

Israel he laid not his hand: also they saw God, and did eat and drink.

12 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them.

As it were the body of heaven] As clear as the purest and serenest sky, when it is all spangled with stars. All which signifies, as I take it, that the glory of the Lord appeared far above the glory of the sun, in its greatest brightness, upon a pavement sparkling like the stars in the heaven, when it is most clear. The LXX. instead of the words *saw the God of Israel*, have, *σaw τὸν τόπον*, "the place of the God of Israel." As if they saw a throne, upon which there was a visible majesty, beyond all description. And if this be admitted, then this throne may well be said to have *feet*, standing upon such a glorious pavement. And so they translate it in the next verse, where this is repeated.

Ver. 11. *The nobles]* i. e. The elders before mentioned (ver. 1, 9), called here *atzilim*, to signify that they were the prime and choicest persons among the Israelites. For *atzal* signifies to separate; and consequently *atzilim* imports men distinguished from others, either by their birth, office, or some excellent qualities.

He laid not his hand:] Did not hurt them. Whereas it was the common opinion, that they who saw God (though it was by one of his angels) should presently die. The splendour of that glorious light was so dazzling, that it was a singular favour it did not put out their eyes, as the light wherein St. Paul saw our Saviour did his. We are told (ver. 17), "The sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire." Which might put them in fear, perhaps, they had been scorched by it, when it flashed out upon them; but they found not the least hurt by it. Thus Jonathan saith in his paraphrase upon the thirty-second chapter, that when Moses delayed to come down from the mount, the people fancied him to be burnt up by the fire, which shone from the presence of God, which there appeared.

This sight of God, which he vouchsafed to the elders, was in all likelihood to convince them that he was among them, and had spoken to them, and sent them the precepts before mentioned by the hand of Moses.

They saw God, and did eat and drink.] After they had seen God, they were so far from receiving any harm, that they feasted with him upon the relics of the peace-offerings, with great joy and gladness. Or we may suppose, the glory of the Lord shone upon them, as they sat down to eat and drink, in token of their full consent to the covenant now made (for so the custom was of making covenants, Gen. xxiv. 30, xxxi. 54), and that notwithstanding they continued to finish their feast, not being dispirited (as good men were sometimes afterwards with glorious visions, Dan. x. 8, 16, 17), but rather strengthened and made more vigorous.

The word for *saw* in this verse is different from that in the former; importing, I suppose, that this appearance of God to them lasted some time.

Ver. 12. *The Lord said unto Moses,]* He called to him, perhaps, with an audible voice, from the place where they saw his glory; that they might know how familiar he was with God, and might more readily receive whatsoever commands he brought from him.

Come up to me into the mount,] To the top of the mount, where the glory of the Lord was (ver. 17).

13 And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua: and Moses went up into the mount of God.

14 And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: if any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them.

For hitherto Moses had gone no further than the rest; but was with them when they did eat and drink before the Lord.

Be there.:] Stay with me there (ver. 18).

I will give thee tables of stone.] Not only the Jews, but Epiphanius also, fancy these tables were made of sapphire, from what was said ver. 10. But the words signify plainly enough that they were of stone.

A law and commandments.:] From this place the Jews endeavour to establish their unwritten or oral law, i. e. their traditions; which, they say, were now delivered, together with the tables of stone. So Maimonides, in his preface to Jad Chazeka: "All the precepts which were given to Moses on Mount Sinai were given with their explications; according to what is said, 'I will give thee tables of stones, and a law and commandments:' where by the law is meant the written law, and the commandments denote the explication of it, which we call the oral law." Thus he and others of them, directly against the text itself, which saith expressly, both of the law and the commandments here mentioned, that they were written (see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 16). Therefore by law and commandments, we are to understand nothing else but "the law contained in the ten commandments."

That thou mayest teach them.] Instruct the people to observe them, as the most sacred of all other precepts; being written, as well as spoken, by God himself, who taught men by this example, how to preserve their laws. For Aristotle saith in his Problems, that in old time men being ignorant how to write, ἤθον τοὺς νόμους, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλαθῶνται, "were wont to sing their laws, that they might not be forgotten." It being the invention of the Corybantes, ἱεράναι μῦθους (as Theopompus speaks), "to set up pillars," and engrave their laws upon them. Which Solon at last, wrote on wooden tables, called Ἀφῶνες and Κύρβεις, which were laid up in the temple of the mother of the gods (vid. Sam. Petition Prefat. in Leg. Atticas).

Ver. 13. *Moses rose up.*] From among the elders; with whom he was before.

His minister Joshua.:] Who attended him further than the elders; but not into the place where he went. For God intending him to be Moses's successor, seems to admit him unto a nearer familiarity than any one else besides Moses.

Moses went up] To the place where the Divine glory appeared. But Joshua stayed for him in some lower part of the mountain, expecting his return. For he did not go up to the top of the mount, as appears from the thirty-second chapter; where Moses's descent from thence being mentioned, Joshua is not named till it be said that Moses was come down from the mount (ver. 15, 17). He went with him therefore till he entered into the cloud, and then he stayed as it were at the door waiting for his return.

Ver. 14. *He said unto the elders.*] Before he left them, he gave them this order.

Tarry ye here.] Not in the place where they had seen God, and did eat and drink with him; whither the people might not come; but rather in the camp, or some place near it, whither the people might upon occasion resort to them. Unto which place Moses

15 And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount.

16 And the glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud.

17 And the sight of the glory of the Lord

seems to have walked with them from the mount, before he returned to go up into it; or, at least pointed them unto it with his finger, that they might there wait for him.

Until we come] He could not tell how long God would detain him; and therefore commands them to govern the people till his return to them.

Aaron and Hur are with you.:] Who seem to have been of greatest authority next to himself; and were with him in the mount when the Israelites fought with Amalek (ch. xvii.).

If any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them.] In all causes, which were too hard for the elders to determine, he directs them to go to Aaron and Hur, as they were wont to do to him. By this it appears, that these seventy elders were some of the judges appointed by the advice of Jethro (xviii. 22), which he continued to follow, and orders them to observe in his absence.

Ver. 15. *Moses went up*] Having said this, he and Joshua left them; and he went into the higher part of the mount.

A cloud covered the mount.] That part of it where he was: so that the people, and Joshua also, lost the sight of him.

Ver. 16. *The glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai.*] That visible majesty which shone in extraordinary splendour, was settled for the present upon the top of this mount.

The cloud covered it] i. e. Covered the glory of the Lord, not the mount, as Aben Ezra observes. For the cloud was not the glory of the Lord, but encompassed and covered it: so that for six days nothing but the cloud appeared to the Israelites: till on the seventh day the cloud was rent (as I take it) or opened; and the glory of the Lord appeared like flaming fire.

Six days.:] Thus long it was hidden in a cloud, so that Moses himself could not see it, but remained wrapped up in darkness; which might have astonished him, if he had not been supported by the Divine power, and a comfortable sense of God, who had often appeared to him and conversed familiarly with him.

Seventh day he called unto Moses] The second time (for he had called to him before to come up to him, ver. 12), commanding him to approach into his glorious presence.

Out of the midst of the cloud.] Where the Divine glory was, and now broke out and appeared, I suppose, unto Moses. Some think the seventh day might be the Sabbath, upon which God chose to appear to him.

Ver. 17. *The glory of the Lord was like devouring fire*] It broke out of the cloud, after six days, so that the people saw it like flaming fire. To which the Psalmist seems to allude (Ps. xcvi. 2, 3), "Clouds and darkness are round about him, and fire goeth before him," &c. Thus the glory of the Lord is described in other places, as within a cloud, and sometimes breaking out of it (Exod. xl. 35), where the cloud is said to be upon the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord to fill it with; which (ver. 38) is described like fire (see also Numb. xvi. 42). And thus, at its first appearing, there was a pillar of a cloud and of fire led them (xiii. 21). And it sometimes appear-

was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel.

18 And Moses went into the midst of the

ing in an amazing brightness, beyond that of the sun; and sometimes being wrapped up in as thick a cloud: God is likewise said both to *dwell in light* and in *thick darkness* (1 Kings viii. 12).

Ver. 18. *Moses went into the midst of the cloud.*] From whence the Lord had called to him (ver. 16). Therefore he broke through the thick cloud into the very presence of God, which was in a secret part of the cloud, called the *midst of it*.

Gat him up into the mount.] To the top of it, where the glory of the Lord appeared to him in the midst of the cloud: the external parts of which and the fire only being seen by the people.

Moses was in the mount.] That he might receive the two tables of stone, and the gift of prophecy (as Elmacinus, an Arabian Christian, adds), with directions for the making the tabernacle, and all things belonging to it, and the service to be performed there by the priest, appraised according to Divine prescription, &c. which follow in the ensuing chapters: where Moses relates what orders God gave him about every thing relating to his Divine service. And it need not seem strange, as Clemens Alexandrinus excellently speaks (lib. i. Stromat. p. 351), that Moses received his laws from God; when the Greeks pretend the same of their Minos: only they say he went into Jupiter's cave, and was nine years there in learning the laws which he gave him; when Moses was but forty days in the mount, where God visibly appeared. They believed also that Lycurgus received his laws from Apollo; and Zaleucus (as Plato, Aristotle, and divers others whom he mentions, say) received his from Minerva. All this was firmly believed among them, who in not acknowledging the divinity of Moses's ministration, were very ungrateful; for his was the *archetype*, as he speaks, or pattern, of what was pretended in their stories.

cloud, and gat him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

Forty days and forty nights.] It may be a question, whether the six days that he remained in the cloud, before the Lord called him higher, be included in these forty days: or were only preparatory to his nearer access to God. They may well be both; for it is not said he was in the *midst of the cloud* forty days and forty nights; but that he was so long *in the mount*. Part of which time was spent in the dark cloud, and the rest in the bright presence of God, in the midst of the cloud: and in all that space he did neither eat nor drink (xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9).

God could, if he had pleased, have revealed to him all his mind in a less time: but the method of the Divine wisdom is to do all things gradually. For instance, the substance of a child in the womb (saith the author of Shalsh. Hakkabalah), is not perfected in less time than forty weeks, in all which time it receives no meat nor drink (at the mouth we must understand him), and so many days did the Divine power work in Moses to form him into a new essence (as his words are) and give him a full comprehension of all that God communicated to him. And all this time he neither did eat nor drink; for these actions (says that Jew) prejudice the understanding; which God intended to exalt, by depressing the bodily faculties and powers: which for want of meat and drink were brought down very low, that the understanding might be raised and lifted up. And thus we find, in aftertimes, that Daniel chastened his body for three whole weeks together, the better to dispose him for heavenly vision (x. 2, 3, 12).

This ascent of Moses from the cloudy part of the mount to the fiery top of it was upon the fourteenth of Sivan; and we may suppose, as Jacobus Capellus doth, that the cloud accompanied him, as he went up, to defend him from the circumambient flame.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *What the Israelites must offer for the making of the tabernacle.* 10 *The form of the ark.* 17 *The mercy seat, with the cherubims.* 23 *The table, with the furniture thereof.* 31 *The candlestick, with the instruments thereof.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering.

CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses.*] Out of that glorious and flaming light where he appeared to him.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] When he went down from the mount.

That they bring me.] In the Hebrew, *take for me*, out of their goods.

Offering.] The Hebrew word *terumah* (or as some pronounce it, *trumah*) is commonly translated a *heave-offering*, or offering lifted up. Which the Chaldee translates, that *which is separated* from common use: and in the separation, perhaps, was lifted up towards heaven, in token that they desired God to accept it.

Every man that giveth it willingly.] They were only to be moved to it, but not importuned; much less told what quantity they should give: but every man

3 And this is the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass,

4 And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair,

was left to his own good inclination. And accordingly Moses delivered the mind of God unto them, when he came down from the mount: and they made a free oblation (xxxv. 5, 21, 29). Besides which, there was also a tribute laid upon them for the ransom of their souls (xxx. 12—14), which amounted to a great sum of money, as we find in xxxviii. 24, &c.

Ver. 3. *This is the offering.*] The things which ye shall accept as an offering to me.

Gold, and silver, and brass.] Unto what uses these were to be employed we are told afterwards.

Ver. 4. *Blue, and purple, and scarlet.*] Wool, or yarn, or stuff (or, as Abarbanel will have it, silk), of these colours. About which there is much dispute; but no translation hath better described them than our English. For *thecet*, which we translate *blue*, and Abarbanel will have it to be a *sea-green*, is certainly a *sky-colour*. So Maimonides expresses it, the *colour of*

5 And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood,

6 Oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense,

the firmament: and Kimchi calls it *ultramarine*. This hath been demonstrated by Braunius, who shows how it was dyed (lib. i. de Vest. Sacer. Hebr. cap. 13).

Argaman, also, he hath demonstrated (cap. 14), signifies *purple*, as we translate it. For both Josephus and Philo say so; and he brings many proofs that they say true. And there being several sorts of purple, he shows this had in it the *brightest and most florid redness*; the manner of dyeing, which he also there demonstrates. See also Bochartus, concerning these two words *thecelel* and *argaman*, in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 10, 11).

Tholaat-shani we also rightly translate *scarlet*, as the same Braunius shows (cap. 15, of the forenamed book). And very probably makes the word *scarlet* signify as much as the colour of *Tyre*: for *Sar*, or *Sarra*, is *Tyre*; and *lacea* is a red colour.

Abarbinel most assuredly makes this to be the native colour of silk, without any dye (see Bochart. Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 27, p. 624).

Fine linen.] The Hebrew word *shesh* signifies that pure linen called *byssus*: so the Chaldees call it *butz*. Which was peculiar to Egypt, as some fancy, where their priests were clothed with it; and thence called *linigeri*. But Philostratus saith there was a *byssus* among the Indians with which the better sort of people were clothed. And Pausanias saith it grew in Elis, and in no other part of Greece (see Salmasius, Plin. Exercit. p. 998, and what I have noted on Gen. xli. 42).

Goats' hair.] In the Hebrew there is only the word *izzim*, which signifies *goats*: but all interpreters, by a common ellipsis, understand it of their hair. And Jarchi saith it signifies the *flower of goats' hair*; or as we speak, *the down*; the very softest part of it. And no other wool (as they call it) was accepted for the use of the sanctuary (if we may credit Abarbinel) but only this. For the wool of lambs and sheep was vile in comparison with this, which was precious in the eastern countries; where excellent cloth was made of it, not inferior to silk in softness and brightness; as the same Braunius observes (lib. i. de Vestitu Sacer. Hebr. cap. 9).

Ver. 5. *Rams' skins dyed red*.] Or, *red rams' skins*; for such there were in the eastern countries, which were naturally of that colour.

Badgers' skins.] The Hebrew word *thecasin*, which we translate *badgers* (following those who think *thaeas* to be the same with the Latin word *laxus*), the ancient interpreters take for a colour. And Bochartus hath at large endeavoured to prove that it signifies a kind of *violet* or *purple* colour. So that God commands them to offer *red and violet rams' skins* (see Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 30).

Shittim wood.] Kimchi saith this was the best kind of cedar; but Aben Ezra takes it for the wood of a tree which grew in the wilderness, not far from Mount Sinai, in that place where the Israelites sometimes encamped (Numb. xxv. 1), called Shittim from this wood; unless the wood were so called from the place where it grew. And thus St. Jerome seems to have understood it. For he saith upon Joel iii. that they were great trees, which were not to be found in the Roman countries, or in cultivated places; but in the desert of Arabia only: out of which very broad boards might be cut, exceeding strong, and of incredible smoothness and beauty. And upon Isa. xli. he calls it lignum imputribile, "an incorruptible wood"

7 Onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breastplate.

8 And let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them.

(as the LXX. also here translate it, *ἐξία ἀσπτερα*), very smooth, excelling all wood in firmness and brightness, &c. (see Menochius, lib. v. de Repub. Hebr. cap. 2).

Ver. 6. *Oil for the light*.] For that lamp that was to burn continually in the sanctuary.

Spices] See xxx. 23, &c. and ver. 34, 35, &c.

Ver. 7. *Onyx-stones*.] Or sardonxyes (see Gen. ii. 12).

Stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breastplate.]

There were two *onyx-stones* to be set in the ephod (xxviii. 9, 10, &c.), and the other stones (whose names are there mentioned, ver. 17, 18, &c.) were to be set in the *breast-plate*.

These five verses contain all the materials which were to be used about the sanctuary, and the garments of the priests who were to attend there. The only question is, How they got such things in the wilderness? Some think they brought them with them out of Egypt, as it is evident they did gold, silver, and jewels. And Abarbinel thinks they also trafficked with the neighbouring people while they remained here, of whom they bought oil, and spices, and shittim-wood, &c., which is probable enough, every thing being to be had for money, of which they brought good store from Egypt.

Ver. 8. *Let them make me a sanctuary*.] Now follow directions for the making a house for God, and every thing belonging to it. For so this place is sometimes called, *God's house*, or *habitation*, because there, as Abarbinel observes, the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, had its residence. And it is called a *sanctuary*, or holy place, because no uncircumcised or unclean person might enter into it. For under the name of *sanctuary* is comprehended, as the Jews rightly understand it, all the courts belonging to it, as well as the very house itself; with all the utensils, or sacred vessels, which are afterward prescribed for the service of it.

That I may dwell among them.] God resolving to manifest himself, as, in a peculiar manner, constantly present among them, was pleased to order a tent or tabernacle to be built for him; wherein, while they sojourned in tents in the wilderness, he dwelt among them in a visible manner, by the Shechinah, or *habitation of the Divinity*, which was fixed here; and was a special type of God's future dwelling in human nature. In short, this *sanctuary* was his *palace*, saith Moses Nachmanides, wherein he dwelt as their king. And accordingly, Schem Tob, upon Maimonides's More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40, pertinently observes, that God ordered all manner of things belonging to a palace to be in this house; particularly, ministers that constantly attend on him; a table with daily provision; all manner of utensils, such as pots, spoons, forks, &c.; a closet proper to himself alone; that the most vulgar understanding might conceive their king, the Lord of Hosts, continually resided there. And, indeed, the Hebrew word *nikdash*, which we render *sanctuary*, sometimes signifies a *palace* (Ezek. xxviii. 18), and so Kimchi interprets it upon Isa. viii. 14.

Among them.] In the Hebrew, in the *midst of them*. For the tabernacle, when it was erected, was placed in the midst of their camps (Numb. ii. 17). Which was the reason that all unclean persons were to be removed out of their camp, lest God, who dwelt in it, should be offended by the pollution (Numb. v. 3). And this is the reason why God is said to *walk among*

9 According to all that I shew thee, *after* the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it.

10 ¶ And they shall make an ark of shittim wood: two cubits and a half *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.

them (Lev. xxvi. 12; Deut. xxii. 14), because he dwelt in that tent, which moved up and down, as they did while they dwelt in the wilderness.

Ver. 9.] This signifies that God showed him a *model* (as we now speak) of the house he was to make, and of all the things belonging to it: and, accordingly, he bid him rear it up (xxvi. 30) according to the *mishpat*, the *scheme* or *draught* he showed him in the mount: which represented every thing so lively and distinctly, and in their just proportions to him, that he was the better able to make them. For things seen, and seen in all their dimensions, as Abarbinel observes, are more easily retained, as well as conceived, than things that are only heard. And Greg. Nyssen had reason when he said (*de Vita Mosis*, p. 151), that God did not represent the sanctuary to Moses merely in a picture, much less give him an idea of it only in his mind; but set before him a *structure* which he should imitate. For so the Hebrew word *tabnit* (which we translate *pattern*) signifies a *structure*, or building; which cannot be better expressed than by the word *model*, which he now saw of the house he was to erect. Thus Maimonides explains this word, in distinction from *temunah*, which signifies only the *resemblance* of a thing; whereas *tabnit* signifies the *structure*, or disposition of it, i. e. saith he, its form; whether it be in a square, or circle, or triangle, or any other figure; and he quotes this place for it, and ver. 40 (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 3).

Which confutes the fancy of those who will have Moses to have framed this house, and all belonging to it, according to the fashion of such things which he had seen in Egypt, and were in use among other nations; unto whose religion he designed to make himself as conformable as might be safely allowed. And particularly made this tabernacle to be carried on the priests' shoulders, as the tabernacle of Moloch was, &c. Nothing seems to me to be further from the intention of Moses, or rather from the directions which God here gives him, than this conceit. He had a more Divine guide than the Egyptians, and made things by a heavenly *pattern*, and not according to their *modes*. The Jews were so possessed with this opinion, that when the temple came to be built instead of this tabernacle, they say it was done by consulting the oracle, and by the solemn decree of the king, and of the great Sanhedrim, and of the prophets. For which they allege this very place, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Misna, and Maimonides, &c. (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 13, n. 2).

Ver. 10. *Make an ark*] Or *little chest*, or rather *coffer*: which was to be placed in the very inmost and most secret part of God's house (in his *cabinet*, as we now speak, into which none entered but himself), the better to *represent his dwelling among them*. And therefore was called the *ark of the Lord* (Josh. iv. 5, 11), and the *ark of God* (1 Sam. iii. 3). For herein was put his most precious treasure, those Divine records, the two tables of stone, wrote with his own finger, called the *tables of testimony* (xxx. 18), because they were the testimony of the covenant between God and the Israelites; whereby he testified his will, and they their obedience to it. Whence the ark itself is called "the ark of the testimony" (xxx. 6, from whence also the whole tabernacle had its name.

11 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about

12 And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four corners thereof; and two rings *shall be* in the one side of it, and two rings in the other side of it.

Numb. ix. 11), and "the ark of the covenant of the Lord" (Numb. x. 33).

Of shittim wood.] See ver. 5.

Two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, &c.] In this shape, and in these dimensions, it was set before Moses in the mount, that he might direct it to be made exactly of such an oblong square (as we speak) as is here described, in its *length*, *breadth*, and *height*. There are great disputes among the Jews about a *cubit*, which is commonly thought to be half a yard of our measure, that is, eighteen inches. But one that hath taken a great deal of pains to examine such things (Dr. Cumberland, now bishop of Peterborough), hath, in a very learned discourse about the Scripture Measures, given strong reasons to incline us to think that the Egyptian and the Jewish cubit was about twenty-one inches. And if they had not been so, the table (which is described ver. 23) would have been inconvenient, being but three-quarters of a yard high, i. e. twenty-seven inches (according to the common notion of a *cubit*), which is too low for a table. Whereas, according to his account, it was about *thirty-two inches*, which is a very convenient height for a table (see ch. ii.).

Ver. 11. *Overlay it with pure gold.*] Not merely gild it, but lay it over with thin plates of gold; for if they had been thick, it would, as Abarbinel notes, have been too heavy to carry. Thus we see chests now sometimes plated with iron in some parts of them.

Within and without] So that nothing but gold could be seen, whether it were shut or open.

Make upon it a crown of gold] A border or list of gold went round at the top of it; which was called a crown, because it compassed every part of it: but was of another figure, not round, but square, as the ark was. It was of great use, as well as ornament, for the better settling the propitiatory upon the ark, that it might not slip off, but be kept up firmly by this border going round about the top of the ark. And it might the better be called a *crown*, because it was of some height, for the surer supporting of the propitiatory.

It may not be improper here to observe, that, as the ancient crowns were only a plain circle of gold, or other thing, so they were set upon the heads of none but their gods, as Pliny tells us (lib. xvi. cap. 4), who says there, that Bacchus was the first that put a crown upon his head, which was made of *ivy*. Certain it is, that God requires those things which were peculiarly sacred to him and his service to be crowned, as a mark of their excellency: which were four only; this crown upon the ark, and that upon the golden table (ver. 24 of this chapter), and upon the altar of incense (xxx. 3) and on the head of the high-priest (xxix. 6).

Ver. 12. *Cast four rings of gold for it.*] Which were of massy gold, we must suppose, because the ark was carried by staves put into these rings.

Put them in the four corners] The Hebrew word *paamoth* comes from *paam*, which never signifies a corner in the Holy Scripture; but always a *foot*, or *basis*, or *step*, as Aben Ezra notes. Which hath made some think the ark had feet to stand upon (such round *knobs* as now our chests and boxes many times have), though the Scripture doth not mention them. But we are not to make conjectures out of our own heads;

13 And thou shalt make staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold.

14 And thou shalt put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, that the ark may be borne with them.

15 The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it.

which some have carried so far as to fancy there were wheels in these feet, for the ark to run upon, which made it God's *chariot*, wherein he rode. But whoever heard of a chariot carried on men's shoulders? Therefore Nachmanides more reasonably conceives, that these rings were indeed in the corners of the ark, but not in the higher (as R. Solomon would have them), but in the lower; and therefore said here to be in the *feet*. For the Scripture calling the top of every thing the *head* of it: the bottom is commonly there called the *feet*: and so the ark (by placing the rings and staves in the bottom) was carried on high upon the priests' shoulders, representing God, who is highly exalted.

Two rings shall be in the one side of it, and two rings in the other.] That is, in the length of it (as Josephus expressly testifies) and not in the breadth.

Ver. 13. *Make staves of shittim wood.*] Of such a length that the ark might be at a decent distance from those that carried it.

Overlay them with gold.] With plates of gold, as the ark itself was (ver. 11.)

Ver. 14. *Put the staves into the rings*] The Hebrews say these staves were ten cubits long.

That the ark may be borne with them.] Upon the shoulders of the Levites, particularly the sons of Korah (see Numb. iv. 4—6, &c., vii. 9). For it was a crime to carry it any other way, either in their hands, or drawn in a cart (compare 1 Chron. xiii. 7, with xv. 15).

Ver. 15. *The staves shall be in the rings*] Continue and remain in the rings, when they were once put therein.

They shall not be taken from it.] When they set down the ark they were not to take out the staves, and put them in again when it was to be carried; but let them, as we said, continue in the rings; that there might be no danger of letting them fall (which had been a great irreverence), and because they would be best preserved, and take less harm there than anywhere else; and if they had occasion to remove the ark suddenly, all would be ready; and the Levites were hereby kept from touching the ark, or coming nearer to it than the ends of the staves.

Ver. 16. *Put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee.*] The two tables of stone, containing the ten commandments, which are called the *testimony*, and the two tables of *testimony* (xxxi. 18), because they testified what the will of God was, which they had consented to observe; and were therefore public, authentic instruments, attesting the covenant between God and them. Whence the ark which contained these is called *the ark of the testimony* (as I observed above, ver. 10), ver. 22, and in a great many other places in the fortieth chapter. And in one place it is called the *testimony* (xxxv. 36), and the *ark of the covenant of the Lord* (Deut. x. 8), because the ten words were the principal part of the covenant, to which they stood obliged. And perhaps the book of the covenant which Moses made with them (xxiv. 7) is comprehended under the name of the *testimony*. For though we read in 1 Kings viii. 9, there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, &c., yet the apostle mentions some other things that were not in, yet by or before the ark (Heb. ix. 4). But I assert

16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee.

17 And thou shalt make a mercy seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof.

18 And thou shalt make two cherubims of

nothing in this matter. And shall only further observe, that this direction, for putting the testimony (or tables of stone) into the ark, is given before any order is taken for making a covering to it, which follows after. And therefore he was to put in the law before the cover was set on. For though (ver. 21) this be mentioned again, and put after the cover is named, yet the meaning is, that he should set on the cover, having put in the law. And it is repeated, that he should be very careful of this, because the cherubims were to protect and defend it.

Ver. 17. *Make a mercy seat*] The Hebrew word *capporet* literally signifies a *covering* of any thing: and that is the proper signification of this *mercy-seat* (as we translate it), which was the covering of the ark. For it had no door, but was open at the top, so that they might put the table of the covenant into it, and then it was to be fastened above by this cover, which any one may discern by its dimensions was exactly fit for it.

Others will have it called *capporet*, not from *capar*, to *cover*, but from *cipper*, to *expiate*, and render propitious. And so, indeed, the apostle calls it *ἱλαστήριον*, "the propitiatory;" because God here showed himself to be propitious, and appeased by the blood of the sacrifices, which was sprinkled before this place. But the reason of this translation may be, because when sins are pardoned they are said in Scripture to be *covered*. The LXX. put both these together in their translation, which is *ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα*.

Of pure gold:] Not of wood crusted over with gold, but all (as Abarinel speaks) of solid gold; because it was the cover of the ark, in which were the tables of the covenant written with God's finger, than which nothing was more precious.

Two cubits and a half shall be the length] Which was the length of the ark (ver. 10), as the breadth was a cubit and a half, both of that and this: which shows this was the cover of the ark, being most exactly adapted to it.

Ver. 18. *Make two cherubims of gold.*] We read of *cherubims* in the beginning of the world; and have good reason to believe thereby is meant angels (see Gen. iii. 24). But in what shape they appeared we are not told; nor is there the least signification of it here in this place, but what we can gather from ver. 20: so that I can only say this, they were of such a shape as the angelical ministers appeared in, which attended upon the Divine Majesty in the mount; or rather, such as God showed Moses a *pattern of*, whereby to represent these heavenly ministers. For both the ark and all belonging to it were made according to the *model* God gave him; not from any Egyptian pattern, as some imagine. Bochart seems to me to speak judiciously, when he saith there were not *figures* of angels, but rather *emblems*, whereby the angelical nature was in some sort expressed (Hierozoic, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 25,) and were therefore ordered to be made, as Maimonides conjectures, that the Jews might be confirmed in the belief of the existence of angels, which is the *second article* of their faith, next to the belief of God. And he commanded *two* to be made; because, if there had been but one, it might have led them into a dangerous error, that this was the figure of God, whereby they might have been in-

gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy seat.

19 And make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end: *even* of the mercy seat shall ye make the cherubims on the two ends thereof.

20 And the cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the mercy seat with their wings, and their faces shall look one to another; toward the mercy seat shall the faces of the cherubims be.

clined to worship it. But there being *two* of them ordered, with this declaration, *the Lord our God is one God*, it led them into right thoughts, that God had many of these angelical ministers. Thus he: More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.

Of beaten work shalt thou make them,] The Hebrew word *mikshah*, which we translate *beaten work*, signifies that both of them should be made out of the same piece of gold that made the cover of the ark; so as to be one continued work with that, not separate from it. This appears to be true from the next verse. *min hacapporet*; "out of the mercy-seat shall ye make the cherubims," &c., or, *from the mercy-seat* shall they proceed, on the two ends of it.

Ver. 19. *Make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end.*] This looks like tautology (saith Abarbanel) it being said in the foregoing words, *in the two ends of the mercy-seat*: but it is far from it; being a declaration (as he takes it) that the cherubims should not be placed both on one side of the ark; nor so as not to be opposite one to the other: but one on one side, and the other on the other side.

Even of the mercy seat shall ye make the cherubims on the two ends] They were not to be made separate from the mercy-seat, and afterwards joined to it, but to be made out of it, so as to be one piece with it (as was said, ver. 18), which in the execution of this command appears very plainly (xxxvii. 8).

Ver. 20. *The cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on high,*] This shows they were made like flying creatures; but had not the resemblance of any fowl that we know. So Josephus, ζῶα πετεινά, πορφή οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπων ὡραμίαν παρὰ λίσσια, &c. "flying animals, like to none of those which are seen by men;" but such as Moses saw figured in the throne of God; when he beheld, he means, his Majesty in the mount, attended by the heavenly host (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 8), and again (lib. viii. cap. 2). "As for the cherubims, nobody can tell or conceive what they were like;" οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαι τινες εἶπεν οὐδὲ εἰδᾶσαι δύναται. Some, indeed, think that we may understand from what Ezekiel saith of them their true figure; and that they had the face of *oxen*. For that face which in Ezek. i. 10, is called *the face of an ox*, is afterward called (x. 14), *the face of a cherub*. But it is to be considered, that there is no proof the cherubims here spoken of by Moses had the same face with those mentioned by Ezekiel, but were rather a quite different representation. For here God was represented as *dwelling*, nay, *sitting*, and abiding among the Israelites; but there as *removing* and departing quite away from his dwelling-place: and consequently, I conceive, his minister and attendants appeared then in quite different shapes from what they had now.

Stretch forth their wings] As being upon the wing (to use our language), that is, ready to fly, whither they were ordered by the Divine Majesty.

Covering the mercy seat with their wings,] Their wings were not to lie close to their bodies, but to be

21 And thou shalt put the mercy seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee.

22 And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

23 ¶ Thou shalt also make a table of shittim wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof,

raised up (as was said before) and spread: so that meeting together, they made, as it were, a seat over the ark, called the throne of God.

Their faces shall look one to another;] To signify, saith Abarbanel, their mutual consent and concord.

Toward the mercy seat shall the face of the cherubims be.] They were so contrived that they looked downward, when they looked one to the other; to show (saith he) that they were keepers of the law, which was under the mercy-seat.

Ver. 21.] Having first put in the testimony which he gave him (as it here follows), then he was to set the mercy-seat upon the ark (within the crown which encompassed it) as a cover to it (see ver. 16).

Ver. 22. *There I will meet with thee.*] When thou hast occasion to consult me, I will there be present to communicate my mind to thee: so Abarbanel. After the ark is made, and the law put into it, and the cover laid upon it, I will speak with thee from the midst of the mercy-seat, between the cherubims: so that thou shalt not need to come up hither any more into the mount to fetch down prophecy (as his phrase is), but I will give it thee from thence, and tell thee all that is to be taught Israel (see xxx. 6).

I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat, &c.] Here the glory of the Lord resided, between the cherubims; whose wings were the seat of the Divine Majesty; as the cover of the ark before mentioned was his footstool. For he is said to "sit between the cherubims" (Psalm lxxx. 2), and the ark is called "his footstool" (Psalm xcix. 8, cxxiii. 7). This, therefore, being that part of the sanctuary which was the place of his peculiar abode, where he is said to dwell, 1 Sam. iv. 4 (see De Dieu there), when Moses had any occasion to consult him he was to resort hither; where God promises to meet him, and confer with him from hence, as we read he did, Numb. vii. 89.

Of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.] This shows that he resided here as their Lord and Governor; the wings of the cherubims composing his throne, whereon he sat as their King, to give orders for their government: which, more imperatorio de tribunali loquebatur, "he delivered from this supreme tribunal, after the manner of emperors" (as Fortunatus Seacchus expresses it), or great princes, who were wont in all countries to have such magnificent thrones erected, from whence to speak to their subjects (Myrothec. Sacrorum Elæochrysm. ii. cap. 36).

Thus far he hath named only the furniture of the inward house and cabinet of the Divine Majesty, called the *holy of holies*. Now follows the principal furniture of the outward house, called the *holy place*.

Ver. 23. *Thou shalt also make a table*] Which is a necessary part of the furniture of a house, and therefore here ordered to be made in token of God's dwelling among them (ver. 8).

Of shittim wood.] Of the same materials with the ark (ver. 10).

Two cubits shall be the length] It was neither so

and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.

21 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about.

25 And thou shalt make unto it a border of an hand breadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about.

26 And thou shalt make for it four rings of

long nor so broad as the ark, but of the very same height (ver. 10). Josephus, to make the Greeks apprehend its fashion, saith, it was like the famous table at Delphi (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 9), which, if it be true, was made, it seems, in imitation of the table of Moses.

Ver. 24. *Overlay it with pure gold.*] Just as the ark was (see ver. 10); and therefore it is probable that the lower parts of it, as well as the upper, and the feet also, were plated with gold, so that it might be called a golden table.

Make thereto a crown of gold.] See ver. 10, where the same is directed for the ark: and this had the same use, to keep what was set upon the table from slipping off and falling on the ground.

Ver. 25. *Make unto it.*] That is, to the crown of gold, as Fortunatus Scacchus understands it, though others refer it to the table.

A border of an hand breadth.] Which came down below the crown or cornice, as they now speak. Though some think this border was towards the bottom, to join the feet more firmly together.

Make a golden crown to the border.] Wheresoever this border was (which I suppose was plated with gold), like the table, it had a crown, or a cornice, as an ornament to it. For this crown was different from that mentioned in the foregoing verse; and was under the border (as the other crown was above it), as Fortunatus Scacchus apprehends it (Myrothec. ii. cap. 38).

Ver. 26. *Make for it four rings of gold.*] As there were for the ark (ver. 12), only they were to be cast, these to be made: but how we are not told.

Put the rings in the four corners.] The Hebrew word here for corners always hath that signification; being quite different from that word which is used ver. 12, when he speaks of the ark: which may well incline us to Josephus's opinion, that these rings were not below, as they were in the ark, but on the upper part of the feet of the table; so that it was not carried up on high, as the ark was, but hung down below the priests, on whose shoulders the staves rested.

Ver. 27. *Over against the border, &c.*] Just below the border and the cornice before mentioned (ver. 25), were these rings to be placed; as the border and its cornice were placed below the upper crown (or cornice) which compassed the top of the table (ver. 21).

For places of the staves to bear the table.] This expresses the use of the rings.

Ver. 28. *Make the staves of shittim wood.*] Such as were made for the carriage of the ark (ver. 13).

That the table may be borne with them.] By the priests upon their shoulders. For the tabernacle being a movable house, there were frequent occasions, as they journeyed from one place to another, to carry this table along with them, as they did all other things belonging to the house of God.

It is not ordered that the staves should remain in the rings, as they did in those belonging to the ark (ver. 15), because they might have been a hindrance to the priests in their ministration at this table every day. Therefore it is likely they were laid up in some place near it, and put in when they travelled, as they were ordered to be (Numb. iv. 6).

gold, and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof.

27 Over against the border shall the rings be for places of the staves to bear the table.

28 And thou shalt make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them.

29 And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and spoons thereof, and covers thereof, and bowls

Ver. 29. *Make the dishes thereof.*] It is not easy to give an account either of the form or of the use of these *keharoth*, which we translate *dishes*, i. e. *patins*, whereon to put the bread, which were twelve loaves (Lev. xxiv. 6), and the frankincense which was to be set upon each row of loaves (ver. 7). This is a plain sense, if the loaves stood upon dishes, and not immediately upon the table, as Fortunatus Scacchus thinks they did: and therefore imagines they were full of fine flour, of which the bread was made; or with oil which was to be mingled and used in their sacrifices. But this is more unlikely than the other, the flour not being kept here in the holy place, but in the outward court; and his reason for it is not solid; which is, that the heads of their tribes offered every one of them a silver charger (so we render the same word we here translate a dish, Numb. vii.), full of fine flour mingled with oil. But those were not for the use of this table, on which such large dishes or chargers could not stand, there being no room for them. Therefore at last he fancies them to have been salt-cellar, which were set upon the table together with the bread, being used at all meals. And Philo, as he observes, seems to be of this opinion, who, speaking of this table (in his third book of the Life of Moses), saith, ἐπ' ἧς ἄρτοι καὶ ἀλας, "upon it were loaves and salts:" from whence he conjectures there were two salt-dishes at least (see his Myrothec. Sacror. Elaeochrysm. lib. ii. cap. 41).

Spoons thereof.] If this be a true interpretation of the Hebrew word *cappoth*, their use was to put incense into the dishes, and to take it out; for that they contained incense is evident from Numb. vii. 14, 20, 26, &c. Which makes the forenamed author think this word should rather be rendered *vials*, which Pollux numbers among the sacred vessels; and it is plain were used in offering incense in the temple: for St. John saw the twenty-four elders, having every one of them golden vials full of odours, or incense (Rev. v. 8), whence it is, the LXX. translate this word *θυσιας*. The form of which Fort. Scacchus, in the place forementioned, hath adventured to describe.

Covers thereof.] Wherewith both the loaves and the incense were covered. So it is commonly understood. But Fortunatus Scacchus endeavours at large to prove that the Hebrew word *keboth* is rightly translated by the LXX. *σπονδία*, which were vessels used in their *libamina*, when they poured wine upon the sacrifice, or upon the altar, when they sacrificed. For authors do not agree when this was done; some saying the wine was poured out after the sacrifice was slain, and laid on the altar; others, that it was most commonly done before. The manner being, first to throw frankincense into the fire on the altar, then to pour out the wine, and then the sacrifice was slain. In which order Homer and Ovid report it, as Capernus observes in his Apotheosis Homei, p. 71. However this be, it is certain, from Hesychius, Pollux, and Suidas, that *σπονδιον* signifies such a vessel: and Josephus saith, that when Pompey went into the holy place, he saw there such vessels as these, together with the table and candlestick, *λυχναῖον τε,*

thereof, to cover withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them.

30 And thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me alway.

καὶ λίχνους, καὶ τράπεζαν, καὶ σπονδία, καὶ θυμιατήρια, &c. (lib. i. de Bello Jud. cap. 5). The only objection against this is, that there was no use for such vessels in that place. To which I think it may be truly answered, that it was fit notwithstanding God's house should be furnished with all kinds of utensils.

Bowls thereof,] So St. Jerome understands the Hebrew word *menakiath*, which, following the LXX. he translates *cyathos*: the form of which Fortunatus Scacchus (in his forenamed book, cap. 44) hath endeavoured to make out, and establish this as the certain meaning of the word. But it is very hard to tell of what use they were here, where no drink was used: and yet our marginal translation of the next word seems to favour it, making these to *pour out withal*. And, indeed, the Hebrew word signifies both to *cover* and to *pour out*. But the former seems most proper here, unless we take these to have been *bowls* (or such like vessels) set here merely to signify more completely, that God kept house among them (as we speak) they being part of the furniture of a table.

Others think they were stands, upon which the dishes of bread were set.

To cover withal:] If we allow of this translation, and it relate to the word *bowls* immediately preceding, then it signifies these vessels were a larger sort of covers. Or it may refer to the whole; that all the forenamed vessels were made to cover the tables entirely. But the marginal translation being also agreeable to the Hebrew text, it may possibly declare the use of the forenamed vessels, which was to *pour out withal*. For in their *libamina* there were several sorts of these vessels used among the gentiles; one only to taste the wine before the sacrifice, which Scacchus thinks was that the Romans called *simpulum*; another to pour it upon the sacrifice when it was offered, which they called *guttus*, because it had a narrow mouth, out of which the wine came out by little and little.

Of pure gold shalt thou make them.] All things in this part of the house were of gold, that the royal palace of their King might be most sumptuously furnished, suitable to the greatness of his majesty.

Ver. 30. *And thou shalt set upon the table shewbread]* In the Hebrew, *bread of the face, or presence*; because it was set before the ark of the covenant where God was present. The forementioned Fort. Scacchus thinks the heathen from hence borrowed their custom of setting sacred loaves before Ceres, in her feast called *Thesmophoria*, as he observes out of Athenæus, lib. iii. Deipnosoph. cap. 25, and other places (vide Myrothec. ii. Sac. Elæochrysm. cap. 39).

Before me alway.] These loaves constantly stood upon the table (new ones being brought, when the old ones were removed, every Sabbath-day) before the Divine Majesty; a cloth being spread upon it, whereon these and all the forenamed things were set (Numb. iv. 7). And they were twelve of them in all, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, whose offering these were to God, whose ministers ate them in the holy place (Lev. xxiv. 5, 7—9). They were set in two rows, one piled upon another, as Josephus represents them.

When Maimonides wrote his More Nevochim, he confesses (par. iii. cap. v.), to that day he was ignorant of the reason of this table, and the bread continually upon it. Which is very strange, when at the

31 ¶ And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work shall the candlestick be made: his shaft, and his branches, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, shall be of the same.

beginning of these directions God had declared he would have a house built that he might dwell among them (ver. 8), which dwelling among them was admirably represented, by its having in it all things belonging to a dwelling-house, particularly a table and bread (signifying all provision), whereby they were made to understand that God, as was said before, kept house among them. Which nobody hath explained so well as an incomparable writer of our own, Dr. Cudworth, in a discourse put out long ago, concerning the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper, cap. vi. where he observes, out of Nachman, that there was a table and candlestick ordered for this house, because they were the ordinary furniture of a room. For which reason the table had its dishes, spoons, bowls, and covers (though they were never used), and was always furnished with bread upon it; as the candlestick also had lamps continually burning. From hence it was, likewise, that there was a continual fire in this dwelling of God upon his altar. And, to carry on the notion thoroughly, constant meat and provision brought to it by the sacrifices there offered. Which were partly consumed by fire upon God's own altar; and partly eaten by the priests, who were God's domestic servants, and therefore to be maintained by him. And besides the flesh of the beast offered up in sacrifice, there was a *mincha* or *meat-offering*, made of flour and oil; together with a drink-offering; which were ever joined with the daily burnt-sacrifice, being the bread and the drink which were to go along with God's meat. So the sacrifices are called in the first of Malachi. It was also strictly commanded, as we read in Leviticus, that salt should accompany every sacrifice and oblation; because it was not fit, as the same Nachman observes, that God's meat should be unsavoury. And all these were to be consumed on the altar only, by the holy fire which came down from heaven, because they were God's portion, and therefore to be consumed by himself in an extraordinary manner.

There are those of the Jews who look upon this bread set on God's table as an acknowledgment that they received their food from God. And we may add, that this bread, being made of the same corn which they ate of themselves, still farther represented to them, that they were God's *convivæ*: who continually entertained them with that provision which was made for him.

Ver. 31. *Make a candlestick of pure gold.]* Another necessary piece of furniture for a house; especially when there were no windows in it.

Of beaten work] Not hollow, but of solid gold.

His shaft,] The main body or trunk of it.

Branches,] Which shot as it were out of the trunk.

Bowls,] Or cups, for so the word *gebicha* is translated, Gen. xlv. 1, 5, and they were in the fashion of an almond, as it is ordered (ver. 33).

Knops,] Round like an apple or pomegranate; as the word *caphtorecha* signifies.

Flowers] The Vulgar translates it *lilies*: but the word properly signifies the blossoms of trees.

Shall be of the same.] All of gold, though not all of one piece: for, as Fort. Scacchus not unreasonably conjectures, these several parts of the candlestick were separable one from another, when there was occasion to remove it from one place to another (see his Myrothec. Sac. Elæochrysm. cap. 46).

32 And six branches shall come out of the sides of it; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side :

33 Three bowls made like unto almonds, *with* a knop and a flower in one branch; and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, *with* a knop and a flower: so in the six branches that come out of the candlestick.

34 And in the candlestick *shall be* four bowls made like unto almonds, *with* their knops and their flowers.

35 And *there shall be* a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two

branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick.

36 Their knops and their branches shall be of the same: of all it *shall be* one beaten work of pure gold.

37 And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof: and they shall light the lamps thereof, that they may give light over against it.

38 And the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, *shall be of* pure gold.

39 Of a talent of pure gold shall he make it, with all these vessels.

40 And look that thou make *them* after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount.

Ver. 32.] In this and the following verses he describes how all the above-named parts should be disposed so as to make the candlestick appear glorious. And first he here directs that *three branches* should come out of each side of the main trunk or shaft.

Ver. 33.] Next he orders that every branch of the six should have *three bowls* (or cups, as I said before), into which, perhaps, the snuff was to fall: and between every one of them a *knop* and a *flower*. And the *cups* were to be of the figure of an almond.

So in the six branches] Which were to be all alike.

That come out of the candlestick.] i. e. Out of the trunk; which is here and in the next verse called *the candlestick*: because it was the main part of it, which supported all the branches.

Ver. 34. *In the candlestick*] i. e. In the main trunk or shaft, out of which the branches proceeded.

Shall be four bowls] The branches were to have but *three bowls* and as many *knops* and *flowers*; but the shaft or trunk was to have four of each: it being longer than the branches that came out of it.

Ver. 35. *There shall be a knop, &c.*] This being repeated twice, signifies that the *knops* should be so contrived, that out of three of them should arise two branches, one on the one side, and one on the other. So that out of the fourth knop, which I suppose was the lowermost, there was no branch at all; but that, with the cup and flower, were the ornament of that part of the shaft which was under the branches.

That proceed out of the candlestick.] i. e. Out of the shaft or main trunk (ver. 34).

Ver. 36. *Their knops and their branches shall be of the same, &c.*] No difference between them; but all solid, not hollow work, of pure gold.

Here is nothing said of the *foot* of it; which was, no question, proportionable to the rest. Nor doth he mention the length of the start or trunk: but Fortunatus Scacchus adventures to guess that it was near double the height of the table, and of the altar of incense, which made it look majestically; and yet did not raise it so much as to damnify the roof of the tabernacle (Myrothec. ii. cap. 45, p. 439).

Ver. 37. *Make the seven lamps thereof:*] i. e. Cause them to be made. But of what metal it is not said; most likely of gold, as well as the *tongs*, and the other things mentioned, ver. 38. The form is not here

prescribed, which the forenamed Scacchus (Myrothec. i. cap. 7) thinks was like an almond.

They shall light the lamps] They whose work it is, viz. the priests (xxx. 7, 8; Lev. xxiv. 3, 4).

That they may give light over against it.] That is, over against the candlestick (as some will have it), the six branches all inclining to the trunk in the middle. But here he speaks of the seven lamps, not of six only, which gave light over against some other thing, which I take to be the table. For it is plain, by xxvi. 35, and xl. 24, that the candlestick was placed over against the table, being on the south side of the house, as the table was on the north (see Numb. viii. 2).

Ver. 38. *And the tongs*] Or snuffers, belonging to it: which Scacchus (both in his first and second Myrothecium) probably proves were not of such a form as are now in use; but were only little *tongs* or *scissors*, whereby the lamps were clipped to make them shine more brightly (Myrothec. i. cap. 10, and ii. cap. 46, p. 455).

Snuffdishes] In which the snuffers and the snuffings of the lamps were put; and for the latter use he thinks they had water in them.

Shall be of pure gold.] It was most for the magnificence of this house, and becoming the Divine Majesty who dwelt there, that the meanest thing therein should be made of pure gold.

Ver. 39. *Talent*] A talent was three thousand shekels, as will appear afterward; which how much it makes of our money, see xxxviii. 25.

Ver. 40. *Look that thou make them after their pattern.*] Take care to observe that precept which I have already given (ver. 9), and now repeat again; that every one of these things be made according to that model which I set before thee. For God would have nothing left to the fancy of the people, whom he knew were too much inclined to the gentle superstition. And if Moses had not been determined by Divine prescription, they would have been apt in all these things to have interposed their own inventions.

Which was shewed thee in the mount.] By this it still plainly appears, that Moses saw not only the house, but all the furniture belonging to it, set up in the mount before him, just as he afterwards set it up below among the people.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 The ten curtains of the tabernacle. 7 The eleven curtains of goats' hair. 14 The covering of rams' skins.
15 The boards of the tabernacle, with their sockets and bars. 31 The vail for the ark. 36 The hanging for the door.

1 MOREOVER thou shalt make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: with cherubims of cunning work shalt thou make them.

2 The length of one curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: and every one of the curtains shall have one measure.

3 The five curtains shall be coupled together, one to another; and other five curtains shall be coupled one to another.

4 And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain from the selvedge

in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the uttermost edge of another curtain, in the coupling of the second.

5 Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is in the coupling of the second; that the loops may take hold one of another.

6 And thou shalt make fifty taches of gold, and couple the curtains together with the taches: and it shall be one tabernacle.

7 ¶ And thou shalt make curtains of goats' hair to be a covering upon the tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make.

CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1.] From the furniture he proceeds to the house; and first orders him how to make the inward part of it.

[Thou shalt make the tabernacle] The Hebrew word *mischan* properly signifies a place to dwell in; a habitation (according to what was said xxv. 8). For this was the place of the Shechinah (which comes from the same root with *mischan*), which dwelt here as in its house. But it is commonly translated a tabernacle, only to signify what kind of dwelling it was, viz. a portable house, as Philo calls it, φορητὸν ἱερόν: which might be taken down, and removed from one place to another, and set up again, without any damage to it.

[With ten curtains] These were so many pieces of tapestry (as we now call them), with which this tent was hung on the sides, and covered at the top.

[Of fine twined linen,] Concerning fine linen, see xxv. 4, and concerning twined linen, see xxviii. 6.

[Blue, and purple, and scarlet,] i. e. Yarn dyed of these colours (see xxv. 4).

[With cherubims] It is uncertain what figure these were of (see xxv. 18).

[Of cunning work shalt thou make them.] There were two sorts of work more artificial than ordinary: the one called *chosheb* (which is that here mentioned), the other *rokem*, which we translate needlework. The former was the most excellent; for it was done by weaving, and had figures on both sides: whereas that by needlework had only on one side, as Jarchi here notes. Who says there was, suppose the figure of a lion on one side, and of an eagle on the other: or rather, he should have said, the same figure appeared on both sides, as Maimonides seems to take it, in his *Kele Hammikdah*, cap. 8. "Wheresoever any work is called *rokem* in Scripture, it is to be understood of figures which are made only on one side of the web: but the work called *chosheb* had figures on both sides, before and behind" (see xxviii. 39).

Ver. 2. The length of one curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, &c.] Every one of these curtains were fourteen yards long, and two yards broad; for a cubit was half a yard of our measure, according to common estimation. It was some inches more, as I have observed on xxv. 10. But to make the reader more easily comprehend it, I shall not exactly compute the length and breadth of these curtains, but follow the vulgar opinion. And with these, it will appear

afterward, both the roof of the tabernacle was covered, and the sides of it likewise, almost down to the ground, that is, within a cubit of it, as Josephus saith, and as may be made out from the text: the tabernacle (according to the common notion of a cubit) being fifteen yards long, five yards broad, and as many yards high.

[One measure.] Be exactly of the same length and breadth.

Ver. 3. The five curtains shall be coupled together, one to another; and other five curtains—one to another.] Being thus sewed together, of ten curtains (each of which, as was said before, was fourteen yards long, and two yards broad) was made two large pieces of tapestry: each of them fourteen yards long, and ten yards broad. With one of these pieces of tapestry the holy place was covered, it being just so many yards broad as that place was long; so that it did not come down before at the east end, which was the entrance of the sanctuary. The other piece of tapestry covered the holy of holies: which being but five yards long, one-half of this piece hung down behind it at the west end and touched the silver bases.

Ver. 4. Make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain, &c.] These two great curtains being made by sewing five lesser together, the loops were not woven with the curtains, but tacked to the selvedge of the outermost of them; and were made of blue tape.

[In the coupling;] In that part of the great curtains where they were to be coupled together.

Ver. 5. Fifty loops, &c.] Each of those great pieces of tapestry had fifty loops, answering one to another so exactly, that they might take hold one of another.

Ver. 6. Make fifty taches of gold,] By these golden clasps the loops were so linked together, that the two great pieces of tapestry made but one covering. Which is the meaning of the following words.

[It shall be one tabernacle.] By this union the covering of the tabernacle shall be as if it were one entire piece.

Ver. 7.] Now he gives directions about the outward part of the house.

[Curtains of goats' hair] Though a soft kind of cloth was made of goats' hair, yet, in comparison with the other, it was a coarser sort of covering, to be laid over the finer before mentioned, for their preservation and sheltering from the weather. The old Arabians, called *Scenitæ*, made their tents of goats' hair; for Solinus calls them *Cilicina*, which he interprets ea-

8 The length of one curtain *shall be* thirty cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: and the eleven curtains *shall be all of* one measure.

9 And thou shalt couple five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt double the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tabernacle.

10 And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one curtain *that is* outmost in the coupling, and fifty loops in the edge of the curtain which completh the second.

11 And thou shalt make fifty taches of brass, and put the taches into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may be one.

12 And the remnant that remaineth of the cur-

pram pilis texta. Concerning the word we translate *goats' hair*, see xxv. 4.

To be a covering upon the tabernacle.] By *tabernacle* in the foregoing words (ver. 6), seems to be meant the covering of the tabernacle, which was of one entire piece. And so it is to be understood here, where a second covering is ordered to be thrown over the first.

Eleven curtains.] There was one more of these camel curtains (as I may call them) than of the tapestry, which were but ten.

Ver. 8. *The length of one curtain shall be thirty cubits.*] As there was one curtain more of these, so they were one yard longer than the former.

The breadth of one curtain four cubits.] This was the breadth of the former, ver. 2 (where see what a cubit was), but there being one curtain more of these than of the other, they were two yards broader than them when they were all joined together. Inasmuch, that they both came down lower than the other, on either side, half a yard: and also hung down a yard before the entrance of the tabernacle, which the former did not cover at all.

Ver. 9.] They were to be coupled together after the same manner as the former, that they might make two large pieces: but there being eleven curtains in all, there were but five in one piece and six in the other.

Double the sixth curtain.] The meaning seems to be, that he should turn up that part of the curtain which hung down at the entrance of the tabernacle.

Ver. 10. *Make fifty loops.*] This may be sufficiently understood by what was said concerning the loops of the other covering, ver. 4, 5.

Ver. 11. *Make fifty taches of brass.*] The two great pieces of the inner hangings, being the richer, were coupled together with clasps of gold (ver. 6), but these, being coarser, only with clasps of brass. Which did not lie directly over the golden, but, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, were three-quarters of a yard more westward; these two large pieces not being of an equal bigness.

Couple the tent together.] i. e. These outward hangings or coverings (as we translate the word *ohel*, ver. 7), of the tent.

That it may be one.] That the two pieces may be knit together, by the loops and clasps, into one. See ver. 6, where this place is there called *mischan* (dwelling), which is here called *ohel*; to show more clearly what kind of dwelling it was; an ambulatory house, such as shepherds have, which they remove from place to place (Gen. iv. 20).

Ver. 12.] These outward curtains being four cubits, that is, two yards and more broader than the inward, they hung down above a yard lower than the other on

tains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the backside of the tabernacle.

13 And a cubit on the one side, and a cubit on the other side of that which remaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, it shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle on this side and on that side, to cover it.

14 And thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering above of badgers' skins.

15 ¶ And thou shalt make boards for the tabernacle of shittim wood standing up.

16 Ten cubits *shall be* the length of a board, and a cubit and a half *shall be* the breadth of one board.

17 Two tenons *shall there be* in one board,

the back-side (or west part) of the tabernacle, as they did on the front or entrance (I observed before, ver. 8), which was on the east.

Ver. 13.] These outward curtains being a yard (as two cubits are commonly esteemed) longer than the inward, as appears from ver. 8, they hung down therefore, on either side a cubit, that is, half a yard lower than the inward did. And yet they did not come quite to the ground, but the foundation of the tabernacle, which was of silver, might be seen round about, save only at the west end.

Ver. 14. *Make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red.*] This was a third covering to be laid over the other two, to keep them from wet. It is not said of what dimensions it was, which hath made some fancy it covered only the roof. But it is far more reasonable to think that it was as large as the foregoing covering of goats' hair; which might have been spoiled by rain and dust, if the sides had not been defended as well as the roof. Concerning these *rams' skins*, see xxv. 5.

A covering above.] That is, a fourth covering above that of rams' skins, for the greater security of the two inmost hangings; which had need of all this defence, especially on the roof; because it was flat, and consequently the rain was more likely to soak into it.

Badgers' skins.] I observed on xxv. 5, that all the ancient interpreters take *thachas* for a colour, and not for a badger, or any other animal. For which there is this considerable argument, which I did not there mention; that when God sets forth his extraordinary kindness to Israel, as his beloved spouse, and shows in many magnificent expressions how richly he adorned her, he saith, among other things, that he shod her with *thachas*, which we translate *badgers' skins*: of which the meanest people never made any use for shoes: and therefore Bochartus rightly concludes it signifies something of greater value, viz. rams skins dyed of a kind of purple colour.

Ver. 15. *Make boards.*] Or *planks*, which were the walls of the house.

Of shittim wood.] See xxv. 5.

Standing up.] Erect upon one end, and not lying sideways.

Ver. 16. *Ten cubits.*] By this it appears the house (according the vulgar opinion of a cubit) was but five yards in height (see ver. 18).

A cubit and a half shall be the breadth of one board.] Three-quarters broad; by which (compared with ver. 18), it will appear how long the house was.

Ver. 17. *Two tenons shall there be in one board, &c.*] The Hebrews call them *hands*; because they were so made as to take fast hold of the sockets mentioned, ver. 19.

set in order one against another : thus shalt thou make for all the boards of the tabernacle.

18 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle, twenty boards on the south side southward.

19 And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards ; two sockets under one board for his two tenons, and two sockets under another board for his two tenons.

20 And for the second side of the tabernacle on the north side *there shall be* twenty boards :

21 And their forty sockets of silver ; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

22 And for the sides of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards.

23 And two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the tabernacle in the two sides.

Set in order one against another.] They were in each corner of every plank, at the bottom of it.

Ver. 18. *Twenty boards on the south side.]* By this it appears the tabernacle was *thirty* cubits, that is (according to common estimation) fifteen yards long ; each of these twenty boards being three-quarters of a yard broad. But this seems not to be magnificent enough ; and therefore it is more reasonable to follow their computation, who think the Jewish cubit was *three inches* and more longer than our *half-yard*. Which makes the tabernacle near half as big again, both in length and height, than it is commonly described (see xxx. 10).

Ver. 19. *Make forty sockets of silver, &c.]* There were two silver sockets for each plank, whose tenons sinking into these mortises, the middle of the planks settled upon these *bases*, as the foundation of the house. For so the Hebrew word *adon* imports ; signifying that which supports another thing which stands upon it. And these seem to have been so large, that two *sockets* were as long as each plank was broad, that is, three-quarters of a yard ; and being joined close together, they made one entire foundation, though consisting of several pieces.

Ver. 20.] This verse, and the next, only direct that the north side of the tabernacle should be answerable to the south.

Ver. 22. *For the sides of the tabernacle westward.]* The Hebrew word we translate *sides*, should rather be translated *ends*. For *קצה*, when it is applied to an inanimate thing, signifies *the end, the term, or extremity of it*. As Gen. xlix. 13, we translate it, *a border*, and the LXX. in Isa. xxxvii. 24, translate it *τὰ ἄκρατα*, “the extreme parts of Lebanon.” And so both the Chaldee paraphrasts in this place explain it, “by the ends of the tabernacle westward ;” for the entrance was on the east, and the end of it on the west.

Make six boards.] Of the same breadth with the other, which made them four yards and a half, according to the vulgar notion of a cubit.

Hitherto there is no direction about the entrance, or east end ; which is reserved till the last.

Ver. 23.] Besides the six planks before mentioned, there was a plank at each corner, which joined the end of the tabernacle and the two sides together ; and made the whole building stronger and more steadfast. How broad they were he doth not tell us ; but I suppose only large enough to make the west end five yards broad, that is, each of them half a cubit.

Ver. 24.] To make all more firm, these two corner planks (for of them he seems here to speak) were to

24 And they shall be coupled together beneath, and they shall be coupled together above the head of it unto one ring : thus shall it be for them both ; they shall be for the two corners.

25 And they shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets ; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

26 ¶ And thou shalt make bars of shittim wood ; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle,

27 And five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the side of the tabernacle, for the two sides westward.

28 And the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall reach from end to end.

29 And thou shalt overlay the boards with

be knit to the other planks, both at the top and at the bottom, with a golden link. Some think every plank was thus linked to the next (whence they are here called twins), for the strengthening the whole fabric ; but if this be true it is not clearly expressed.

Ver. 25.] Thus there were eight planks in all at the west end (ver. 22, 23), whose tenons struck into the mortises of sixteen silver bases (see ver. 19).

Ver. 26. *Make bars of shittim wood.]* Besides the links of gold which held the boards together at the top and at the bottom, there were also wooden bars, which ran into staples of gold, which were fastened in every plank, as it follows (ver. 29).

Five for the boards.] There were five of these bars on each side (ver. 27), whereby the planks were held tight together. Of what length they were, is not here said ; but Josephus tells us, they were each five cubits.

Ver. 27.] Besides those on the north and south sides (mentioned in the latter end of ver. 26, and the beginning of this), there were five at the west end. For so it should be translated, not the *two sides* (for there was but one) but the *two ends* ; that is, the two corners at the west part of the tabernacle, which was much strengthened by these bars. Or the plural number (as is usual) is put for the singular ; this being the end wherein two sides terminated.

Ver. 28. *Middle bar.]* This seems to intimate that the other four were at the top and at the bottom ; and this in the midst of the planks.

In the midst of the boards shall reach from end to end.] The Hebrew doctors, whom Dr. Lightfoot follows, take this as if it signified that this bar went through the very planks which were bored in the midst. But there the planks must have been of such a thickness, as would have made them less portable than this tabernacle seems to have been ; for they would have been timber rather than planks. I take it therefore that this was a long bar, which *reached from end to end*, and went through staples, which were in the middle of the planks, as the other did above and below. The only question is, whether these bars were in the inside of the tabernacle, or the outside. It seems most probable they were without, under the coverings ; for they had not been so sightly within.

Ver. 29. *Overlay the boards with gold.]* If they were overlaid with plates of gold, it made them very heavy ; unless we suppose the plates to have been very thin. Others, therefore, take it, that they were only gilded.

Make their rings of gold for places for the bars, &c.] The staples were of massy gold into which the bars

gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold.

30 And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which was shewed thee in the mount.

31 ¶ And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work: with cherubims shall it be made:

32 And thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold: their hooks shall be of gold, upon the four sockets of silver.

33 ¶ And thou shalt hang up the veil under

went; which were also either overlaid with plates of gold, or gilded.

Ver. 30.] When all these materials were prepared, then he is here commanded to set it up, according to the model which was shown him now in the mount (see xxv. 40).

Ver. 31. Concerning these colours, see xxv. 5, and of fine linen, xxv. 4, of twined linen, xxviii. 6.

Cunning work.] R. Solomon here repeats what he said before on ver. 1, that the work called *chosheh* was so artificial, that it had not only figures on both sides, but those different one from the other: for example, on one side a lion, on the other an eagle. Josephus saith, all sorts of flowers, and other ornaments, were wrought in this veil, except only the figures of animals.

With cherubims shall it be made:] See xxv. 18. This veil seems to have been of the same work with the rest of the inward hangings of the tabernacle, mentioned ver. 1, unless we suppose that in them the cherubims only were of cunning work. But I take the whole work of this veil to have been of that sort; the cherubims being in the midst of all sorts of flowers and other pictures.

The Hebrew word *paroketh*, which we translate *veil*, coming from *perek*, which signifies *hardness* and *rigour* (Exod. i. 13, 14), it hath made some conclude, that this veil was of a great thickness (the Hebrews say four fingers), which makes it the more wonderful that it was torn in sunder at our Saviour's passion. Certain it is, that it was so thick that none could look through it into the holy of holies.

Ver. 32. Hang it upon four pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold:] This is a sign that it was thick and heavy, there being four pillars to support it, which stood at an equal distance one from another. Of shittim-wood, see xxv. 5. It is uncertain whether the pillars were plated over with gold, or only gilt.

Their hooks shall be of gold.] Some will have the word *varehim* to signify the heads of the pillars; for so the LXX. call them *κεφαλαιες*. But it literally signifies *hooks* (as we translate it), in the form of the letter *vau*, which were on the top of the pillars, upon which the veil was hung; as appears from the next verse.

Upon—sockets of silver.] As the tops of the pillars were of gold, so they stood upon pedestals of silver.

Ver. 33. Hang up the veil under the taches.] The golden clasps that knit together the two great pieces of hangings (ver. 6), were just between the *holy* and the *most holy place*: so that the veil, which separated these two, hung exactly under these clasps.

Bring in thither within the veil the ark of the testimony.] A separate place being made by this veil, the ark was to be brought into it (see xxv. 16—22), and set at the west end of it.

the taches, that thou mayest bring in thither within the veil the ark of the testimony: and the veil shall divide unto you between the *holy place* and the *most holy*.

34 And thou shalt put the mercy seat upon the ark of the testimony in the *most holy place*.

35 And thou shalt set the table without the veil, and the candlestick over against the table on the side of the tabernacle toward the south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side.

36 And thou shalt make an hanging for the door of the tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework.

The veil shall divide unto you between the *holy place* and the *most holy*.] It made a partition of the tabernacle into two parts; one of which was the *holy place*, into which none but the priests might enter; and the other the *most holy*, into which none but the high-priest might enter, and that but once in the year. The *most holy place* was but a third part of the tabernacle: being a perfect square, five yards high, and as many long and broad; according to the common opinion concerning a cubit.

Ver. 34. Put the mercy seat] See xxv. 17.

Upon the ark of the testimony in the *most holy place*.] This being the most precious testimonial of God's presence with them, was put in the most secret place of God's house. Just as the *palladium*, or whatsoever other sacred thing it was of which the Vestal virgins were the conservators (for Diodorus Siculus saith he could not certainly tell, nor did he think it became a religious man to inquire into that which was intended to be a secret) was kept in the inmost part of the temple of Vesta, which was called *Penus*, as we are told by Festus; who saith, “*Penus vocabatur, locus ultimus in æde Vestæ, tegetibus, septus, &c.*” Into this place none but the Vestal virgins and the Pontifex Maximus might go; as Lipsius observes in his *Synagma de Vesta et Vestalibus*, cap. 4.

Ver. 35.] This verse only directs how the table and the candlestick (which were ordered to be made, xxv. 23, 31) should be set in the *holy place*, which was without the veil; one of them on the south side, and the other on the north side over against it. But whether in the middle of the *holy place*, or more towards the upper end, is not said.

Ver. 36.] Now directions are given about the entrance of the tabernacle; before which he orders a curtain to be hung. Which may be called the *first veil*, with respect to that before mentioned (ver. 31) which the apostle calls the *second* (Heb. ix. 3).

Of blue, and purple,] Concerning these colours, see xxv. 5, and concerning fine twined linen, xxviii. 6.

Wrought with needlework.] This was not such curious work as that which we translate *cunning work* (ver. 31), which was in the other veil, before the *most holy place* (see xxxviii. 39).

Besides this, Josephus saith there was another veil of linen to defend it from the injury of the weather; which was wont to be drawn aside upon festivals, that the people might see the beauty of this first veil. And indeed it is very probable, that some curtain or other was, in bad weather, at least, hung before it to secure it; as the covering of skins was over the hangings of the tabernacle.

Ver. 37. Make for the hanging five pillars] These pillars seem to have been disposed in this manner: two of them were placed at each corner, which, if they took up a cubit, then the other three being placed at

37 And thou shalt make for the hanging five pillars of shittim wood, and overlay them with

gold, and their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.

an equal distance, made four spaces, each of two cubits (i. e. a yard) wide; at which the priests entered, when they went to minister in the sanctuary.

Overlay them with gold.] It is not certain whether with plates of gold, or only gilded. But it appears from the thirty-sixth chap. ult. (where we read of the execution of this command), that by *pillars* are here to be understood only the *chapiters* of them, which were all gilded; and the pillars themselves had only

fillets or hoops of gold about them, in several parts of them.

Hooks shall be of gold.] As those for the other veil were (see ver. 32).

Cast five sockets of brass for them.] Their bases on which they stood were meaner than those for the pillars on which the second veil hung; for they were of silver, as the foundation of the whole house was (ver. 25, 32).

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 The altar of burnt offering, with the vessels thereof.

9 The court of the tabernacle enclosed with hangings and pillars. 18 The measure of the court. 20 The oil for the lamp.

1 AND thou shalt make an altar of shittim wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits.

2 And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof: his horns shall be of the same: and thou shalt overlay it with brass.

3 And thou shalt make his pans to receive his

CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *Make an altar*] Of burnt-offering, as it is explained xxxviii. 1. And the Hebrew word *mizbeach*, properly signifies that upon which sacrifices were slain and offered.

Of shittim wood.] What sort of wood this was, see xxv. 5.

Five cubits long, and five cubits broad.] It was two yards and a half square (according to the common notion of a cubit) at the top and bottom of it.

The height thereof shall be three cubits.] Being a yard and a half in height from the ground, the priest (as Fortunatus Scacchus observes) who ministered at it was half a yard above it; the common stature of a man being four cubits, i. e. two yards (Myroth. Sac. Elæo. ii. cap. 65). It is not said how thick the wood was of which this frame (as I may call it) was made; but it is certain that it was hollow within, that the grate mentioned ver. 4 might hang in the midst of it.

Ver. 2. *Make the horns of it upon the four corners*] The Hebrew word *kerem*, which properly signifies a horn, signifies also an eminent or high place; as in Isa. v. 1, God saith he hath planted a vineyard in a fruitful hill; where the words in the Hebrew are, in a horn of the son of oil. From whence it signifies a pinnacle, or spire rising up from any building, as these horns did from the altar, for the ornament of it. Some will have it that they were useful also to tie the sacrifices to it (which they gathered from Psalm cxviii. 27), and that they were of the fashion of oxen or rams' horns. Fortunatus Scacchus contends earnestly for this, in his Myrothec. ii. Sac. Elæochrysm. cap. 65, such horns being much in use in the ancient religion, as appears (he observes) from the altars of the gentiles. And yet he confesses in the sixty-ninth chapter of the same book, that such kind of straight pinnacles as I mentioned before, after the manner of obelisks (as his words are), were more convenient for the putting of the blood of the sacrifices round about them, as is required, Lev. xvi. 18.

His horns shall be of the same.] These spires seem to have been wrought out of the same piece of wood with the corners of the altar.

Overlay it with brass.] Some think it was overlaid with brass, not only without, but within; that the fire which burnt in the grate might not take hold of the wood. To prevent which, others fancied it was lined

within with unhewn stone: but there is no mention of any such thing; and it was unnecessary, if the brass be supposed to have been of such a thickness as to secure the wooden frame of the altar.

Ver. 3. *Make his pans*] The Hebrew word *siroth* signifies *pots* as well as *pans*; but here is determined to the latter sense, by the use of them, which here follows.

To receive his ashes.] Or rather, to carry out the ashes which fell from the altar upon the earth; and being taken up, were put into these pans to be carried into a clean place (Lev. iv. 12). Fortunatus Scacchus hath adventured to delineate the form of them in the book before mentioned, cap. 73.

His shovels.] The Hebrew word *hajahim* properly signifies *besoms* or *brooms*; but here is rightly translated *shovels*, by which, being made of brass, the ashes under the altar were scraped together on a heap, and then thrown into the pans.

His basons.] The principal use of these vessels was to receive the blood of the sacrifices, which was to be sprinkled as the law directed: for the Hebrew word *mizrakoth* carries this signification in it. Besides which, Fort. Scacchus thinks they served for the mixture of the oil with fine flour and frankincense, which were to be burnt on the altar. For when any man offered a meat-offering, the priest was to take a handful of the flour and of the oil, with all the frankincense, as God's part, to be consumed on the altar; and therefore we must suppose some vessel wherein these were brought to the priest, as the law requires (Lev. ii. 1, 2).

His fleshhooks.] Or *forks*, as the word *mizlegoth* may be translated; which Fort. Scacchus thinks were in the form of a *trident*. With which they stirred up the fire; and also ordered the pieces of the sacrifice, if any chanced to lie out of it, and put them into it, that every bit might be surely consumed.

His firepans.] These are commonly taken for dishes or censers, in which the priest carried burning coals from the altar into the sanctuary, to offer incense upon the golden altar. But the abovenamed Fort. Scacchus thinks they did not minister in the holy place with brazen censers; and therefore takes these *firepans* for a larger sort of vessel, wherein the sacred fire which came down from heaven was kept burning, whilst they cleansed the altar and the grate from the coals and ashes, and when this altar was to be carried from one place to another, as it was often in the

ashes, and his shovels, and his basons, and his fleshhooks, and his firepans: all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass.

4 And thou shalt make for it a grate of network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four corners thereof.

5 And thou shalt put it under the compass of the altar beneath, that the net may be even to the midst of the altar.

6 And thou shalt make staves for the altar,

staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with brass.

7 And the staves shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two sides of the altar, to bear it.

8 Hollow with boards shalt thou make it: as it was shewed thee in the mount, so shall they make it.

9 ¶ And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: for the south side southward *there*

wilderness (Myrothee. ii. Sacr. Elæochrysm. cap. 73).

Ver. 4. *Make for it a grate*] This was the principal part of the altar; the wood being laid here, and the sacrifices burnt in it. Whence the Greeks call it *ισόγεια*; which was the name the heathen gave to the fireplace upon their altars, as we learn from Jul. Pollux. The figure of it was round (as Fort. Scæchus gathers from the very name in Hebrew; for *michbar* signifies a *sieve*), but grew less and less, till at the bottom it ended, like a top, in a point. So he describes it in the forenamed book (cap. 71).

Of network] It was made full of holes, like a *sieve* or *net* (and thence called simply *the net*, in the latter end of this verse, and in the next), that the ashes might fall through them to the bottom of the altar; where there was a door, on the east side, to open and take out the ashes.

Of brass] The metal of which all the forenamed things were made, and the altar itself was overlaid.

And upon the net] i. e. The grate full of holes, as was said before.

Make four brasen rings] The use of which was double; first, that by them it might be hung upon the altar: and then, when it was to be cleansed, or removed in their travels, it might by them be taken off.

In the four corners] This seems to overthrow what I now said of its circular figure: but it is to be observed, that Moses doth not use the same word here, which he doth when he speaks of the four corners of the altar, which he calls *pinoth* (ver. 2), but calls these only *ketzoth*, which may be better translated the *extremities* of it, as the said Fort. Scæchus hath noted.

Ver. 5. *Put it under the compass of the altar beneath*] Some have fancied that this grate was placed only at the top of the altar: but that doth not agree with these directions, which only place it beneath, in the hollow part of the altar (called in the Hebrew *careob*, which signifies, as R. Solomon saith, any thing that is round, and is by us translated *the compass*), but so much lower than the top of the altar, that it was even to the midst of it, as it here follows.

That the net may be even to the midst of the altar] This shows the depth of the grate to have been a cubit and a half: for the altar being three cubits high (ver. 1), and the bottom of this being even to the middle of the altar, it must hang down half-way to the ground, and consequently be a cubit and a half from the top of it to the bottom. So that this grate seems to have been made like to a furnace, full of holes round about, as well as below; and perhaps was hung by chains, in the rings before mentioned, to the horns of the altar.

Ver. 6. *Make staves for the altar*] Of such a length that they might be laid upon the shoulders of the priests; and the altar, when they carried it, hang between them.

Ver. 7. *The staves shall be put into the rings*] Besides the rings for the grate, there were others (it appears by this) in the altar itself, into which the staves were to be put when it was to be removed.

The staves shall be upon the two sides of the altar, to bear it] It is plain by this, that the staves were not put into the rings of the grate (which was within the hollow part of the altar), unless we imagine, as Dr. Lightfoot doth, that the rings of the grate came through the frame of the altar, and hung out on the sides of it; so that the frame and the grate were carried together. But, besides other objections against this, from the different form of the grate and the altar, it may be doubted whether they were carried together, and not separate one from another; especially if we conceive the grate to have been carried with the fire still burning on it; which would have immediately consumed the purple cloth, wherewith the altar was to be covered, when they removed it (Numb. iv. 13). But the *fire-pans* before mentioned (ver. 3), it is probable, as I noted there, received the fire out of the grate: and then, it being cleansed from the ashes, was carried together with the altar, to which it was fastened with its rings; a purple cloth being spread over both.

Ver. 8. *Hollow with boards shalt thou make it*] Otherwise the grate could not have been in the midst of it, as is before ordered (ver. 5).

It was shewed thee in the mount] Of this also he had a model set before him, as he had of other things (see xxv. 9, 40).

So shall they make it] By that pattern he was to direct the workmen to make it.

Ver. 9. *Make the court of the tabernacle*] The Hebrew word *chatzar* properly signifies a *green field* or *close*. Such was this place, uncovered in the open air, but enclosed with pillars and hangings; which made it such a place as we call a court-yard before a house. In this court stood the tabernacle, or dwelling-house of God: not just in the midst of it, but towards the upper end. And here the altar of burnt-offering stood, between the tabernacle and the lower end of the court: and the laver, wherein they washed, stood on the side of the altar. David speaks of more courts than one (Ps. lxxv. 5, lxxxiv. 3), but Moses made only one, into which the priests came to offer sacrifice. Whether the people were admitted into it is not certain: if they were, it could contain no great number; and they stood at a great distance from the priests, in the lower part of the court; and were separated by some bounds or other, as they were in aftertimes when they came into Canaan. Where being settled, and the tabernacle fixed in Shiloh, the Hebrews say it was enclosed with a wall, as well as with hangings; and then, it is likely, a distinct court was made for the people; at least it was so in David's time, as the places above mentioned prove. And in the temple of Solomon we read plainly of more courts than one (1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 12; 2 Chron. iv. 9, xxxiii. 5), viz. *the court of the priests, and the court of the people*. Unto which, in the temple of Herod, after the captivity, was added a third, *the court of the women*.

For the south side southward] It was to have two large sides, as the tabernacle had; whose south side

shall be hangings for the court of fine twined linen of an hundred cubits long for one side :

10 And the twenty pillars thereof and their twenty sockets shall be of brass ; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets shall be of silver.

11 And likewise for the north side in length there shall be hangings of an hundred cubits long, and his twenty pillars and their twenty sockets of brass ; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.

12 ¶ And for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits : their pillars ten, and their sockets ten.

13 And the breadth of the court on the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits.

14 The hangings of one side of the gate shall be fifteen cubits : their pillars three, and their sockets three.

15 And on the other side shall be hangings

being first ordered to be made (xxvi. 18), so is the same side of the court.

[Hangings for the court of fine twined linen] What fine linen and twined were, see xxv. 5, xxviii. 6. These hangings were not curiously embroidered with flowers, as those of the tabernacle were (xxvi. 1), but were made of simple fine six-threaded linen.

[Of an hundred cubits long for one side :] By this it appears that the length of the court was a hundred cubits, or fifty yards, though of yards longer than ours, as I have said before, xxv. 10 (see ver. 18).

Ver. 10. The twenty pillars thereof.] These are thought by most to be made of shittim wood.

Twenty sockets shall be of brass :] The pillars were placed five cubits distant from each other, upon bases of brass, which were more firm and lasting than wood.

Hooks of the pillars.] These were, like our tenters, to hang the curtains of the court upon, see xxvii. 32, concerning the word *vave*.

Fillets shall be of silver.] The Hebrew word *chushuk* properly signifies a circle ; but whether these were thin hoops of silver, or only fillets (as we translate it), or silver twist, is uncertain. Yet it seems to be plain from the thirty-eighth chapter, that the heads of the pillars, into which the hooks were fastened, were silvered over.

Ver. 11.] Here are the very same directions given for the hangings, pillars, bases, &c. of this side of the court, which are nothing different from the former.

Ver. 12.] By this it appears that the court was as long again as it was wide, there being hangings but of half the length for the west end, and only half so many pillars and sockets.

Ver. 13.] This end was of the same dimensions with the west end.

Ver. 14.] The hangings of this end of the court were divided, because there was to be a gate ; the entrance into the court being at the east end. Each side of the gate consisted of fifteen cubits ; and accordingly the hangings were of that length, upon three pillars on each side, as this verse and the next direct.

Ver. 16. The gate of the court shall be an hanging of twenty cubits.] The entrance being twenty cubits wide, if we add to them the fifteen cubits which were on each side of the entrance, they make in all fifty cubits ; which was the breadth of the east end of the court, as well as of the west (ver. 12, 13).

Of blue, and purple, and scarlet, &c.] Concerning all this, see xxv. 5. And here only observe, that the hangings of the gate were far richer than the rest

fifteen cubits : their pillars three, and their sockets three.

16 ¶ And for the gate of the court shall be an hanging of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework : and their pillars shall be four, and their sockets four.

17 All the pillars round about the court shall be filleted with silver ; their hooks shall be of silver, and their sockets of brass.

18 ¶ The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five cubits of fine twined linen, and their sockets of brass.

19 All the vessels of the tabernacle in all the service thereof, and all the pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

20 ¶ And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they bring thee pure oil olive

of the court : which were merely of fine twined linen (ver. 9), but these of several other beautiful colours, and adorned with that work they called *rokem*, which we translate *needlework*. What that was, see xxxviii. 39.

Their pillars shall be four, and their sockets four.] Proportionable to those on each side of the gate ; which were three for hangings of fifteen cubits (ver. 14, 15), as these were four for hangings of twenty.

Ver. 17. The pillars—shall be filleted with silver :] Those at the east and west ends, as well as those on the south and north sides.

Their hooks shall be of silver, and their sockets of brass.] As was before directed (ver. 10, 11).

Ver. 18.] Here all the dimensions of the court are put together : the length and breadth of which might be inferred from the hangings (ver. 9, 12, &c.), but here are expressly determined ; together with the height, which was not at all intimated before ; and now appointed to be five cubits, i. e. two yards and a half, of larger measure than ours. So that the tabernacle might be plainly seen by the people ; for it was as high again as the walls (if I may so call them) that encompassed it.

Of fine twined linen.] This seems to be a brief repetition of what was said before concerning the hangings, and the pillars which stood on bases of brass.

Ver. 19.] This is also a repetition in general of what was said before, particularly ver. 3, for all the vessels belonging to the tabernacle itself were of gold, as we read in the twenty-fifth chapter.

All the pins thereof.] The tabernacle had nothing of brass in the fabric of it, but the bases of the pillars at the entrance (xxvi. 37) and therefore these pins, I suppose, belong to them, whereby the pillars were fastened in their sockets.

The pins of the court, shall be of brass.] These brazen pins were struck into the ground (as Dr. Lightfoot understands it), that the hangings, which were tied to them by cords, might be kept from flying up at the bottom.

Ver. 20. Bring thee pure oil olive beaten] Not squeezed out by a press, or by a mill (for such was full of sediment and dregs), but which ran freely from the olives, being bruised with a pestle.

For the light.] In the golden candlestick (xxv. 37).

To cause the lamp to burn always.] Sufficient to keep the lamp always burning. Some imagine that it did not burn day and night, but, being lighted every evening, went out in the morning. And there are some places which seem to favour this opinion, particularly

beaten for the light, to cause the lamp to burn always.

21 In the tabernacle of the congregation without the veil, which *is* before the testimony,

1 Sam. iii. 3, where mention is made of the lamp going out, viz. in the morning. See also 2 Chron. xiii. 11, where we read of *setting the lamps to burn every evening*; which seems to signify that they did not burn in the day. But Josephus, who was a priest and could not but know, and had no reason to tell a lie, saith they burned day and night. And indeed it was but necessary; for otherwise the priest must have ministered in the dark, at the altar of incense, before the Divine Majesty, who kept a table in the sanctuary which required light; for nobody feasts in darkness. And therefore R. Levi, of Barcelona (Præcept. xviii.), saith, God commanded a lamp should always burn in the sanctuary, for the honour and majesty of it; there being no

Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the Lord: *it shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel.*

light conveyed to it otherways. But it is highly probable, there were not so many of the lamps burning in the day as in the night, when all the seven lamps were lighted; some of which were put out in the morning, and lighted again in the evening. So Josephus saith expressly (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 9), "Three burnt all day before the Lord, and the rest were lighted in the evening."

Ver. 21. *Without the veil,*] That is, the second veil, which was before the most holy place.

Before the testimony,] That is, the ark of the testimony (see xxv. 21, 22).

Aaron and his sons shall order it] As direction is more fully given, xxx. 7, 8.

It shall be a statute for ever] See xxxviii. 43.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *Aaron and his sons are set apart for the priest's office. 2 Holy garments are appointed. 6 The ephod. 15 The breastplate with twelve precious stones. 30 The Urim and Thummim. 31 The robe of the ephod, with pomegranates and bells. 36 The plate of the mitre. 39 The embroidered coat. 40 The garments for Aaron's sons.*

1 AND take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, *even* Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons.

2 And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother for glory and for beauty.

3 And thou shalt speak unto all *that are* wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they may make Aaron's garments

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ver. 1.] Here Aaron and his sons are designed to the priest's office: and afterwards (xxxii. 19), the whole tribe of Levi were consecrated to the Lord by a noble act of zeal which they performed. And at last (Numb. i. 51, and many other places) it was made capital for any one else to officiate at the tabernacle, but them only.

Minister unto me] Attend on me as my servant in my court. For *cohen* signifies one that serves in ministerio honorabili, "in an honourable office," as appears from Job xii. 19. Therefore David's sons are called by this name (2 Sam. viii. 18), and it was given to the priests: quatenus fuerunt primarii Dei ministri, "as they were the principal ministers of God;" as Junius observes upon Gen. xli. 45.

In the priest's office,] Wheresoever there hath been any religion there have been priests; whose office it peculiarly was, to minister unto God in the service belonging to him. But this is the first time we read of any constituted in Israel by a Divine appointment; at least the priesthood was not confined to the particular family of Aaron, who was made high-priest, and his sons priests of a lower order. Some heathens imitated this, by continuing the priesthood in a certain family. For Plato says, there were in some places *ῥάτται ἱεροσύνας*, both of men and women; which in the foundation of a city he would not have a lawgiver alter; but where there was no such constitution he would have annual priests, and none but grave men of sixty years of age put into the office (lib. vi. de Leg. p. 759).

Even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar,] These were all the males in this family at present, whose descendants in future ages were all priests.

Ver. 2. *Make holy garments for Aaron*] If very good authors did not affirm it, we should scarce think it credible, that the priests among some of the ancient heathens offered sacrifices to their gods naked. Particularly the old Arabians, as Hottinger observes in his *Histor. Orientalis*, lib. i. cap. 7. But such filthiness was abhorred by most people, whose priests were not only clothed, but performed their service at the altar in a peculiar habit. So that there is scarce any author who treats of the sacrifices and the priests of the heathen, that doth not speak of their garments also. As Moses here in the first institution of the priesthood among the Jews, to offer peculiar sacrifices at God's house, takes a special care, by the Divine direction, about their vestments. Which the Hebrew doctors think so inseparable from the priesthood, that they fancy Adam, Abel, and Cain, did not sacrifice without them (see Gen. iii. 22).

They are called *holy*, because they might be worn by none but them, and by them only when they ministered unto God.

For Aaron] The high-priest had some garments peculiar to himself, which none of the other priests might wear. They were four; the breast-plate, the robe, the ephod, and the plate of gold. There were four more he also wore, but they were common to him with the other priests, viz. the coat, the drawers, the girdle, and the bonnet. Their bonnets, indeed, and his mitre, were of a different form; yet they are not considered by the Jews as distinct vestments, being both coverings of the head. And they make account the high-priest never wore at any one time above eight sorts of garments; nor the lower above four. This is the universal sense of the Hebrew writers; and I cannot give any account why Grotius mentions only seven garments of the high-priest (reckon-

to consecrate him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.

4 And these *are* the garments which they shall make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and

ing the golden plate for one), which he will have to answer unto the seven lamps in the candlestick. For it is evident by this very chapter he wore eight, viz. the *ephod*, (ver. 8), the *breastplate* (ver. 15), the *robe* (ver. 31), the *plate of gold* (ver. 36), the *embroidered coat*, the *girdle*, and the *mitre* (ver. 39), which are all ordered for Aaron the high-priest; and afterward (ver. 42, 43), *breeches* are ordered for him as well as his sons, which make up the number of eight.

For *glory and for beauty*.] To make their office more respected, and strike men with an awful sense of the Divine Majesty, whose ministers they saw appear in such grandeur. For this and the foregoing precepts (as Maimonides observes) were given to render the sanctuary of God more august and magnificent; for which end he magnified the dignity of those who ministered there; and not only separated them from other men, but ordered them to be clothed in beautiful and precious garments, that they might appear there like men of honour (More Nevoch. lib. iii. cap. 45), unto which R. Levi of Barcelona well adds (Præcept. xcix.) that by these glorious garments the priests were put in mind of their dignity, and admonished to perform the Divine service with a spirit suitable to the greatness of Him unto whom they were consecrated. It may be fit for me also to add, that there being two sorts of garments which the high-priest wore (those they called *white*, and those they called *golden*), both of them were very rich, and made him look gloriously; whether the materials, or the colours, or the art wherewith they were made, be regarded; as will appear in the particular account which is given of them in this chapter (see ver. 40).

Ver. 3. *Speak unto all that are wise hearted*.] So the Hebrews call those who had extraordinary skill in any art; according to the ancient opinion, which made the heart the seat of the mind.

Whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom.] Endued with singular skill. For the word *ruach*, in Scripture, signifies a gift of God; whereby they who had it performed what they undertook excellently. And mechanical arts are called *wisdom*, as well as higher sciences; so St. Paul calls himself a *wise master builder*. Which was the ancient language of the world before the time of Pythagoras, as Cuperus observes (in his Apotheosis Homer, p. 119), out of Georgius Diaconus's preface to Aristotle's Logic, and out of Nichomachus Gerasinus, whose words are very remarkable: "When all before Pythagoras were called by the common name of *σοφοί*, even 'builders of houses,' and 'curriers of leather,' and 'pilots,' και ἀπλῶς ὁ τέχνης τῶν καὶ δημοφιλῆς ἐμπειροῦς, 'and, in general, every one that was skilful in any art or public work,' that philosopher denied this name to them." Notwithstanding which, some authors, in aftertimes, still observed the ancient use: inasmuch that Elian calls fishermen, who understood their art well, *σοφοὶ τῶν ὀρέων* (lib. i. de Animal. cap. 2), and Lucius calls Perilaus *σοφὸν χαλκία*, "a wise brazier;" and Aristotle himself observes that Phidias was called *κλῶρον σοφόν*, "a wise stone-cutter" (lib. v. Moral. ad Eudemum). Nor were the Latins strangers to this language (as Cuperus shows in the same place), which is here used by Moses: whose entire sense in these words is this: that the men here spoken of, "being very skilful of themselves in their several arts, their skill was so increased by God's special gift, that they became marvellous artists."

a robe, and a brodered coat, a mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.

That they may make Aaron's garments.] They were first employed in making garments for Aaron; which were the most costly, and required most care in the work about them. The principal of these excellent artists were Bezaleel and Aholiab (xxx. 1, 2, &c.).

Consecrate him.] To be put on at his consecration (xxix. 5, 6, &c.).

That he may minister unto me in the priest's office.] For without these garments he might not minister. Whence that common saying in the Talmud, concerning the priests, "While they are clothed in their garments they are priests; when they want them they are not priests." Which Maimonides expresses thus: When they are clothed in their garments their priesthood is upon them; when they are not clothed with them, their priesthood is not upon them. That is, they might no more perform Divine service than mere laymen. Whence it was, that under the second temple (when they wanted the holy oil to anoint him), the high-priest was made merely by clothing him with the forenamed eight garments. And as they might not minister without these, so they might not add any other to them: if they did, their ministry was unlawful. For which reason they might not wear gloves on their hands, or shoes on their feet; for from their knees (to which their breeches reached) to their feet, they were naked; only their coats in some sort covered their legs. But they stood barefoot in the sanctuary while they ministered. We do not find, indeed, that God anywhere forbade them to minister in shoes; but they being not commanded, when God orders them other vestments, particularly bonnets for their heads, and saith here expressly, these are the garments thou shalt make, that Aaron may minister to me in the priest's office; the Jews thence concluded, that God intended they should use no other, and not so much as any thing on their feet in the sanctuary. And this out of reverence to that holy place; as Moses was commanded to put off his shoes, because of the presence of God in that ground where he stood.

Which to me is an argument, that Moses did not intend to come as near to the Egyptian rites as he might with safety, but rather to oppose them. For their priests had ἱποδήματα βιββiana on their feet, as Herodotus tells us (lib. ii. cap. 7). And so the priests of several other nations ministered in shoes of several kinds: though others, it is certain, ministered barefoot; particularly the priests of Diana at Castobala, as Strabo tells us, lib. xii. And nothing is more known than that saying of Pythagoras, ἀνυπόδητος εἶναι καὶ προσκίνεῖν, "sacrifice and worship unshod:" the people, as well as the priests, putting off their shoes when they came to the temple, as the Jews did.

Ver. 4.] These which follow were the principal garments wherewith the high-priest was clothed: besides which there was a plate of gold; and also breeches, common to him and all the rest of the priests.

They shall make.] The skilful men before mentioned were to make them by his order and direction.

Holy garments.] Which none should wear but they (see ver. 2).

For Aaron thy brother, and his sons.] Some of these were peculiar to Aaron; others of them common to him and to his sons; as will appear in the particular account which is given of them afterward.

That he may minister unto me.] See ver. 3. These garments were only to be used in the time of their ministrations; at other times they never wore them,

5 And they shall take gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen.

6 ¶ And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linen, with cunning work.

7 It shall have the two shoulderpieces thereof joined at the two edges thereof; and so it shall be joined together.

but were then habited like other men; as Mr. Selden proves (lib. ii. de Succession. cap. 7), and at large confirms (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11, n. 3, &c.).

Ver. 5. *And they*] i. e. The skilful workmen before mentioned.

Shall take gold, &c.] This verse directs to the materials of which the priests' garments were to be made. For though these five words denote so many colours; yet the first word and the last (viz. *gold* and *fine linen*) show the matter also is included; from which colour cannot be separated. And as for the matter of their garments, they were made either of woollen or linen; nothing of hair or silk being used in their texture: for as to *gold* and *jewels*, they were rather for ornament, than for the making the substance of the garments. So all the Hebrew doctors, whose maxim is this, "the priests are not clothed in their ministry at the temple, but in woollen and linen." The matter of them, indeed, is not here expressed in this chapter, save only of their breeches, which are ordered to be made of linen (ver. 42). But in xxxix. 27, &c., all the garments of Aaron's sons are expressly said to be made of fine linen; except the girdle, which was partly of linen, partly of woollen. The garments of the high-priest, which the Jews called white garments, were certainly made of linen; and his girdle also was of the same, without any mixture of woollen, when he wore those garments on the great day of expiation, as Braunius shows (lib. i. de Vestitu Sac. Hebr. cap. 7).

Gold,] The Hebrews say there were seven sorts of gold, which was diversified either by its colour, or the place from which it came, or its goodness. But that which was used about these garments, they conclude was the gold they called *tahor*, which we translate *pure gold* (ver. 22, 36), i. e. the finest, and of the brightest colour; between a yellow and red.

Blue, and purple, &c.] Of these colours, see xxv. 4.

Fine linen.] The Hebrew word *shesh* signifies a pure kind of *fine linen*, not silk) as some have imagined, for there was no such thing known in Moses's days. It was of a shining white colour; and therefore all the inferior priests were clothed in white, their garments being made of this. And such were all the garments wherewith the high-priest entered into the most holy place, on the great day of expiation. And wheresoever the Scripture speaks of *fine linen*, and mentions no colour, we are to understand white.

Ver. 6. *They shall make the ephod*] We retain the Hebrew word, which doth not express the form of this garment; but the next verse teaches us something of it; that it was a short garment, which hung behind upon the shoulders down to the buttocks, and came down before upon the breast and the belly. It consisted of three parts: that which covered the breast and the back (which the Hebrews take to be properly called the *ephod*), then the two shoulder-pieces, which came up from the arm-holes to the shoulders (mentioned in the next verse), and then the girdle belonging to it (ver. 8).

Of gold, of blue,] See the foregoing verse.

Fine twined linen.] Here is another word added to *shesh* (or *fine linen*), which is *maskzar*. Which is never joined with any thing but *shesh* in all the Scrip-

8 And the curious girdle of the ephod, which is upon it, shall be of the same, according to the work thereof; *even of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.*

9 And thou shalt take two onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel:

10 Six of their names on one stone, and the

ture; and only once found without *shesh*, which is to be understood, xxxix. 24. It is thought by Maimonides, and other Hebrew doctors, to signify *linen of six threads*: some will have it, that where it is mentioned alone it signifies *eight-threaded linen*.

With cunning work.] The Hebrew word *chosheb*, which we translate *cunning*, signifies the most artificial, or ingenious sort of work; which consisted in the great variety of figures and colours that were in it; like that which is sometimes made of divers birds' feathers; as J. Braunius shows (lib. i. de Vest. Sac. Hebr. cap. 17).

Ver. 7. *It shall have the two shoulderpieces*] They are so called, because they covered the shoulders; from whence the LXX. call the whole ephod by the name of *ἵμνος*. The Jews think they were woven by themselves, and then sewed to the back and breast-pieces with a needle. So the next words seem to them to signify.

Joined at the two edges] Which Abarbinel interprets in this manner: the ephod shall have two shoulder-pieces, which, being made by themselves, separate from it, were afterwards sewed to the two extremities of the ephod. But the Hebrew words, if they be examined, import no such thing; but run thus, *it shall have two shoulder-pieces, joined at the two ends of it*. Now they might be joined in the very weaving of it, and not by a needle afterward: and so they were in all probability, as Braunius hath endeavoured to demonstrate.

And so it shall be joined together.] In the Hebrew the words are no more than these, *and it shall be joined together*: which may be understood of the coherence of the fore-part and hinder-part, by the two golden buttons, set with onyx-stones, which joined them together on the shoulders.

Ver. 8. *Curious girdle of the ephod,*] The word *chosheb*, which we translate *curious girdle*, signifies it was of such artificial work as the ephod itself was. And it seems to have been two strings (as we may call them) which went out of each side of it, and tied it to their bodies, under their arm-holes, about the heart. So the high-priest had two girdles; that belt (as we may call it) which tied his coat to him; and this girdle, which tied the fore-part and hinder-part of the ephod together. It is called the *girdle of the ephod*, because it was annexed to those two cloths, and not to the shoulder-pieces.

Shall be of the same,] Or, *out of it*: to signify that the girdle was woven together with the ephod, and went out of it. So Jarchi and Abarbinel.

According to the work] This signifies it was to be made of the same matter, and woven after the same manner, with all the ornaments of the ephod itself; having all those five colours in it, mentioned ver. 4, and here repeated again.

Ver. 9. *Take two onyx stones,*] Concerning the onyx-stones, see Gen. ii. 12.

Grave on them the names of the children of Israel.] The princes (as Abarbinel observes) presented Moses with these stones; on which he himself did not engrave the names of the children of Israel, but some person skilful in that art. For it is expressly called (ver. 11) "the work of an engraver in stone."

other six names of the rest on the other stone, according to their birth.

11 With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones with the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of gold.

12 And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulders of the ephod for stones of memorial unto the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before the Lord upon his two shoulders for a memorial.

Ver. 10.] The six eldest on that stone which was upon the right shoulder: and the six younger on the other upon the left: as several of the Hebrew doctors expound it: particularly Jarchi, with whom Josephus agrees (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 8). The Talmudists, indeed, dispose them otherwise; but this is most suitable to the word *toledoth*, according to their generations, or their birth, as we render the latter end of the verse.

Ver. 11. *With the work of an engraver in stone,*] Done with such art as such workmen use.

Like the engravings of a signet,] The same words are used again (ver. 36), where he speaks of the engravings upon the plate of gold. On which Abarbinel saith the letters were protuberant, as they are upon coins, or upon wax impressed with a seal: but here on the ephod and the breastplate, he thinks the names were cut deep in the stones, as letters are in a seal. For which I can see no reason, the words being the very same; and therefore, if the letters were protuberant in the one, they were so in the other.

Make them to be set in ouches of gold.] The Hebrew word *mishbetsoth*, which we translate *ouches*, signifies as much as the Latin word *fundæ*; the socket, as I may say, wherein the stones were set. Both which made a button; not of a round figure, but something like a lozenge, or, as Maimonides expresses it, like the figure of those holes that are in the stomach of such animals as chew the cud, called *reticulum* (see Jo. Braunius de Vest. Sacr. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17, n. 8). By these buttons the hinder part of the ephod was fastened to the fore-part upon the shoulders; and the breastplate also hung upon them by golden chains.

Ver. 12. *Put the two stones upon the shoulders of the ephod*] This is explained in the following words, that "Aaron might bear their names before the Lord upon his shoulders for a memorial." That is, might remember to recommend the twelve tribes of Israel unto God, when he offered incense, and made his prayers before him. Or, for a token, that he appeared before God in the name of the whole people of Israel.

Others will have this memorial refer to God, before whom he presented himself, that he might be gracious unto his people, when the high-priest came thus attired, according to his own order, to pray for them; with assurance that he would be mindful of them all. And to this the twenty-ninth verse seems to incline; where the same is said to be the intention of engraving their names upon the twelve stones on the breastplate (see xxxix. 7).

Ver. 13. *Make ouches of gold;*] See ver. 11, where the word *mishbetsoth* is explained.

Ver. 14. *And two chains of pure gold at the ends, &c.*] These chains did not consist of many little rings, but of many threads or wires of gold twisted together like a rope. For which reason Moses adds, *of wreathen work shalt thou make them*. This Bartenora takes to be the meaning of the word *migbaloth* (which we translate *at the ends*), which he expounds *cords*

13 ¶ And thou shalt make ouches of gold;

14 And two chains of pure gold at the ends; of wreathen work shalt thou make them, and fasten the wreathen chains to the ouches.

15 ¶ And thou shalt make the breastplate of judgment with cunning work; after the work of the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine twined linen, shalt thou make it.

16 Foursquare it shall be being doubled; a span shall be the length thereof, and a span shall be the breadth thereof.

or cables. They were not, saith he, like to those iron chains wherewith prisoners are bound, consisting of several joints; but twisted of golden threads, till they were as thick as cords. Others think *migbaloth* signifies *equal*; because they were of an equal thickness, or of an equal length. But our translation also may be defended; for the ends of them were annexed to the rings of the breastplate (ver. 24). But as these chains were annexed at one end to the rings of the breastplate, so at the other end they were annexed to the golden buttons upon the shoulders; so that the breastplate hung upon the golden buttons by the chains.

Fasten the wreathen chains to the ouches.] Moses only briefly mentions the two chains in this place, to signify that the *ouches* in the ephod served for the support of the breastplate, by these two chains; which properly belonged to that, and not to the ephod, as Jarchi observes. And therefore, after directions for the breastplate (which here follow), they are again spoken of in their proper place (ver. 22). As ver. 27 there are two golden rings spoken of, which belong to the ephod; but not mentioned till then, because by these rings the breastplate and ephod were knit together.

Ver. 15. *Make the breastplate*] Next, after the ephod, directions are given for the *choshen*, which we translate *breastplate*; taking it, I suppose, to come from the Hebrew word *chazeh*, which signifies the *breast*. For by the change of a letter (which is not unusual) *choshen* may well be thought to come from thence, because it lay upon the breast and covered it.

Of judgment] For the priest wore it, when he went to consult the Divine Majesty about the great concerns of their religion or government; and received such answers, as directed them what to determine in dubious cases, either in war or peace (see ver. 29).

With cunning work;] See ver. 6.

After the work of the ephod thou shalt make it, &c.] It was to be made of the same materials with the ephod; and with the same artifice, as it here follows.

Ver. 16. *Foursquare it shall be being doubled;*] The words are in the Hebrew, *four-square shall it be doubled*. Which are to be thus understood, that the whole piece was not square till it was doubled. So Maimonides. It was a cubit long (i. e. two spans), and its breadth a span, but being doubled it was a square of a span, both in length and in breadth. From whence it follows, that it was hollow; so that it may be compared to one of our purses; only it doth not appear whether it were sewed together at the sides, or on one side, or open on both sides; though it is commonly said so to be. But it is possible that it was doubled, merely that it might be stronger to bear the weight of so many precious stones, and of the rings and chains; not that it might have any thing put between it.

17 And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, even four rows of stones: the first row shall be a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this shall be the first row.

[A span shall be the length thereof, &c.] This is just the measure of a man's breast.

Ver. 17. Set in it settings of stones.] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, fill it with fillings of stones. Which plainly signifies that these stones were set, as precious stones are now in our rings, in a *funda*, or *hollow*, which was filled up with the stone. In the twentieth verse we translate it *enclosings*. So Jarchi, because the stone filled up the hollowness of the *ouches* to which they were fitted, and therefore Moses uses the word *fillings*. Abarbanel here observes, that Moses saith *fillings of stone*, in the singular number, not the plural (and so in the next words, four rows of *stone*, or *stones*, as we translate it), to signify that all the stones were so set in the breastplate, as if they were but one stone. For all the *fundæ*, in which they were set, consisted of one mass of gold, wherein were twelve *ouches*, in which every single stone was set, as we see it now in our present lockets.

Even four rows of stones:] With a square of precious stones.

The first row shall be a sardius, &c.] There is so little certainty what these stones were, that nothing can be affirmed about them; as appears by the vast variety of interpretations that have been made of them, by writers both old and new. The first of them is called *odem*, in the Hebrew, which some take to be a *ruby*; but have no other reason for it than only because צרור signifies *red*. Others take it for an *adamant*; which may seem to be derived from *odem*, as a jasper is from *jasphe*. And there are several other conjectures, but none so probable as that of our translators; who call it a *sardius* (or *sardine stone*, as they render it, Rev. iv. 3), which is of a red flaming colour (as Braunius hath demonstrated from several authors, lib. ii. de Vest. Sacr. Hebr. cap. 8, n. 8), but, as some describe it, with a cast of yellow in it, like that of fresh oil. And it is not improbable that this stone had the name of *sardius* from the Hebrew word *sered*, which signifies *red*, Isa. xlv. 13, as Kimchi there interprets it. And thence the Divine Majesty is said to look like a sardine stone (in the place above named) because he appeared in great anger. So an ancient writer, δὲ τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, παρομοιάζει τὸ Σάρδιον.

Topaz.] The second stone in this row is, in Hebrew, called *pitdah*, which we truly translate a *topaz*: which was a stone of a green colour, not a yellow, as we now commonly understand it. So Pliny and others, as the same Braunius shows (lib. ii. cap. 9), where he fancies that the word *topasion*, by an easy change of letters, was made out of *pitdah*: for the Syriac interpreter (Rev. xxi. 20), calls this stone *topadion*; in which there are the same letters that are in *pitdah*. But however this be, it appears from Job xxviii. 19, that this is the right translation of the word; for there it is *Pitdah Cush*, the most excellent *topaz* stones being found in an island belonging to Arabia, called thence by the name of *Topasion*.

Carbuncle.] So we translate the third stone of the first row (which in Hebrew is called *bareketh*), following perhaps Abarbanel. But the greatest part of interpreters take it for the *smaragdus*; which good authors describe as the most radiant of all other stones: and therefore called, perhaps, *bareketh*, from its extraordinary splendour; for *barak*, everybody knows, signifies to *glitter* (Ezek. xxi. 10). The best authors say, the colour of it is a *grass green*; won-

derfully refreshing (as Pliny describes it) to the eyes, when one looks upon it.

18 And the second row shall be an emerald, a sapphire, and amond.

19 And the third row a figure, an agate, and an amethyst.

derfully refreshing (as Pliny describes it) to the eyes, when one looks upon it.

Ver. 18. The second row shall be an emerald.] The Hebrew word *nophech*, which we translate *emerald*, is by most interpreters taken to signify a *carbuncle*. Some of which stones are white; but the most excellent of all other are red, shining like fire, or a burning coal: whence the name of *carbuncle*, from *carbo*, a hot coal. And to this the Hebrew word *nophech* agrees; which Braunius ingeniously conjectures comes from *phuch*, which signifies that red wherewith women painted their faces (2 Kings ix. 30). And, in short, he takes it for that stone which we now call a *ruby*. And so Abarbanel translates it, and Luther also (vide lib. ii. cap. 11).

Sapphire.] This stone is mentioned before, xxiv. 9, and it retains its name to this day, almost among all people. So that there is no question, but only what kind of stone it was, about which authors differ. For some say it was a white stone (and there are some so pale, that they incline to that rather than any other colour), but it is plain that stone was called anciently a *sapphire*, which is now so called; being of the colour of the heavens, or the veins, that is, a sky-colour (see xxiv. 10; Cantic. v. 14; Lament. iv. 7).

Diamond.] So we rightly translate the Hebrew word *jahalom*: which is thought to come from *halam*, which signifies to *break*. Whence *halmuth* is a *hammer*, or a *maul* (Judg. v. 26). For the adamant or diamond is the hardest of all stones; which breaks them all, but is broken by none, as Abarbanel speaks. It was anciently accounted the most precious of all gems, as Pliny acknowledges (lib. xxxvii. cap. 4).

Ver. 19. And the third row a figure,] So we translate the Hebrew word *leshem*, which being nowhere else found, the meaning of it is uncertain. But a great many, both of the ancients and moderns, translate it as we do: though what a *figure* is cannot easily be resolved. Some think *λεγύριον*, or *λεγγούριον*, to be nothing but the best *amber*. But that is no precious stone, as all here mentioned are; and therefore (to mention no other conjectures) Braunius thinks we are to understand by this word a kind of *jacinth*: of which there being divers sorts, he judges it likely to be that which nearest approaches to the colour of amber; which hath made authors take them for the same. The ancients, indeed, commonly by a *jacinth* understand a stone of a violet colour, but more pale and dilute than in the amethyst: and the stone now called an *amethyst*, was anciently called a *jacinth*. Yet they mention *jacinths* of divers other colours, and some shining like fire (vide lib. ii. de Vestit. Sacr. Hebr. cap. 14, n. 11, 12).

Agate.] So the Hebrew word *sheho* (which is nowhere else mentioned in Scripture) is translated by the greatest part of interpreters; who take this for that stone the Greeks call *achates*. Which is so well known that it needs no description; being that beautiful stone which nature hath painted with great variety: from whence it hath got several names, as the same Braunius observes in the same book, cap. 15, n. 4, &c. And the very name of *achates* seems to be derived from its various colours: *akud* in Hebrew signifying that which is spotted, as Jacob's cattle were (Gen. xxx. 35). Though now, because they are common, they are of no great value; yet anciently, it appears from Theophrastus and Pliny, they were more precious (see there, n. 9).

20 And the fourth row a beryl, and an onyx, and a jasper: they shall be set in gold in their inclosings.

21 And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, like the engravings of a signet; every one with his name shall they be according to the twelve tribes.

22 ¶ And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains at the ends of wreathen work of pure gold.

23 And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate.

[*Amethyst.*] The Hebrew word *achlam* is no more to be found in Scripture elsewhere, than the two former. But the best and most ancient authors take it as we do, for that stone which other writers call an *amethyst*: which is of a bright violet colour, or like red wine, from whence it has its name in the Greek. The nearer these stones came to a purple, and the more they had of the flame of a carbuncle, the more precious they were esteemed, as the forenamed Braunius shows (lib. ii. cap. 16, n. 56).

Ver. 20. *Beryl.*] The Hebrew word *tharshish* is very variously interpreted: but the LXX., Josephus, and a great many others, take it for that which the ancients call a *chrysolite*; that is, a stone of a golden colour, which others call a *topaz*. This Braunius endeavours to prove was the colour of *tharshish*, out of Dan. x. 5, 6; Cant. v. 14, &c. (see cap. 17, n. 12, 13, &c.).

Onyx.] The Hebrew word *shoham* we meet withal in the beginning of the Bible (Gen. ii. 12), and translate it as we do here, an *onyx*. But Josephus, St. Jerome, and the Vulgar, translate it *sardonyx*; which was of a mixed colour, of white and red. For the most precious Indian sardonyx had a radix (as they call it) white, like the nail of one's finger; and the superficies red like blood; and both of them transparent: from whence it had its name; the *sardius* stone (as was said before) being red, and the *onyx* signifying the nail of one's finger (see the forenamed Braunius, cap. 18).

Jasper.] Though the Hebrew name, which is *jaspeth*, be retained among all people to this day, yet all interpreters have not translated it as ours do, who, no doubt, are in the right. For why should we not think *jaspeth* is certainly that stone which the Greeks and Latins call *jaspis*? as we doubt not the *sapphire*, before mentioned (ver. 18), is the stone they call *sapphirus*. The best of these stones are of a green colour, like a *smaragdus*; but sometimes they have little spots or points in them, of various colours; which hath made some authors call this stone *panthera* (see Braunius, cap. 19).

They shall be set in gold in their inclosings.] Or, more literally, "they shall be golden ouches in which they are set" (see ver. 17, and ver. 11).

Ver. 21.] Upon each stone was to be engraven the name of one of the sons of Jacob. And, in all probability, in the same order wherein they were engraven upon the two stones of the ephod; where it is ordered they should be engraven according to their birth (ver. 10). And so Josephus saith it was here, *κατὰ τὰς ἐν ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν γενέσεως συμβέβηκεν*: which is but the translation of Moses's words now named, "according to their generations." And so Maimonides understands it, though here it be only said, according to the twelve tribes; as if he had said, upon the first stone in the first row (viz. the sardius) shall be the name of *Reuben*; upon the second, the

24 And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold in the two rings which are on the ends of the breastplate.

25 And the other two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt fasten in the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod before it.

26 ¶ And thou shalt make two rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate in the border thereof, which is in the side of the ephod inward.

27 And two other rings of gold thou shalt make, and shalt put them on the two sides of the ephod underneath, toward the forepart thereof,

name of *Simeon*; upon the third, the name of *Levi*; and so of the rest.

Like the engravings of a signet;] See ver. 11.

Ver. 22. *Make upon the breastplate chains*] These chains are not different from those mentioned ver. 14, as some imagine: who think there he speaks of the chains of the ephod, and here of those of the breastplate. For the ephod had no chains belonging to it, nor needed any; and the breastplate had only these two; which, though mentioned before, are now more exactly described in their proper place, and the use of them directed.

At the ends] Concerning the word *gabluh*, see ver. 14, where I observed, some think it signifies cords, from *gabal*, which, as well as *chabal*, signifies a rope or cord; from whence some fancy comes our English word cable.

Of wreathen work] So many wires of gold were wreathed together, as to make a chain of some thickness, like a cord. So Bartenora interprets it. Abarbanel saith they were weaved; but he must mean such a weaving as we make with our fingers, when we twist several threads together, which the LXX. call ἑρπον πλοκή, "twisted work."

Ver. 23.] The breastplate had four rings in all; one at each corner of the square. And here he gives direction for the making those two, which were at the two upper corners of it: the other two are ordered, ver. 26.

Ver. 24.] This verse and the next show how these chains were to be disposed, and for what end they served. Below they were fastened to the two rings, in the upper part of the breastplate, as is here directed: and above they were fastened to the two buttons, upon the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, as is directed in the next verse. So the breastplate was supported by these two chains, which hung upon the buttons, as the breastplate did upon them.

Ver. 26. *Make two rings of gold.*] That is, two other besides those mentioned, ver. 23.

Put them upon the two ends of the breastplate] This is to be understood of the lower corners of the breastplate, as ver. 23, of the higher.

In the border thereof.] In the lower border of it.

Which is in the side] Or, over against.

Ephod inward.] So that these two lowermost rings were not seen, being inward: lying, as it were, between the ephod and the breastplate.

Ver. 27. *Two other rings of gold thou shalt make.*] These, though belonging to the ephod, are not mentioned till now; because the use of them would more plainly appear in this place.

Put them on the two sides] Or rather, shoulderpieces of the ephod: for so we translate it more plainly, ver. 7.

Underneath.] Below, at the lower end of the shoulder-pieces.

over against the *other* coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the ephod.

28 And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod.

29 And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment

Toward the forepart thereof.] Or, in its forepart. *Over against the—coupling,]* Opposite to the rings of the breastplate; being to be coupled to it by these rings.

Above the curious girdle] All this is said only to mark out the place exactly, where these two rings were to be fastened to the ephod; that the breastplate might be inseparable from it.

Ver. 28.] A blue lace, or ribbon, being put through the two lower rings of the breastplate, and then through the rings of the ephod: they by it were tied together, a little above the girdle of the ephod.

That the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod,] And thus being joined, they were not to be separated one from another; no, not out of the time of ministration: but always continued so fast together, that the ephod could not be put on without the breastplate. Thus Maimonides, and the Gemara (cap. 7, of Joma), *If any one remove the breastplate from the ephod, or the staves from the ark, he shall receive forty stripes.*

Ver. 29. *Aaron shall bear the names]* Appear in the name of the whole people of Israel, to beg direction of God in all difficult cases.

When he goeth in unto the holy place,] Where with his face towards the ark (where the Divine glory sat) he prayed to God for them.

For a memorial before the Lord] That God might remember them, when he remembered him daily of the promises made to them, and to their forefathers. Which, in Scripture phrase, denotes God's gracious hearing his prayers, when he addressed himself unto him, in the manner he required. For then he is said to remember his people, when he granted their desires: and they remembered him, when they did as he bade them.

Ver. 30. *Breastplate of judgment]* It is called both here and in the foregoing verse the *breastplate of judgment*, not only for the reason there named, but because the high-priest (nay, the whole body of the priests, but he especially) sat as a judge to determine several controversies, as appears from many places, Lev. x. 11; Deut. xvii. 8, 9, xix. 7, xxxiii. 8; 2 Chron. xv. 3, &c.

Urim and the Thummim;] There is not the least intimation anywhere what these were, nor any direction given to Moses for the making of them, as there is for the rest of the priestly attire. Which may incline one to conclude one of these two things: either that they were things delivered to Moses by God himself, as the two tables of stone were; or that they are not things different from the precious stones before mentioned. But if the former of these were true, I should think, it would have been as plainly mentioned that God delivered these unknown things to him, as that he did the two tables of stone. The other hath something in the Scripture to countenance it. For in the thirty-ninth chapter of this book, where Moses sets down the making of all those things which are here ordered, he mentions only the four rows of stones, in the same manner as he doth here; but saith not a word of putting the *urim* and

upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually.

30 ¶ And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the *Urim* and the *Thummim*; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord: and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually.

thummim in the breastplate: though he spake particularly of other things, even of the rings, and the chains, and the lace, whereby it was tied to the ephod. And, on the other side, when he speaks of habiting Aaron with all these vestments, in order to his consecration, he only saith (Lev. viii. 8), that he put the breastplate upon him, also he put in the breastplate the *urim* and the *thummim*; but saith not a word of the four rows of stones. For which it is hard to give a reason; unless it be, because the *urim* and the *thummim* were one and the same thing with the twelve precious stones: so that it was indifferent whether the said *urim* and *thummim* were put into the breastplate, or the twelve precious stones; which are the only things in all this description of the holy vestments that can be thought to be *urim* and *thummim*. And, indeed, there being such a particular direction for every thing else, and also a description of their form and fashion (as, that the chains should be of *wreathen work*), one cannot but think there would have been something said of these, if they had been distinct from what was mentioned before. Mr. Mede, indeed, thinks that nothing is said concerning them, because they were things well known to the patriarchs. But this is well confuted lately by another great man, Dr. Pocock, in his late learned commentary upon the prophet Hosea (p. 149), unto which I refer the reader, because I have other things to note, and would not willingly enlarge too much on this subject.

As for that which some have said concerning two little images, or representations of angels, which were put in the hollow of the breastplate, I see no foundation for such a conceit. One may better say, that these two words *urim* and *thummim* were written or wrought on the breastplate; signifying that from hence they should receive the clearest and most perfect resolution of all their doubts. And of this opinion was R. Asaria in his *Meor Enajim*, cap. 46.

But if we take the former to be the truer account, that he only repeats what he said before (as he doth what he had said of the rings belonging to the breastplate, ver. 14, 22), then the meaning is, that the twelve stones should be the most sparkling, and most perfect in their kind, that could be got (for *urim*, all acknowledge, signifies *fires*, or *illumination*; and *thummim*, the greatest perfection), and that all belonging to the breastplate (*the square stuff, the stones engraved, the rings, the chains and lace*) should be prepared and made ready before they were set in the breastplate.

And of this opinion (that the precious stones were the *urim* and the *thummim*) were Josephus and the Talmudic doctors, who therein, I take it, were in the right; though they do not give a likely account how the mind of God was declared by them.

They shall be upon Aaron's heart,] So it is said concerning the names of the children of Israel (ver. 29), which were engraven on the twelve stones; and seems to confirm the foregoing interpretation.

When he goeth in before the Lord,] To minister unto the Divine Majesty, and to inquire of him:

31 ¶ And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue.

which he did in the holy place, standing with his face towards the ark in the holy of holies. Into which he went only once a year, upon a particular business, to expiate the sins of the people; and had not on these glorious robes here mentioned; but was only clothed in fine linen, as we read, Lev. xvi. And therefore it is strange that Buxtorf should say he went into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, with the *urim* and *thummim*, to inquire of God. See his history of them, cap. i. (where he alleges this verse for it) and cap. iii.

Aaron shall bear the judgment] By judgment is here meant the *breastplate of judgment*, as it is called, when he begins to speak of it (ver. 15), and in the foregoing verse; just as the *ark of the testimony* is sometimes called the *testimony*. Or else the meaning is, that he should carry the great concerns of the children of Israel (their weighty causes and doubts) before God; and desire his direction for the king, for the great council, and for the people in all difficult matters, both in war and in peace, whether belonging to religion or to civil government.

Upon his heart before the Lord] He was never to appear in the holy place without this breastplate, with the names of all the children of Israel upon it. Many learned men have taken notice of that passage in *Ælian* (lib. xiv. Var. Hist. cap. 34), where he relates how the Egyptian priests had an image made of sapphire stone about their neck, which was called *Ακρόβρα*, i. e. *truth*, when they sat in judgment. And *Diodorus Siculus* saith (lib. i. cap. 75), that it consisted of more precious stones than one; from whence some have imagined that Moses took his pattern of this breastplate. But as they did not wear this badge of authority, when they ministered about sacred things, but in their civil courts where they sat as judges; so there is no reason to think this ornament of theirs was so old as the time of Moses (there being no mention of it in *Herodotus*), but was rather a later invention, unto which other countries were not strangers. For the vestal virgins among the Romans, at least she that was called *Maxima*, wore an ornament upon her breast made of precious stones, as a statue digged up at Rome, in the beginning of the last century, seems to represent it (see *Lipsius*, cap. ult. de *Vesta* et *Vestal.*). And *Gutherius* hath proved that these vestal virgins sat in judgment, and tried causes, as the *Pontifex Maximus* did; and then, it is likely, and not at other times, wore this *antepecturale*. There is more ground also to say, that the Egyptians took their pattern from the Jews, than that these took it from the Egyptians; there being in the time of *Solomon* a great correspondence between them, by his marriage with *Pharaoh's* daughter.

Continually.] Whosoever he appeared before the Lord to inquire of him. The greatest difficulty is, how the Lord answered by *urim* and *thummim*? Which the Jews generally think was by the shining of the stones, and the prominence of such letters in them, as made the answer. If they had left out the latter part of this resolution (about the prominence of the letters) what they say would have been more likely: especially since *Josephus* only mentions their extraordinary splendour; telling us, for instance, that when the high-priest inquired, whether they should go to war or not? if God approved of it, there was such a refulgent brightness in the stones, *ὥς τῷ πλήθει παντὶ γνωστόμενον εἶναι, τὸ παρῆναι τὸν Θεὸν εἰς ἐπικουρίαν*, "that made all the people know God would be present for their help and succour." And when God did not approve of their undertaking, he saith there

32 And there shall be an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of

was a cloudiness upon the stones, as there had been for two hundred years (he confesses) before he wrote his history, τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεραίνοντος ἐν τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, "God being angry with them, for the transgression of his laws" (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 9). But this alone could not resolve such questions as that *Judg. i. 1*, "Who shall go up first to fight against the Canaanites?" to which the Lord answered (ver. 2), "Judah shall go up." For if this answer was given in the way now mentioned, that stone alone, which had the name of *Judah* engraven on it, must have had a splendour in it above all the rest. Which if we should suppose, yet an answer could not have been given to all their questions, merely by the refulgency of all, or of any one stone; as if they asked, *Which way they should go against an enemy?* therefore it is more likely, that there was a voice which spake to the high-priest, from the Divine Glory on the mercy-seat; as we read there was to *Moses*, when he went into the most holy place to speak with God (*Numb. vii. 89*). Against which I do not see what can be objected; and it seems far more probable than their opinion, who think God inspired the high-priest at that time, when he consulted him, as he did the prophets. For this makes no difference between inquiring by *urim* and *thummim*, and by the prophets, but only this; that God (they say) constantly answered when the high-priest consulted him, which favour he did not always grant the prophets. If there be any truth also in what the Jews say concerning the *bath col* under the second temple, it seems to me to tell us, that God then directed them, without the *urim* and *thummim*, in the same way as he had formerly done with it. Certain it is, that such a voice often spake to our Saviour, in the audience of his apostles, out of the high and holy place in the heavens; to show that he was the prophet like unto *Moses*, whom he promised to raise up unto them (*Deut. xviii. 15*).

There are those who have adventured to affirm, that others besides the high-priest might wear the *urim* and *thummim*, to consult the Divine Majesty, particularly their kings. But how weak the grounds of this assertion are, will appear when I come to those places which they allege to justify it. I shall conclude what I have to note about this matter, with one observation more; that this is one of the principal reasons, why the government of this people before they had kings was (as *Josephus* calls it) *theocracy*, that is, the *empire of God*, because he, by this oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, prescribed how they should proceed in all their public affairs of great moment. And another reason was, because he stirred up judges when he thought it necessary; who, being of his immediate appointment, are so far acknowledged by him, that when they were weary of *Samuel's* government (who was a judge) and desired a king, God declared it was not *Samuel* whom they rejected, but himself.

Ver. 31. Make the robe] The Hebrew word *mehil*, which we translate *robe*, is by the Latins called *palium*, and by the LXX. *ποδήρη*, a garment coming down to the ankles. The form of it is intimated in the next verse; and the matter of it is here ordered to be all of blue, i. e. of blue cloth. Some, indeed, say of silk; but it is certain *thechelet* signifies wool dyed of a sky-colour (see *Braunius*, lib. i. de *Vest. Sacr. Hebr.* cap. 9, n. 1).

Robe of the ephod] So called because the *ephod* was put upon it.

Ver. 32. There shall be an hole in the top of it.] From

woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of an habergeon, that it be not rent.

33 ¶ And *beneath* upon the hem of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof; and bells of gold between them round about:

34 A golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden

hence the form of it may be gathered, that it was like one of our surplices, or shirts without sleeves; but with two holes on the sides to let their hands through. And it was put on over their heads, it appears by this hole at the top; and so covered their whole body.

In the midst thereof.] Not cross-wise, from shoulder to shoulder; but long-wise, from the back to the middle of the breast, as Abarbinel expounds it. Wherein it differed from a surplice, and from the *tunic*, or *coat*; the hole of which at the top was round; whereas this was oblong, as they speak.

It shall have a binding.] This was both for handsomeness, and for strength, that it might not be further slit. Josephus mentions the former as a reason for this *binding* or *border*, that there might appear no *δυσπρίστια* (as his word is), “no deformity about the priest:” and the text itself in the end of the verse mentions the latter, *that it be not rent*. This binding, Abarbinel thinks, on the former account, was on the inside, for decorum’s sake, that nothing might be seen but the robe.

Of woven work.] It was not to be sewed to it, but woven with it of one entire piece; which could not be done without a great deal of art. So Abarbinel; the opening or hole was not to be cut with scissors, and then sewed with a needle; but it was woven with the very garment.

As it were the hole of an habergeon.] The ancient *hbergeons* or *corselets* being made of leather and linen, needed a *limbus* about the neck to keep the part firm and tight. But whether the binding had hooks and eyes (as we call them) like those which are in *corselets*, to fasten the parts together, is uncertain. Abarbinel affirms it, but without any authority.

That it be not rent.] That is, the robe be not rent in putting it on; or by the ephod and breastplate that were upon it; for that had rendered it contemptible; a rent among us (saith R. Levi Barzelonita) being dishonourable (Præcept. ciii.).

Ver. 33. *Beneath upon the hem of it.]* Or, upon its skirts. *Κατὰ πίζαν*, saith Josephus, “towards the bottom,” where it touched the feet.

Pomegranates.] So the Hebrew word *rimmonim* undoubtedly signifies, as Maimonides and other learned Jews affirm. Jarchi saith they were to be of the bigness of a hen’s egg.

Of blue, &c., round about the hem thereof;] Though the robe itself was of one simple colour, yet the skirts of it were very much adorned by a variety of colours in the pomegranates; which were made of yarn dyed blue, purple, and scarlet (of these see xxv. 4), and the LXX. add, of *fine linen*. For so we read they were made, xxxix. 24.

Bells of gold between them round about:] The Targum upon Esth. vi. 10, makes the kings of Persia to have worn such kind of garments. For he represents Ahasuerus as saying to Haman, “Go to my wardrobe, and take one of my best purple cloaks, and of the best silk vests, with gems at the four corners of it, and golden bells and pomegranates hanging round about.” And no doubt they were intended partly as an ornament to the high-priest, their matter being of gold; but what their form was we are not told. There were round bells in use amongst them, like those

bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about.

35 And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not.

36 ¶ And thou shalt make a plate of pure

which we commonly see upon the collars of our horses’ necks; but Maimonides saith, these were of a pyramidal figure, open at the bottom, with clappers in them, like our little hand-bells.

Ver. 34.] So there was a bell (as the Jews explain it) between every two pomegranates; and a pomegranate between every two bells. But how many of each there were is uncertain; though the Jews commonly say there were seventy-two. Which if it was true, and the pomegranates were of such a bigness as was said before, this robe would have been so wide at the bottom, as to have been cumbersome, especially with so many pomegranates and bells hanging upon it.

Ver. 35.] He was never to appear before God without this garment; nor to wear it but when he ministered. The same is said of all the priestly garments, both of his and of his sons’ (ver. 3, 4).

His sound shall be heard when he goeth in.] That the people, upon this notice, might fall to their prayers, while he was offering incense; which represented their going up to heaven.

And when he cometh out,] That they might then dispose themselves to be dismissed with his blessing.

That he die not.] For neglecting to appear before God, in this solemn manner, as he required. For it is the common maxim among the Jews, that when the priests were clothed with their garments, they were held to be priests: when they were not so clothed, they were not priests. That is, if they presumed to minister without this attire, it was an illegal act, and unacceptable to God (see ver. ult.).

Ver. 36. *Make a plate of pure gold.]* The Hebrew word *zitz* is translated *πέταλον* by the LXX., which signifies a *leaf expanded*. And such was this *plate* (as we tender it), a thin piece of gold, two fingers broad (as Jarchi tells us), and so long as to reach from one ear to the other; being bound to the forehead with a string, which was tied behind the head; and thence is called a *crown* (xxxix. 30), as all things are which compass the forehead. And crowns being anciently made of flowers or leaves, which we call garlands, Josephus saith this crown was adorned with the figures of that flower which the Greeks call *κνισός*, of which there were three rows (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 8). And indeed the Hebrew word *zitz* signifies a *flower*; which hath made some think this plate had its name from the flowers which were wrought in it, to make it look more beautiful (see xxix. 6).

Grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet,] Not by cutting the letters deep in the plate, but by making them protuberant, like those which are made by a seal upon wax (see ver. 22).

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.] The ancient crowns perhaps had some image or other in them (for in later times Domitian had a golden crown with the effigies of Jupiter and Minerva, as Suetonius tells us), instead of which, God commands his own great name to be engraven on Aaron’s crown in these words, which signify, that he was *separated to the service of the Most High*. It is but a frivolous question which the Jews make, whether these words were engraven in one line, or in two, one above another? for there is no reason to make us think they were not in one line as they are here written.

gold, and grave upon it, *like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.*

37 And thou shalt put it on a blue lace, that it may be upon the mitre; upon the forefront of the mitre it shall be.

38 And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead,

Ver. 37. *Put it on a blue lace,*] It hung on a ribbon of blue, by which it was fastened upon the mitre, as it follows in the next words. The Talmudists fancy there were *three* ribbons, one at each ear, and one in the middle, which is this here mentioned. But this one was sufficient for the purpose, as will appear when the next words are rightly understood.

That it may be upon the mitre;] There was an order before for making a *mitre*, among other vestments; but we have not been told hitherto of what it was made (which is mentioned below, ver. 39), nor what was the form of it. The Latins anciently called it *stroppus*, which is the same with the Greek *στροφάλιον*; being a fillet wound about the head of their priests, as Festus tells us. Prudentius calls it *tortam infulam*, because it was made sometimes of three or four ribbons or laces wreathed together (vid. Cuperus in his *Apotheosis Homer*, p. 138). The ancient Greeks call it *tiara*, and *cidaris*, and sometimes *diadema*, which was commonly made of *byssus*, or fine linen, as appears even from the story of Alexander the Great, who (as Justin tells us) took his diadem from his head to bind up the wounds of Lysimachus (lib. xv.); which shows that it was made of fine linen, which was proper for that purpose.

They were of divers colours, but commonly white: and such were the diadems of kings, which Ammianus calls *fasciolum candidum*, *regie majestatis insigne* (lib. xii.). Such was the mitre of the high-priest (ver. 39), and the bonnets of the lower priests. The former of which they called *mitznephet*, and the other *migbaath*. They did not differ at all in their matter, but only in their form. Both consisted of sixteen ells of fine linen, as the Hebrew doctors agree; but do not tell us of what breadth: which might be wrapped round several times about, into what form they pleased. And the *migbaath*, or *bonnets*, they all say came lower down upon the forehead than the mitre, and rose up higher, like a hillock. But the *mitznephet* did not cover the forehead at all, and was flatter than the bonnets, but much broader, consisting of more folds round, like the turbans which are now worn in the east, or like a half-sphere.

Now some understand these words, *that it may be upon the mitre*, as if the golden plate was bound upon the mitre, which is contrary to what follows (ver. 38,) *it shall be upon Aaron's forehead*. This therefore must be understood of the lace or ribbon, which was to come down over the mitre, to fasten the golden plate which depended upon it. For being put through a little hole in the middle of the plate, it went over the mitre; and each end of it being put into the holes of the plate which were at each ear, it was brought up again and tied over the mitre. Thus we must interpret it, if there was but one string to fasten it. It cannot be denied, indeed, that sometimes more than one thing of a kind is intended where the Scripture speaks in the singular number (as in viii. 21, x. 4, &c.), and therefore we may conceive, as I said before, that there were three ribbons, one at each end, and another in the middle, by which it hung upon the forehead; whereby they might more easily be fastened at the top of the mitre.

Upon the forefront of the mitre it shall be.] That is, the golden plate shall be in the fore-front of it. By which it appears that the Hebrew doctors rightly

that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the LORD.

39 ¶ And thou shalt embroider the coat of

described it, as reaching before from ear to ear; but not a part of it behind. That is, it was a half-circle, not a whole, encompassing only the fore-part of the head, not like other crowns that encompass it round.

Ver. 38. *It shall be upon Aaron's forehead,*] The mitre, as I said before, did not come down low (as the bonnets did), but only covered the crown and the upper part of the head, the whole forehead being left bare, that there might be space enough for this plate of gold to lie upon it, and for his phylacteries, as the Jews will have it, which were next to the mitre, and then the crown a little above the eyes. But some of them think the high-priest wore no phylacteries, having no need of them, when he was clothed with so many holy garments. But, not to trouble ourselves with that, it appears by these words that the plate did not lie upon the mitre, but upon the high-priest's forehead.

That Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, &c.] These words suppose there might be some defects in their sacrifices and gifts, which they consecrated and presented unto God (though they were ignorant of it), which were all pardoned (for that is meant by *bearing*, that is, taking away iniquity) by the intercession of their high-priest, when he appeared before God with this crown upon his head, that is, thus perfectly and completely attired. Wherein he represented our great high-priest, Christ Jesus; by whose perfect sanctity and satisfaction all the defects of our sincere services are supplied.

It shall be always upon his forehead,] That is, whenever he went in to minister in the holy place.

That they may be accepted before the Lord.] That the children of Israel and their sacrifices and gifts might be accepted when they presented them to God; which they were not, if the high-priest did not appear before him in this manner on their behalf. The heathens themselves (as Athenæus informs us, lib. xv. cap. 5), thought prayers and sacrifices then acceptable to their gods, when they offered them with crowns on their heads. And therefore a great many authors tell us, the priests in all countries were crowned when they ministered; nay, the sacrifices themselves, and their altars, and their holy utensils, were crowned; as if all their services had been ineffectual if made without a crown. For they that prepared the beasts for sacrifice, and the musicians, and all that were present, were crowned, as appears out of ancient coins and innumerable ancient writers (see Cuperus, *Apotheos. Hom.* p. 70).

Ver. 39. *Embroider the coat of fine linen,*] This coat is one of the garments ordered to be made, ver. 4, in Hebrew called *ketonah*: from whence both the Greek word *χιτών*, and the Latin *tunica*, seem to be derived. The matter of it was *fine linen*, and therefore it was white. The form of it was not much unlike one of our shirts, with sleeves coming down to the wrists; but made pretty close to the body, and so long as to reach down to the heels. It was the most inward of all the priestly garments, being next to their body. And though it be not mentioned in the description of it, there is no doubt that it had a slit in the neck of it, by which it was put over their head, and then tied to the neck with strings.

Embroider] The Hebrew word *tashbetz* all agree signifies a work with certain figures woven in it,

fine linen, and thou shalt make the mitre of fine linen, and thou shalt make the girdle of needlework.

40 ¶ And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles,

and bonnets shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty.

41 And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them,

either of gold or other materials. But what sort of figures is not certain. The famous Salmasius thinks they were round, like to our eyes. Others take them to have been square or cubical. R. Sol. Jarchi saith in general, that it was a work like the *ouches* (as we translate *mishbetzot/h*), in which the precious stones were set. But none, I think, hath made such likely guesses at the figure of them as Jo. Braunius, who takes them to have been nothing else, but *lacus* aut *fossulas* angulares, &c., such little deep holes, as resemble those that are in one of the stomachs of those animals that chew the cud, called *reticulum* (see lib. i. de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebraeorum, cap. 17).

Make the mitre of fine linen.] See ver. 37, where the mitre is mentioned.

Make the girdle of needlework.] It is mentioned before (ver. 4), under the name of *abanet*, or *abnet*, which, no doubt, signifies a *girdle* or *belt*; yet not like our common girdles, but like that which we call a *sash*, being made of twined linen and worsted of divers colours, as we find xxxiv. 29, where blue, and purple, and scarlet, signifies wool, or worsted yarn of these colours. Such were the girdles of all the priests, which they wore all the year, the high-priest as well as the rest, except upon one day (that of *expiation*), when he had on a girdle of fine linen only, not mixed with woollen. These girdles were of such a length, that they might go round the body more than once, as Josephus tells us, lib. iii. cap. 8. For, if we may believe him, they were two-and-thirty ells long, and four fingers broad, being hollow within. When they were not in the act of ministration, both ends of them hung down to their very feet, *πρὸς ταὶ πόδας*, &c. (as the same Josephus speaks) "for comeliness' sake, that they might appear more goodly to the beholders;" which agrees to what Moses saith in the next verse, that they (as all the priestly garments, ver. 2), were made for *glory and beauty*. But when they went about any holy work belonging to their office, they threw them over their left shoulder, that they might not be a hindrance to them. The use of this *girdle* was to gird their *coat* close to them, which they tucked up also in the girdle (when they went about their ministry) to the middle of their legs, that it might not encumber them in their service.

Needlework.] This was a different sort of work from *tashbetz* (which we translate *brodered*, ver. 4), and from *chosheb* (which we translate *cunning*, ver. 6, 15), and is here called *rokem*; which signifies the same with *chosheb* as to the variety of colours and figures in the work: but *chosheb*, as the Hebrew doctors tell us, was done by weaving, and *rokem* with a needle, as we rightly take it. Of the two, *chosheb* was the most artificial, as the word seems to intimate; being wrought on both sides with the same figures, whereas *rokem* was only on one side. Thus they gather from xxvi. 31, where the veil is ordered to be made of the work called *chosheb*, which it is probable was glorious on both sides, both within and without the most holy place. Josephus saith, this girdle was wrought with flowers of the several colours mentioned xxxix. 29.

Ver. 40. *For Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats.*] The coats of all the priests, as well as of the high-priest, were embroidered, as Maimonides expressly affirms. And it seems to be the sense of ver. 4, where

he is commanded to make garments not only for Aaron, but for his sons (i. e. all the rest of the priests), among which the *brodered coat* may well be thought to belong to them (see xxxix. 27).

Make for them girdles.] The girdles of the inferior priests were the very same with that of the high-priest (as well as their tunics or coats), being to bind their coats to their body.

Bonnets.] How these differed from the *mitre* of the high-priest, in their form, not in their matter, see ver. 37.

For glory and for beauty.] The garments of all the priests were contrived to make them appear in a splendid and comely manner, when they ministered to the glorious majesty of God, being of fine linen, which was worn by the greatest persons, made with great art, especially their coats and girdles, which were finely adorned (as I have shown in the verses foregoing) with elegant figures and rich colours: for blue, or sky-colour, purple and scarlet, belonged to kings and persons of honour. But the garments of the high-priest were above all the rest most glorious, and designed so to be (ver. 2). For besides those common to him with all the priests, which were very costly, he had others far more precious: particularly the ephod and its girdle, the breastplate set with stones of great value, the robe, and the crown of gold. The two stones also on the shoulders of the ephod, were not only precious in their kind, but for their bigness; being so large, that twelve names were engraven in them, containing six-and-thirty letters. All which considered, Phile had reason to say (L. de Sacerd. Hon.) *it is manifest the law dressed up their priest, βασιλεὺς εἰς ἀμύνην καὶ τιμὴν*, "to the venerableness and honour of a king." For the priesthood in old time was so honourable, that kings themselves discharged it: which is the reason that in Scripture princes and priests have the same name of *cohenim*.

To all which I may add, that they took such care all their garments should be for *glory and beauty*, that when they were foul, they did not wash them, nor repair them when they had any breach in them; but new ones were bought, and the old employed about the lamps in the feast of tabernacles (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11, p. 142).

Ver. 41. *Put them upon Aaron.*] As we read he did, Lev. vii. 6, 7, &c. 13; and this was part of Aaron's consecration, ver. 3 of this chapter.

Anoint them.] He anointed Aaron by pouring the holy oil upon his head (Lev. viii. 12); but he anointed his sons only by sprinkling some of it upon their garments (as he did upon his also) with the blood of the sacrifice (xxix. 21; Lev. viii. 30).

Consecrate them.] By the sacrifice of a ram, called the *ram of consecration*, the blood of which he put upon the tip of their right ear, &c. (xxix. 20; Lev. viii. 22, 23, &c.) and by the wave-offering which he put into their hands, that they might wave them before the Lord, xxix. 24; Lev. viii. 27, from whence the phrase for *consecrate* here in this place is in Hebrew *fill their hand*.

Sanctify them.] By the foregoing ceremonies. For they were set apart to the Divine service, by putting on their garments, anointing them, and offering the sacrifice of consecration, and by washing them with water, as appears from Lev. viii. 6, 7, 12, where it is said, he anointed Aaron to *sanctify him*; and ver. 30,

that they may minister unto me in the priest's office.

42 And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach:

43 And they shall be upon Aaron, and upon

having sprinkled their garments, it is said, *he sanctified Aaron and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.*

Ver. 42. *Make them linen breeches*] Though these are mentioned in the last place, yet they were put on the first of all the priest's garments; after them the coat, which being girt about with the girdle, the bonnet was put upon the priest's head. The high-priest, in like manner, having put on his breeches, coat, and girdle (which were common to all priests), was clothed with his robe, and next with the *ephod* and *breastplate*, which were inseparable; and last of all with his *mitre* and the *golden crown*. To which order nature itself directed them; the inward garments being always put on before the outward.

Now as to these *miknese*, which we truly render *breeches*, the matter of them was linen, as we are here informed: and not ordinary *linen*, but that which the Hebrews call *shesh*, which was *fine linen*; and more than that, they were of *twined* (or six-threaded) *linen*, as we read xxxix. 28. They were made with great art, being woven of one piece, and not sewed together, as Maimonides tells us. The form of them was like our *breeches* or *drawers*, which may be the reason why Moses here uses a word of the dual number, because they had two parts, which covered each thigh distinctly.

To cover their nakedness:] This was opposed, as Maimonides thinks, to the idolatrous worship of Peor; which, if we may believe him, was so beastly, that it was performed by discovery of their nakedness (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45).

From the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach:] They were bound about the loins with strings, which ran through the top of them, that they might be drawn straighter or looser, as they pleased; and came down the thighs as far as to their knees. There were some breeches anciently which covered the legs also, and came down to the feet, such as sailors use in cold countries: but these did not come down so low, the intention of them being only to cover those parts (as it goes before) which ought not to be exposed. For though they had a coat over their whole body, yet that being loose and wide below, by some accident or other, those parts might have been seen which ought to be secret, if that had not been prevented by these drawers, which so covered the lower parts, that nothing could possibly be seen. For in this they differed from our drawers, that they had no opening, either behind or before. Some think before this time there were no such things as breeches in use among the Hebrews; nor after this, among any other men but priests in their ministration. But in latter ages they came in use, as appears from Dan. iii. 21.

Ver. 43.] They could not be permitted so much as to appear in the tabernacle, much less to minister, especially in the *holy place*, without their *holy vestments*. Which they wore there only, but in no other place: for at home, or abroad, or in the Sanhedrin, and all other places out of the temple, they wore common garments, such as other men did. Inasmuch that St. Paul could not distinguish the high-priest, when he sat in the court, by his habit, from other judges (Acts xxiii. 5). And accordingly, as we read

his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the *holy place*; that they bear not iniquity, and die: *it shall be a statute for ever unto him and his seed after him.*

Ezek. xlii. 14, xliv. 17—19, an express precept for putting off the priests' garments, and laying them up in the chambers appointed for that purpose, when they went out of the court where they ministered. The high-priest, as Maimonides informs us, had a chamber, or vestry, peculiar to himself, where his garments were laid up, when he put them off, as the robes of kings are in their wardrobe. Of this one cannot reasonably doubt, that they, being not only precious, but sacred things, were kept safe in the temple, which was a holy place. And so were the garments of the inferior priests, as we may learn from Ezra and Nehemiah: who, among other things put into the treasury, mention a certain number of priests' garments (Ezra ii. 69; Nehem. vii. 70). In their vestries also there were peculiar chests, where every sort of vestment was kept by itself. All the breeches, for instance, which had this inscription, *Miknese*, i. e. *breeches*. In like manner, all the coats and the bonnets had two distinct chests, with this inscription, *Kelonoth* and *Migbaoth*: and so had the rest, as we are told in the Misa Tamid, cap. 5.

But while they were in the temple, they might keep on their holy garments (only not sleep in them there) even at those hours when they did not minister. Which this text seems to suppose, when it saith, they shall be upon them, *when they come into the tabernacle*, as well as *when they come near unto the altar to minister*. Thus the Talmudists: in the temple they might keep on their garments, *whether in the time of their ministration, or out of it*. But this they understand only of their breeches, their coat, and bonnet: for their girdle they were bound to lay aside as soon as they had done ministering.

That they bear not iniquity, and die:] That God do not punish them with death, for being so profane as to appear before him without their holy garments, which he appointed to preserve his service from contempt.

It shall be a statute for ever unto him and his seed after him.] That is, as long as there shall be any priest of the order of Aaron, they shall appear before God in these garments. But that priesthood being abolished by the true eternal priesthood of Christ, there is no longer any use of them; no more than of the sacrifices those priests offered, which are completed in the sacrifice of Christ. As for the Jewish sense of these words, it is manifest that it hath been long confuted; there having been no priesthood, nor holy garments, nor sacrifices, no, nor temple among them, for above sixteen hundred years. Nay, before the coming of our Saviour, some of the priestly ornaments, and those the chief of all, were gone, viz. the *urim* and *thummim* in the breastplate; which they generally confess were not in the second temple: and it may be a question, whether they continued to the end of the first. But the truth is, there was the breastplate and the ephod, and consequently the *urim* and *thummim*, as to its matter and form (though it had lost its use, there being no answers from God given by it), and accordingly all the rest of the priestly garments remained as long as there was any priesthood; which is the full sense of these words, *a statute for ever to him, and his seed after him*.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *The sacrifice and ceremonies of consecrating the priests.* 38 *The continual burnt offering.* 45 *God's promise to dwell among the children of Israel.*

1 AND this *is* the thing that thou shalt do unto them to hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office : Take one young bullock, and two rams without blemish ;

2 And unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened tempered with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil : of wheaten flour shalt thou make them.

3 And thou shalt put them into one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams.

CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1.] Having ordered Aaron and his sons to be set apart to attend upon him in his house as his ministers ; he now directs how they should be *hallowed* (or made holy), that is, separated to his service in the priest's office.

To minister unto me in the priest's office :] This was the design of their separation from other men, as was often said before (xxviii. 1, 3, 4, 41, 43).

Take one young bullock, and two rams without blemish,] There were several things to be done before this, though this was the chief. For they were to be *washed*, and *robed* with their priestly garments, and *anointed* ; and then they were completed by peculiar sacrifices, which are directed and described, ver. 10, 11, &c., and put in execution, Lev. viii. 1, 2, &c.

Ver. 2. *Unleavened bread, &c.*] Together with the foregoing sacrifices (which it will appear hereafter were of several sorts), there was a *mincha* to be offered, bread being necessary at a table together with flesh. And this consisted of three parts ; *unleavened bread*, *unleavened cakes tempered with oil*, and *unleavened wafers* (or thin cakes, like to our *pancakes*) *anointed with oil*, before they were put into the pan to be fried. All these were to be made of *wheaten flour* : and the two last were accounted a delicious bread among the Greeks, as Athenæus tells us, lib. iii. Deipnosoph.

Ver. 3. *Put them into one basket, &c.*] All these, making but one *meal-offering*, were to be put into one basket, and so brought to the door of the tabernacle, to be presented there to God, together with the bullock and rams (ver. 23).

Ver. 4. *Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle*] To be presented unto God, together with their sacrifice.

Wash them with water.] This was the first thing that was done for the *hallowing* them (ver. 1), as we read Lev. viii. 6, and was performed, some think, at the laver, which is directed to be made in the next chapter (xxx. 18, 19), where they were to repeat this washing every time they went in to minister unto God. But now, I take it to be more likely, at their first consecration, water was brought from thence to wash them at the door of the tabernacle, before they were permitted to enter into it. Whether their whole bodies were now washed, is not said ; but we may probably gather that they were ; for they were now looked on as wholly unclean (being *unhallowed*), and therefore were to be washed all over : though, being once cleansed, they needed not do more, when they went to minister, but only wash their hands and their feet ; which agrees with our Saviour's words, John

4 And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shalt wash them with water.

5 And thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the curious girdle of the ephod :

6 And thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown upon the mitre.

7 Then shalt thou take the anointing oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him.

xiii. 10. Such washings, everybody knows, were in use among the gentiles before they offered sacrifice.

Ver. 5. *Take the garments.*] Their bodies being washed, they were, next of all, *robed* with those garments prescribed in the foregoing chapter.

Put upon Aaron the coat, &c.] The order wherein these garments were put on, according to the Talmudists, was this : first the *breeches* were put on by the priest himself, and that privately ; which is the reason, perhaps, they are not here mentioned. They being tied about his loins, Moses put upon him the close *coat*, which came down to his ankles. Then this being bound to him by the *girdle* (which went round several times about him under the arm-holes), he put upon him his *bonnet*. This was the manner of habiting an ordinary priest. But when the high-priest was consecrated, after the *girdle*, before named, was put on the *robe*, with the *epihod* and *breastplate*, and then his *mitre* ; to which was added the *golden plate*, tied with a blue ribbon upon his forehead (see Selden de Succession. ad Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 8).

Ver. 6. *Put the holy crown upon the mitre.*] By this *crown* is meant nothing else but the golden plate, on which was written *holiness to the Lord* (xxviii. 36) : which is expressly called by the name of a *crown*, xxxix. 30 ; Lev. viii. 9, being bound upon the forehead with a blue ribbon like a *diadem*. Josephus seems to call the mitre by the name of a crown (lib. vi. Halos. cap. 15), but then he immediately adds, *περί ἧν χρυσοῦς ἄλλος ἦν στέφανος*, &c., "about which there was another golden crown, having holy letters written in it," &c. (vide Selden, lib. ii. de Succession. cap. 7).

Ver. 7. *Take the anointing oil.*] The next thing that was done for the consecration of Aaron, was anointing him with that oil which God ordered to be made, xxx. 31, 32, &c.

Pour it upon his head, and anoint him.] The Jews seem to think these two distinct things, *pouring oil on his head*, and then *anointing him*. The manner of which they say was thus : the oil being poured upon his head, which ran down to his face, he that anointed him drew with his finger the figure of the Greek letter *chi* (or St. Andrew's cross) upon his forehead between his eyebrows. This was done, Aben Ezra thinks, before his mitre was put upon his head. But that is contrary to the order here set down, which prescribes the putting on all his priestly garments (of which this was one) before the anointing. And he was therefore to be anointed in all his habiliments, because he was anointed to minister unto God ; which he could not do without all the holy garments (xxviii. 42), particularly this, it being unlawful to appear before God with the head uncovered ; as it was also among the gentiles. Other of the Jewish doctors therefore think,

8 And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.

9 And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his sons, and put the bonnets on them: and the priest's office shall be their's for a perpetual statute: and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons.

10 And thou shalt cause a bullock to be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the bullock.

that when his head was wrapped about with the mitre, a place was left bare upon his crown for the pouring the oil upon it. Certain it is, that it was so poured on his head, as to run down upon his beard (Ps. cxxxiii. 2). And the Jews say, the form of the letter *chi* was drawn upon his forehead to distinguish his anointing from that of their kings; who were anointed in the form of a circle, or crown (see Selden de Succession. lib. ii. cap. 9). Where he observes also, that there being no holy oil all the time of the second temple after the captivity, they made high-priests only by putting on their holy garments. Which that they might have complete, they made an imitation of *urim* and *thummim* (though they had not the oracle itself), that none of the eight garments might be wanting. So Maimonides.

The only remaining difficulty is, whether all Aaron's sons were anointed as well as himself. And Mr. Selden, in the place before named, thinks they were at the first, but not in future times: though all Aaron's successors in the high-priesthood were consecrated by anointing, as long as the holy oil lasted: that is, to the captivity of Babylon, or, as some say, fifty years before, when it was hid, and no more found. And there is a place in the next chapter which seems to favour this opinion (xxx. 30). But as we read of no command for their anointing, as there is here for Aaron's: so, when this command came to be executed, it is said expressly, that Moses poured oil on Aaron's head; but that upon his sons he only put the holy garments (Lev. viii. 12, 13). And therefore he is peculiarly called, "the high-priest from among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil was poured" (Lev. xxi. 10). The anointing therefore of his sons (xxx. 30), is only meant of that unction which is here mentioned, ver. 21, of this chapter, where a mixture is ordered to be made of the blood of the sacrifice and of their anointing oil, which was ordered to be sprinkled both upon Aaron and his sons, and upon their garments, and was a part of their consecration. For it was done accordingly at that time, as we read Lev. viii. 30. So that Aaron himself had a double unction; one proper to him alone, as high-priest, upon whose head the holy oil was poured; another common to him with his sons, as he was a priest, whose garments were sprinkled with the oil and blood mingled together.

Ver. 8. *Bring his sons, and put coats upon them.*] The high-priest was first habited, and then his sons, in the order I have described (ver. 5).

Ver. 9. *Gird them with girdles.*] See ver. 5.

The priest's office shall be their's, &c.] That is, as long as the holy garments were upon them, the priesthood was upon them: but if they were not upon them, neither was the priesthood upon them. They are the words of Maimonides in Celi Hammikdash, cap. 10. Or the meaning may be, they shall enjoy in perpetual succession the office of priests, as their father and his successors the office of high-priests.

Consecrate Aaron and his sons.] Thus doing, they

11 And thou shalt kill the bullock before the Lord, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

12 And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger, and pour all the blood beside the bottom of the altar.

13 And thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul that is above the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and burn them upon the altar.

shall be completely consecrated. For in the Hebrew the phrase is, *shall fill the hand of Aaron, &c.*, which was done after the manner prescribed, ver. 22—24, &c. Which shows that this was the principal part of their consecration: or, at least, the consummation of it. And there was, besides this, a peculiar offering, which both Aaron and his sons are commanded to offer, in the day of their anointing (Lev. vi. 20, 21).

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt cause a bullock*] The young bullock he commanded him to take (ver. 1).

To be brought before the tabernacle] In order to its being offered to God: for in this and in the following verses, the sacrifices are prescribed which were to be made at the consecration of Aaron and his sons; which were these: the first is this here mentioned, which was an *offering for sin*, as appears from ver. 14. For till their sins were expiated, they were not fit to offer any thing to God; much less to offer for the sins of others. The next was a *holocaust*, or whole burnt-offering, as a gift or present, whereby they were recommended to God. And the third was a *peace-offering*; on which they made a feast, and by that were initiated into God's family.

Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the bullock.] This was the form in all sacrifices, both burnt-offerings (Lev. i. 4) and peace-offerings (Lev. iii. 2, 8), by which they devoted the sacrifice to be the Lord's. But in *sin-offerings*, there being a solemn confession of sins made (Lev. xvi. 21), he that laid his hands on the beast, seemed thereby to have transferred the guilt from himself unto the sacrifice, desiring it might be accepted for him.

Ver. 11. *Kill the bullock before the Lord.*] Though Moses was never consecrated after the manner of Aaron, yet he was made a priest, for this peculiar purpose, by an extraordinary commission from God.

By the door of the tabernacle] Where the altar of burnt-offering was placed, at the erection of the tabernacle (xl. 6, 29).

Ver. 12. *Take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar*] Some have fancied that he means upon the horns of the altar of incense; because, when a priest offered a sin-offering for himself he was so to do (Lev. iv. 7). But it is to be considered, that Aaron and his sons, for whom this sacrifice was offered, were not yet priests, but common men, who, by this sacrifice, were to be made priests: whose blood therefore was to be put upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, as is expressly required in other sin-offerings (Lev. iv. 25, 30).

Pour all the blood] All the rest of the blood.

Beside the bottom of the altar.] This shows he speaks of the altar of burnt-offerings; at the bottom of which there was a trench, into which they poured the blood of the sacrifice, as I shall show hereafter.

Ver. 13. *Take all the fat that covereth the inwards.*] He means that part of the beast which is called the *omentum*, in which all the bowels are wrapped; which in Lev. ix. 19, is simply called that which *covereth*. This hath a great deal of fat upon it, to keep the

14 But the flesh of the bullock, and his skin, and his dung, shalt thou burn with fire without the camp: it is a sin offering.

15 ¶ Thou shalt also take one ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.

16 And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take his blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar.

17 And thou shalt cut the ram in pieces, and wash the inwards of him, and his legs, and put them unto his pieces, and unto his head.

18 And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon

bowels warm, and was much used in ancient sacrifices, both among the Greeks and Romans, who herein followed the Jews. Nay, the Persians also offered to the gods nothing but the *omentum*, or a part of it, as Bochartus observes out of Strabo (see Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45). And from the condition and situation of the *omentum*, the heathen divines made their conjectures; insomuch, that some think it had the name of *omentum*, because they made their good or bad omens from thence.

The caul that is above the liver.] Our interpreters take this for the *diaphragm*, or the *midriff*, upon which the liver hangs. But Bochartus hath demonstrated, I think, that it signifies the greatest lobe of the liver, upon which the bladder of gall lies (lib. ii. Hierozoic. par. 1, cap. 45). The only argument against it is, that this *jothereth* (as the Hebrews call it) is said here to be *above the liver*, and therefore must signify the *diaphragm*, upon which the liver depends. But the particle *al* signifies *upon*, as well as *above*: and is to be here so translated, *upon or by the liver*. And the reason why this lobe of the liver was peculiar to the altar, was because of the fat that is upon it.

The two kidneys, &c.] For the same reason the kidneys were appropriated to God: which had one of their names from the fat that is upon them, which Homer (as the same Bochartus there observes) calls *ἐπινεφρίδιον*.

Ver. 14. *But the flesh of the bullock, and his skin, &c.*] The *burnt-offering* being flayed, the skin of it was given to the priest (Lev. vii. 8). But in *sin-offerings* the skin was burnt (and the flesh also in some cases), and that also without the camp, not at the altar (Lev. iv. 11, 12, viii. 17). The heathen sometimes burnt the skin even of their *holocausts*, as Bochart shows, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 31).

Shalt thou burn with fire, &c.] The Hebrew word here for *burn* is quite different from that in the foregoing verse, which is used concerning the burning of *incense*, which soon vanished into smoke, as the *fat* there mentioned did. But the *flesh*, and the *skin*, and the *dung*, were burnt with a stronger fire, and were longer before they were consumed; and therefore burnt *without the camp*, where the ashes were poured out, as a thing abominable.

It is a sin-offering.] The priest might eat of any *sin-offering*, whose blood was not brought into the sanctuary; or rather it was his duty so to do (Lev. x. 17), because it argued that the people's sin was borne and taken away by the priest. It may seem strange then that Moses (who was in the place of a priest) is ordered to burn all this *sin-offering*, and not permitted to eat of it; though Aaron and his sons could not, because they were not yet priests. The best reason I have found of it, is that it was to signify the imperfection of the legal dispensation; since the sins of the priests themselves could not be taken away by the priests of the law, or their sacrifices; but were to

the altar: it is a burnt offering unto the Lord: it is a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the Lord.

19 ¶ And thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.

20 Then shalt thou kill the ram, and take of his blood, and put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.

expect a better sacrifice, or a better high-priest, as Dr. Jackson's words are in his Consecration of the Son of God, cap. 26, n. 2.

Ver. 15. *Take one ram;*] One of the rams mentioned above (ver. 1).

Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.] See concerning this, ver. 10.

Ver. 16. *Slay the ram,*] Where the bullock was killed, by the door of the tabernacle (ver. 11).

Thou shalt take his blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar.] It was a different sacrifice from the other, and therefore had different ceremonies belonging to it; some of the blood of the bullock being only put on the horns of the altar (ver. 12). How the blood was sprinkled *round about* upon the altar, will be explained Lev. i. 11.

Ver. 17. *Cut the ram in pieces,*] That the parts might the more easily be burnt upon the altar.

Wash the inwards of him, &c.] Upon which there was a great deal of fat; which being put upon the *pieces*, and the *head*, made them consume the sooner, by nourishing the flame. Thus Homer represents the sacrifice of the Greeks (as Bochart observes), when they offered to Jupiter; "they cut the thighs in pieces, and then covered them over with fat."

Μησις; ὃ ἐξέταμον κατὰ τὴν κνίσθη ἐκάλυψαν

(Iliad. 2, ver. 423. Vid. Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 47).

Ver. 18.] By this it appears, that as the former was a *sin-offering*, so this was a *holocaust*, or *burnt-offering*: which would not be received till their sins were expiated by the foregoing sacrifice. Nothing of which was offered at the altar, but some of the fat only, because (as R. Levi ben Gersom observes) the offerers were not yet worthy that God should accept any offering from them.

Ver. 19. *Take the other ram;*] Mentioned ver. 1.

Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.] See ver. 10. This, it will appear afterward (ver. 28, 32), was a *peace-offering*: upon which, being now reconciled to God and received into his favour, they feasted with him at his table.

Ver. 20. *Kill the ram,*] Where the bullock was killed, which was first offered, ver. 11.

Take of his blood,] Which was received in a basin. *Put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, &c.*] This being peculiarly called the *ram of consecration*, ver. 22, 31, the blood of it was not put upon the horns of the altar (as in the first sacrifice, ver. 12), nor merely sprinkled round about the altar (as in the second, ver. 16), but put upon Aaron and his sons. And first upon the *tip of their ears*, to signify that they should hearken to the Divine prescriptions; and then upon their thumbs and great toes (in which lie the strength of the hands and feet), to denote their ready and strenuous performance of every thing required of them. And being put upon the tip of their *right ear*, and the

21 And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him: and he shall be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.

22 Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat and the rump, and the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul above the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and the right shoulder; for it is a ram of consecration:

thumb of their *right hand*, and the great toe of their *right foot*, it may well be thought to signify the most exact and perfect obedience; the right hand being everywhere represented as the most excellent and strongest to do any execution. To this purpose Abarbanel discourses on this place, whose words are these: "All this tended to make the priest understand that he ought to apply himself diligently to the study of the law; and to employ his hands with the same diligence in his sacred ministry; and to walk in the way of God's precepts," &c. Some of the Jews consider these things so scrupulously, as to say the priests might not use their left hand in their ministry, no more than minister with unwashed hands.

Sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.] i. e. The remainder of the blood. It is no improbable conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, that from hence the heathens learnt their *taurobolia* and *criobolia*: which in process of time they disguised with infernal rites and ceremonies. For a deep hole being made in the ground, the priest to be consecrated was put into it; and then planks being laid over it, with a great many holes in them, the bullock or the ram was slain over them, and their blood running down into the hole, the priest received it on his eyes, his ears, his nose, his mouth; nay, he besmeared his body with it. And this was accounted the highest consecration of a priest; the virtue of which lasted twenty years before it was renewed; and he that was thus consecrated, was had in the greatest honour and veneration. Thus filthily did the devil pervert the most simple and cleanest rites which Moses prescribed, of putting a little blood, with a fragrant oil, on the tip of one of their ears, thumbs, and toes (Myrothee. ii. Sacr. Elæochrysm. cap. 77).

Ver. 21. *Take of the blood that is upon the altar.*] Some of that which was sprinkled (as the foregoing verse directs) round about the altar. Or, perhaps, some of the blood was left in the basin upon the altar for that use.

And of the anointing oil.] Which is afterward ordered to be made (xxx. 23, &c.).

Sprinkle it upon Aaron, &c.] By which sprinkling, both they and their garments were separated to a holy use, as it follows in the next words, "and he shall be hallowed, and his garments," &c. (see upon ver. 7). This may be looked upon as a lively representation of our purification by the blood of Jesus Christ, and by his Holy Spirit.

Ver. 22. *Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat*] All the fat in general was to be the Lord's (Lev. iii. 3).

The rump.] Here he seems to reckon up the particulars. And the rump of a sheep was the principal in those eastern countries, where their tails are of a prodigious bigness, and exceeding fat, as Bochartus observes, par. i. Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. 45, and Job Ludolphus in his Histor. lib. i. cap. 10, n. 16, and in his Comment. in Histor. lib. i. cap. 10, n. 76.

23 And one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer out of the basket of the unleavened bread that is before the Lord.

24 And thou shalt put all in the hands of Aaron, and in the hands of his sons; and shalt wave them for a wave offering before the Lord.

25 And thou shalt receive them of their hands, and burn them upon the altar for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour before the Lord: it is an offering made by fire unto the Lord.

26 And thou shalt take the breast of the ram of Aaron's consecration, and wave it for a wave

The fat that covereth the inwards.] See ver. 13 where these and the following words are explained.

The right shoulder.] In peace-offerings this belonged to the priest (Lev. vii. 32) and so it is here ordained (ver. 27, 28). But now it was to be burnt upon the altar (ver. 25), because they were not yet priests, as the following words tell us, which give the reason why this shoulder was burnt.

For it is a ram of consecration.] Whereby they were consecrated, and made priests, but not yet completed, and therefore could not eat of that shoulder.

Ver. 23. *One loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, &c.*] Of that bread and those cakes mentioned ver. 2 of this chapter.

That is before the Lord.] Which had been presented unto God (ver. 3), for this by the law was to accompany their other sacrifices (Numb. xv. 4).

Ver. 24. *Thou shalt put all*] Both bread and cakes, and fat, and right shoulder, before mentioned.

In the hands of Aaron and in the hands of his sons.] Thence this sacrifice was called *milhuim*, that is, *filling of the hands*: which we translate *consecration*. And their hands were thus filled, to show that Aaron and his sons did not usurp this dignity, or take it upon themselves (as we speak), but were called unto it by God, who ordered these things to be put into their hands, that they might present them to him. R. Solomon will have this ram called *the ram of fillings or impletions*; because by this sacrifice they were completed, and absolutely made priests; nothing remaining to be done after this.

Wave them] When such holy things were put into the hands of the offerers by the priest, then the priest put his hands under theirs, and they were lifted up, and then waved about on all sides.

For a wave offering] The Hebrew word *tenuphah* signifies *agitation*, or shaking to and fro; which Abarbanel saith, was performed upward and downright, and then round about to all quarters of the world, to signify that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; or rather, that he is the possessor of heaven and of earth. Others of them speak to the same purpose.

Before the Lord.] Standing with their faces towards the sanctuary.

Ver. 25. *Thou shalt receive them*] After they had waved them, they delivered them into the hands of Moses; who, as the priest at this time, laid them upon the altar, and burnt them.

For a burnt offering.] It is certain this was not a whole burnt-offering, but a peace-offering, as appears from ver. 28, 31, 32, yet some of it being burnt on the altar, that part is called a burnt-offering.

It is an offering made by fire] So the burnt-offerings are called, Lev. i. 9, 13, &c., but this was so only in part, as I said, not in the whole; and may be interpreted by Lev. iii. 5, where all that was to be burnt of the peace-offerings, is commanded to be burnt upon the burnt-sacrifice, and in that regard might be called a burnt-offering (see ver. 27).

offering before the LORD: and it shall be thy part.

27 And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, and the shoulder of the heave offering, which is waved, and which is heaved up, of the ram of the consecration, *even of that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his sons*:

28 And it shall be Aaron's and his sons' by a statute for ever from the children of Israel: for it is an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children of Israel of the sacrifice of their peace offerings, *even their heave offering unto the LORD.*

29 ¶ And the holy garments of Aaron shall

[Ver. 26. *Take the breast of the ram of Aaron's consecration.*] Of the consecration of him and of his sons.

Wave it—before the Lord: and it shall be thy part.] Being a peace-offering, the priest who offered the sacrifice was to have his share of it; and therefore the breast is here given to Moses, after he had acknowledged it to be God's by waving it about, and that he had it only as his minister.

Ver. 27.] Upon this occasion, he makes a general law, to be always observed hereafter; that though, in this peculiar case, the *right shoulder* of this sacrifice was burnt (being for Aaron's consecration) and called a *burnt-offering* (ver. 25), yet, in all future times, both the breast and this shoulder should belong unto the priest. Therefore the word *sanctify* here signifies as much as declare them sanctified, or set apart for the priest's use: as they were again by an express law (Lev. vii. 31—34).

Which is waved, and which is heaved up.] There is no difference, that I can find, between *terumah*, which we translate *heave-offering*, and *tenuphah*, which we translate *wave-offering*: but the former was only lifted up and so waved, and the other was waved all manner of ways, up and down, east, west, north, and south; to signify that He to whom it was offered was Lord of the whole world, and all that therein is.

Ver. 28. *It shall be Aaron's and his sons' by a statute for ever.*] So it is called Lev. vii. 34, and it is again repeated for greater confirmation, Deut. xviii. 3.

It is an heave offering.] It is consecrated to God, to whom it belongs; and he bestows it upon his ministers.

It shall be an heave offering—of the sacrifice of their peace offerings, &c.] And it shall always in future times be presented unto God as his part of the peace-offerings: who constitutes the priests to eat it in his stead. As the former ram was a *burnt-offering*, so this it is plain was a *peace-offering*, in token that now they were in a state of perfect friendship with God. Which was procured by their sin-offering (ver. 14), which was offered first; whereby their *present* to God (ver. 18), was made acceptable, as now their *persons* were declared by this sacrifice of peace-offering.

Ver. 29.] Upon this occasion, also, God makes another general law, that all the successors of Aaron in the high-priesthood should be set apart to that office, in such garments, and by such an unction, and such sacrifices, as he was consecrated withal. And it appears by Numb. xx. 28, that Aaron's son was invested with the very same garments which Aaron wore: for those which peculiarly belonged to the high-priest did not decay as the tunic and breeches did, and therefore went from one to another.

Ver. 30. *And that son that is priest in his stead shall put them on seven days.*] This was to be done seven

be his sons' after him, to be anointed therein, and to be consecrated in them.

30 *And that son that is priest in his stead shall put them on seven days, when he cometh into the tabernacle of the congregation to minister in the holy place.*

31 ¶ And thou shalt take the ram of the consecration, and seethe his flesh in the holy place.

32 And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket, *by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*

33 And they shall eat those things wherewith the atonement was made, to consecrate and to sanctify them: but a stranger shall not eat thereof, because they are holy.

days, one after another, that a Sabbath might pass over him. For no man could be a complete high priest, as the Jews imagine, till a Sabbath had gone over his head. But the principal intention of this was that he might be made a priest with great solemnity and deliberation: and put on his habit so often, that he might learn how to appear in them after a decent, or rather magnificent manner, before he undertook to minister. Yet the Jews say, that if he did offer sacrifice before the seven days' end, it was not accounted unlawful; provided he had been anointed, and had put them on once. So Maimonides, who adds, that he was to put them on by day, and not by night (see Selden de Successionibus, lib. ii. cap. 8). Where he shows (cap. 9), this is to be understood of his unction also, which was to be by day, and not by night; and to be repeated seven times. And by the same reason, the sacrifices were also to be repeated; though if he ministered before they were offered, the doctors held it not to be illegitimate; as he shows in the end of that chapter.

When he cometh into the tabernacle] At his entrance into the tabernacle he was to put them on for seven days together, before he could go to minister in the sanctuary.

Ver. 31. *Take the ram of the consecration.*] That is, all the rest of the flesh which was not burnt on the altar nor given to Moses. Who having had their share (ver. 22, 26), the remainder, as the manner was in peace-offerings, belonged to those that brought the sacrifice.

Seethe his flesh in the holy place.] At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, as we read expressly, Lev. viii. 31, and as it is explained in the next verse, that there they should eat it. Fire was taken from the altar to boil it.

Ver. 32. *Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram.*] That is, feast with God in his own house, as persons now completely qualified to minister unto him.

Bread that is in the basket.] All the remaining bread and cakes, which were presented unto God, after that which was burnt upon the altar, as his part (ver. 23, 24, &c.).

By the door of the tabernacle] Hence it appears, that this sacrifice had something in it peculiar from other peace-offerings; which might be carried home and eaten there, after God and the priests had had their parts. But this was to be eaten in God's own house, where they were ministers, as a thing more holy: and therefore Aaron and his sons and daughters could not eat of it, as all the family did of other sacrifices of this kind.

Ver. 33. *They shall eat those things*] Aaron and his sons alone were to eat them; and nobody else with them.

34 And if ought of the flesh of the consecrations, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because it is holy.

35 And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all things which I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them.

36 And thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt

Wherewith the atonement was made,] The atonement was not made by these things, but by the bullock, which was offered in the first place; which made them fit to have their hands filled with these things (as the Hebrew phrase is for consecrating, ver. 23, 24) to complete their sanctification. And therefore the words should be thus translated, *they shall eat those things for whom the atonement (or expiation) was made.*

To consecrate and to sanctify them:] Their consecration and sanctification began by the sacrifice for sin; and was completed by this now mentioned.

But a stranger shall not eat thereof,] None that are not of the family of Aaron, to whom alone this holy food belonged. Nor were all his domestics allowed to eat of it, though they might eat of other peace-offerings; but only Aaron and his sons: who being consecrated persons, were to eat these things, which had a special holiness in them, being part of the sacrifice of consecration; and therefore appointed only to such persons as had been consecrated.

Because they are holy,] Had a special holiness, as I said, in them; which made it fit only for such persons to eat them.

Ver. 31. *If ought of the flesh—remain]* He and his sons being not able to eat it all.

Then thou shalt burn the remainder] This is a further argument, that there was a peculiar holiness in this sacrifice, of which only Aaron and his sons might eat: for if this had been like to the flesh of other peace-offerings, it might, according to the following law, have been kept two days before it was eaten (Lev. vii. 15, 16, &c.).

It shall not be eaten,] Upon the second day.

Because it is holy,] Is of more than ordinary sanctity; being offered to make men holy to God: and therefore the greatest care was taken, it should not be in danger to be in the least corrupted.

Ver. 35.] This is the sum of what I have to command thee, concerning the consecration of Aaron, and of his sons.

Seven days shalt thou consecrate them,] They shall not be made complete priests, in less time than I have appointed. Which no doubt was to make them sensible of the weight of their office.

Ver. 36. *Offer every day a bullock for a sin offering for atonement:]* Lest he should think that only the ram of consecration should be offered seven days together, he here expressly directs the bullock for a sin-offering should be so often repeated. The reason of it follows, because it was for atonement. Which appears by the next words to signify, that it was not only for the atonement of the priest, but of the altar itself, which was, by this sacrifice, made fit for God's service. And that is the reason, perhaps, why he saith, in the plural number, it was for atonements. So the Hebrew text.

Cleanse the altar, when thou hast made an atonement for it,] This altar was not capable of any guilt; therefore the word atonement is here used improperly, to signify that, by these repeated sacrifices, it was set

cleanse the altar, when thou hast made an atonement for it, and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it.

37 Seven days thou shalt make an atonement for the altar, and sanctify it: and it shall be an altar most holy: whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.

38 ¶ Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually.

apart to be a place where expiation should be made. Or simply, this expiation of the altar was no more, but, of a common, making it a sacred place: or, as Fortunatus Scacchus understands it, it was purified by these rites from that defilement it must be supposed to have contracted, by the hands of the workmen that made it: for all vessels, in the sense of the law, were looked upon as made unclean, by the touch of any unclean person. And therefore perhaps the altar was also washed with water, as the priests were; which is here called its cleansing.

Anoint it, to sanctify it,] To perfect its sanctification or separation from common use, it was anointed with the holy oil (mentioned in the next chapter), as Aaron and his sons were. For as by the blood of the bullock it was expiated, so by this anointing "it was consecrated; which is meant by sanctifying it."

Ver. 37. *Seven days thou shalt make an atonement for the altar,]* Many think that these were not distinct seven days from those in which the priests were expiated and consecrated; as the bullock for the cleansing of the altar, was not a distinct bullock from that for the priests: but the same sacrifice served for both. This opinion I shall consider in the conclusion of this book (xl. 17, 18), and now only observe, that thus not only the priests among the heathen, but their altars also, were dedicated, by their *taurobolia* and *criobolia* (which I mentioned ver. 20), for we find an ancient inscription wherein one is said to have set up petram tauroboliatam, "an altar consecrated, by besmearing it with the blood of those sacrifices," as Fortunatus Scacchus interprets it (lb. cap. 69).

Make an atonement] By the blood of the bullock.

Sanctify it;] By anointing it with the holy oil.

It shall be an altar most holy:] The reason why it is so called, is given in the following words; because it was not only thus separated to a holy use, but made those things to be holy which were offered upon it. Which they could not be till it was thus expiated and sanctified. Therefore Fort. Scacchus expounds these words [*an altar most holy*] it shall be fully and completely consecrated, by observing all the rites which are here prescribed, for seven days together. Till the end of which no sacrifice whatsoever was offered on this altar (because it was not cleansed and sanctified to make them holy and acceptable), but on the eighth day, when all was performed that was required on the preceding seven days, fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt-offering (Lev. viii. 1, 24).

Whosoever toucheth the altar shall be holy,] Nothing was acceptable unto God, unless it was offered upon this altar; which sanctified every thing that was laid upon it, according to God's direction. Thus our Saviour seems to explain these words (Matt. xxiii. 19). *The altar sanctifieth the gift.* That was the name for all things presented unto God, which were called *korban*; being destined to be offered at his altar.

Ver. 38. *Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon*

39 The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even:

40 And with the one lamb a tenth deal of flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink offering.

41 And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meat offering of the morning, and according to

the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the Lord.

42 *This shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord: where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee.*

43 And there I will meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by my glory.

44 And I will sanctify the tabernacle of the

the altar;] The principal use of the altar was, that there might be a constant sacrifice offered upon it, in acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion over them. Which could not be done till it was expiated and consecrated: but that being finished, Moses directs here what should be the first sacrifice offered upon it.

Two lambs] These were to be a burnt-offering: which was the most ancient of all other sacrifices, being the same that Abel offered.

Of the first year] See xii. 5.

Day by day continually.] There were other occasional sacrifices of various sorts; but these were stated, and so constant, that they were never intermitted. No, not upon festivals, when other sacrifices were added: as upon the Sabbath this sacrifice was doubled (Numb. xxviii. 9, 10), and upon new moons, and other feasts, several other sacrifices were appointed, as may be seen there (ver. 11), and in the rest of that chapter. It appears by Lev. ix. 17, that this daily sacrifice was offered (at least for some time) in the wilderness; but after they began to wander to and fro, for eight-and-thirty years, some think it was omitted. Which was the reason that God renewed this charge in Numb. xxviii. 3, 4 (see Junius and Menochius on that place).

Ver. 39.] At what time in the morning and even, is not here plainly prescribed: but the word in the Hebrew for the latter being *between the evenings*, which was about three o'clock in the afternoon; the morning sacrifice also was offered between the rising of the sun and moon, viz. at nine o'clock in the forenoon.

Ver. 40. *With the one lamb a tenth deal of flour]* Most understand the tenth part of an ephah, which was an omer (concerning which see xvi. 36). And so Moses afterwards expressly orders by God's command (Numb. xxviii. 5).

Mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil, &c.] A hin was the sixth part of an ephah; containing one wine gallon, two pints, and fifteen inches (as Bishop Cumberland computes, in his learned treatise of Scripture Measures). So that the fourth part of it was a quart and something more than a quarter of a pint.

The principal thing here to be observed is, that this was ordained (as I noted upon the twenty-fifth chapter) to represent God's dwelling among them in the sanctuary; where this daily sacrifice was the constant provision made for his table (as the altar is called), and bread and wine a necessary attendant (as they are at all tables) upon the meat that was set before him.

Ver. 41.] The same rites were to be observed in this, that were in the morning sacrifice, without any difference. For as Abarbanel observes, in his preface to the book of Leviticus, the true reason of these two sacrifices was, that all men, who live well, having two meals a day, so many sacrifices (which were his meat) were therefore appointed for the Divine Majesty.

For a sweet savour,] See Lev. i. 9.

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An offering made by fire] i. e. A burnt-offering, as the next verse explains it.

Ver. 42. *At the door of the tabernacle]* For there the altar of burnt-offerings stood, as we read, xl. 6, 29; Lev. xvii. 6, &c.

Before the Lord;] Who dwelt in the most holy place, in the upper end of the tabernacle.

Where I will meet you,] Their coming to worship in that place, is called *drawing nigh to God*: accordingly he promises to vouchsafe his gracious presence to them (see xxv. 22).

To speak there unto thee.] More especially, he promises to meet Moses there upon occasion; and to declare his mind and will to him, in such cases wherein he should consult him.

Ver. 43. *And there I will meet with the children of Israel.]* That they might not think his meeting with them (before mentioned) was only by revealing his mind to Moses, and so to them (as the last words of the foregoing verse might seem to intimate), he explains his meaning to be, that there he would grant tokens of his special love and favour to them all, when they approached unto him.

And the tabernacle shall be sanctified by my glory.] The glorious presence of God, which filled this house (xl. 35), was that which sanctified it, or made it a holy place. But some refer this not to the tabernacle, but to Israel (which is just before mentioned, and the word *tabernacle* not in the text), and the truth is, they were made a holy people also, by this glorious presence of God among them, in the tabernacle.

Ver. 44. *I will sanctify, &c.]* That is, manifest them to be sanctified; or still more completely sanctify them, by the appearance of the Divine Glory in the tabernacle (Lev. ix. 24).

The tabernacle of the congregation.] In the Hebrew, the name is *ohel moed*, which signifies exactly the *tabernacle of meeting*; so called, not from the people's meeting there (as we seem to take it when we translate it, *tabernacle of the congregation*), but from God's meeting there with them, which is mentioned just before; and in the next chapter (xxx. 36), is expressly called the *tabernacle of meeting* (as I think it should be translated), *where I will meet with thee*. Which shows that this was the reason of its name (see also Numb. xvii. 4, and Mr. Mede, book ii. p. 436).

Now all the people could not come to attend upon the daily sacrifice, which was offered for them, and so to meet with God here; and yet it was a maxim among them, that "no man's sacrifice was accepted, unless he was present at it:" therefore there were certain select persons chosen to wait upon God, in the name of all the rest (and there were twenty-four classes of them, as of the priests in David's time), called by the Jews *stationary men*; who never missed, when their course came, to attend on the Divine Majesty at the tabernacle, as the representatives of all their brethren. Concerning which see Pet. Cunæus, lib. ii. de Repub. Jud. cap. 10, and our learned Dr. Lightfoot, in his Temple Service, cap. 7, sect. 3.

congregation, and the altar : I will sanctify also both Aaron and his sons, to minister to me in the priest's office.

45 ¶ And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God.

I will sanctify also both Aaron and his sons,] He declared them to be sanctified to be his priests, by the appearance of his glory at their first sacrifice after their solemn consecration; and by fire coming from heaven to consume their burnt-offering (Lev. ix. 23, 24).

Ver. 45. *I will dwell among the children of Israel,]* The Chaldee renders it, "I will place my divinity (i. e. the Shechinah) among them." In the Hebrew it is, "in the midst of them;" for the tabernacle was situated in the very middle of their camp, while they were in the wilderness (Numb. ii. 17).

And will be their God,] Bestow special blessings

46 And they shall know that I am the LORD their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am the LORD their God.

upon them; such as he did not vouchsafe to other people.

Ver. 46.] By his special favour towards them, it was evidently manifested to them, that he brought them out of the slavery of Egypt, to make them a select people unto himself; among whom he settled his habitation, and appeared, by a most glorious symbol of his presence, to be in the midst of them.

I am the Lord their God,] How could they doubt of it, when they remembered, in what a wonderful manner he had brought them out of Egypt; and what they had heard him declare from his own mouth at Mount Sinai (xx. 2)?

CHAPTER XXX.

1 The altar of incense. 11 The ransom of souls. 17 The brazen laver. 22 The holy anointing oil. 34 The composition of the perfume.

1 AND thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon: of shittim wood shalt thou make it.

2 A cubit shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof; foursquare shall it be: and two cubits shall be the height thereof: the horns thereof shall be of the same.

3 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a crown of gold round about.

4 And two golden rings shalt thou make to it under the crown of it, by the two corners thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make it; and they shall be for places for the staves to bear it withal.

5 And thou shalt make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold.

6 And thou shalt put it before the vail that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy seat that is over the testimony, where I will meet with thee.

CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *Thou shalt make an altar]* This is commonly called the *golden altar*; upon which sweet incense was as constantly burnt every day, as the morning and evening sacrifice of a lamb (before mentioned, xxix. 38, 39) was offered at the brazen altar.

Of shittim wood] See xxv. 5.

Ver. 2. *Foursquare shall it be,]* It was a square of not much more than half a yard; because it served only to offer incense upon twice a day, and had no other use.

Two cubits shall be the height] It was as high again as it was broad; that the priest might minister there without stooping.

The horns thereof shall be of the same,] At each corner there was a spire, rising out of the same piece with the corner-post (see xxvii. 2).

Ver. 3. *Overlay it with pure gold, &c.]* The top of it, and the frame on all sides, with the horns, were to be covered with plates of gold, as the table was (xxv. 24).

The top thereof,] The Vulgar Latin translating the Hebrew word *gag* by *craticula*, hath led many into a conceit that there was a *grate* upon this altar, as there was upon the other. But as the word for that is quite different (viz. *micbar*), so there is not the least mention here made, of cleansing this altar from the ashes, or of any thing to receive them; and therefore Fortunatus Scacchus ingeniously acknowledges, there was no grate on this altar; but a golden pan, or dish, was set upon the top of it (as we translate it rightly), with coals therein, when incense was to be

burnt; and taken away with the coals, when that was done.

Make unto it a crown of gold round about,] A border of gold which went about the brim or edge of it (see there, xxv. 24). This seems to have been made of massy gold, not of shittim wood, overlaid with gold.

Ver. 4. *Two golden rings—under the crown of it,]* The golden crown arose upward above the table, and these rings were fixed below it.

By the two corners thereof, upon the two sides] On each side of the altar, near the corners of it, were these golden rings annexed; at each of the four corners, one.

For places for the staves to bear it withal,] This shows the use of the rings.

Ver. 5. *Make the staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold,]* Just like the staves for the carrying of the ark and the table (xxv. 13, 28).

Ver. 6. *Put it before the vail]* In the midst of the house, between the candlestick and the table; though not just between, but something higher, towards the veil; where it was placed directly before the most holy place.

By the ark of the testimony,] See xxv. 22.

Before the mercy seat] Towards which the priest looked when he offered incense; recommending to God the people and their prayers, which they were making without, while he burnt incense within. There is no ground to think that this altar stood in the most holy place, as St. Austin and some others have conceived; for these words are a plain demonstration to the contrary (see Cuneus, lib. ii. de Repub. Jud. cap. 5).

7 And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense every morning : when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn incense upon it.

8 And when Aaron lighteth the lamps at even, he shall burn incense upon it, a perpetual incense before the Lord throughout your generations.

9 Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon, nor burnt sacrifice, nor meat offering ; neither shall ye pour drink offering thereon.

10 And Aaron shall make an atonement upon

Over the testimony.] That is, the ark ; which is here simply called the *testimony*, as it is ver. 36, because it was the principal thing in the ark, xl. 20 (see xxv. 23).

Where I will meet with thee.] Though Aaron and his sons might go no farther than the holy place (except only once a year, when Aaron alone went into the most holy) to offer incense, before the mercy-seat ; yet Moses had the privilege to consult the Divine Majesty, in the most holy place, where the Divine glory shined, as these words, and xxv. 22, Numb. vii. ult. seem to intimate. For since he was admitted into the mount (as P. Cunaus argues, in the place before mentioned) to speak with God face to face, for many days together ; it is not unreasonable to think that he was admitted to speak with him, upon occasion, in the most holy place in the tabernacle.

Ver. 7. *Aaron shall burn thereon*] He did it at first ; but afterwards his sons in their courses performed this service ; as appears from Luke i. 8, 9, where Zacharias, who was not high-priest, offered the incense when it came to his turn, “according to the custom of the priest’s office.”

Sweet incense] For it was a compound of several spices, which were very fragrant, as appears by the latter end of this chapter.

Every morning : when he dresseth the lamps.] At the rising of the sun, the priests went in to look after the lamps which they had lighted in the evening before. The dressing of them, as the Hebrews describe it, consisted in cleansing the snuff-dishes, and snuffing those lamps they found burning, and supplying them with new oil ; and in putting new cotton (as we now speak) and oil into those that were gone out, and lighting them at some of the lamps which still continued burning.

He shall burn incense upon it.] The manner of it is described by Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, ch. 9, sect. 5.

Ver. 8. *When Aaron lighteth the lamps at even,*] See concerning this xxvii. 20.

He shall burn incense] As he did in the morning.

Perpetual incense] In the same sense that the morning and evening sacrifice is called a continual burnt-offering (xxix. 38, 42), this is called *perpetual* incense, because it was never intermitted twice a day. And one reason why it was thus continually burnt, was, because of the vast number of beasts that were slain, and cut to pieces, and washed and burnt every day at the sanctuary ; which would have made it smell like a shambles (as Maimonides speaks), if this sweet odour had not perfumed it, and the garments of the priests who there ministered. Whence, saith he, that speech of our rabbins, “this sweet odour might be smelt as far as Jericho.” Whereby the reverence due to God’s house was preserved ; which would have been contemptible, if there had been an ill smell constantly in it, as he truly observes (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45).

Before the Lord] For this altar stood right over against the mercy-seat (ver. 6).

the horns of it once in a year with the blood of the sin offering of atonements : once in the year shall he make atonement upon it throughout your generations : it is most holy unto the Lord.

11 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

12 When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them ; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them.

Throughout your generations.] In all future ages.

Ver. 9. *Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon,*] None but that, which by God’s own order is directed to be made, in the latter end of this chapter.

Nor burnt sacrifice, nor meat offering, &c.] There was another altar appointed, without the holy place, for all these : which as they might not be offered anywhere else, so this altar was appropriated for an offering more grateful than all their burnt sacrifices, or meat and drink-offerings. So Porphyry seems to have learnt from this place (for he was acquainted with these books) : “It is most fit to worship the god with incense, both because it is more grateful, and also more pure than a hecatomb : for blood doth not at all delight the gods.” Accordingly we find in Numb. xvi. 46, 47, that the wrath of God was appeased, when it broke out in a plague upon the people, merely by offering incense, whereby he is said to *make an atonement for them*.

Ver. 10. *Make an atonement upon the horns of it once in a year*] Only once a year, the blood of that great sin-offering, which was made for the general atonement of the people, was to be put upon the horns of this altar ; though no sacrifice might be burnt upon it.

Once in a year] Upon the great day of expiation, which was the tenth day of the seventh month : when the high-priest was first to go with the blood of the sin-offering into the most holy place, and sprinkle it before the mercy-seat ; and then come out into the sanctuary, and there put the blood upon the horns of this altar, and sprinkle it upon it also with his finger seven times, as we read Lev. xvi. 18, 19.

Shall he make atonement upon it] The atonement mentioned so often in this verse, seems to relate to the altar itself (as it is explained Lev. xvi. 18), which was hereby cleansed from the impurities, which it was supposed to have contracted by the sins of those who constantly officiated there.

It is most holy unto the Lord.] This may be meant of that solemn expiation upon the day of atonement : which was the most holy rite in all their religion : for that sacrifice is called by the peculiar name of the *sin-offering of atonement*, or expiation (Numb. xxix. 11). Or, it may be expounded of this altar itself ; which by this was declared to be separated to the most holy service, in which none should presume to officiate, but they who were thereunto consecrated. Which was the reason of the heavy punishment upon king Uzziah, for attempting that which belonged to the priests only, as we read 2 Chron. xxvi. 18—20.

Ver. 11. *The Lord spake unto Moses, saying,*] This is often repeated in this chapter (ver. 17, 22, 34), and in the next ; to show that God did not deliver all his precepts to Moses in the mount without intermission ; but gave him some time to rest, and then spake to him again.

Ver. 12. *When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number :*] This was done twice by God’s own order (Numb. i. and xxvi.). From whence it doth not follow that it could not be done lawfully, without a special command : for there might be reasonable causes, why the rulers of the people might

13 This they shall give, every one that passeth among them that are numbered, half a shekel of the sanctuary: (a shekel is twenty gerahs:) an half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord.

14 Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord.

15 The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less than half a shekel,

think fit to order them to be numbered, especially in time of war.

The reason why this is here mentioned seems to be because, besides the offerings made voluntarily (xxv. 2), every man also paid half a shekel towards the building of the tabernacle, and providing all the furniture of it: for which directions had been given in the foregoing chapters. This appears from xxxviii. 25, 26.

Then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul] This was an homage, whereby they acknowledged they were God's redeemed ones; and whereby they also preserved their lives, which were in danger if they did not pay it.

Unto the Lord,] To be employed about his house.

That there be no plague among them,] Which God might have justly inflicted, if they had not made him this acknowledgment, for increasing and multiplying them according to his promise.

Ver. 13. *Half a shekel*] A shekel wanted not much of our half-crown (see Gen. xxiii. 15, and Bishop Cumberland's treatise of Scripture Weights and Measures, ch. iv.).

After the shekel of the sanctuary:] There the standard was kept, by which such money was to be examined; as Justinian commanded the weights and measures, whereby all others were to be regulated, to be kept in the great church of every city. For I see no reason to think, that there were two sorts of shekels among the Jews, one sacred, and the other common; but much reason against it; for a *shekel of the sanctuary*, which is the rule of the rest (Lev. xxvii. 25), was in value but *twenty gerahs*; which is the same with *aguroth* (1 Sam. ii. 36), and is by the LXX. translated ὀβολός.

An half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord,] This was a tax, which was continued in following times, for the reparation of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple (Matt. xvii. 24). For Cicero, in his oration *pro Flacco*, speaks of gold, sent every year, in the name of the Jews, out of Italy and all the provinces to Jerusalem; which Mr. Selden thinks was this half shekel, paid for the maintaining the public sacrifices, and such-like uses (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 8). And he shows (lib. iv. cap. 5), out of the Misna, in the title Siklim, and other authorities, that on the first day of the month of Adar, men were appointed to sit in every city of Judea to receive this payment. Which is the tribute mentioned by Titus in his oration to the Jews; wherein he puts them in mind how kind he had been to them, in permitting them to take tribute, and to gather gifts for God, *δασμολογῆν τὸ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἀνάστημα συλλέγειν ἐπιτρέψαμεν* (Josephus, lib. vi. Halos. cap. 34).

Ver. 14.] Every man was bound to offer, whether priest or Levite, Israelite or stranger; except women, servants, and such as were under age. Yet, if any one of these did make a voluntary offering, it was accepted: only from a gentile, who was an idolater, they would not accept it, as Maimonides tells us (see Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 4, p. 291).

when they give an offering unto the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls.

16 And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation; that it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls.

17 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

18 Thou shalt also make a laver of brass, and

Ver. 15. *The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less*] They were all equally concerned in this tax, being for the support of the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual sacrifices; and for the providing salt, and wood, and the shew-bread, &c.; whereby all Israel came to have an interest in whatsoever was done at the house of God all the year long. The priestly garments also were provided out of this money, and other things belonging to the Divine service, and to the reparations of the house of God. See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 10, n. 2, 3, 4, where he shows, that if any thing remained in the end of the year, after all these charges were defrayed, it was spent in the extraordinary burnt-offerings; which were called the *second sacrifices of the altar*.

When they give an offering unto the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls,] Whence this money is called in the next verse, *Keseph hakippurim*, "the money of expiations." Which made every man, though never so poor, endeavour to raise it, though he sold his clothes to get it; and he that failed to pay this tribute, was separated from the congregation, and not comprehended in the expiation (as R. Levi of Barcelona speaks, *Præcept. cv.*); that is, was not partaker of the benefit of the expiatory sacrifices.

Ver. 16.] See the verse foregoing, and Neh. x. 32, 33, where we read of ordinances made, to charge themselves with the *third part of a shekel*, for the fore-mentioned uses; because the expenses were then so great, that half a shekel was not sufficient to maintain them.

That it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the Lord,] A testimony of their gratitude to God; who graciously accepted this acknowledgment of him, and spared their lives, which by their sins they had forfeited: this being a propitiation for them, because it purchased propitiatory sacrifices to be offered on their behalf.

Ver. 17.] See ver. 11.

Ver. 18. *Make a laver of brass,]* There is nothing said, either here or xxxviii. 8, concerning the form or bigness of it. But we may probably think that, though Solomon made a *sea of brass*, much bigger than this vessel (which was to be carried about with them in their travels in the wilderness), yet he made it of the same form; and that was circular, as we read, 2 Chron. iv. 2, 3, &c. And after their return from the captivity of Babylon, the laver was restored (as L'Empereur observes out of Maimonides, in his Annotations on Codex Middoth, cap. 3, sect. 6); but there is nothing to be found in the Talmudists concerning its dimensions.

Its foot also of brass,] The basis of it was so contrived, as to receive the water which ran out at the laver at certain spouts.

To wash withal:] At those spouts the priests washed their hands and their feet, before they entered upon their ministration. For if they had put their hands and feet into the laver, the water in it would have been defiled by the first man that washed

his foot *also* of brass, to wash *withal*: and thou shalt put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein.

19 For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat:

20 When they go into the tabernacle of the congregation, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offering made by fire unto the Lord:

therein. And the sea of brass made by Solomon was so high, that they could not put their feet into it.

Put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar,] It stood, according to the Talmudists, between the porch of the temple and the altar; and consequently, in the tabernacle, at the entrance of it, but a little on the south side, and not just before the altar. That is, it was placed like our founts, which stand at the lower end of our churches, towards the door. So that the priests coming into the court, immediately went to the laver, and there washed, and then ascended to the altar.

Put water therein.] The heathens were so superstitious, as to think there was a greater virtue in some waters than in others for their lustration: particularly the Greeks (as Fort. Scacchus observes) would admit of no other water, in some of their greatest solemnities, but that from the fountain Callirhoe. But the Divine institution was more simple, requiring merely spring water for all manner of purifications: only this water here mentioned was put into a vessel sanctified by a solemn unction (xl. 11).

Ver. 19. For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat:] Which, that it might be done more conveniently, the Talmudists tell us there were twelve spouts or cocks, in the form of a woman's breast (whence they call them *paps* or *dugs*), to let the water out of the laver: so that the twelve priests, who attended upon the daily sacrifice, might wash there altogether. See L'Empereur, in the place above named, where he treats at large of this, and of the conveyance of water into the laver: which in the tabernacle (at least while they were in the wilderness) was brought thither every day in other vessels, and put into it, according to the direction in the conclusion of the foregoing verse.

Every one knows that the gentiles took great care of washing their hands before they sacrificed, as appears by many places in Homer (to name no other authors), who, in the first book of his Iliad, speaking of the great sacrifice that was preparing to be offered for the appeasing of Apollo, saith,

Χερσὶ μύσαντο δ' ἑπεῖτα, καὶ αἰδομένοσ' ἀνδράσιν.

Upon which words Eustathius observes it as the ancient custom, before they sacrificed to wash their hands, *δεῖ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῶν χειρῶν γίνεσθαι*, "for none but those who were clean and pure might meddle with sacred things." And again, in the third book,

Ἀτὰρ βασιλεῖων ὄϊον ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχοναν.

"They poured water upon the hands of the kings:" ὡς μέλλουσ' εὖναι, saith Eustathius, "as being about to sacrifice." But I do not find in any author, that they were concerned for more than washing their hands (from whence came the proverb of doing things *illotis manibus*, see Erasmus in his Adages), there being no mention of washing their feet: which was an extraordinary degree of purity, which God required in his priests, who ministered in his house barefoot: and so they did among the gentiles also, as appears

21 So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a statute for ever to them, *even* to him and to his seed throughout their generations.

22 ¶ Moreover the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

23 Take thou also unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred *shekels*, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, *even* two hundred and fifty *shekels*, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty *shekels*,

by that saying of Pythagoras, mentioned by Jamblichus, ἀνυπόδητος ὄντι καὶ προσκύνει, "sacrifice and worship without shoes;" which St. Ambrose thinks was borrowed from Moses, lib. i. Epist. 6 (see Cuperus in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 185).

Ver. 20. When they go into the tabernacle—they shall wash with water,] This washing was not to be repeated before every act of their ministration; but it sufficed for all the service of that day, if they washed once at their entrance upon it. Only on the great day of expiation, before five of the various duties then to be performed, the washing was to be renewed.

That they die not:] By the hand of Heaven, as the Jews speak; that is, of God, who punished such profanation, as ministering to him in their uncleanness, with death. And the service performed by such a person, was all without effect, whether he were the high-priest, or a common one, as R. Levi, of Barcelona, saith (Præcept. evi.).

Or when they come near to the altar to minister,] Whether they were to go in to minister at the altar of incense in the tabernacle, (of which he speaks in the first words of this verse), or to offer sacrifices at the brazen altar in the outward court, they were to wash before they entered upon their service.

Ver. 21. So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not:] There was no need of doing more, being washed once all over before they were consecrated (xxix. 4), but their hands and feet were to be washed, upon pain of death, every day before they ministered.

It shall be a statute for ever to them,] As long as the tabernacle or temple stood.

Ver. 23. Take thou also unto thee principal spices,] So we rightly translate the Hebrew word *roshim*, which literally signifies *heads*: but thence, the chief of any kind of thing; the *head* being the principal or chief member of the body.

As for the word *bsanin*, which we translate *spices*, it seems to be a general name for all the following species, which are comprehended under it (see ver. 34).

Of pure myrrh] The Hebrew word *mor*, according to Maimonides, signifies *musk*; and David Kimchi commends their exposition, who take it for a kind of frankincense: but the general opinion of the Hebrews, as well as of later writers, is, that it signifies *myrrh*, which seems to be derived from the ancient word *mor*. And that being the best which flows from the shrub of itself, Moses is required to make use of such *myrrh*. For the word *deror* (which we translate *pure* or not adulterated) properly signifies *freely flowing* or *dropping myrrh*: which was far better than that which came out from the tree by incision. The fragrance of this is taken notice of by a great number of authors; who also mention it as having a principal part in the composition of the most costly ointments, as Fort. Scacchus observes (lib. i. Myroth. Sac. Elæochrysm. cap. 51, 52, and lib. ii. cap. 8).

Five hundred *shekels*,] That is, in weight; which

21 And of cassia five hundred *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary, and of oil olive an hin :

25 And thou shalt make it an oil of holy ointment, an ointment compound after the art of the apothecary : it shall be an holy anointing oil.

26 And thou shalt anoint the tabernacle of the congregation therewith, and the ark of the testimony,

was two hundred and fifty ounces ; a *shekel* being as much as half an ounce of our weight.

Of sweet cinnamon half so much.] There were two sorts of *cinnamon* : one that doth not smell very much ; another which was very aromatic, and rarely to be found (Galen saith, in his time) but in the closet of kings. And therefore God commands Moses here to take not mere *cinnamon*, but with the addition of *bosem*, which signifies *sweet-scented*. Salmasius in his *Plin. Exerc.* treats of both these spices.

Of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty shekels.] This spice hath also the same addition of *bosem* to it, because there was a *calamus* that was not sweet-scented ; and that which was they held very precious, being not of the growth of Judea, but coming from distant places. So we read (Jer. vi. 20) of "sweet cane from a far country : " and Isaiah intimates in xliii. 25, that it was a foreign commodity of great value : and Salmasius is positive, that there was no aromatic *calamus* grew out of India (Plin. *Exercit.* p. 1052). But Bochartus very well observes that there was no traffic, in all likelihood, with India in the days of Moses : and therefore they had it then from Arabia : where Dionysius Periegetes, together with frankincense and myrrh, mentions (in one and the same verse) *εὐδομος κάλαμος*, "sweet-smelling calamus" (see Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 6).

Ver. 24. *Of cassia five hundred shekels.*] There is no mention of this spice (which the Hebrews call *kidhah*) but here and in Ezek. xxvii. 19, where it is joined with *calamus* and reckoned among the precious things which were brought to the marts of Tyre. Therefore, it doth not signify that *cassia* which is now used among purging medicines, but another mentioned by Pliny, together with *cinnamon* (lib. xii. cap. 19). There being one sort of it called *isocinnamonum*, because it was equal to *cinnamon* in virtue and in value (see Salmasius in his *Plinianæ Exercit.* in Solin. p. 1302). But this sort of *cassia* differing but little from *cinnamon*, Fort. Seacchus thinks, for that very reason, we are here to understand by *kidhah* that aromatic plant which the ancients call *costus* ; the best of which was brought out of Arabia, and was of a white colour, as he proves out of Avicenna, Dioscorides, and Pliny. And it appears by Propertius it was used by the ancients, to be burnt on their altars, as well as frankincense :

'Costum molle date, et blandi mihi thuris honores.'

(Myrtoec. Elæochrysm. par. ii. cap. 11, 12).

Shekel of the sanctuary.] See ver. 13.

Of oil olive] Which was clear and free from all dregs (see xxix. 40).

An hin.] I observed there that it contained a wine-gallon and two pints, and something more.

Ver. 25. *And thou shalt make it*] From hence, and from those words (ver. 23), "take thou unto thee sweet spices," &c., the Hebrew doctors conclude, that Moses made this holy oil with his own hands. Of which there is no certainty ; much less that none ever ventured to make it after him : nay, it is evident that Bezaleel made it as well as all other things before mentioned (xxxvii. 29).

27 And the table and all his vessels, and the candlestick and his vessels, and the altar of incense,

28 And the altar of burnt offering with all his vessels, and the laver and his foot.

29 And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy : whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy.

30 And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons,

An oil of holy ointment.] To anoint with it all the things mentioned in the next verse ; whereby they were sanctified (that is, set apart) for the service of God. It was not thick, like those compositions which we now call ointments, but thin as oil is ; being nothing but oil, with an infusion of these strong spices, which made it have a comfortable scent. For it is observed by Dioscorides, that oil was very proper, *εις την των μυρων κατασκευην*, "for the preparation of ointments : " odours being better preserved in oil than in any other liquor, as Pliny observes (lib. xiii. cap. 2). And this oil, no doubt, was the purest they could get (such as they brought for the light of the tabernacle, xxvii. 20) which would best imbibe the tincture.

After the art of the apothecary.] Or *ointment-maker* ; of whose art Theophrastus and Dioscorides give an account. But the manner of making this ointment, as Maimonides describes it, was thus : the spices were beaten severally (he should have excepted the myrrh, which was liquid), and then they were mixed together, and macerated in pure water, till all the virtue of them was extracted. Which being done, the hin of oil was poured upon them, and all was boiled upon the fire till the water was evaporated, and the oil alone remained (see Guil. Schickkard in his *Mischpat Hamelek*, cap. 1, p. 24).

It shall be an holy anointing oil.] Wherewith none were to be anointed but sacred persons and things.

Ver. 26. *Anoint the tabernacle of the congregation therewith, &c.*] This and the following verses show the use of the holy oil ; which was to consecrate or set apart every thing hereafter mentioned, to the service of God, whereby the majesty of God's house (as the Jews speak) was set forth : for anointing belonging only to kings and princes, this ceremony begat in people's minds a greater fear and reverence towards God himself, as Maimonides's words are (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45).

Ver. 27.] Here being such a particular mention of every thing that was in the sanctuary, he only saith, when it was erected (xl. 9), "Thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein," &c.

Ver. 28.] In this verse he mentions all that was without the sanctuary, in the court of the Lord's house ; of the unction whereof he also gives a particular charge (xl. 10, 11). And accordingly when he gives an account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, he also tells us how he executed these commands of anointing the tabernacle, and all that was in it ; but more especially this altar, which he sprinkled seven times with the holy oil (Lev. viii. 10, 11). See there.

Ver. 29. *Sanctify them.*] Separate all the forenamed things from common uses, to the service of God alone, by anointing them with this holy oil.

That they may be most holy.] They were made hereby *most holy*, because, as it here follows, they made other things to be holy.

Whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy.] As the gift was made holy by the altar, upon which it was laid (see xxix. 37).

and consecrate them, that *they* may minister unto me in the priest's office.

31 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your generations.

32 Upon man's flesh shall it not be poured, neither shall ye make *any other* like it, after

Ver. 30.] See xxix. 7, 8.

Ver. 31. *This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your generations.*] The Jews understand this, as if it were meant of this individual oil now made by Moses; which lasted till the captivity, or till the time of Josiah. But this seems to be as fabulous as that Josiah hid it so, that it could never be found after his death. For there were so many things to be anointed with it at present, and in future times (all the high-priests being anointed, not with a drop or two, but with such a plentiful effusion of it, that it ran down to their beards, nay, the skirts of their garments, Psalm exxxiii. and their kings also, when there was any doubt of their title), that this oil could not last so long, much less retain its scent for so many generations, without a miracle, of which there was no need. For though there was near half a hundred weight of the spices, yet there was but five or six quarts of oil; and therefore the ointment could not be more: the odours of these spices being only extracted by infusion, and the substance left behind. And such a quantity as this, one may well suppose, was near spent in the anointing of so many things and persons, as are here mentioned: and therefore it was upon occasion to be made again, as the perfume was, which follows here, ver. 34.

Yet it must be confessed that there hath been a very ancient opinion among the Jews, that *in the second temple there was no holy oil*: for which one can see no reason, but that they did not think it lawful to make this composition, and therefore consecrated their high-priests, only by putting on their robes. How they came to fancy it unlawful doth not appear; but the omission of this unction after their return from their captivity, seemed to foretell that there should be another and better kind of unction, which was by the Holy Ghost; the variety of whose gifts might perhaps be foreshadowed by these several spices.

An holy anointing oil unto me.] There was no rite or ceremony ordained whereby this oil became holy; but it was consecrated by this Divine institution, which appropriated it unto God alone in these words, *unto me*. Which separated it to God's uses and service; and made it unlawful for anybody to employ it to other purposes.

Ver. 32. *Upon man's flesh shall it not be poured.*] Here follow two prohibitions, to breed in the people the greater reverence to this holy ointment. The first is this, that it should not be poured on *man's flesh*, i. e. on common men, who were not priests, or were not appointed by God to be anointed with it. It is well known, that in the eastern countries (whom the Greeks and Romans also imitated) men were wont to anoint their heads and faces, and that with very precious ointments, especially at their feasts, and when they would make a splendid appearance: and therefore they are here forbidden to make use of this oil for such uses.

Neither shall ye make any other like it, after the composition of it.] This is a second prohibition, not to make any ointment of these spices, for private and common use.

It is holy.] It is set apart for my use alone.

And it shall be holy unto you.] And therefore you shall not employ it to any other.

the composition of it: it *is* holy, and it shall be holy unto you.

33 Whosoever compoundeth *any* like it, or whosoever putteth *any* of it upon a stranger, shall even be cut off from his people.

34 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and

Ver. 33. *Whosoever compoundeth any like it, &c.*]

That is, if any man broke either of the foregoing prohibitions, by making the like composition, or putting any of this upon one who was not a priest, he was liable to be cut off from Israel. What that is, see Gen. xvii. 14. The reason of these prohibitions is manifest, as Maimonides excellently discourses (More Nevochim. par. iii. cap. 45), which was, that this sweet odour being smelt nowhere else, men might be more in love with it in the sanctuary: and that none, by being anointed with the like, might fancy themselves better than others, from whence great dissensions and mischiefs might have arisen. The same may be said concerning the perfume (ver. 37, 38).

Kings, indeed, are said to have been anointed with this very oil; at least Solomon was (1 Kings i. 39, though we may doubt of David, when he was anointed king of Judah, 2 Sam. ii. 4), which was, I suppose, by special direction of the prophets; that the people might look upon them as sacred persons, and special ministers of God, for their good. The Jews also will have it, that he whom they call *the anointed of war*, that is, say the Jews, the priest mentioned, Deut. xx. 2, but I should rather think, the general who commanded their forces, in any sudden danger, was anointed also with this oil, that he might be inspired with courage, when he fought as a sacred person. So that they interpret the first words of the foregoing verse [*upon man's flesh shall it not be poured*] in this sense: "None shall be anointed with it but the high-priest, the anointed of war, and the kings of the house of David." For the kings of Israel were not anointed with it, but with simple balsam, as they also tell us.

Ver. 34. *Take unto thee sweet spices.*] There are the same words here in the Hebrew, that we had before (ver. 23), save only that there he saith, *Take to thee rosamin* (with the addition of *rosin*, principal, or most excellent), and here, *Take to thee samim*, which we translate *sweet spices*. How these two differ, interpreters of all sorts extremely vary: but they both seem to be general words, which contain the following species under them; and *samim* to signify spices of less value than *besamim*. The latter of which denote such spices as were either liquid or most proper to mix with oil, or other liquid things, to give them a fragrance, as Fort. Scacchus thinks, who hath discussed these two words with great diligence, in his *Elæochrysm*. Myroth. par. ii. cap. 7.

Stacte.] The Hebrew word signifies something that drops; which some have taken for *balsam*; but the LXX. translate it as we do; and Salmasius hath shown that it is the liquid part of myrrh (not which flows of itself) which drops from it when it is pressed out by art (see Plin. Exercit. p. 520). The same Fort. Scacchus, cap. 8, observes, out of Dioscorides, who calls it *προσφαρον σμύρης τό λιπαρόν*, &c., "the most unctuous part of fresh myrrh, pressed out with a little water" (cap. 74). This was used in the perfumes which the heathen burnt upon the altars, as appears by that of Euripides in *Troad*. where he mentions,

Σμύρης αἰθερίας τὸν κύμαρον.

Onycha.] The Hebrew word *secheleth* is translated

galbanum; *these* sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight:

35 And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy:

36 And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation, where I

by Jonathan *ceseth*, which the famous Bochartus proves by many arguments to be *ladanum*, which was one of the principal aromatics among the Arabians. The stream of interpreters indeed carry it for *onycha*, but are not agreed what that is; for some take it for the hoof or claw of an animal (as Maimonides), others (as Jarchi) for the root of a plant, which is smooth and transparent as the nail of a man's hand, which the Greeks call *onyx*; but there are others, and more numerous, who take it for the shell of a fish, in the fens of India, that are full of *spikenard*, upon which this fish feeding, it makes the very shell odoriferous (see Hierozoiæ, par. ii. lib. v. cap. ult.). He observes also, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 1, that there was such a shell-fish in Babylonia, which was nearer to the Jews than the Indians. The Greeks called it *onyx*, from the form of it; and the Hebrews *secheleth*, from its colour, which was black.

Galbanum.] That which is sold in our shops is of an offensive smell; but there was another in Syria, in the mount Amanus, which had an excellent scent. And, therefore, to distinguish it from ordinary *galbanum*, there is a word added to it, as the vulgar Latin takes it, in which it is called *galbanum boni odoris*. For that translation joins the next word (which we translate *sweet spices*) unto *galbanum*: as if he had said, aromatic *galbanum*.

With pure frankincense.] It was gathered twice in the year; in the spring and in the autumn: and Pliny tells us, that gathered in the autumn was the purest and whitest; with which the other (that was reddish) was not to be compared (lib. xii. cap. 14). Every one knows that this was very much used by the gentiles upon their altars.

Of each shall there be a like weight.] This is the common interpretation of the Hebrew words; and I will not trouble the reader with any other. But we have no certain knowledge what weight this was: for I see no authority for what the Hebrew doctors say, that there were seventy pounds of each of the four species. And they add (which makes all they say of this matter questionable), that there were also several pounds of *cinnamon*, and *cassia*, and *crocus*: in short, of thirteen several spices, which Josephus (lib. vi. Haloseos, cap. 6) affirms were in this composition. Of which Moses, they say, made in the whole three hundred and sixty-eight pounds; that is, one pound for every day in the year, and three for the day of expiation. And, accordingly, R. Levi Barzelonita saith, the priests made every year as much as would suffice for every day of it; and that the ordinary priests might make it as well as the high-priest (Præcept. ci).

Ver. 35. *Make it a perfume*.] Some think the last words of the foregoing verse signify, that each sort of spice was to be pounded, one by one: and then they are all ordered here to be put together.

A confection after the art of the apothecary.] Made with great care, and according to this Divine prescription. Thus Plutarch, speaking of the aromatic *Μύγμα* among the Egyptians, which was burnt morning and evening on their altars, saith it was not put together, *ὅπως ἔστιν*, "on any fashion," or "as it happened;" ἀλλὰ γράμματα ἱερῶν τοῖς μυρεφταῖς, &c.,

will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

37 And as for the perfume which thou shalt make, ye shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof: it shall be unto thee holy for the Lord.

38 Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, shall even be cut off from his people.

"but the sacred books were read to those who compounded it," when it was mixed (lib. de Isid. et Osiride).

Tempered together.] Both the Chaldee and the LXX. render this *mingled*; just as salt is with any thing upon which it is sprinkled.

Pure.] Without any other mixture.

Holy.] To be used only in the Divine service. For this was one of the most ancient ways of worshipping God; the word *θυσία*, i. e. "sacrifice" (as Porphyry saith, lib. ii.) being derived ἀπὸ θυμιάσεως: the first men making a fume, by burning parts of trees, and shrubs, and seeds, and fruits. And the sweeter their scent was, the more grateful they fancied the fume was to their gods. So that though at first they contented themselves with simple herbs, and plants, and Moses here prescribes only some few spices fetched from foreign countries, yet, in aftertimes, they increased them to a greater number: for that aromatic mixture I mentioned before among the Egyptians, called *Kîp*, was a composition of sixteen things, which Plutarch reckons up in the forenamed book. And Sophocles brings in Clytemnestra (in his Electra. ver. 637) calling for *θύματα πάχαρα*, "fumes of all sorts of seed," to be offered to Apollo, that she might be delivered from her terrors.

Ver. 36. *Beat some of it very small*.] Reduce it to powder.

Put of it before the testimony.] Burn it upon the altar of incense, which was placed before the ark, as we read ver. 6. This seems to be the meaning; and not that he should put it in a dish upon the table, ready to be burned; for the table did not stand before the ark of the testimony.

Where I will meet with thee.] See xxix. 42.

It shall be unto you most holy.] Employed only in the worship of God, before the most holy place.

Ver. 37. *As for the perfume which thou shalt make*, &c.] Or rather, *And the perfume which thou shalt make, you shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof*. For any private use; which is imported in these words, to yourselves.

It shall be unto thee holy for the Lord.] Entirely separated to the Divine worship; and therefore not to be touched by any but the priests, and that when they ministered in the sanctuary, before the mercy-seat.

Ver. 38. *Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto*.] For his own pleasure (see ver. 33). R. Levi of Barcelona hath well explained this: no man was to make this composition with the same spices, and the same weight, and with an intention to burn it. So he interprets those words to *smell thereto*; that is, to make a perfume with it by burning it (Præcept. cxi.): yet if any man (as Maimonides observes) did smell this perfume, but did not make it, he was not guilty of being cut off.

Shall even be cut off from his people.] See ver. 33. Their opinion is not improbable, who think by this is meant not only the excision of the transgressor, but of his whole race; none of which should remain to keep up his name in Israel. By which severe threatening, the people were deterred from profaning these holy things.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 Bezaleel and Aholiab are called and made meet for the work of the tabernacle. 12 The observation of the Sabbath is again commanded. 18 Moses receiveth the two tables.

1 AND THE LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah:

3 And I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship,

4 To devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,

5 And in cutting of stones, to set *them*, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship.

6 And I, behold, I have given with him Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan:

CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1.] After all the foregoing directions from the twenty-fifth chapter unto this (in which, as I said before, xxx. 11, one may well think there was some intermission), the Lord proceeded to give Moses this following information, to encourage him to go about this work.

Ver. 2. *See, I have called*] Be not solicitous where thou shalt find workmen, who have skill enough to make all the things which I have commanded; for I have taken care of that; and pitched upon one who shall be the chief director of the whole business.

By name] Made a particular choice of one man above all others, whom I have designed for this work. It appears by other places, that this phrase (to call him *by name*) gives Bezaleel the pre-eminence above all other artificers. See xxxiii. 12, 17, where he saith the same of Moses; and Isa. xlv. 3, where he saith it of Cyrus.

Bezaleel the son of Uri,] See 1 Chron. ii. 18—20. Though he was particularly chosen and fitted for this work, yet there was another joined with him to be his assistant (ver. 6). Which two did not do all the work with their own hands (as appears from xxviii. 3, where he speaks of many persons endowed with extraordinary skill), but they were the principal artists, and the chief directors and overseers of the work. And therefore, after the mention of Aholiab (ver. 6), he speaks also of others into whose hearts he had put wisdom, to do all that he commanded.

The son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah.] This Hur is thought by some to have been the husband of Miriam, the sister of Moses (see xvii. 10). And then the observation of Abarbinel is not impertinent, that God did the more particularly declare his choice of Bezaleel, and Moses the more punctually remember it, to take away all exceptions from the Israelites; who might have been apt to think that Moses had too much regard to his own kindred, if he had appointed him to be the chief governor of this work, without the special call of God unto it. For thus they might have cavilled (as some of them did afterward, in part)—he makes *himself* king, and Aaron his brother high-priest; and now delivers into the hands of his *nephew* all the oblations and collections that have been made for the tabernacle. For which there could be no colour, after God had solemnly declared it was done by his special order. He adds also (which is not so justifiable) that there was a strife among the Israelites who should undertake this work; for which, though Moses knew the fitness of Bezaleel, yet he durst not mention him, for fear they should think him partial; till God commanded him, saying, Do not regard what the people say, for thou, and they all, shall see that he is chosen by me, and not by *thee*, unto this work; for I will give him extraordinary wisdom, &c.

Ver. 3. *I have filled him with the spirit of God,*] i. e. VOL. I.—46

With an excellent spirit; or with Divine inspiration. Which was but necessary; because the Hebrews being long kept in slavery under the Egyptians, cannot be supposed to have been bred up to the learning of those ingenious arts mentioned in the next verses. For they were acquainted only with the making of bricks, during that heavy servitude; and therefore God instructed several men, particularly Bezaleel, in those arts which they had no master to teach them, and with their natural genius, though never so great, could not attain, especially on a sudden, without inspiration.

In wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge,] Here wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, do not signify, as they do in other places, particularly in the Proverbs, and in Isaiah xi. 2 (where the Messiah is said to be “filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and the spirit of knowledge”), but skill in the arts of engraving, and setting jewels, and weaving, and needle-work, &c. How *wisdom* differs from *understanding* and from *knowledge*, is not much material: they may be many words used only to express their skill in all sorts of arts, that might make them accomplished workmen, as it follows in the latter end of the verse, *to work in all manner of workmanship*. They that would see how the Hebrews distinguish them, may look into Paulus Fagius upon the place, or Buxtorf’s *Historia Arce*, cap. 2, n. 3.

Ver. 4. *To devise cunning works,*] There are two things required in an excellent artist: good invention and ability to do what he hath contrived. The first of these seem to be intended in this verse; and the other in the next; together with a dexterity to teach other artificers, who were to be employed under Bezaleel and Aholiab.

Ver. 5. *In cutting of stones,*] There were no stones employed about the tabernacle; and therefore this must be meant of *cutting* and *setting* the precious stones mentioned ch. xxviii. and in *graving* on them what God commanded, ver. 11, 21.

In carving of timber,] We do not read in the foregoing chapters of any carved work about the tabernacle; and therefore this word may better be rendered (as it is in the beginning of the verse) *cutting*, rather than *carving* timber. For it signifies, in general, doing all the work of carpenters and joiners.

To work in all manner of workmanship,] That was necessary for the making of every thing God had commanded.

Ver. 6. *Behold, I have given with him*] Lest Moses should think one principal contriver and director not to be sufficient, God joins another with him.

Aholiab,—of the tribe of Dan.] It is observed by R. Bechai, that God chose one out of the lowest tribe (for so they accounted that of Dan), as well as one out of the chief, which was Judah; that Bezaleel, saith he, might not be lifted up with vain conceit; for great and small are equal before God. And he truly ob

and in the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee;

7 The tabernacle of the congregation, and the ark of the testimony, and the mercy seat that is thereupon, and all the furniture of the tabernacle,

8 And the table and his furniture, and the pure candlestick with all his furniture, and the altar of incense,

9 And the altar of burnt offering with all his furniture, and the laver and his foot,

10 And the cloths of service, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office,

serves, that one of the same tribe, of Dan, by the mother's side, was the most skilful person that could be found, for the building of the temple by Solomon, (2 Chron. ii. 14).

In the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put wisdom,] That is, God endued the minds of all ingenious persons among them with an extraordinary skill; which they never learnt, either by their own study or any master, but had it by an inspiration from above. There were several, no doubt, who had a natural genius to such arts as were necessary in this work; but they could not by their own industry, have attained such skill as God bestowed on them; at least not so soon, as to go immediately about the building of the tabernacle, and all things belonging to it.

That they may make all that I have commanded thee;] Not to imitate the Egyptian contrivances, as some have fancied (for which no such great skill, one would think, was necessary), but to make all exactly according to the model which Moses had seen in the mount, and he described to them; which could not have been done without God's extraordinary assistance.

Ver. 7.] These things are here mentioned, according to the order of nature; which is first to build a house, and then to provide its furniture. And it is observable, that there was but one house, or tabernacle, one ark, and one altar, either for sacrifice or incense, to preserve in their minds the belief of the unity of God; contrary to the gentiles, who had their temples and altars everywhere, and each family its domestic gods, and particular superstitions.

Ver. 8. *Pure candlestick*] It is hard to tell why this is particularly called *pure*, unless it be because it was entirely of pure gold (xxv. 31), which the table and altar of incense were not; for they were only overlaid with pure gold, (xxv. 24, xxx. 3). Some have thought that it is called *pure*, because no blood was ever sprinkled upon it, as there was on the altar of incense; but this is not a good reason, for we do not find there was any sprinkled on the table.

Ver. 9. *Altar of burnt offering,*] Concerning this and the *laver* he had received orders, xxvii. 1, xxx. 17.

Ver. 10. *Cloths of service,*] Wherewith the *ark*, and the *table*, and the *candlestick*, and the *golden altar* were covered (Numb. iv. 6, 7, 9, 11, &c.), when the camp removed.

Holy garments] Which are ordered ch. xxviii.

Ver. 11. *Anointing oil, and sweet incense,*] These were ordered in the foregoing chapter, ver. 23, 34.

Ver. 12.] After he had delivered him all the foregoing orders, about the tabernacle, its furniture, and the workmen to be employed in making them; he added what follows.

Ver. 13. *Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep:*] This hath been mentioned thrice already (see xvi. 23, xx.

11 And the anointing oil, and sweet incense for the holy place: according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

12 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

13 Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep: for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the LORD that doth sanctify you.

14 Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people.

8, xxiii. 12), but here seems to be repeated again, upon this special occasion, that they might not think this sacred work would warrant them to break the Sabbath. On which he bids Moses tell them, they must not do this work no more than any other: for the tabernacle was built for the service of God, which was principally performed upon this day. And he uses a word of the plural number, not to signify any other Sabbath but this; which recurring so often as once in seven days, he might well admonish them to keep his Sabbaths. And so the apostle plainly speaks Col. ii. 16.

For it is a sign between me and you] This plainly shows he speaks of the weekly Sabbath; the observation of which testified to all the world what God they worshipped: as all nations signified, by their rites and ceremonies, what their gods were to whom their services were paid. Now the Israelites stood in a double relation to God; as his creatures, and as those who were redeemed by him from the Egyptian bondage: in both which regards the Sabbath was a sign or token between him and them. For by observing one day in seven, after six days' labour, they signified that they worshipped the Creator of the world; who in six days made all things, and then rested: and by observing such a seventh day (see xvi. 5), after six days' labour, rather than any other, they signified they owned him to be their deliverer from Egyptian slavery. This is opened excellently by our Mr. Mede, Discourse xv. p. 73, 74.

Throughout your generations;] During this polity which God now establishes among you.

That ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you. To be my peculiar people, by observing this solemnity. For it was peculiarly enjoined to them, and to no other nation; and was looked upon as a singular benefit conferred on them above all people; as appears by the devout acknowledgment Nehemiah makes of this among the rest of the Divine favours to them, that "he made known unto them his holy Sabbath," ix. 14, and see Ezek. xx. 11, 12.

Ver. 14. *Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore;*] Since it is such a distinguishing mark, be the more careful to observe it.

For it is holy unto you:] This depends upon what was said in the conclusion of the foregoing verse, that hereby they were *sanctified*, or separated to God as a peculiar people; and therefore, in all reason, should look upon this as a *holy* day.

Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death:] If there were credible witnesses of this profanation.

For whosoever doeth any work therein,] This was to defile or profane it.

That soul shall be cut off from among his people.] God seems to threaten that he himself would shorten

15 Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death.

16 Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant.

his days, if the judges, for want of witnesses, could not punish him. So Eliah ben Mosch (one of those whom the Jews call *Karaites*) most excellently expounds this, and all the rest of the punishments threatened to the violation of this precept, which Mr. Selden hath given us out of a MS. lib. i. de Synedriri, cap. 6. The sense is this, in short: he that violates a negative precept, as they call it, either doth it secretly, which is most frequent, or openly, which happens seldom, unless a man be one of those profligate wretches whom we call apostates. Now him that secretly broke the Sabbath, the Scripture threatens with cutting off, viz. by the hand of God, according to what is written here in this place. In like manner, incestuous and unlawful conjunctions are threatened (Lev. xviii. 29), because they were wont to be committed secretly. But if any man did any work openly on the Sabbath, so that there were witnesses of it, he was to be stoned, according to what is said, Numb. xv. 35. Though if he did it out of mistake, either secretly or openly, he was only to bring a sacrifice for his error: and if he offended against any of the decrees of the wise men about the Sabbath, he was to be beaten. Or if there was no court of judgment in the place (as now, in their present condition), then all such transgressors were left to God to punish them, of whatsoever sort they were.

Ver. 15. *The seventh is the sabbath of rest.*] So it is called also, xxxv. 2, and Lev. xxiii. 3. And so the Sabbath wherein the land rested, is likewise called, Lev. xxv. 4. But the Hebrew words *shabbat shabbaton* (Sabbath of rest) properly signify "Sabbath above all Sabbaths," i. e. the greatest Sabbath; on which a rest was to be most punctually observed from all manner of work, which the Jews, as De Dieu notes, call the *weighty Sabbath*; as if other days of rest were but light in comparison with this. According to that saying of R. Josee, "great is circumcision, because the weighty Sabbath gives place to it;" that is, admits of this work, though the rest on this Sabbath be so very great.

Shall surely be put to death.] As an idolater, who did not acknowledge the Creator of the world. See before, ver. 14.

Ver. 16.] The most literal interpretation of this verse seems to me to be that of Lud. de Dieu, "the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath by making the Sabbath a perpetual covenant throughout their generations." That is, by never suffering it to be interrupted, they made it a perpetual covenant between God and them throughout all ages.

Ver. 17. *It is a sign*] A badge and livery that they were the servants of the Most High, who made the heavens and earth. A mark of their being devoted to him, and continuing in covenant with him, no less than circumcision.

For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth.] In memory of which the Sabbath was first instituted, "to preserve perpetually and establish that most precious history and doctrine of the creation of the world," as Maimonides speaks, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.

17 *It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.*

18 ¶ And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.

On the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.] Delighted in the contemplation of all his works, which he saw were very good (Gen. i. 31). The same Maimonides observes, that the word *yinnaphash* (which we translate *was refreshed*) comes from *nephesh*, which, among other things, signifies the intention of the mind and the will; and therefore the sense of this phrase is, "all the will of God was perfected and brought to a conclusion: his whole good pleasure was absolutely finished on the seventh day" (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 67).

Ver. 18. *He gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him*] When he dismissed him, having said all that is before related during his forty days' stay with him in the mount, he delivered unto him two tables of testimony, to carry down with him to the people.

Two tables of testimony.] Wherein God testified to them his will and mind, in the principal things which concerned their duty (see xvi. 34).

Tables of stone.] That what was written upon them might be more durable. There is no ground to think that these tables were made of some precious stone (as the author of the book Cosri, and other Jews fancy), for the word *eben* in the Hebrew simply signifies any sort of stone, and is wont to have some other joined to it, when precious stones are meant, as in 2 Sam. xii. 30; 1 Kings x. 2; 2 Chron. iii. 6.

Written with the finger of God.] i. e. By God himself. Just as the heavens, saith Maimonides, are said to be "the work of his fingers" (Psalm viii. 4), which he interprets in another place (xxxiii. 6), "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made." Therefore "written by the finger of God," is as much, saith he, as "by the word;" that is, the will and good pleasure of God (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 66). In short, this phrase signifies, that God employed neither Moses, nor any other instrument, in this writing, but it was done by his own powerful operation. For all things that we do, being wrought by our hands and our fingers, these words are used to express God's power (see xxxii. 16).

This was a thing so notorious in ancient times, and so much believed by those who were not Jews, that many other nations pretended to the like Divine writings, that they might gain the greater authority to their laws. Thus the Brachmans report in their histories, that the hook of their law (which they call Caster) was delivered by God to Bremavius, upon a mount in a cloud: and that God gave also another book of laws to Brammon in the first age of the world. The Persians say the same of those of Zoroaster; and the Getes of Xamolxis. Nay, the Brachmans have a decalogue like this of Moses, and accurate interpretations of it, in which they say there is this prophecy, That one day there shall be one law alone throughout the world. This evidently shows how well the world was anciently acquainted with these books of Moses's, and what a high esteem they had of them (see Huetius, lib. ii. Alnetan. Quæst. cap. 12, n. 19).

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *The people, in the absence of Moses, cause Aaron to make a calf. 7 God is angered thereby. 11 At the entreaty of Moses he is appeased. 15 Moses cometh down with the tables. 19 He breaketh them. 20 He destroyeth the calf. 22 Aaron's excuse for himself. 25 Moses causeth the idolaters to be slain. 30 He prayeth for the people.*

1 AND when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1. *When the people*] Not the whole body of the congregation; but so many of them, that the rest durst not appear to oppose their desires.

Saw that Moses delayed to come down] The Jews fancy that he stayed long beyond the time that he had appointed for his return to them. But that is not likely; for he himself was not told how long God would detain him there (see xxiv. 14). The meaning therefore is, that he stayed longer than they expected; so that they did not know what to think of it. And having as yet received no directions about the service of God, for which they were called out of Egypt (vii. 16, and other places), they thought it was time to desire Aaron to set about it, in such a way as other people served their gods.

The people gathered themselves together unto Aaron,] They applied themselves to him, as being left by Moses to be the chief director and governor of affairs, together with Hur, during his absence (xxiv. 14). And according to the computation made concerning the time of his going up into the mount (see xxiv. 18), this happened upon the fifteenth of our July; which month the Hebrews call Tamuz.

And said unto him, Up,] One cannot think that they spake thus to him at the very first words; but other discourse passed before this: unto which Aaron, in all probability, making some difficulty to consent, and persuading them not to persist in their demand, they would not be denied any longer, but said in a seditious manner, *Up*, make no further delay, for we will have what we desire.

Make us gods,] Or rather, *make us a god*: for so Nehemiah expresses it in the singular number, ix. 18, and so Elohim is often translated, Gen. xx. 13, xxxv. 7, &c. For their meaning was, make us a sacred symbol or sign, as other nations have, that may represent God in a visible manner to us. So the Jews expound it in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 45, "They said to Aaron, the Egyptians extol their gods, they sing and chant before them; for they behold them with their eyes. Make us such gods as theirs are, that we may see them before us." And so R. Jehudah, in the hook Cosri, par. i. sect. 97: "They desired a sensible object of Divine worship to be set before them; not with an intention to deny God, who brought them out of Egypt, but that something in the place of God might stand before them, when they declared his wonderful works." Such, no doubt, was their meaning: for they could not be so senseless as to imagine the true God could be made by a man; or that an image could go before them (as it here follows), which may have feet, but cannot walk, as the Psalmist speaks. And therefore Aben Ezra judiciously interprets it, "some corporeal image in which God may reside."

2 And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me.

3 And all the people brake off the golden earrings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron.

Which shall go before us;] Conduct us through the wilderness. God himself, in a pillar of cloud and fire, hitherto went before them: but that cloud now covering the mount where Moses was, and not stirring at all from thence, they imagined, perhaps, that Moses being lost, it would no longer lead them as it had done.

For as for this Moses, &c.] This doth not seem to be the language of those who had any regard to him.

We wot not what is become of him.] They thought, perhaps, that he was consumed in the mount, by the fire which shone from the face of God, as Jonathan paraphrases it. Greg. Nyssen's reflection upon this demand of the people is very natural; that they were like schoolboys, who, in the absence of their master, were carried ἀνοήτως ὁρῶντες εἰς ἀρᾶν, "with senseless impetuous motions, into rudeness and disorder" (p. 183 de Vita Mosis). For there were many among them who were infected with the Egyptian idolatry, as we learn from Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 7, 8; xxiii. 3, 8. And, therefore, hankering after that way of worship by images, which they had learnt there, they took this opportunity to desire a visible representation of God among them, as the Egyptians had. And so St. Stephen looks upon this as a turning back in their hearts unto Egypt (Acts vii. 39, &c.).

Ver. 2. *Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings, &c.*] This confirms what I said, that there was some debate about this matter, before they spake those words to him (ver. 1), *Up, make us gods, &c.* For it is not credible that Aaron would immediately consent to so foul a fact as this, without the least argument against it. Which is so unlikely, that the Jews have devised this tale: that Hur rebuking them in his presence, the people fell upon him and killed him; which affrighted Aaron into a speedy compliance.

Golden earrings] These, it is probable, were some of the jewels which they borrowed of the Egyptians (xii. 35), and possibly might have worn superstitiously, as I observed (Gen. xxxv. 5), they did very anciently. There are those who think Aaron hoped they would not have easily parted with these; and so their design might have been broken.

In the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters,] Men wore these ornaments in the eastern countries, as well as women; as we find in the story of the Ishmaelite and Midianite soldiers (Judg. viii. 24, and Pliny, lib. xi. cap. 31). In oriente quidem et viris aurum eo loci, &c. "In the east it is esteemed an ornament for men to wear gold in that place;" speaking of their ears (see Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. i. cap. 34).

Ver. 3. *All the people*] All that were engaged in this design; who were so many (as I said ver. 1), that the rest, it is likely, durst not oppose it.

4 And he received *them* at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These be

Break off the golden earrings—and brought them unto Aaron.] So zealous is superstition, which prevails over pride and covetousness.

Ver. 4. *He received them at their hand.*] They seem to have presented them as an offering, towards the making of a representation of God; wherein every one of them might have an interest; and accordingly Aaron accepted them.

Fashioned it with a graving tool.] The Hebrew word *cheret* (which we translate *graving tool*) is used for a writing-pen (Isa. viii. 1), and for a crimping-pin, which women used about their hair (Isa. iii. 22). And therefore interpreters take it here for an instrument of engraving. And some think that Aaron made such marks with it in this calf as there were in the Egyptian Apis: which was a cow that had a spot on her right side like a crescent (as some writers say, though Herodotus saith otherwise, and the marks are variously reported; see Pignorius in his *Mensa Isiaca*, p. 18, &c.), and a square white spot in the forehead. But others think it more likely, that the calf coming rough out of the mould, Aaron only polished it with a proper tool. For though Apis was in great honour among the Egyptians, yet it was a living cow, and not the image of one, which they had in such veneration. Therefore Mr. Selden (in his *Syntagma*, i. de Diis Syris, cap. 4) takes it to be more probable, that this golden calf, or ox, or bullock (for so the Psalmist differently calls it, cvi. 19, 20) was made in imitation of that golden ox that represented Osiris; which was very famous among the Egyptians: who had a mighty veneration for the river Nile, called in Hebrew *Siehor* (from whence came Syris), and for the dog-star (called Syris likewise), at whose rising that river began to swell; and for the sun (which was principally meant by this name), to whom both the bull at Heliopolis, and the ox at Memphis were consecrated, as Macrobius tells us, lib. i. *Saturnal.* cap. 21. But though all this be very ingenious, yet the truth of it may be well questioned, as I shall show presently; when I have noted that this translation, *fashioned it with a graving tool*, is not so agreeable to what here follows, as another which the Hebrew words will as well bear.

After he had made it a molten calf.] The words in the Hebrew are, *and he made it*, &c.: we translate them *after*, &c., to make this agree with what goes before, according to our translation, “he fashioned it with a graving tool:” which may as literally be translated, *he bound them up in a bag*. For we find the word *jatzar*, which we here translate *fashioned*, to have the signification also of *binding* or *tying up*; and *cheret* in the plural number to signify *a bag* (2 Kings v. 23). And thus the prophet Isaiah (as Bochart observes) describes the making of images (xlvi. 6), “They lavish gold out of the bag, and they make it a god.” Which agrees with what is here said of Aaron—he received the earrings, and put them in a bag; and then having made a mould, cast them into it, and made a golden calf (see ver. 24).

Molten calf.] So he calls it, because it was no bigger than a calf, though the head was like an ox: and therefore, as I observed before, so called by the Psalmist. What moved Aaron to represent God in this figure, is hard to resolve. Most think he imitated the Egyptians, among whom he had long lived: which seems not to me at all likely, since he had seen the judgment that God executed against all their gods (xii. 12). Yet so great a man as I. Gerh. Vos-

thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

5 And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar

sius hath taken a great deal of pains to prove, that Joseph was adored by them under the name of Apis and Serapis; and that his symbol was an ox. This he hath laboured to support by many ingenious conjectures. But it is not likely, if he were thus publicly honoured as a god, that a king should arise who *knew not Joseph*, i. e. *had no regard to him* (Exod. i. 8), and another succeed him, who endeavoured to ruin all his kindred. The worship of Serapis also was not so ancient, for Herodotus saith not a word of it, nor anybody else, till the time of Alexander the Great; and many authors say it was brought into Egypt out of Pontus by Ptolemy (see Bochartus in his *Hierozioc.* par. i. p. 338). And though Apis was more ancient, yet not of such antiquity as Moses, as a very learned person of our own (Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury) hath shown in his book of idolatry, chap. vi. part 4, 5, &c. And as for Osiris, both Plutarch and Strabo say he was the same with Apis: which was not then known, as I have said, in Egypt, no more than Typhus or Typhon, whom Philo thinks to be here intended; but was certainly a later invention, and, as Bochartus imagines, represented Moses himself, though very much disguised.

Cuperus, indeed, hath made it probable (in his *Harpocrates*, p. 83, &c.) that there was a Serapis worshipped in Egypt, before that brought out of Pontus: but whether it be so or no, I do not take it to be at all material, because it is not likely that Aaron would make such a representation of the Divinity as was in use among them, from whose slavery God had lately delivered them. For how could he think the Lord, to whom he proclaimed a feast, would be pleased to be represented by any of those idols, on whom, as I said before, he had executed judgment, at their departure out of Egypt? Or what reason is there to think the Israelites themselves could be inclined to think their God to be like any thing which that people worshipped, who abhorred the sacrifices which the God of Israel required? Their conjecture seems to me far more likely, who think that Aaron, in making this calf, took his pattern from some part of the Shechinah which appeared to him and the elders of Israel (when they ate before God, xxiv. 10) attended with the angels: some of which, called cherubims, they think appeared with the faces of oxen. But as there is no mention in that place of cherubims, nor of the angels appearing in any shape whatsoever; and Moses expressly saith, the Israelites saw no manner of similitude on the day when the Lord spake to them in Horeb (Deut. iv. 15, and therefore Aaron and the elders, in all probability, saw none afterward), so I think there is no evidence that the heavenly ministers at any time appeared in this shape, till the Shechinah departed from the temple in the days of Ezekiel (see xxv. 18, 20).

After all this considered, Aaron seems to me to have chosen an ox to be the symbol of the Divine presence, in hope the people would never be so sottish as to worship it; but only be put in mind by it of the Divine power, which was hereby represented. For an ox's head was anciently an emblem of strength, and horns a common sign of kingly power. So they were among the Phœnicians (as Pignorius observes in his *Mensa Isiaca*, p. 15, out of Eusebius's *Præpar. Evang.* lib. i. cap. ult.), and among the Egyptians (as Diodorus Siculus relates, lib. i.), and among the Romans, as appears by that famous story of Genucius Cipus (in Val. Maximus, lib. v. cap. 6), who, when he was

before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To morrow is a feast to the Lord.

6 And they rose up early on the morrow, and

prætor, had horns come out of his head on a sudden, as he was going out of the city to the wars; whereupon he was told, Regem eum fore, si in urbem revertisset; "that he should be a king, if he returned into the city." And something like it is related by Julius Capitolinus concerning Clodius Albinus, at whose birth a cow brought forth a calf with purple horns, which they looked upon as signum imperii, "a token of empire." Which made the ancient fathers, perhaps, when they spake of this calf or ox of Aaron's, mention only its head. For so doth Tertullian (lib. adversus Judæos, cap. 1): "eum processisset eis bubulum caput;" and St. Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and others: not because they thought Aaron made only the head; but because this was the principal part whereby God was represented.

And they said,] The people cried out aloud.

These be thy gods, O Israel,] Or, as Nehemiah expresses it (ix. 18), *This is thy God, &c.*, the image or symbol of the Divine Majesty: or, as Abulensis interprets it, "his Divine virtue resideth in this golden body." The plural number is commonly used for the singular, especially when God is spoken of, as I observed before, Gen. xx. 13, xxxv. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 23.

Which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt,] This shows they looked upon this ox only as a representation of the Almighty Lord their God: for it being but newly made, they could not imagine they were brought by it from the Egyptian slavery, but by his power, which perhaps they fancied now resided in it.

Ver. 5. When Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it,]

As at the people's request he made it, so he, seeing them receive it with such applause, presently consecrated it; by building an altar, offering sacrifices, and keeping a solemn feast in its honour.

Aaron made proclamation,] Caused it to be publicly proclaimed throughout the host; that every one might have notice of the solemnity.

To morrow is a feast,] Which was a part of worship ordained by his authority.

To the Lord,] Not to this ox, but to the Creator of the world, whom they worshipped in this image. Notwithstanding which, this was no better than an idol (Acts vii. 41), and they gross idolaters (Psalm cvi. 19, 20; 1 Cor. x. 7). Some think, indeed, that Moses being gone, and, as they imagined, either burnt up or famished, they desired this representation of God to go before them, and direct them, as a kind of *teraphim*: but God allowed no such visible sign to be made of his presence with them, which he knew would in a short time have their adoration.

Ver. 6. They rose up early on the morrow,] The next day, which was the sixteenth of our July, they kept their festival. And to show their devotion, they began betimes in the morning, and seem not to have stayed for Aaron: but, as it follows, offered sacrifices themselves.

Offered burnt offerings,] Which always preceded others. See xviii. 12, xxiv. 5, where I observed, that whole burnt-offerings were entirely consumed on the altar, being wholly God's.

Brought peace offerings,] This intimates that some persons received what they brought; and perhaps they were the young men mentioned xxiv. 5, where I noted also, that of peace-offerings the people that brought them had a share, that they might feast with God; and they invited their friends likewise to feast with them. There is no mention either here, or in the

offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

other places, of sin-offerings: whereof the priests had a part, but not the people.

The people sat down to eat and to drink,] Upon the sacrifices of peace-offerings; whereof the people, as I said, had their part: and by partaking of it, had fellowship with the idol, to whom they were offered, as the apostle shows (1 Cor. x. 20, 21). Thus the Egyptians kept a Πανδαισία at the feast of Apis; in imitation rather of the Israelites, than otherwise.

It may be fit here to note, that this custom of sacrificing, and also of feasting on the sacrifice, in token of their communion with him to whom the sacrifice was offered, was so very ancient, that it is not easy to believe the observation of St. Chrysostom to be true, that God gave no commandment about sacrifices, till after this sin of worshipping the golden calf; when, seeing their proneness to offer such sacrifices, he thought fit to ordain them himself, and direct them to their right object. Much less is it true, that before this οὐδαμῶς θυσίας ὄνομα, "we do not find anywhere the name of sacrifice" (as he speaks Homil. xvii. upon Acts vii.), no, not with the qualification of Grotius, who says (upon Exod. xv. 26) that there was no law about sacrifices, except that of the passover, till after they had committed idolatry. For, besides that, there is an order how to make an altar, on which to sacrifice their burnt-offerings (xx. 24), which supposes God's intention about them; and the building of an altar, and actual sacrifice upon it, at the sealing of the covenant between God and Israel, xxiv. 4, 5, &c. (which surely was not without God's command), there is a whole chapter in this book about sacrifices at the consecration of Aaron and his sons, before this sin was committed (chap. xxix.), and particular directions given in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth verses of that chapter, about the daily burnt-offering. I omit what might be said concerning the oblation of sacrifices from the beginning of the world, which it is hard to believe was without a Divine institution. St. Jerome's words therefore are also too large, who saith, in his commentaries upon Ezek. xx. that the Israelites received only the decalogue before this offence of the calf: after which, God gave them multiples legis ceremonias, "abundance of legal ceremonies." All that can justly be said in this matter is, that Moses had not yet delivered to them the commands before mentioned, which God had given him; and that they had received but a few commands about sacrifices till after this sin: when the precepts were multiplied, that they might upon all occasions offer sacrifice to God, and not to demons, as they were inclined to do. The daily burnt-offerings were appointed before (as I said) though not delivered to them; and so was the sin-offering for the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and the altar (xxix. 36, &c.). But the sin-offering for particular persons, and for the whole congregation of Israel, and the great variety of sacrifices, with the manner of them, were not yet prescribed; and perhaps were ordained upon this occasion to preserve them from idolatry; though not merely for that, there being respect in them to the great sacrifice of Christ, especially in that sacrifice upon the day of expiation. But in general, it may be reasonably thought, that if they had not been perverse, they might have been left more at liberty to do these things at pleasure, according to the law of nature; and they might perhaps have been permitted to offer sacrifices everywhere, as the patriarchs did, though there is no certainty of such speculations.

7 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves :

8 They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them : they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and

have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

9 And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people :

10 Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath

Rose up to play.] So God commanded at their festivities; and when they offered solemn sacrifices, to rejoice before him (Deut. xii. 6, 7, xvi. 11), as David did before the ark, after he had sacrificed oxen and fatlings (2 Sam. vi. 13—16). Thus they now expressed their joy, by music, and dancing, and songs, and such-like tokens of mirth, which was wont to be very great upon their feasts (see ver. 18). There are those who think, that after they had eaten of the sacrifices to the idol, and drunk liberally, they committed fornication, after the manner of heathen worshippers. Thus Tertullian expounds this phrase (L. de Jejunio, cap. 6), *Intellige Scripturæ verecundiam*; “the Scripture modestly expresses their lewd filthiness.” And so this very word which we translate here *play*, is used by Potiphar’s wife (Gen. xxxix. 17): the Hebrew servant came in, to mock me, i. e. to violate my chastity. So that the Israelites did now, as they did afterwards when they worshipped Peor (Numb. xxv. 1, 2). And the truth is, these sacrificial feasts were turned among the gentiles into drunkenness and lasciviousness, which are wont to be companions; inasmuch that the ancient Greeks, even Aristotle himself, as Athenæus tells us (lib. ii.), derived the word *μεθύειν*, “to be drunk,” from *μετά τὸ θύειν*, “after the sacrifice,” when they were wont to drink very largely. And it is also true, that nothing enticed men to idolatry more than these filthy pleasures, which were a part of that worship. Yet I think it is not credible, that the Israelites, at the very dedication of their idol, when they pretended much religion, fell into such foul practices, which were not at first committed among the heathen. Nor is there any signification of it in this story; but only of their singing and dancing, ver. 18, 19 (accompanied, it is likely, with music), which Philo indeed calls *χοροὶς ἀσχημένους*, “unseemly dances;” but that was only, I suppose, because they were in honour of a calf. Nor did the gentiles themselves, as I said, run at first into such excess of riot, as Athenæus observes (lib. viii. *Deipnosoph.*), where, in the conclusion of it, he describes all the city full of the noise of pipes, and cymbals, and drums, and the voice of those that sung in a great festival; and thence takes occasion to remember, that the ancients observing what a great inclination people had to pleasure, took care they might enjoy it *ἐν τάξει καὶ κομῳίᾳ*, “orderly and decently,” by setting apart certain times to entertain them with it. When in the first place they sacrificed to their gods, and then were left to take their ease: that every one believing the gods came to their sacrifices, *μετὰ αἰδοῖς τὴν συναντίαν ποιῆσαι*, “might behave themselves at such meetings with modesty and reverence.” For we are ashamed, saith he, to speak or do any thing unseemly before a grave person: and therefore, supposing the gods to be nigh them, *τὰς ἐορτὰς κομῳίᾳ καὶ σωφρονέως διήγοντες*, “they passed their festival days in ancient times, decently and soberly.” And so he proceeds to show how much the world was altered in his time, when nothing but mad revelling was to be seen on such occasions. He observes it also as a sign of the ancient modesty at these feasts, that they did not *κατακλίβεσθαι*, “lie along,” *ἀλλὰ δαυννὸν ἔχοντες*, “but they sat down to eat and drink,” as the Israelites here did.

Ver. 7. *The Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down;*] He had dismissed him before, having done communing with him (xxx. 18), and now sends him away from the mount in some haste, at the end of the forty days mentioned in the twenty-fourth chap. ult.

For thy people,] These words are generally looked upon, as God’s abandoning the Israelites, and disowning them to be his people. But then, they would not have been Moses’ people neither, but utterly destroyed (ver. 10). Therefore the true meaning is explained by St. Stephen, who calls Moses their *ἀπορωτής*, “deliverer” (Acts vii. 35), because by his hand God redeemed them; and in that regard they became his people.

Have corrupted themselves.] He doth not mention Aaron, though he was very angry with him also (Deut. ix. 20), because the people were the beginners of the revolt, and he complied with them out of fear.

Ver. 8. *They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them.*] It was not much above six weeks since they heard God charge them, in a terrible manner, not to worship any image (xx. 4), and they solemnly promised to do whatsoever Moses commanded them from God (ver. 19). Immediately after which, this command is in a peculiar manner repeated (ver. 23). “Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold.” Which, with all the rest of his judgments, they covenanted also to observe (xxiv. 3, 8). And therefore such a speedy revolt, from such obligations, made their crime exceeding heinous.

They have made them a molten calf.] For what Aaron did was at their instigation.

And have worshipped it.] By kissing it, (saith R. Eliezer in his *Pirke*, cap. 45), and bowing down to it; and then offering sacrifice to it (as it here follows) and acknowledging it to be their conductor out of the land of Egypt.

Ver. 9. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] He added this further before he went down from the mount.

I have seen this people,] Long observed their disposition.

It is a stiffnecked people.] This character of them is repeated, xxxiii. 3, 5, xxxiv. 9, being a metaphor from untamed heifers, who draw their necks and shoulders back when they are put under the yoke. The prophet Isaiah alludes to this, when he saith of this people (xlvi. 4), “Thy neck is an iron sinew,” which would not bend. And Jeremiah v. 5, where he saith, the great men “had broken the yoke and burst the bonds.”

Ver. 10. *Let me alone,*] Do not interpose in their behalf, with thy prayers and deprecations for them.

That my wrath may wax hot against them,] That the just indignation I have conceived against them, may proceed to punish them with utter destruction.

I will make of thee a great nation.] Or, *I will set thee over a great nation*; make thee prince of a mighty nation than they (as the words are, Numb. xiv. 12), for so the word *asah* (to make) signifies, 1 Sam. xii. 6, where we translate it, *advanced Moses and Aaron*. Which seems to be the meaning here, because Moses urges (ver. 13) the promise made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as if that would not be made good if the people were all destroyed. Whereas

may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation.

11 And Moses besought the LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand?

12 Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people.

13 Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this

land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever.

14 And the LORD repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.

15 ¶ And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides, on the one side and on the other were they written.

16 And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables.

17 And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, *There is a noise of war in the camp.*

18 And he said, *It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of*

there would have been no danger of that, if God had made a great nation to spring from Moses, who was of their seed.

Ver. 11. *Moses besought the Lord*] The Hebrew word *challah*, from whence comes *vaichal* (which we translate *besought*) importing something of sickness and infirmity; denotes that Moses besought the Lord with much earnestness, and great agony of mind.

His God.] He hoped he had not lost his interest in God, which the people had justly forfeited.

Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people.] There was great reason for this high displeasure against them which God threatened, ver. 10, and Moses himself was not only angry, but his anger waxed hot (ver. 19); yet he hoped other reasons would move the Divine mercy to moderate his anger; that is, not to punish them so severely as they deserved.

Which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt] This is one ground of hope, that God would not on a sudden destroy what he had employed so much power to preserve.

Ver. 12. *Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out.*] This is another reason, that the Egyptians might not be led into a misbelief, or confirmed in their infidelity.

To slay them in the mountains.] There were many mountains besides Sinai (where they now were) in that desert into which God led them: and they were the most dangerous part of it.

Turn from thy fierce wrath, &c.] Let these considerations prevail for a pardon.

Ver. 13. *Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel.*] This is the great argument of all, the promise made to their forefathers, who were his faithful servants, and this promise confirmed by an oath (often repeated) which he hoped God would faithfully fulfil.

I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven.] Gen. xv. 5, xxii. 17. This part of the promise he had fulfilled; which made him hope he would fulfil the other part which here follows.

And all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed.] Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 15, xv. 7, xxviii. 13.

Ver. 14. *The Lord repented of the evil*] He did not change his mind; for there was not a peremptory decree or definitive sentence (as they speak) pronounced against them; but only a signification of what they deserved (ver. 10), which, unless it had been for the forenamed reasons, and Moses's intercession, he would have inflicted upon them.

Ver. 15. *Moses turned.*] From the presence of God, with whom he had been forty days.

Went down from the mount.] From the place where

he was with God, to that where he left Joshua waiting for his return (see xxiv. 13).

The two tables of the testimony were in his hand.] Which God promised to give him, and one would think had readily prepared for him before he went up into the mount (xxiv. 12), and when he was coming down, delivered into his hands (xxxi. ult.). They are called *tables of testimony*, because God declared and testified therein what his mind and will was, as I have often noted.

The tables were written on both their sides.] Some fancy that the writing was both on the fore-part and the back-part of them; that so the ten commandments might be read by those who stood either before or behind, when they were set up; being written (according to this conceit) twice over. But they were not made to be set up, but to be repositied in the ark; and therefore the meaning is, they were written on both the leaves (as I may call them) which were to be folded up and shut like a book, when they were laid in the ark.

On the one side and on the other were they written.] On the right hand, and on the left. How many were written on the one, and how many on the other, is variously disputed, but cannot certainly be determined.

Ver. 16.] The tables were made and planned by God himself; as well as the letters written by him (xxxi. 18), and no creature employed in either work; much less Moses, who seems to have found them ready prepared for him, when he came into the mount, as I observed before from xxiv. 12.

Ver. 17. *When Joshua heard the noise of the people*] Being come to the foot of the mount, they could easily hear the noise which the people made in their festival.

He said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp.] Knowing nothing of the occasion, he took it for the noise which soldiers make (called by the Hebrews *teruah*, by the Greeks *ἀνάλυμα*) who make a great shout when they give the onset; and much greater when they get the victory.

Ver. 18. *He said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery.*] Being before instructed by God what the people were a doing (ver. 7), Moses could easily correct his mistake; assuring him, it was neither the cry of strength, nor of weakness (as the words are in the Hebrew), i. e. of conquerors, as we rightly translate it, or of those that are overcome.

But the noise of them that sing do I hear.] Out of merriment in a festival. For thus Apis was brought in solemn pomp to Memphis, the royal city; the children going before in procession, and singing a song of

them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing do I hear.

19 ¶ And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount.

20 And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder,

praise to the deity. Which was not the pattern to the Israelites, nor borrowed, perhaps, from them; but the common practice of the world on such occasions, from ancient times, as I observed before out of *Athenæus* (ver. 6), whose words are, ἐγένετο κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν βόμβος, καὶ χιμβαίων ἤχος, ἔτι δὲ τρυπάνων πύξιος, μετ' ὧν ὅλα γινόμενος. And this was part of the entertainment in private feasts; as appears by those known words of Homer:

—λαῖνον' ἱρικιδία δαῖτα
Τερψόμενοι, μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἱμῖνεντο Ζεῖτος ἀοιδός·

"They feasted upon excellent cheer, and were very merry; and then the Divine songster sung among them."

Ver. 19. *As soon as he came nigh unto the camp,*] Which was at some distance from the mount (xix. 21, 23, xx. 21, xxiv. 1).

That he saw the calf, and the dancing;] Which began early in the morning, and continued all day; for we may presume it was towards the evening before Moses got to the camp; having spent a considerable part of the day in beseeching God for them.

Moses' anger waxed hot,] The sight of their madness turned the compassion he had for them (ver. 11, 12, &c.) into a kind of rage.

He cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount.] He did not do it till now (though he knew their guilt, and no doubt was affected with it before he came nigh to the camp and saw the calf and dancing), because he would have the people see how he resented their wickedness, and with what indignation it filled him. And now he did it, no doubt, by the same Divine impulse, or heroic motion, which stirred him up to kill the Egyptian (see ii. 12). For he is never blamed for this; and therefore did it by a Divine incitement: to show the Israelites how unworthy they were to be espoused to God (as some have expressed it) by these instruments or deeds, which were most precious tokens of God's love to them. To this effect Abarbanel discourses: "Moses did not leave the tabernacles in the mount where they were delivered to him, when he heard how the people had revolted; but brought them along with him, that he might make all Israel sensible what they had lost, by breaking them before their eyes."

Ver. 20. *He took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire,*] Melted it down; so that, though the matter remained (i. e. the gold), yet the form and external shape of the calf was so destroyed, that it might be said properly enough to be burnt. For the Romans (as Bochart observes) called that place where they melted their metal *Ustrina*.

Ground it to powder,] Some have pretended to the knowledge of an herb which will dissolve gold, and reduce it to ashes; but they do not say what it is, or that it was to be found in that wilderness. And if Moses had known and used this secret, what need was there of his grinding it again, after it was dissolved to ashes? It is most likely, therefore, that this was done with a file, whereby it was grated into

and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.

21 And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?

22 And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot: thou knowest the people, that they are set on mischief.

23 For they said unto me, Make us gods,

dust as small as flour which is ground in a mill. With such dust some powdered their own hair, and the manes of their horses (as Bochart observes in his *Hieroicozon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34), which made them glitter and sparkle when the sun shone upon them.

Strawed it upon the water,] Of the brook which descended out of the mount (xvii. 6; Deut. ix. 21). By which means the calf was utterly abolished, and demonstrated (as Abarbanel notes) to have no more divinity in it than the dust or water hath.

Made the children of Israel drink of it.] He did not constrain them; but having no other water, they could not avoid, when they were thirsty, to drink with this mixture. Which Moses threw into it, not to discover who were guilty of idolatry, as the Jews fancy, who say this was like the water of jealousy (Numb. v. 27), which made their bellies swell, or their beards, as some have since fabled, turn yellow (for it was a general apostasy, ver. 1—3); but to make them sensible how vile a thing this idol was, which was gone into their draught, and mixed with their dung and their urine. They that have a desire to see the conceits of the Jews about it, may look into Selden de Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 4; and J. Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 1128.

Ver. 21. *Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee,*] It was not sufficient that the idol was destroyed, but he thought fit to call his brother to an account for his misgovernment in his absence. Who makes a very weak defence, as all commentators observe, to whom I refer the reader. And shall only note, that the best apology he could have made had been this (if it had been true), that he only represented God unto them, as he had represented himself to him and the elders of Israel, when the cherubims, in the form of oxen, made part of the train of the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty. But he says not a word of this; which I suppose, therefore, is a groundless opinion.

That thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?] If they had made or built a house for Divine worship (saith Sepher Cosri, in the place above named), according to their own fancies, that they might have offered their sacrifices there, and directed their devotions thither, it would not have seemed to me so grievous a sin; for at this day we make such houses, and have a veneration for them, and promise ourselves the Divine benediction in them, &c. But to make an image was directly against the command of God; and to fancy that he would be present with that which he abhorred, very much aggravated the crime.

Ver. 22. *Let not the anger of my lord wax hot,*] He beseeches him in a very humble manner to hear him calmly.

Thou knowest the people,] He had been long acquainted with their rebellious and obstinate humour, which made them fall a murmuring as soon as ever they were delivered from Pharaoh at the Red Sea (xv. 24, xvi. 2, &c.).

That they are set on mischief.] The words in the Hebrew, *bera hu*, are more emphatical, *they are in wickedness, or in idolatry*: like that expression in St.

which shall go before us; for *as for* this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

24 And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break *it* off. So they gave *it* me: then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.

25 ¶ And when Moses saw that the people *were* naked; (for Aaron had made them naked unto *their* shame among their enemies:)

26 Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who *is* on the Lord's side? *let him*

come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him.

27 And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour.

28 And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.

29 For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves

John, 1 Epist. v. 19, "the whole world lieth in wickedness." Or, as we say in our language, they were *stark* naught.

Ver. 23.] This verse is but a recital of what the people said to him, ver. 2 (see there).

Ver. 24. *So they gave it me:*] This is the sense of ver. 2 and 3.

Then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.] He speaks as if he did not make the calf, but the gold being cast into the fire, out it came in this form. Which made Dr. Jackson think it more than probable, that there was some magical or demoniacal skill practised in the sudden moulding of this idol, which very much increased the people's superstition to it. For what else, saith he, could Aaron mean by these words, "I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf," than that there was some secret invisible operation whereby it was moulded into this form in an instant? which raised, as I said, the people's devotion to it. Herein he follows some Jews, who go a great deal further, saying that the devil entered into it, and made it roar like a bull, to strike a greater awe into the people, as R. Juda saith, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 45. And in Tanchuma they say, it not only roared, but danced also. Which seem to me to be conceits invented for the excuse of Aaron, who is said plainly enough (ver. 4) to have *made this molten calf*; which he could not have done without designing it, and running the gold into a mould of this figure.

Here is no account at all given what judgment Moses made of his defence; but it appears by Deut. ix. 20, that God was so angry with him, that he had been destroyed, if Moses had not interceded for him, and besought God to pardon his weakness in complying with a people set on mischief (ver. 22); for, no doubt, in his own mind he was against this fact, as the Levites were, of whom he was the chief.

Ver. 25. *When Moses saw that the people were naked;*] Without the Divine protection. For the glory of the Lord in the cloud, it is likely, departed and went up from them; which we read descended again, xxxiii. 9.

For Aaron had made them naked, &c.] Laid them open, by this sin, to the scorn of all their enemies, who should hear of such a shameful revolt from their God.

Ver. 26. *Moses stood in the gate of the camp.*] Where the courts of judgment were wont to sit, to hear causes, and to punish offenders. So it was in their cities, in after times, which is likely was derived from the usage now; as now they did but follow the practices of their forefathers. For in the days of Abraham, the city gate was the place where all public and private business was transacted (Gen. xxiii. 10, 18), which seems to have been the manner in all the country; for at Shechem we find, as well as here at Hebron, when Hamor and his son proposed to make an alliance with the Israelites, they motioned

it to the people at the gate of the city (Gen. xxxiv. 20). Which was the same thing with the forum or exchange among the Romans: the market being also held here, where there were seats for the judges and elders.

Who is on the Lord's side?] Abhors this idolatry, and cleaves to the worship of the Lord only?

Let him come unto me.] To receive his commands, who was under God their leader.

All the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him.] If not the whole tribe, yet as many as had any zeal for the Lord; who were the most. This is an argument there was a general defection of the people to this idolatrous worship, that none but the sons of Levi appeared to join with Moses on this occasion.

Ver. 27. *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel,*] The Lord himself, by his command, warrants what I bid you do.

Go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp.] They were not to go into their tents (where they who were sensible of God's displeasure, it may be presumed, were bemoaning their sin), but to kill every one they met in the street.

Slay every man his brother,] All the Israelites were brethren; and they are commanded to spare none they met withal, because they were *near relations*, or friends, or next neighbours. Some may imagine this too hazardous an undertaking, the Levites being but a very small number in comparison with the people of Israel; but having God's warrant, they were confident none would have the courage to oppose them; for guilt makes men timorous; and the Levites also found them, as men used to be at the conclusion of a festival, weary with their dancing and sports. Besides, there are those who, by their *being naked* (ver. 25), understand they were *unarmed*: for Aaron had disarmed them to their shame, by setting up the calf for them to dance about; which made them lay aside all thoughts of their arms, and so were more easily slain by the Levites.

Ver. 28. *The children of Levi did according to the word of Moses:*] Who being, under God, their chief ruler, passed this extraordinary sentence upon the offenders, without the common process in courts of judgment, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2, in the end of it.

And there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.] The Vulgar hath twenty-three thousand, contrary to the LXX. as well as the Hebrew text, and all the eastern versions, except the Arabic, printed at Rome in this age, and manifestly out of the Vulgar Latin, as Mr. Selden hath observed in the same place, and Bochart shows largely to be against all the ancient translations and writers, Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34, p. 353, where he notes also out of Philo, these *three thousand* to have been ἀρχηγέας μάλιστα τῆς ἀσεβείας, "the principal ringleaders of this impiety."

to day to the LORD, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day.

30 ¶ And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin.

31 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold.

32 Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—;

In memory of these disasters, the breaking of the tables, and this slaughter, the Jews keep a fast every year on the seventeenth of Tamuz, which, by Jac. Capellus's computation, answers to the sixteenth of our July.

Ver. 29. *Consecrate yourselves to day to the Lord,*]

Or, Moses said, *Ye have consecrated yourselves, &c.* Which way soever we take it (either as spoken before the execution, to encourage them to it, or afterward, to commend them for it), the meaning is, that this act was as acceptable to God as a sacrifice, and had procured them the honour to wait upon him as his ministers.

Every man upon his son, and upon his brother,] This seems to signify that some of the tribe of Levi had also prevaricated, to whom these pious Levites had no regard, but killed them indifferently with the rest, though they met with one of their own children; for which they are highly commended by Moses in his blessing, Deut. xxxiii. 9. But it may signify no more, but that they went out with this sincere resolution to spare none, though never so dear to them.

That he may bestow upon you a blessing this day.] This blessing was the preferment of the tribe of Levi to be God's ministers in his house, and to enjoy all the tenth of the land for an inheritance (Numb. xviii. 21, 24).

Ver. 30. *It came to pass on the morrow,*] Which was the eighteenth day of Tamuz, or our seventeenth of July.

Moses said unto the people,] Whom he assembled together, that he might make them sensible of their sin.

Ye have sinned a great sin:] He set their sin before them, it is likely, in all its aggravating circumstances.

Now I will go up unto the Lord;] But he would not have them despair of recovering God's favour, though he could not absolutely assure them of it.

I shall make an atonement] That God might not inflict any further punishment upon them.

Ver. 31. *Moses returned unto the Lord,*] Not, as yet, to the place where he was before with the Lord for forty days; but to some part of the mount, where he might put up his most fervent prayers to God, by which his anger was turned away, as well as by sacrifices.

Oh, this people have sinned a great sin,] He begins his prayers with a confession of their guilt in a most pathetic manner.

And have made them gods of gold.] Contrary to the express repeated command of God (xx. 4, 23).

Ver. 32. *Yet now,*] Here follows his earnest and most affectionate deprecation for them.

If thou wilt forgive their sin—;] Be thou pleased: or, O that thou wouldest forgive them! See Dr. Hammond upon Ps. xcvi. not. 6.

and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.

33 And the LORD said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.

34 Therefore now go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine Angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them.

35 And the LORD plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.

If not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.] Let me die, rather than live to see the evils that are coming on them, if thou punish them as they deserve. God hath no need of a book wherein to register and record any of his purposes; but the Scripture uses the language of men, as the Jews speak, who, to this day, retain this form of speech, in their prayer wherewith they begin the new year. *Our Father and our King, write us in the book of the best life, in the book of righteousness, in the book of redemption.* They desire, that is, to be preserved that year in a happy condition, free from sin, from want, and from danger. See Theodoric Hackspan, in his annotations on this place.

Ver. 33. This was all the answer Moses could obtain: that they only should perish who had offended the Divine Majesty. Which doth not deny them a pardon, if they ceased to offend him.

Ver. 34. *Therefore now go,*] Speak no more of this matter, but return to the camp.

Lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken] Take the conduct of the people upon thee to the land which I promised to bestow on them. This supposes God would not punish them as they deserved; though, by the words following, it appears he abated something of his wonted kindness to them.

Behold, mine angel shall go before thee:] Not the angel spoken of, xxiii. 20, but some lesser minister in the heavenly court, as appears from the next chapter, ver. 2, where he saith only, "I will send an angel before thee," viz., in the pillar of cloud and fire, (xiii. 22).

Nevertheless in the day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them.] Upon the next occasion to punish other offences, I will further punish this. Whence the saying of R. Isaac, in the Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. 11, "There hath no vengeance come upon the world, in which there hath not been half an ounce of the first calf." To which R. Uschajah there hath respect, in these words: "Till the days of Jeroboam, the Israelites sucked but of one calf, but afterward of three." That is, their punishment was twice as great: for they made two calves, though they had seen the terrible punishment which came upon their forefathers from making one.

Ver. 35. *The Lord plagued the people,*] With the pestilence, as some imagine, though it be not mentioned in Scripture. Or, he means all the evils that afterward consumed them in the wilderness. But there are those who understand this of the slaughter made by the Levites; which he briefly repeats (as the manner sometimes is in these writings) as a conclusion to this history of the golden calf.

Because they made the calf, which Aaron made.] Provoked him to make.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *The Lord refuseth to go, as he had promised, with the people.* 4 *The people murmur thereat.* 7 *The tabernacle is removed out of the camp.* 9 *The Lord talketh familiarly with Moses.* 12 *Moses desireth to see the glory of God.*

I AND the LORD said unto Moses, Depart, and go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I swear unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it:

2 And I will send an angel before thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite:

3 Unto a land flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1.] This is a renewal of the order he had already given (xxxii. 34), which he further explains, by expressly assuring him he would make good his promise to their forefathers, of which Moses had remembered him (xxxii. 13.) But they were not by this ordered presently to remove, till Moses had been again in the mount, and the tabernacle was set up, and all the service of it prescribed.

Ver. 2. *I will send an angel before thee;* I will not wholly withdraw my protection from you (as he had for the present, xxxii. 25), but send one of my ministers to discomfit your enemies, till you get possession of their land.

Ver. 3. *For I will not go up in the midst of thee;* For though I intended to have dwelt among you myself, by my special presence (which was in the Shechinah, xxv. 8, xxix. 43, 45, 46), you have justly forfeited that favour. The Chaldee gives the true sense of this speech, "I will not make my majesty (so the Shechinah or Divine glory was called) to go up in the midst of thee." And accordingly it follows (ver. 7—9), that he did remove to a distance from them. Concerning that phrase, *in the midst of thee*, see xvii. 7.

For thou art a stiffnecked people; See xxxii. 9.

Lest I consume thee in the way. It is not fit for me to see myself affronted to my face by stiffnecked offenders, and not punish them with utter destruction. This is an argument that the angel, he saith he would send before them, was not God himself (as the eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ is), for then he would have had the same reason to consume them for their disobedience.

Ver. 4. *When the people heard these evil tidings,* This threatening of such a grievous punishment.

Mourning; Fasted, perhaps, and wept; and hung down their heads with shame and sorrow.

No man did put on him his ornaments. But every one laid aside his usual attire, and appeared in the habit of penitents; which, in aftertimes, was sackcloth.

Ver. 5.] This verse gives a reason of their mourning, because Moses had by God's order said to them, what God said to him, that they were such a perverse people, it was not safe for them that he should stay among them, and be provoked by their transgressions suddenly to destroy them.

4 ¶ And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.

5 For the LORD had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiffnecked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.

6 And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb.

7 And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the congregation.

Put off thy ornaments from thee,] These words show that he had not peremptorily resolved to forsake them (as he threatened, ver. 3), but might be moved by their repentance to continue with them. And therefore he orders them to put themselves in a mourning habit, in token of their hearty sorrow for their sin.

That I may know what to do; Deal with you according as I find you disposed (see Gen. xxii. 12).

Ver. 6. *The children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments*] Not only of those wherewith they had decked themselves, at their late festival, but of all other that they ordinarily wore; which they, who were not dressed, forbore to put on (ver. 4).

By the mount Horeb.] Or rather (as the Hebrew word *mehor* imports) *from the mount*; that is, a great way off from the place where God appeared; as unworthy to come into his presence.

Ver. 7. *Moses took the tabernacle,*] His own tent, as the LXX. interpret it, τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ; meaning, I suppose, not his own private tent, where he and his family lived; but a public tent, where he gave audience, and heard causes, and inquired of God; which Bonaventura G. Bertramus calls *castrorum prætorium*, in his book de Repub. Jud. cap. 4. For such a place we cannot but think there was, before that tabernacle was erected, whose pattern he saw in the mount; where all great affairs were transacted, and where religious offices, in all probability, were performed.

Pitched it without the camp,] At the distance of two thousand cubits, as R. Solomon interprets it. Which was done to humble them, when they saw the displeasure of God and of his servant against them, declared by this departure far from them: for they might justly fear he would remove quite out of their sight.

Called it the Tabernacle of the congregation.] Gave it the same name which was afterward appropriated to the tabernacle built for Divine service alone. Because here God met with Moses, and communicated his mind to him; and hither they were all to resort, who had any business with Moses; or would receive an answer to their inquiries from God.

Every one which sought the Lord, &c.] This is commonly understood of those who came to desire resolution in any case of difficulty; which they could not have, as formerly, within the camp, but were forced to go and seek it without. Which as it showed God's displeasure, so withal gave them some hope of

And it came to pass, *that every one which sought the LORD went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp.*

8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tabernacle, *that all the people rose up, and stood every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the tabernacle.*

9 And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the LORD talked with Moses.

mercy; because it plainly appeared, God was not quite alienated and estranged from them.

Ver. 8. *The people rose up,*] In reverence to him as their leader, whom they had lately despised. Or, it may be thought also a posture wherein they implored his intercession for them, that God would be graciously pleased to return to them, which is expressed by what follows.

Looked after Moses,] Expecting what would be the end of this business; both God and his minister being removed from them.

Until he was gone] As long as they could see him.

Ver. 9. *The cloudy pillar descended,*] In which the Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, was (xl. 35), which was gone up before, because of their idolatry, whereby the camp was become unclean; but now came down again upon the removal of the tabernacle. Where, it is very probable, it used to be settled, as the token of the Divine presence among them; and afterward was translated to the tabernacle, made after God's appointment, where this cloud stood just as it did here, at the door of it (Numb. xii. 5).

Stood at the door] Openly to assert the authority of Moses, with whom God showed himself present, though he had forsaken them.

The Lord talked with Moses,] Which shows the Divine glory was within the tabernacle, where Moses now was: and so the people understood it, as appears by the next verse.

Ver. 10. *The people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door,*] Which they knew was an evident token that God was there.

The people rose up and worshipped,] Bowed themselves unto the Divine Majesty, and humbly deprecated his displeasure; acknowledging, we may reasonably think, his great goodness, in condescending to appear again to them, though at a distance from them.

Ver. 11. *The Lord spake unto Moses face to face,*] In a familiar manner, which did not alight or astonish him, by a dreadful appearance of his majesty; which, in the sight of the children of Israel, looked like devouring fire (xxiv. 17), but appeared to Moses in a milder and more cheerful brightness. The like expression in Numb. xii. 8, seems to relate only to the discourse he had with Moses, which was clear and plain, and by a voice; not in visions and dreams, and obscure resemblances: and so it may be understood here, as Maimonides takes it (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45). But Abarinel thinks that these expressions signify, God treated with Moses in his own person, not by an ambassador; just as one friend converses with another. And this is a common notion among the Jews, that God did not speak to Moses by an angel, but by himself: which they take to be the meaning of this phrase, *face to face*. Which seems to me rather to import the clearness and evidence of that Divine light, wherein God revealed himself to Moses; whether it was by himself, or an angel, it matters

10 And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man in his tent door.

11 And the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.

12 ¶ And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt

not. Yet the New Testament determines this question, when it tells us, the law itself was *given by angels*, in the hand of a mediator. And accordingly the old tradition was, that Moses saw things in a clear and bright glass; but the rest of the prophets in a glass that was dim and cloudy.

As a man speaketh unto his friend,] This is added, to show how differently God treated Moses from all other men. For he is said to have talked *face to face* with all the Israelites (Deut. v. 4), but it was out of the midst of the fire, which struck a terror into them: whereas he spake to Moses out of the midst of a glorious but comfortable light, which gave him high satisfaction.

He turned again into the camp,] After some time spent in conversation with the Divine Majesty, he went to comfort the people, it is likely, with hopes of recovering his favour; of which they might have quite despaired, if he had stayed long from them.

His servant Joshua—departed not out of the tabernacle,] It is hard to tell for what end Joshua should stay behind his master; and it seems not decent that Moses should return alone without his servant to attend him. They that say he stayed to guard the tabernacle, have no foundation for it; and they have not much, who say he stayed to give judgment in small causes, which needed not Moses's resolution (according to xviii. 26). For we never read that Joshua was a judge, but a constant attendant upon Moses's person. And therefore the words may better be translated, as they plainly run in the Hebrew, "He turned again to the camp, and his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man." At which there is a stop in the Hebrew (over the word *naar*, *young man*) to distinguish these from the following words; which are,

Departed not out of the tabernacle,] That is, the Lord departed not from thence, but his presence remained there; and would not come into the camp, as Moses did. And this interpretation is the more likely, because the last words in the Hebrew are, "out of the midst of the tabernacle:" which cannot refer to Joshua, because he did not go thither; but only Moses, who conversed alone with the Divine Majesty.

Why Joshua is called a *young man*, when he was near sixty years old, is not easy to resolve. Perhaps it signifies a *valiant man*, for so he was; or, he had waited on Moses from his youth: or, as Maimonides, this is the phrase of the Hebrew nation, who call all men young, till they begin to decay; as Joseph is called, when he was thirty years old, Gen. xlii. 2. More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 32.

Ver. 12. *Moses said unto the Lord,*] When, or where Moses spake what follows, we are not here informed. It is likely, that after he was satisfied the people were very penitent, he returned to the tabernacle; and there made this address unto the Divine Majesty, for a perfect reconciliation with his people.

send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.

13 Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people.

14 And he said, My presence shall go *with thee*, and I will give thee rest.

15 And he said unto him, If thy presence go *not with me*, carry us not up hence.

[*See.*] A word imploring attention and regard to his petition.

[*Bring up this people.*] Lead them to the land of promise (xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 1).

[*Thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me.*] Thou hast only said, thou wilt send an angel before me; but I hope to obtain greater favour from thee, which thou hast not yet declared to me. And I have no heart to proceed, if thou thyself wilt not guide us in the pillar of cloud, as thou hast done hitherto, and dwell among us, as thou hast promised, in thy sanctuary. This seems to be the sense (if this verse be compared with the fifteenth), and not barely that he did not know what angel he would send with him.

[*I know thee by name.*] The Chaldee takes it to be the same with what is said of Bezaleel, whom God called by name (xxxii. 2), that is, particularly designed to make the tabernacle, and all belonging to it. But to *know* is more than to *call*; signifying God's special love and kindness to Moses above all men, as the LXX. interpret it.

[*Found grace in my sight.*] God had often heard his prayers for this people, as he hoped he would do now. For that was the effect of his being an *acceptable person* unto him; which is the proper signification of this phrase.

Ver. 13. [If I have found grace in thy sight,] If I still continue in thy favour.

[*Shew me now thy way.*] The interpretation of Maimonides (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 54) is too much strained, who thinks he here desires the knowledge of God's attributes, as, ver. 18, he desires the sight of his essence. The plain meaning of this prayer is, that God himself would conduct him, and show him the way wherein he should lead his people unto their rest in the land of Canaan (xxxii. 34).

[*I may find grace in thy sight.*] That I may be fully assured of thy gracious acceptance of me.

[*Consider that this nation is thy people.*] I do not beg this merely upon my own account, but for those who have been redeemed by thee out of the land of Egypt, and have engaged themselves to be thine by a solemn covenant (xxiv.), and now return unto thee by repentance (ver. 6).

Ver. 14. [My presence shall go with thee.] In the Hebrew, *my face*, i. e. I myself, as the LXX. translate: *my majesty*, as the Chaldee. He promises, that is, to continue with them, as he had done hitherto, and not merely send an angel to accompany them: but to lead and guide them himself, by the pillar of the cloud, and his glorious presence in the tabernacle.

[*I will give thee rest.*] Some think these words are particularly spoken to Moses; and signify, that God would give him ease in this point, and quiet his spirit (which was now very solicitous about his departure from them) by returning to them. But as the foregoing words are a promise, that he would take the conduct of the people again; so is this, that

16 For wherein shall it be known here that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight? *is it not in that thou goest with us?* so shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.

17 And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.

18 And he said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.

he would not leave them till he had brought them to their rest.

Ver. 15. [He said unto him, If thy presence go not with me,] Some translate the words, *for he (i. e. Moses) had said unto him, i. e. to God, If thy presence, &c.* So that these words and the following are the reasons of God's answer to him, ver. 14. And if they be not thus taken, one would have expected Moses should rather have given God thanks for his gracious promise, than further pressed him to it. But the seventeenth verse doth not well agree with this; and therefore these words are to be looked on only as part of what Moses said to God after his promise, that his *presence should go with him*. Which he acknowledged to be the greater favour, because otherwise he had rather never stir from the place where they now were.

[*Carry us not up hence.*] Let us go no further, if thou thyself dost not lead and guide us in our way.

Ver. 16. [Wherein shall it be known here] How shall all the people round about us be convinced that we are not abandoned by thee in this wilderness?

[*Is it not in that thou goest with us?*] Is not this the great demonstration of it, that thou ledest us in a pillar of cloud and fire, day and night?

[*So shall we be separated.*] This will distinguish us, while it continues with us, from all other people whatsoever; none of which have such a token of thy presence with them. The manna, indeed, continued all this time to descend for their sustenance, which was a miraculous food: but it might have been ascribed to other causes, if this glorious token of God's presence had not still appeared among them.

Ver. 17. [I will do this thing also] Distinguish you from all other people; not only by leading you in a pillar of cloud and fire, but dwelling among you, as I designed, xxv. 8.

[*For thou hast found grace in my sight.*] He owns Moses still to be most acceptable and dear to him as he had been (ver. 12), and therefore, at his intercession, promises to be perfectly reconciled, and return to his people.

Ver. 18. [I beseech thee,] Having obtained so much favour of God, he presumes to ask something beyond all this, but with all humility.

[*Shew me thy glory.*] In the Hebrew the word is *harenî*, make me to see thy glory. Where Maimonides takes the word *see* to signify, "apprehend with the understanding," not with the bodily eye (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 4). For by *glory* he there understands (cap. 54) the Divine essence, which he makes Moses to be desirous to apprehend; which is not likely such a man as he should think possible. For thus he explains himself in this book de Fundamentis Legis, cap. 1, n. 10: "Moses desired to know the truth of the Divine essence, as one man knows another, whose face he beholds, and his image is so engraven in his mind, that he exists there distinguished from all other men: so he begs that the Divine essence might be distinct in his mind from all

19 And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.

ether essences, till he knew the truth of it, as it is in itself." But he confesses, in another place of that book (cap. 64), that by the *glory* of the Lord, is many times understood a created light or splendour, whereby God miraculously set forth his majesty (xxiv. 26, and other places). And I can see no reason why it should not so signify here, and the meaning be, that he desired to see that glorious presence (or *face of God*, as it is called) which he promised should go with them; not veiled in a cloud, but in its full splendour and majesty. For hearing him speak from the Shechinah, he supposed, perhaps, that God appeared therein, in some visible shape, which he desired to be acquainted withal. To confirm this, it is observable that God himself, in his answer to Moses, calls this *glory his face* (ver. 20), as he had done, ver. 14, 15. And thus R. Jehudah, in the book Cosri, par. iv. sect. 3 (towards the latter end of it), seems to have understood it (see upon ver. 20).

Ver. 19. *I will make all my goodness pass before thee.*] Which Maimonides thinks signifies his making Moses to understand the nature of all creatures, and how they are knit and united together, and after what manner they are governed, both in general and particular; because when God had made all his works, he saw that "they were very good" (Gen. i. 31). But that text is a very slender ground for such an interpretation. The LXX. seem to come nearer to the matter, who interpret this passage, *παρελθόντων πρότερος σου τῆ δόξης μου*, "I will pass before thee with my glory." That is, he promises to give him a transient view of his glory, while it passed by him (ver. 22), though it could not be seen in its full majesty. And then the word *tobh* (which we translate *my goodness*) must rather be rendered *my beauty*, it being the same with *glory*, only a softer word, to express such a degree of its splendour as would not hurt him, but be delightful to him. And thus the word *tobh* is used in the second chapter of this book, ver. 2, and 1 Sam. ix. 2. Or, if this be not the meaning, *all his goodness* must signify his gracious intentions concerning the children of Israel, to whom, he assures him, he would fulfil all his promises, which was sufficient for him to know.

I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee.] The LXX. seem to have understood this right, when they translated it, "I will call to thee by my name (saying), The Lord is before thee." That is, lest, when I pass by thee, thou shouldst not observe it, I will admonish thee, by a voice calling to thee, and telling thee, that now the Lord is presenting himself to thee. And so we find he did, xxiv. 6.

And will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, &c.] This is the substance of the words, which he tells him he would proclaim, after notice given him of his coming to pass by him. And their meaning is, that he would dispense his favours, according to his own good pleasure, as he did now to Moses; unto whom he vouchsafed such a revelation of himself, as he did not make to others. For thus he explains it, xxxiv. 6, 7, where he tells him, he would be very gracious, patient, and long-suffering, unto some; but punish severely the iniquity of others.

Ver. 20. *Thou canst not see my face.*] But as for thy request, that I would make thee see my glory in its full splendour, thou art not capable of it.

20 And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

21 And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock:

22 And it shall come to pass, while my glory

I know none that hath explained this whole matter better than R. Jehudah, in Sepher Cosri, par. iv. sect. 3: "For the glory mentioned in the Scripture, there is one of such a nature, that the eyes of the prophets could sustain it; another all the Israelites saw (as the cloud and the consuming fire); but another so pure and bright to such a high degree, that no prophet is able to apprehend it: but if he venture to look upon it, his composition is dissolved, i. e. he dies." Such was the glory here spoken of, a splendour so great and piercing, that none could behold it.

For there shall no man see me, and live.] Accordingly we find, when the Shechinah, or Divine glory, filled the tabernacle, Moses was not able to enter into it (xl. 35), that is, he could not, with safety to his life, look upon it. And so it was after the temple of Solomon was built and consecrated by solemn prayer to God, "The glory of the Lord filled the house, and the priests could not enter into the house, because the glory of the Lord had filled the Lord's house" (2 Chron. vii. 1, 2). From this speech to Moses, it is likely that men in future times imagined they should die immediately, when they saw only an angel appear in such a high glittering manner that it amazed them.

Ver. 21. *Behold, there is a place by me.*] It doth not plainly appear by the story, from whence God now spake to Moses. It is most likely from the mount, where he had long conversed with him. Or, if it was from the tabernacle (where his glory appeared, ver. 9, and continued, ver. 11), that was not far from the mount; where he tells him, he would make his glory pass before him.

Stand upon a rock.] It is probable, this was the rock in Horeb, where the Lord had formerly appeared to Moses (xvii. 6).

Ver. 22. *Put thee in a cleft of the rock.*] Perhaps it was in one of the clefts which was made in the rock, when God brought water out of it (Ps. lxxviii. 15), into which he directed Moses. For that is meant by *putting* him in the cleft; showing him the place where he should be, while the Divine Majesty passed by.

Will cover thee with my hand, &c.] That he might not be hurt by the splendour of that glory, as it passed by the cleft. This doth not certainly signify, that the glory of the Lord appeared in a human shape: for *hands* are ascribed to God (in accommodation to us) when nothing is meant but this invisible power: which now, perhaps, cast a cloud about him, that he might not be struck dead by the inconceivable brightness and force of those rays which came from the face of the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 23. *I will take away mine hand.*] As soon as the face (as it is called, ver. 20) of the Divine Majesty was gone by him (which it was impossible for him to behold, and live), he promises to remove that cloud which covered him: so that he should look upon the hinder parts of his glory, though not upon the face.

Thou shalt see my back parts.] In which the glory of the Divine Majesty shone in a lower degree of light; which was not so piercing, as to put out the eyes, and take away the life of the beholders; and yet there was such a resplendent brightness in it, that Moses's face shone when he came down from

passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by:

the sight of it (xxxiv. 29). For that lustre in his countenance is to be ascribed, in all probability, to that sight which he had of the Divine Majesty at that time. Some little particles of light remaining upon his face, and sticking to it (if I may so speak) from that exceeding great splendour which shone upon him, and passed before him, as he lay in the hollow place of the rock.

But my face shall not be seen.] My glory in its full lustre, without any veil before it, cannot be seen (see ver. 20). There are many other interpretations of this verse, as well as of the 18th and 19th. Maimonides, in his book de Fundam. Legis, cap. 1, n. 11, takes it thus: "God revealed that to Moses, which no man, either before or after him, ever knew: he making him to apprehend something of his very essence, whereby God was separated in his mind from all other beings; as a man discerns another man, when he sees his back parts, and by his mind discerns his proportions distinct from all other men." But in his More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 21, he takes this discovery to Moses, to be the knowledge God gave him of his works and attributes,

23 And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen.

viz. those mentioned xxxiv. 6. And thus Gregor. Nazianzen (Orat. xxxiv. p. 559) expounds it, ταῖρα γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ὀπίσθια ὅσα μετ' ἐκείνου, &c. "Those things are the back parts of God which are after him; whereby he is known as the sun is by its image in the water, &c., upon which Elias Cretensis hath this ingenious gloss, "That the face of God signifies his essence before the beginning of the world, and his hinder parts, his creation and providence in the government of the world." But Maimonides, in the same place now mentioned, acknowledges also, that this may be interpreted according to the Targum; that God made his majesty, that is, an exceeding bright representation of himself (though not in its fullest glory) to pass before him. Which Onkelos sometimes calls *Je-kara, Glory*; sometimes *Memra, the Word*; and sometimes *Shechinah, the Majesty*. Which seems to be the most literal meaning; that God himself, particularly the eternal Word, in a visible glory or majesty, appeared unto him in so much splendour as human nature was able to bear; but not in his unveiled brightness, which is, as the apostle speaks, *inaccessible*.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 The tables are renewed. 5 The name of the LORD proclaimed. 8 Moses intreateth God to go with them. 10 God maketh a covenant with them, repeating certain duties of the first table. 28 Moses after forty days in the mount cometh down with the tables. 29 His face shineth, and he covereth it with a veil.

1 AND the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone, like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest.

2 And be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me in the top of the mount.

3 And no man shall come up with thee, nei-

ther let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount.

4 ¶ And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tables of stone.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1.] Having obtained a promise of a pardon for the people, and of greater favour to himself, than had been hitherto shown him, God directs him here to dispose things for the performance of both.

Hew thee two tables of stone, like unto the first.] Every attentive reader must needs observe the difference between the first table, which Moses brake, and those which he is now ordered to prepare. For God did not only write his laws with his own finger upon the first tables, but the tables themselves also were the work of God (xxxii. 16). Whereas in these, as Greg. Nyssen well expresses it (De Vita Mosis, p. 183), ἡ γραφὴ μὲν ἐκ θείας δυνάμεως ἦν ἡ δὲ ὕλη, διὰ τῆς Μωϋσίου ἐξουσιᾶς χειρός: "the writing, indeed, was by the Divine power, but the matter of them framed by the hand of Moses." So that, at the same time God showed he was reconciled, he put them in mind that he had been offended; and restored them to his favour with some abatement.

Ver. 2. *Beready in the morning.*] On the eighteenth day of July (see xxxii. 30).

Come up in the morning unto Mount Sinai.] From whence God spake to the Israelites (Deut. v. 4, &c.) those very words which he intended to write upon the tables. He orders him to come up in the morning,

that all the people might see him ascend, and carry the tables with him.

Present thyself there to me] Where the Divine Majesty appeared before in its glory; and where Moses stayed with him forty days and forty nights (xix. 26, xxiv. 17, 18).

Ver. 3.] The same precept is renewed, which was given at his first ascent (xxiv. 1, 2).

Neither let any man be seen] See xix. 12, 21, &c.

Neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount.] He seems to require their removal to such a distance, that they should not be within view of the Divine Majesty. By which means the people were naturally led to stand in greater awe of God, and there was the less danger of any beasts touching the mount (xix. 13).

Ver. 4. *He hewed two tables of stone, &c.*] These and the following words only declare that he did as God bade him (ver. 1, 2).

Took in his hand the two tables] These he carried with him; but the first tables were given him when he came there (xxiv. 12). They seem to have been thin, being no heavier than he could carry them in one hand.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord*] The Shechinah or Divine Majesty, called also the *glory of the Lord*.

Descended in the cloud,] Wherein it had been won

5 And the LORD descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the LORD.

6 And the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The LORD, the LORD God, merciful

and gracious, longsuffering, and abundant in goodness and truth,

7 Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity

to appear from the beginning of their deliverance out of Egypt; and had lately appeared to Moses in the tabernacle (xxxiii. 9), when the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of it, while the Lord talked with Moses there. And it seems, when that was done, the glory of the Lord in the cloud went up again towards heaven, and now came down upon this occasion.

Stood with him there,] The cloudy pillar, wherein the glory of the Lord was, rested upon the top of the mount where Moses now was (ver. 2).

Proclaimed the name of the Lord,] Gave him notice of his presence, as he had promised (xxxiii. 19), and is more fully expressed in the next verse.

Ver. 6. The Lord passed by before him,] Which Onkelos translates, "the Lord made his majesty to pass before him." Which exposition Maimonides acknowledges to be right; and confirmed by the Scripture itself, when it saith (xxxiii. 22), "While my glory passeth by," &c. which he confesses signifies not the Divine essence itself; but some created splendour, which no eye was able to behold (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 21).

Proclaimed,] As the glory of the Lord passed by he heard a voice proclaiming this description of the Divine nature.

The Lord,] Some join the next word to this, as if the voice said, *The Lord the Lord*: the more to awaken his attention, to mind what he heard (see xxxiii. 19). And this name of his signifies his self-existence, and his absolute dominion over all creatures, which received their beginning from him (see vi. 3).

God,] The Hebrew word *el* signifies strong and mighty; in one word, his irresistible power (Job ix. 4).

Merciful] The word *rachum* signifies that which we call *tender mercies*; such as parents have to their children, when their bowels yearn towards them.

Gracious,] We call that *chaninakh* (*grace* or *favour*), saith Maimonides, which we bestow upon any man to whom we owe nothing (Gen. xxxiii. 5, 11). And therefore God is here called *chanum* (*gracious*), with respect to those whom he created, preserves, and governs, but is not obliged by any rite to these things; as his words are, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 45.

Longsuffering,] So slow to anger, that he doth not presently punish those that offend him, but bears long with them.

Abundant in goodness] The Hebrew word *chesed*, which we translate *goodness*, signifies, as Maimonides saith (More Nevoch. par. iii.), the excess and highest degree of any thing, whatsoever it be; but especially, the greatest benignity. And therefore, with the addition of *rabh* (*abundant*), denotes long continued kindness; as is more fully declared in the next verse.

Truth,] Most faithful and constant to his promises; which he steadfastly keeps throughout all generations. The word *abundant* refers both to this and to his benignity (Psalm cxlvi. 6).

Ver. 7. Keeping mercy for thousands,] The same word *chesed*, which before we translated *goodness*, we here translate *mercy*: and the Hebrews observing the letter *nun* to be greater in the word *notzer* (*keeping*) than is usual, fancy that it denotes the immense treasures of the Divine bounty. But the word *thousands* fully explains how abundant his mercy is.

Forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin,] Here

are three words, to signify all sorts of offences, which he passes by, till men grow intolerably wicked. But some distinguish them by making *iniquity* signify offences against men; and *transgressions*, offences against God himself; and *sin*, all the errors, childishnesses, and follies, which men are guilty of, in the conduct of themselves. But they may as well signify the offences which were committed against the moral, ceremonial, and political laws.

And that will by no means clear the guilty;] These words, according to Maimonides, belong still to the loving-kindness of God, as all the foregoing do; signifying, that when he doth punish, he will not utterly destroy and make desolate. For so the Hebrew words, *nakkeh lo jenakkeh*, he thinks, are to be literally rendered, "in extirpating he will not extirpate;" as the word *nakah* he observes is used, Isaiah iii. 26. "She shall sit desolate on the earth." And to the same sense these words are expounded by many modern interpreters; particularly Lud. de Dieu: "When he empties, he will not empty; or make quite desolate." For the maxim of the Hebrew is (as Maimonides there observes, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 54), that "the property of goodness far exceeds that of severity." For here being thirteen prophecies of God mentioned (I can find but ten, besides the name of the Lord) there is but one of them that belongs to the latter (viz. that which follows), all the rest belong to the former. And, indeed, we find that Moses urges these very words, among other, why God should not destroy the Israelites as one man (Numb. xiv. 18), which had been very improper, if God would by *no means clear the guilty*.

Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children,] This is meant, saith the same Maimonides, only of the sin of idolatry; unto which God threatens, in the second commandment, this punishment to the third and fourth generation, upon those that hate him. For no man is called a hater of God, but only an idolater; according to what we read, Deut. xii. 31. "Every abomination which the Lord hateth," &c.

Unto the third and to the fourth generation,] He mentions, saith the same author, none beyond these; because the utmost that any man can live to see of his seed, is the fourth generation. And therefore, when an idolatrous city was destroyed, the old idolater, with children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, were all cut off; according to the precept (Deut. xiii. 15), "Destroy it utterly, and all that is therein."

The sense of the whole seems to be, that this is the glory of the Divine Majesty: that he hath a sovereign dominion over all, because he is the fountain of being, the original of all things; most powerful to do what he pleases; and so merciful, that he delights to bestow his benefits unasked; and so gracious, as to continue them to the unthankful: bearing long with them, when they provoke him; multiplying favours on those who have no deserts; and faithfully performing his promises, though never so great; doing good unto a thousand generations of those who adhere faithfully to him, and do not apostatize from him: for he pardons innumerable offences, of all sorts, that are committed against his laws; and when the provocations are so great, that they are fit to be punished, he proceeds not to the utmost extremity, till there be no remedy; then he punishes idolaters terribly, to the third and fourth generations.

of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.

8 And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped.

9 And he said, If now I have found grace in thy sight, O LORD, let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us; for it is a stiffnecked people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.

10 ¶ And he said, Behold, I make a covenant: before all thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been done in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among which

thou art shall see the work of the LORD: for it is a terrible thing that I will do with thee.

11 Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite.

12 Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee:

13 But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves:

14 For thou shalt worship no other god: for

Ver. 8. *Moses made haste, and bowed his head*] Being transported with joy at so glorious a sight, and such gracious words, he immediately worshipped God with the humblest reverence, acknowledging his great condescension to him.

Ver. 9. *He said,*] Which encouraged him to renew his request to God.

If now I have found grace in thy sight,] He doth not doubt of it; but the meaning rather is, *since I have found grace, &c.*, as appears from what he granted him (xxxiii. 17, 18, &c.).

Let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us;] Upon the mention of the last property of the Divine Majesty ["visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children," &c.], Moses seems to have been afraid he might be provoked to proceed to such severity with the Israelites, who had lately apostatized from him: and again beseeches him he would be so gracious, though they should again offend him, as to continue his presence among them, which he had threatened to withdraw (xxxiii. 3).

It is a stiffnecked people;] If we adhere to this translation, the meaning is, they needed such a governor, by whose authority and presence they might be kept in awe, and cured of their perverseness. But the particle *ki*, which we here translate *for*, often signifies *though*: and may be very fitly so rendered here: and then the meaning is, Though they be very refractory (xxxii. 9), yet do not forsake them, and leave them to themselves; but still conduct them as thou hast done.

Pardon our iniquity and our sin.] Since thou art so ready to forgive (ver. 7), do not cut us off for our late offences; but still continue to own us for thy peculiar people. This Moses had begged of God before, and obtained a promise of it (xxxiii. 16, 17, and see xix. 5), and now he beseeches him, out of his goodness which he had proclaimed, to confirm that promise, and not to revoke it upon every new provocation.

Ver. 10. *Behold, I make a covenant:*] Herein God verified the truth of what he had proclaimed; being so merciful and gracious, as not only to confirm his promise, but to turn it into a covenant, like that at the giving of his laws from Mount Sinai (xxiv. 3, 7, &c.), which he renews with them in the next verse: where he engages to drive out the inhabitants of Canaan before them; and then requires them to take care not to imitate their idolatry.

Before all thy people I will do marvels, &c.] This seems to relate to all the wonderful works he intended to do, in their introduction into the land of Canaan, by making the waters of Jordan retire, and the walls of Jericho fall down; with the rest that followed, till they got possession of their inheritance.

For it is a terrible thing that I will do with thee.] Such as shall declare the almighty power of the Di-

vine Majesty; and strike a terror into all those that oppose him, but demonstrate (in an astonishing manner) his fidelity to his people. For all this is said to confirm their belief of the covenant he said he would make with them, in the beginning of the verse.

Ver. 11. *Observe thou that which I command thee*] Doubt not of what I say; but only mark, and take care to do all that I now enjoin thee.

Behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, &c.] To encourage them so to do, he promises what he intended to do for them; which he put at the conclusion of his covenant, when he first declared it (xxiii. 23, 28), but here puts it in the front of it, that they might be the more sensible of the reasonableness of those commands to which he expected obedience.

Ver. 12. *Take heed to thyself,*] He now renewing that covenant with them, which they had broken by the worshipping the golden calf, repeats the principal precepts which concerned his worship and service (which had been delivered to them before), and excites them to the observance of them, by the addition of a very gracious promise (ver. 24).

Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants, &c.] Nothing could be more reasonable than this, that they should not enter into friendship with those nations, whom he commanded them to expel, for their abominable wickedness; unless they would renounce their idolatry, and come under their government (see xxiii. 32, and Mr. Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. in the latter end of the thirteenth chapter and beginning of the next.)

Lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee:] Lest they inveigle thee to imitate their manners.

Ver. 13. *Ye shall destroy their altars, &c.*] This more largely explains what was briefly and summarily delivered in xxiii. 32, "Thou shalt not make a covenant with their gods." And, ver. 24, "Thou shalt quite break down their images." Which images and altars were usually set in groves, as sacred places; being the temples of their gods (see 2 Kings xxiii. 24). For when Tacitus saith (lib. de Moribus Germanorum), that the old Germans went to war as if God commanded them, whom they believed to be present with them; he tells us, *Effigiesque et signa quædam detracta locis ad prælium ferunt*, "They carried with them into the battle certain images and signs, which they took out of their groves." These, in all probability, were the images of their gods, who they thought fought for them, as Joh. Filesacus conjectures (lib. ii. Selectorum, cap. 5, de Ceremoniis, sect. 7), where he observes, that these groves were impure places, not only because there were the images and altars of their false gods, but all manner of filthiness and lewdness was committed under those shades. Which made Horace call them *parvum castos lucos* (lib. i. in the latter end of the twelfth Ode).

Some of the Hebrews restrained this precept only

the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God :

15 Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice ;

16 And thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods.

17 Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

18 ¶ The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, in the time of the

month Abib : for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt.

19 All that openeth the matrix is mine ; and every firstling among thy cattle, *whether ox or sheep, that is male.*

20 But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb : and if thou redeem *him* not, then shalt thou break his neck. All the first born of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty.

21 ¶ Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest : in caring time and in harvest thou shalt rest.

22 ¶ And thou shalt observe the feast of

to the land of Canaan : where they were bound to destroy all things belonging to the religion of those idolatrous people, in whose place they were planted, that they might not be infected with their impiety (see Deut. xii. 2, 3). But in other countries which they conquered, they fancied they were not bound to root it out. Yct afterward they saw it necessary to extend this precept to all idolatrous countries which came under their power, where they destroyed their idols, as they had done in Canaan : lest by imitation *παράδοξή τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσταιτο*, "their polity should have been quite subverted," as Josephus speaks (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2).

Ver. 14. *For thou shalt worship no other god :* This being the great principle of their religion, "The Lord thy God is one Lord" (Deut. vi. 4), and there is no other God beside him.

For the Lord, whose name is Jealous,] So he calls himself, xx. 5, and gave himself this peculiar name, because he could not bear any other God to be rival with him, after the manner of the gentiles : whose gods suffered a number of other gods to share in the worship that was given to them, by offering sacrifices, and burning incense, and bowing down to them.

Jealous God :] As is his name, so is he himself : he will not endure any other to be worshipped with him.

Ver. 15. *Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants*] That is, a covenant of *marriage* (for covenants in general were forbidden before, ver. 12), which he commands them not to contract with the inhabitants of Canaan : no, nor with any idolaters whatsoever. For though some of the Jews would restrain this to the seven nations only, yet the generality of them resolve it is meant of all other idolatrous people. And there is an illustrious argument of it, in the ninth and tenth chapters of Ezra, and in Nehemiah xiii. 25. This they will have to have been as old as the law of circumcision ; which they gather from Gen. xxxiv. 14, and it held throughout all following ages ; inso-much that Mahomet forbids any of his religion to marry any one that is not made a Mussulman, i. e. a believer of his doctrine. As for such as turned from idolatry, it was always lawful to marry them ; but they were so far from having to do with others, that the Talmudists held it as unlawful to lie with a gentile woman, as with a woman in her uncleanness. Whence that character which Tacitus gives of the Jews, "Projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubita abstinet" (see Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 13).

They go a whoring after their gods,] Of which there was very great danger if they loved their wives ; who would have great power over them (as appears by Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 2, 3, &c.) to entice them to their religion. Of this phrase, "going a whoring after their gods," see Seld. Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 23.

One call thee,] Invite thee (as the manner was) to the feast that was usually made, upon the sacrifices offered to their gods : as the Israelites ate of the peace-offerings, and invited their friends to partake with them.

Eat of his sacrifice ;] By this we see how ancient and universal the custom was of feasting upon sacrifices : which Mr. Mede truly calls *opulæ federales*, "federal feasts" (upon Malachi ii.). For the meat was God's, being set upon his table ; of which he inviting the offerers to partake ; they were his guests, whom he entertained at his table, in token of reconciliation and friendship with him. And therefore, whosoever ate of the sacrifices offered to other gods, professed themselves to be their worshippers and servants. Which made the Jews so cautious in this matter, that they would not so much as drink the wine, or the water, or use the salt of an idolater, not knowing but it might have been set before an idol. So R. Levi Barzelonita, in the explication of the 112th Precept. This explains that discourse of the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 20.

Ver. 16.] If they themselves married idolaters, there was the greater danger they might be content to let their sons and daughters marry with them ; especially if they were rich or beautiful ; and so the whole family be undone.

Ver. 17. *Molten gods.*] Images are called by the name of *gods*, because they were worshipped together with them, as symbols of their presence. And though *molten* be here only mentioned (upon occasion of their late sin, in worshipping the *molten calf*, xxxii. 4), yet all other images are intended, as appears by xx. 4, 23.

Ver. 18.] See all this explained, xii. 15, 16, &c., xiii. 6, 7, xxiii. 15.

Abib, &c.] See xiii. 4, xxiii. 15.

Ver. 19. *Openeth the matrix*] See xiii. 12, xxii. 29, 30.

Ver. 20. *But the firstling*] See xiii. 13.

None shall appear before me empty.] See xxiii. 15.

Ver. 21. *Six days thou shalt work, &c.*] See xx. 9, xxiii. 12, xxxi. 15, where this is sufficiently explained. But here, to show the necessity of forbearing labour on this day, they are not permitted it *in caring or in harvest* : that is, in the two most busy times of the year ; when they ploughed and sowed their ground, and when they reaped the fruits thereof (see Gen. xlv. 6).

Ver. 22. *Feast of weeks.*] This verse also hath been explained before, xxiii. 16. Only here observe, that the "first-fruits of wheat-harvest" being now offered at this feast, there was a harvest before this, which began at the passover, when they offered the "first-fruits of barley harvest" (Deut. xvi. 9).

Ver. 23. *Thrice in the year*] This likewise was explained, xxiii. 14, 17. And nothing need be added,

weeks, of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end.

23 ¶ Thrice in the year shall all your men-children appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel.

24 For I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year.

25 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning.

26 The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou

but that these peculiar laws are here repeated (together with those that follow, ver. 25, 26) upon this occasion, because they were ordained to preserve the people in the worship and service of the true God, from whom they had lately departed. Who therefore puts them in mind, in the last words of this verse (which was not said before), that he was the *God of Israel*, to whom they were devoted by especial obligations.

Ver. 24. *I will cast out the nations*] Till this was done, they were not bound to observe the precept, of appearing three times in the year before the Lord.

Enlarge thy borders.] Beyond the land of Canaan, as he had promised before (xxiii. 31).

Neither shall any man desire thy land, &c.] To remove all fear out of their mind, that their neighbours might invade them, when all the men were gone, and none but women, and children, and old men left at home, he adds this promise to all he had made before (or rather makes it a part of his covenant which he now renews), that he would lay such restraints upon their enemies, that they should not so much as think of invading them at those three feasts; much less make any actual incursions into their country.

Ver. 25. *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice*] At the passover. See this fully explained, xxiii. 18.

Ver. 26.] At Pentecost, which was the "feast of the first-fruits" (see xxiii. 19.)

Thou shalt not see the a kid] This concerns the other great feast, that of tabernacles (see in the same place).

Ver. 27.] Having recited the principal part of his covenant mentioned ver. 10, he gives the following order.

Write thou these words.] From ver. 11 to this place: just as he did those words contained in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters of this book (see xxiv. 4), out of which these words are extracted, as the chief things respecting the worship of God; which he requires him to write in a book by itself.

For after the tenor of these words] See xxiv. 7, where the covenant, containing these words and many other, was sealed with the blood of a sacrifice.

The Jews are so blind as to found their oral tradition upon this place, and upon one small word (*pi*), which signifies, indeed, *mouth*; but withal is an expletive particle, denoting the manner and value of any thing, as appears from Gen. xliii. 7; Lev. xxvii. 18, and, therefore, here rightly translated the *tenor* of these words. Yet R. Johannes, in the very beginning of Halicth Olam, gathers from hence that God made a covenant now with their fathers, concerning all the unwritten laws delivered by word of mouth. Unto which, while they adhere, they can never under-

stand their Divine writings: for what can be more plain than the covenant here mentioned was ordered to be *written*?

Ver. 28. *He was there with the Lord*] This, saith Maimonides was the highest degree of prophecy, which none attained but Moses: whose thoughts were wholly taken off from all other things, and fixed upon God, while he was with him in the holy mount; that is, asked and received answers from the Lord (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 51).

Forty days and forty nights;] As he had been at the first (xxiv. 18). Which was partly to make a new trial, how they would behave themselves in his absence; and partly to give the greater authority to the laws, he brought them from God, which he renewed, as we read in the end of this verse.

He did neither eat bread nor drink water.] But was supported by influences from the Almighty, who kept up his spirits in their just height, without the common recruits of meat and drink: which when they give us refreshment, likewise make us drowsy (see xxiv. 18). To which add what Maimonides saith in the place now named, that the joy wherewith he was transported made him not think of eating and drinking: for his intellectual faculties were so strong, that all corporeal desire ceased.

It seems to me very probable, that, during this time, he saw again the model of the tabernacle and all its furniture, with every thing else he was ordered to make when he went first into the mount, from the beginning of the twenty-fifth to the end of the thirtieth chapter, which are briefly summed up, xxxi. 7—11. He seems also to have spent much of this time in prayer to God for the people, that he would restore them entirely to his favour, and bring them to their inheritance (Deut. ix. 18, 19, 25, 26, x. 10).

He wrote upon the tables, &c.] That is, the Lord wrote (as he said he would, ver. 1), not Moses; who wrote the foregoing words in a book; but not these, which were written by the finger of God in the tables of stone. So Moses tells us expressly, Deut. x. 4. Jacobus Capellus, and others, following the Hebrew doctors, imagine that Moses was three times with God in the mount for the space of forty days; and that this was the last time. Between which and the first they place another, which they fancy is mentioned, xxxii. 30, 31, compared with Deut. ix. 18, &c. But I see no solid ground for this; for God called him up into the mount but twice; and he durst not have adventured to go so near him, as he was both these times, without his invitation.

Ver. 29. *When Moses came down*] Which was upon the twenty-fifth of our August, according to the former computation (ver. 2).

With the two tables] So he came down at the first (xxxii. 15). *Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone*] Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone

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from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him.

30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him.

31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him: and Moses talked with them.

32 And afterward all the children of Israel

There was a radiant splendour in his countenance; which is the import of the Hebrew *karan*, which the Vulgar translates *horned*. Not imagining that Moses had horns, but rays of light which imitated horns. And therefore the Hebrew word *karnain* signifies both; and R. Solomon Jarchi upon this place calls these rays on Moses's face, *horns of magnificence*, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6, p. 292). It is not improbable that the hair of his head was interspersed with light, as well as that rays came from his face; which perstringed the eyes of beholders. And painters had done more reasonably, if instead of horns upon Moses's forehead, they had represented him with a glory crowning his head, as the saints are usually painted in the Roman church. Which perhaps came from the ancient custom among the heathen, who thus represented their gods, as Tho. Bartholinus observes (de Morbis Biblicis, cap. v.), out of Lucian de Dea Syria, where he saith she did *ἰπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνας ὀφείρειν*, "carry beams upon her head." Whence it was that the Roman emperors, who were raised so much above the rest of mankind, that they honoured them as a sort of deities, were thus represented; as appears by many testimonies, particularly Pliny, who, in his panegyric to Trajan, laughs and jeers at the radiatum Domitiani caput.

While he talked with him.] While he conversed so familiarly with the Divine Majesty, and both saw his glory and heard him proclaim his name (ver. 5—7). At his first being in the mount, there was no such brightness left upon his countenance; for he did not see the Divine Majesty in so great a splendour as he did now, when the Lord, upon his petition, vouchsafed him such a sight of his glory as he could bear (xxxiii. 18, 23), which was so exceeding piercing, that it altered the very skin of Moses's face, and made it luminous; of which Moses doth not seem to have been sensible, till some time after he came down from the mount (when Aaron, as well as others, were afraid to come nigh him), having his thoughts wholly possessed with the far more transcendent glory of the Divine Majesty, of which he had a glimpse.

From this familiar conference which Moses had with God, it is likely the heathen took occasion to invent the like stories of their Zamolxis, who pretended to receive his laws from Vesta; and Minos and Lycurgus, who said they received theirs from Jupiter and Apollo; with several others mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. who then adds Moses had his from the god *Jao*: so they pronounced the name *Jehovah*. But they had no such testimony as this of their communication with the Divine Majesty; much less were their laws confirmed by such miracles as lasted for the space of forty years under the conduct of Moses, in the sight of all people.

Ver. 30. *When Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone.*] This highly established his authority, and bred in them a reverence to the laws he brought, that they were all witnesses of the brightness or glory of his countenance (as the apostle calls it, 2 Cor. iii. 7), which demon-

strated he had been with God, as he affirmed, and had beheld the glory of his majesty, and received from him the tables of testimony. By all the children of Israel, in this verse, seems to be meant all the rulers of the congregation mentioned in the next.

33 And till Moses had done speaking with them, he put a vail on his face.

34 But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the vail off, until he came out. And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he was commanded.

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Were afraid to come nigh him.] The light which shone from his countenance was so great, that it dazzled the eyes of beholders, even of Aaron himself, who did not know whether it would be safe to approach him. 'This was an illustrious testimony that he had been with God, who dwells, as the apostle speaks, in light inaccessible.

Ver. 31. *Moses called unto them;*] Invited them to come near him, and not to fear any hurt.

Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him.] viz. After he had put a veil upon his face, till which they could not *steadfastly look upon it* (as the apostle speaks, 2 Cor. iii. 7), the light of it being so strong, that it hurt their eyes, if they fixed them there.

Moses talked with them.] Acquainted them with what he had seen and heard.

Ver. 32.] There was a general assembly of all the tribes summoned, that he might deliver to them all that which he had received from God (see xxxv. 1).

He gave them in commandment.] All the orders he had given about the building of the tabernacle, and the rest contained in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth chapters, and those that follow to the thirty-second. For at his first coming from the mount, finding them in an apostasy from God, he said nothing to them about these matters; but, in abhorrence of their foul idolatry, broke the tables of testimony which God had given him to deliver to them.

Ver. 33.] This seems to belong as well to ver. 31, as to the 32d, and accordingly I have interpreted it. Though there are those who think he persuaded Aaron and the rulers to approach without a veil; but put it on when he spake to the people, who were less able to bear it. But there seems to be the same reason for both; Aaron being no less afraid than any of them; and the majesty of his countenance appeared sufficiently, even when it was veiled; for the brightness was not quite obscured, though very much shaded by it.

Ver. 34. *He took the vail off, until he came out.*] He went into the tabernacle, where he spake with him, face to face, as a man speaks to his friends (xxxiii. 9—11).

He came out, and spake unto the children of Israel.] This seems to relate unto the frequent occasions Moses had to go and consult with God in difficult cases, whose mind he declared to them when he had received it.

Ver. 35. *Skin of Moses' face shone, &c.*] Some great men have thought that the brightness continued on Moses's face till his death; so that he spake to them with a veil on his face, from this time, as long as he lived: of which we cannot be certain; though thus much is evident, from this and the foregoing verse, that the splendour of his countenance did remain for some time after he came down from God's presence

35 And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone : and

Moses put the vail upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

in the mount; during which, as oft as he went in to speak with God, he took off his veil, and when he came out to speak with them, he put it on, *until he went in to speak with God again*, as this verse concludes. How long it was before it vanished none can resolve: perhaps not till he had set up the tabernacle

and consecrated Aaron and his sons, and delivered all the laws he had received about the service of God, which are recorded in the book of Leviticus: that is, all the time they stayed near mount Sinai; from whence they removed a little more than half a year after this (Numb. x. 11, 12).

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *The sabbath.* 4 *The free gifts for the tabernacle.* 20 *The readiness of the people to offer.* 30 *Bezaleel and Aholiab are called to the work.*

1 AND Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together, and said unto them, These *are* the words which the LORD hath commanded, that *ye* should do them.

2 Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day, a sabbath of rest to the LORD: whosoever doeth work therein shall be put to death.

3 Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day.

4 ¶ And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the LORD commanded, saying,

5 Take ye from among you an offering unto

the LORD: whosoever *is* of a willing heart, let him bring it, an offering of the LORD; gold, and silver, and brass,

6 And blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair,

7 And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood,

8 And oil for the light, and spices for anointing oil, and for the sweet incense,

9 And onyx stones, and stones to be set for the ephod, and for the breastplate.

10 And every wise hearted among you shall come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded;

CHAP. XXXV.

Ver. 1.] Having told them what orders he had received from the Lord, and sufficiently convinced them of his authority (xxxiv. 32, 33), he now proceeds to put them in execution. And in order to it, he gathered *col-hadath*, all the congregation: which sometimes signifies all the elders and judges, &c. (the prime governors of the people) and sometimes the whole body of the people, as Con. Bon. Bertram observes, de Repub. Jud. cap. 6. It seems here to be used in the first sense; for he could not speak these words to the whole body of the people, but to the principal persons of the several tribes, by whom what he said was communicated to all Israel.

These are the words] Before they entered upon the work, he admonishes them that none of it must be done upon the Sabbath.

Ver. 2. *Six days shall work be done, &c.*] This commandment was particularly repeated to Moses, at the end of all the directions about the building of the tabernacle (see xxxi. 13—15), and now repeated to them (as it was at his late renewing his covenant with them, xxxiv. 21), that they might not imagine any of the work here commanded to be done about the tabernacle, &c. would license them to break the Sabbath. The observation of which being the great preservative of religion, that is the reason it is so often enjoined, and particular care taken to secure it. And it is not to be omitted, that (to show of what great concern it is) he calls it here, as he did xxxi. 15, where the end and use of it is set down, the *Sabbath of Sabbaths*, that is, the great Sabbath or rest.

Ver. 3. *Ye shall kindle no fire—upon the sabbath-day.*] To dress their meat, or for any other work: otherwise they might kindle a fire to warm themselves in cold weather. This is sufficiently comprehended under the general command, *thou shalt not do any work* (xx. 10). Therefore the meaning is, Thou shalt not so much as

kindle a fire for any such purpose. For that is the rule they give in Halicoth Olam, cap. 2, that such particular prohibitions forbid the whole kind, i. e. all manner of work whatsoever; which is here mentioned, to show they might not kindle a fire for this work of the tabernacle.

Ver. 4.] See ver. 1.

This is the thing which the Lord commanded,] Having secured the observation of the Sabbath, according to the direction given just before he came down from the mount the first time (xxxi. 13—15), he now relates to them what commands he received from God, concerning all that follows.

Ver. 5. *Take ye from among you an offering unto the Lord:*] And first he makes a motion to them from the Lord, that they would make a free oblation of material for the building of the tabernacle, and all other things which the Lord commanded to be made (ver. 10, &c.).

Take ye, is as much as *bring ye*, and so we translate it xxv. 2 (see there). Where it appears that this was the very first thing God said to him (concerning a voluntary offering, which was the foundation of all the rest), and therefore is first propounded to the people by him.

Whosoever is of a willing heart, &c.] See xxv. 2.

Ver. 6—9.] All these have been explained in the twenty-fifth chapter, ver. 3—5, &c.

Ver. 10. *Every wise hearted among you*] Every skillful person in the art of making the things following. The same is said of the women, ver. 25. The Hebrew word *cochmah*, which we translate *wisdom*, is used variously, as Maimonides observes; sometimes for the understanding of Divine things; sometimes for moral virtue; and sometimes for skill in any art (of which he alleges this place as an instance), and sometimes for craft and subtlety (see More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 54). The word *leb* (or *h. art*), is used here according to the vulgar opinion of

11 The tabernacle, his tent, and his covering, his taches, and his boards, his bars, his pillars, and his sockets,

12 The ark, and the staves thereof, *with* the mercy seat, and the veil of the covering,

13 The table, and his staves, and all his vessels, and the shewbread,

14 The candlestick also for the light, and his furniture, and his lamps, with the oil for the light,

15 And the incense altar, and his staves, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the hanging for the door at the entering in of the tabernacle,

16 The altar of burnt offering, with his brazen grate, his staves, and all his vessels, the laver and his foot,

17 The hangings of the court, his pillars, and

their sockets, and the hanging for the door of the court,

18 The pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their cords,

19 The cloths of service, to do service in the holy place, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.

20 ¶ And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses.

21 And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments.

22 And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, and brought brace-

those days, that the heart is the seat of the understanding. And thus I observed before upon ch. xxv. that excellent artists are by the heathen called *wise men*. Since which I have observed, that this is the language of Homer himself; whose verses concerning Margites are quoted by Aristotle in more places than one (lib. vi. Moral. ad Nicomach. cap. 7, et lib. v. Moral. ad Eudemum, cap. 7) where he saith he was so foolish, that

Τὸν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐκατήρα Σοὶ Σέαν οὐτ' ἀροήρα
Οὐτ' ἄλλως τε σοφόν.

"The gods neither made him a ditcher, nor a ploughman, nor any other sort of wise man." Upon which Aristotle notes, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις, τοῖς ἀκριβοτάτοις τὰς τέχνας ἀποδιδόμεν, "We ascribe wisdom in arts to those who excel in them;" and then he instances in Phidias a stone-cutter, and Polyclethus a statuary.

Ver. 11. *Tabernacle*,] This signifies sometimes the whole structure of the house of God; but here only the fine inward curtains, mentioned xxvi. 1, 2, &c.

His tent,] This signifies the curtains of goats' hair; which were laid over the other (xxvi. 7, &c.)

His covering,] Of rams' skins and badgers' skins; which were thrown over the other two (xxvi. 14).

Taches, &c.] All these are explained in that chapter.

Ver. 12. *The ark*,] See xxv. 10, 13, 17.

Veil of the covering,] Whereby the holy was separated from the most holy place. Which is here fitly mentioned between the mercy-seat, which was within; and the table, &c., which were without this veil.

Ver. 13. *Table*,] See all these explained, xxv. 23, 24, &c.

Shewbread,] This is a short expression, one word (as is usual) being cut off, viz. the *dishes*, in which the *shewbread* was set. For Moses had not order to make the bread itself, but the dishes (as I said) on which the loaves were laid (xxv. 29).

Ver. 14.] See xxvi. 31, 32, &c.

With the oil for the light,] See xxvii. 20, 21.

Ver. 15. *Incense altar*,] See xxxi. 1, 2, &c.

Anointing oil,] See xxxi. 23, 24, &c.

Sweet incense,] See xxxi. 34, &c. He mentioned before the materials for them (ver. 8), and now the things themselves.

Hanging for the door] Of this, see xxvi. 36.

Ver. 16.] These are explained, xxvii. 1—7.

His vessels,] See there, ver. 3.

Laver and his foot,] See xxix. 17, 18.

Ver. 17.] See xxvii. 9, 10, &c.

Hanging for the door,] See there, ver. 16.

Ver. 18. *Pins of the tabernacle*,] See xxvii. 19.

Ver. 19. *Cloths of service*, &c.] Of which there is an account in the whole twenty-eighth chapter. And Moses here makes this large enumeration of all the things which God had commanded (ver. 10), that they might be stirred up to be the more liberal in their offering, when they saw how many things were to be done.

Ver. 20. *All the congregation*] Whom he had summoned to meet together (ver. 1).

Departed] When he had reported to them what orders he had received from the Divine Majesty in the mount (ver. 4, 5, &c.)

Ver. 21. *They came*,] Being dismissed to their own tents, they went thither only to fetch an offering to the Lord; which they came and brought immediately.

Every one whose heart stirred him up,] Whose mind was raised to a free and cheerful readiness. The Hebrew words are, *lifted him up*; that is, had animus excelsum, "a noble mind;" or was of a generous spirit; as the following words import, "Every one whom his spirit made willing."

Brought the Lord's offering] An offering to the Lord, as Moses exhorted (ver. 5).

To the work of the tabernacle] For the building a sanctuary, wherein God might dwell among them (xxv. 8).

For all his service,] For all that belonged to the furniture of it, both within and without, which are mentioned in the verses beforegoing.

For the holy garments,] That the priests might minister there in their office (ver. 19).

Ver. 22. *As many as were willing hearted*,] Who seem to have been the greatest part of the congregation.

And brought bracelets, and earrings, and rings,] They were no less forward to offer to the service of God, than they had been to the making the golden calf (xxii. 2, 3), for which offence they now make some sort of satisfaction; being more liberal in contributing to this work, than they were to that. For we read there only of their *earrings*, which they brake off from their ears and brought to Aaron; but here of their *bracelets* also, and *rings*, with other things. For though they may be supposed to have parted with a great deal, on that wicked account; it did not make those who were touched with what Moses said, less willing to give afresh to a holy use.

Tablets,] The Hebrew word *comaz*, or *camaz*, is of very uncertain signification; for some make it an ornament of the arms, and others of some other part; but the Chaldee takes it for something about the

lets, and earrings, and rings, and tablets, all jewels of gold: and every man that offered offered an offering of gold unto the LORD.

23 And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair, and red skins of rams, and badgers' skins, brought them.

24 Every one that did offer an offering of silver and brass brought the LORD's offering: and every man, with whom was found shittim wood for any work of the service, brought it.

25 And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen.

26 And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun goats' hair.

27 And the rulers brought onyx stones, and

stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate;

28 And spice, and oil for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense.

29 The children of Israel brought a willing offering unto the LORD, every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all manner of work, which the LORD had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.

30 ¶ And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the LORD hath called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah;

31 And he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship;

32 And to devise curious works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass,

breast; a *fascia* (saith Elias) wherewith women tied up and compressed their breasts, to make them appear more beautiful, by being round. This Bochart approves, in his *Canaan*. lib. ii. cap. 5.

Jewels of gold:] All the four forenamed sorts of ornaments were of gold.

Offering of gold:] The first oblations that were brought, either by the women or the men, were all of gold: and then followed meaner things, which the people of lower condition brought to the Lord.

Ver. 23.] The common sort of people also offered such as they had, yarn, and fine linen, goats' hair and skins (see xxv. 4, 5).

Ver. 24.] Those of a middle condition offered silver, and brass, and shittim wood. All which were necessary for several uses: for the ark and the table were to be overlaid with gold; of which the candlesticks and several other things were to be made (see ch. xxv.). The inward curtains were to be made of the yarn; and the outward of goats' hair, and the covering of both of skins. The foundations of the tabernacle were of silver; and the taches of the curtains and altar of burnt-offering of brass; and shittim-wood was used about the boards of the tabernacle, the ark, table, &c. (see ch. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.).

Ver. 25.] Not only the men, but the women also, brought materials for the house; and more than that, such as were skillful among them spun both yarn and thread; which was the proper work of women, not men. Unto which work alone they were bound to apply themselves, if by the custom of the place no other work (such as knitting, and sewing with their needle, &c.) was usually performed by them, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Uxor. Hebr. cap. 10, where he treats of all the employments of their women.

Ver. 26. *All the women whose heart stirred them up*] Whose minds were elevated to excellent contrivances.

In wisdom spun goats' hair.] With great art spun goats' hair; which was not so easy as to spin wool and flax. For though their goats were shorn in those countries, as sheep are here (their hair being longer than ours), yet there was a great deal of skill required to work it into a thread, and to make stuff of it (see Bochart, *Hierozyca*. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 51). In old time also women were wont to weave as well as spin, as appears not only out of the sacred books, but out of Homer, Plato, Cicero, and many other authors, mentioned by Braunius, in his book de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17, where he observes, (N. 33) out of Herodotus, that he, showing the Egyptian customs to be different in many things from those of other nations, mentions this among the rest, that their men

κατ' οἴκους ἰόντες ἱφαινόνται, "sat at home and weaved," while their women went abroad and bought and sold (lib. ii. cap. 35).

Ver. 27.] The great men also offered suitable to their quality; such things as the people could not furnish, viz. precious stones, for uses mentioned xxv. 7, xxviii. 9, 17, 18, &c.

Ver. 28.] Such principal spices (as we translate it) mentioned xxx. 23, 34, together with oil for the light (xxvii. 20), which was so pure, that ordinary persons had it not. For there were several sorts of olives (as Fort. Scacchus shows, *Myrothec. Sacr. Elaeochrysm*. par. i. cap. 4, 5), some of which were not so common as the other, and therefore of greater value.

Ver. 29. *A willing offering, &c.*] To sum up all in a few words, they brought whatsoever was necessary, "for all manner of work which the Lord had commanded to be made."

By the hand of Moses.] Whom he employed to deliver these commands to his people.

Ver. 30. *See, the Lord hath called by name, &c.*] Hath principally made choice of Bezaleel to undertake and perform this work. This he said, that they might not be solicitous about artists, to make all that was propounded; for they knew that there were none among them bred to such employments. Moses therefore informs them, in the first place, that God had provided himself of a master workman, as he told him, xxx. 1, 2, &c.

Ver. 31.] This verse is explained before, xxxi. 3, 6, only I shall add, that the extraordinary skill which any man had without teaching, in common arts, was by the heathens ascribed to their gods. There are several instances of it observed by Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert. xxii.*, where he argues, that it should not be thought strange, if a man be made virtuous by a divine inspiration, when some have no other ways become admirable artists. Among which he mentions Demodocus, a musician, whom Homer introduces speaking thus of himself.

Αἰοδιότατος δ' εἶμι, θεοὶ δέ μοι ὤπασαν ἀρχήν.

"I was never taught by anybody, but the gods bestowed on me the gift of singing." The latter end of which verse is a little otherwise in Homer, as we now have him (*Odys. x.*), but to the same sense, and it is Phenius, not Demodocus, who there speaks, as Petrus Petitus hath observed, in his *Miscell.* Observ. lib. i. cap. 19.

Ver. 32. *Devise curious works.*] The Hebrew word *chashab* signifies to devise and excogitate; whence *macheshaboth*, which we translate *curious works* (and

33 And in the cutting of stones, to set *them*, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of cunning work.

34 And he hath put in his heart that he may teach, *both* he, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan.

in the end of the next verse *cunning works*), is as much as ingenious inventions, devised with much art. Such were the engines made by king Uzziab, which are said to be invented by cunning workmen, or excellent engineers, as we now speak (1 Chron. xxvi. 15): see xxxi. 4, where this verse hath been explained.

Ver. 33. *Cutting of stones, &c.*] See xxxi. 5.

Ver. 34. *He hath put in his heart that he may teach.*] Instruct others in his arts. For this was a gift of God, as much as any of the rest, to be able to inform others dexterously, in those things which he knew himself: as it was, to be able to comprehend what Moses told him God had ordered, and put it in execution. For

35 Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, *even* of them that do any work, and of those that devise cunning work.

God gave Moses the pattern, according to which all things were to be wrought: and as it was a peculiar gift of God, which enabled him to represent to Bezaleel what had been set before him; so it was by an extraordinary operation on his mind, that he conceived presently what was represented, and had skill to perform it according to direction.

Ver. 35.] This is repeated so often, and such particular mention is here made again of their skill in every thing, though of ever so difficult contrivance, to assure the Israelites that they were so well qualified for the work, that they might be intrusted with the offerings they had made. And accordingly they were (xxxvi. 3).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *The offerings are delivered to the workmen.* 5 *The liberality of the people is restrained.* 8 *The curtains of cherubims.* 14 *The curtains of goats' hair.* 19 *The covering of skins.* 20 *The boards with their sockets.* 31 *The bars.* 35 *The vail.* 37 *The hanging for the door.*

1 THEN wrought Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whom the LORD put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that the LORD had commanded.

2 And Moses called Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart the LORD had put wisdom, *even* every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto the work to do it:

3 And they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it

withal. And they brought yet unto him free offerings every morning.

4 And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they made;

5 ¶ And they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than enough for the service of the work which the LORD commanded to make.

6 And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ver. 1.] This verse is only a general account of what follows more particularly, concerning the execution of that which God had commanded, and for the effecting of which the people had liberally contributed. It is not said where they wrought, but some think it was in that very space of ground where the tabernacle was set up when perfected.

Ver. 2. *Moses called Bezaleel and Aholiab, &c.*] It appears by this, that all the lower artificers, who were taught by the master-workmen, Bezaleel and Aholiab, were also disposed by God to learn; he giving them a quickness of apprehension and sagacity beyond what was natural to them.

Even every one whose heart stirred him up] Yet this signifies, they had also a natural genius, which inclined and prompted them to such employments.

Ver. 3. *They received of Moses all the offering.*] Into the hands of all these artists, Moses delivered the offerings that had been made; and directed them what to do with them.

Every morning.] The hearts of the people were so enlarged, that every day they brought new contributions unto Moses; who sent them (as appears by

the next verse) to the workmen, as soon as he received them.

Ver. 4.] After they had continued some time at their work, they all agreed to desist a while, and go to Moses, to let him know that there needed no further offerings, for they had sufficient already; nay, more than enough, as it follows, ver. 5.

Ver. 5.] A wonderful instance of integrity, that there should not be one man found among them (for the words in the Hebrew are very emphatical, *isch, isch*, [man, man], that is, none excepted) who was inclined to purloin any thing for his own proper use: but by common consent, they left their work, to put a stop to all further contributions. A sign they were men endued with extraordinary virtue, as well as skill in their employments.

Ver. 6. *Moses gave commandment.*] To those that attended on him; or perhaps to Bezaleel and Aholiab and the rest.

They caused it to be proclaimed] By some under officers, who, it is likely, were wont to execute such commands.

Let neither man nor woman make any more work] It seems some men prepared and made ready some of the things which they offered: as the women spun

7 For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

8 ¶ And every wise hearted man among them that wrought the work of the tabernacle made ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet: *with* cherubims of cunning work made he them.

9 The length of one curtain *was* twenty and eight cubits, and the breadth of one curtain four cubits: the curtains *were* all of one size.

10 And he coupled the five curtains one unto another: and *the other* five curtains he coupled one unto another.

11 And he made loops of blue on the edge of one curtain from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the uttermost side of *another* curtain, in the coupling of the second.

12 Fifty loops made he in one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain which *was* in the coupling of the second: the loops held one *curtain* to another.

13 And he made fifty taches of gold, and coupled the curtains one unto another with the taches: so it became one tabernacle.

14 ¶ And he made curtains of goats' hair for the tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains he made them.

15 The length of one curtain *was* thirty cubits, and four cubits *was* the breadth of one curtain: the eleven curtains *were* of one size.

16 And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves.

17 And he made fifty loops upon the uttermost edge of the curtain in the coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which completh the second.

18 And he made fifty taches of brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one.

19 And he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of badgers' skins above *that*.

20 ¶ And he made boards for the tabernacle of shittim wood, standing up.

21 The length of a board *was* ten cubits, and the breadth of a board one cubit and a half.

22 One board had two tenons, equally distant

one from another: thus did he make for all the boards of the tabernacle.

23 And he made boards for the tabernacle; twenty boards for the south side southward:

24 And forty sockets of silver he made under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for his two tenons, and two sockets under another board for his two tenons.

25 And for the other side of the tabernacle, *which is* toward the north corner, he made twenty boards,

26 And their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board.

27 And for the sides of the tabernacle westward he made six boards.

28 And two boards made he for the corners of the tabernacle in the two sides.

29 And they were coupled beneath, and coupled together at the head thereof, to one ring: thus he did to both of them in both the corners.

30 And there were eight boards; and their sockets *were* sixteen sockets of silver, under every board two sockets.

31 ¶ And he made bars of shittim wood; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle,

32 And five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the tabernacle for the sides westward.

33 And he made the middle bar to shoot through the boards from the one end to the other.

34 And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings of gold *to be* places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35 ¶ And he made a vail of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: *with* cherubims made he it of cunning work.

36 And he made thereunto four pillars of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks *were* of gold; and he cast for them four sockets of silver.

37 ¶ And he made an hanging for the tabernacle door of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, of needlework;

38 And the five pillars of it with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapters and their fillets with gold: but their five sockets *were* of brass.

yarn and hair, and brought them to Moses. For it was not hard to plane boards (for instance) though the joining them together, as God appointed, was beyond the skill of common people.

Ver. 7.] There were materials of all sorts, for every thing that was to be made, beyond what was necessary.

Ver. 8.] They began first (as was but fit) with the house of God, before they made the furniture. For that was first ordered in general words (xxv. 8), though the structure of it be not directed till the twenty-sixth chapter. Where every thing mentioned in this is explained, and therefore there will need no more to be done here, but to point to a few things which are explained elsewhere, particularly in the foregoing chapter.

Ver. 14.] What is here meant by *tent*, see xxxv. 11.

Ver. 19. *Covering for the tent*] This curtain covered the *tent*, as the curtain of which the tent was made covered the *tabernacle* (see xxvi. 14, xxxv. 11).

Of rams' skins dyed red.] The particle *mem* here is cut off before *skins*; as it is in several verses of this chapter (8, 34, 35, and others).

Covering of badgers' skins] I observed on xxvi. 14, that *thacac* doth not signify a badger, but a certain colour, and alleged that place in Ezek. xvi. 10, for the proof of it; where God setting forth his kindness to Israel, under the figure of a most loving husband, who denies his wife nothing, though never so costly, saith, he shod her with *thacac*; which I since find translated by an anonymous author, with *purple shoes*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1 *The ark.* 6 *The mercy seat with cherubims.* 10 *The table with his vessels.* 17 *The candlestick with his lamps and instruments.* 25 *The altar of incense.* 29 *The anointing oil and sweet incense.*

1 AND Bezaleel made the ark of shittim wood: two cubits and a half *was* the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it:

2 And he overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and made a crown of gold to it round about.

3 And he cast for it four rings of gold, *to be set* by the four corners of it; even two rings upon the one side of it, and two rings upon the other side of it.

4 And he made staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold.

5 And he put the staves into the rings by the sides of the ark, to bear the ark.

6 ¶ And he made the mercy seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half *was* the length thereof, and one cubit and a half the breadth thereof.

7 And he made two cherubims of gold, beaten out of one piece made he them, on the two ends of the mercy seat;

8 One cherub on the end on this side, and another cherub on the *other* end on that side: out of the mercy seat made he the cherubims on the two ends thereof.

9 And the cherubims spread out *their* wings on high, and covered with their wings over the mercy seat, with their faces one to another; *even* to the mercy seatward were the faces of the cherubims.

10 ¶ And he made the table of shittim wood: two cubits *was* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof:

11 And he overlaid it with pure gold, and made thereunto a crown of gold round about.

12 Also he made thereunto a border of an hand breadth round about; and made a crown of gold for the border thereof round about.

13 And he cast for it four rings of gold, and

put the rings upon the four corners that *were* in the four feet thereof.

14 Over against the border were the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table.

15 And he made the staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table.

16 And he made the vessels which *were* upon the table, his dishes, and his spoons, and his bowls, and his covers to cover withal, of pure gold.

17 ¶ And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work made he the candlestick; his shaft, and his branch, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, were of the same:

18 And six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof:

19 Three bowls made after the fashion of almonds in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three bowls made like almonds in another branch, a knop and a flower: so throughout the six branches going out of the candlestick.

20 And in the candlestick *were* four bowls made like almonds, his knops, and his flowers:

21 And a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches going out of it.

22 Their knops and their branches were of the same: all of it *was* one beaten work of pure gold.

23 And he made his seven lamps, and his snufflers, and his snuffdishes of pure gold.

24 Of a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

25 ¶ And he made the incense altar of shittim wood: the length of it *was* a cubit, and the breadth of it a cubit; it *was* foursquare; and

CHAP. XXXVII.

In this chapter Moses gives an account of the making of all the furniture of the tabernacle, with such exactness, as he describes the making of the tabernacle itself, in the foregoing chapter: to show that God's directions about the making every thing were punctually observed; nothing being omitted or added, but all made according to the pattern in the mount (xxv. 9, 40). In which chapter most of the things here mentioned are explained; and there needs little to be added here.

Ver. 1. *Bezaleel made the ark of shittim wood, &c.*] Abarbinel fancies, that though other things were made by inferior artificers, whom Bezaleel directed; yet the ark, because of its dignity and pre-eminence, above all other things, was made by him, without the help of any other. And so Ramban also; from whence the Jews commonly called it (as Buxtorf observes), the *ark of Bezaleel*. But this hath no good

foundation: for he is said to have made also every thing else in the tabernacle; the table, and all its vessels; in short, every thing mentioned in this chapter, and in the next also, and in the foregoing (ver. 10, 11, &c.). He therefore is said to have made the ark, &c., because he gave directions to the under workmen, and saw them make it.

Ver. 10. *He made the table of shittim wood.*] Next to the ark, the mercy-seat, and the cherubims which belong to it, the table and the vessels appertaining to it were the principal things within the tabernacle. See xxv. 23, &c. where all the things mentioned between this verse and the seventeenth are explained.

Ver. 17. *He made the candlestick.*] The orders which Moses received for the making this, the branches and the lamps thereof, and every thing appertaining to it, are set down xxv. 31, 32, &c. which Bezaleel exactly followed.

Ver. 35.] This, and all that follows in the three next verses, see explained, xxx. 1, &c.

two cubits *was* the height of it; the horns thereof were of the same.

26 And he overlaid it with pure gold, *both* the top of it, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: also he made unto it a crown of gold round about.

27 And he made two rings of gold for it under the crown thereof, by the two corners of it,

upon the two sides thereof, to be places for the staves to bear it withal.

28 And he made the staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with gold.

29 ¶ And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, according to the work of the apothecary.

Ver. 29. *Holy anointing oil, &c.*] See xxx. 31, &c.

Pure incense, &c.] See xxx. 34, &c.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *The altar of burnt offering.* 8 *The laver of brass.*

9 *The court.* 21 *The sum of that the people offered.*

1 AND he made the altar of burnt offering of shittim wood: five cubits *was* the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof; *it was* four-square; and three cubits the height thereof.

2 And he made the horns thereof on the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of the same: and he overlaid it with brass.

3 And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, *and* the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the vessels thereof made he of brass.

4 And he made for the altar a brasen grate of network under the compass thereof beneath unto the midst of it.

5 And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grate of brass, *to be* places for the staves.

6 And he made the staves of shittim wood, and overlaid them with brass.

7 And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he made the altar hollow with boards.

8 ¶ And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the lookingglasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

9 ¶ And he made the court: on the south side southward the hangings of the court *were* of fine twined linen, an hundred cubits:

10 Their pillars *were* twenty, and their brasen sockets twenty; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *were* of silver.

11 And for the north side the hangings *were* an hundred cubits, their pillars *were* twenty, and their sockets of brass twenty; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.

12 And for the west side *were* hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver.

13 And for the east side eastward fifty cubits.

14 The hangings of the one side of the gate *were* fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three.

15 And for the other side of the court gate, on this hand and that hand, *were* hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three.

16 All the hangings of the court round about *were* of fine twined linen.

17 And the sockets for the pillars *were* of

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Ver. 1.] Having given an account of the making of all the furniture of the house, he proceeds to show how all things were made without doors with the same exactness, according to the Divine prescriptions. All which Bezaleel could not make with his own hands; but he was chief director in these things as well as the rest of the work.

Five cubits was the length] See xxvii. 1, 2, &c., where this and the six following verses are explained.

Ver. 8. *He made the laver of brass,*] See xxx. 18, where order is given for the making of this laver, and its situation directed: but neither there nor here are we told the figure or dimensions of it; but have a particular remark, in this place, concerning the materials out of which it was made, in the following words.

Lookingglasses] So we interpret the Hebrew word *maroth*; because now such things are commonly made of glass; but anciently of polished brass: which they looked upon as far better than silver, for that made a weaker reflection, as Vitruvius informs us (lib. vii. cap. iii.). And the best of these *specula* were, among the ancient Romans, made at Brundisium, of brass and tin mixed together, as Pliny tells us (lib. xxxiii.

9, xxxiv. 17). This shows the *laver* was made of the finest and most pure brass.

Of the women assembling,] The Hebrew word *Haltzoboth* signifies that they came by troops to make this present to the Lord. And the LXX. and Chaldees understanding it of such women as came together to serve God, by fasting and prayer (for there is the same word used in 1 Sam. ii. 22), most interpreters think, they that made this oblation were very devout women, who were wont to spend much time at the tabernacle, where the presence of God was. For Moses's tent served instead of the tabernacle of the congregation, and was so called, till this tabernacle was built (xxxiii. 7, &c.). Thus Aben Ezra also observes, upon these words; that these women, making a free-will offering of the looking-glasses, wherein they were wont to behold the beauty of their faces, and to dress and adorn their heads, it seems to argue their very religious mind, despising the vanity of the world, and delighting far more in the service of God.

Ver. 9.] All that follows from this place to ver. 21, is explained in the twenty-seventh chapter, from ver. 9, to ver. 20, except two or three words, which I shall here take notice of.

Ver. 17. *Chapiters of silver;*] There is no mention of *rashim* (*chapters*) in the twenty-seventh chap-

brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapters of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with silver.

18 And the hanging for the gate of the court was needlework, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits, answerable to the hangings of the court.

19 And their pillars were four, and their sockets of brass four; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapters and their fillets of silver.

20 And all the pins of the tabernacle, and of the court round about, were of brass.

21 ¶ This is the sum of the tabernacle, even of the tabernacle of testimony, as it was counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, son to Aaron the priest.

22 And Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that the Lord commanded Moses.

23 And with him was Aholiab, son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

24 All the gold that was occupied for the work in all the work of the holy place, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary.

25 And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary:

26 A bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that went to be numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men.

ter; but only of *vaum* (or *hooks*) which were of silver, ver. 10, and 17. But this verse shows that those hooks were in the chapters, or heads of the pillars, out of which those arose, as an ornament to them.

Ver. 18. *The height in the breadth, &c.*] This is a Hebrew phrase, signifying the height of the hanging itself: whose breadth, when it lay along, was called its height when it was hung up. And that was *five cubits*; proportionable to the hangings of the court, which was five cubits high (xxvii. 18).

Ver. 21. *This is the sum of the tabernacle, &c.*] Some will have this relate to the forenamed things, mentioned in this and in the foregoing chapters. But I take it rather to be a preface to the account which Moses ordered to be taken of all the gold, silver, and brass that was employed in building of the tabernacle. Which being summed up, amounted to so many talents as are mentioned, ver. 24, &c.

For the service of the Levites.] Rather, *by the ministry of the Levites*; whom Moses appointed to take the account of all the expenses.

By the hand of Ithamar.] Under the conduct of Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron; whom he appointed to preside over the Levites, in taking this account.

Ver. 22. *Bezaleel—made all that the Lord commanded Moses.*] Which gold, silver, and brass was committed into the hands of Bezaleel (though in the presence of all the rest of the workmen, xxxvi. 2, 3), as the principal person, who was to see it employed in making every thing which the Lord commanded Moses.

Ver. 23. *With him was Aholiab.*] Unto whom God joined Aholiab as his associate in so great an undertaking; who made use of several others, whom they taught in those arts, which God, by an extraordinary inspiration, had made them to understand (xxxv. 30, 31, 34, 35).

Ver. 24. *All the gold that was occupied*] About the ark, the table, the candlestick, and all belonging to them (xxxvii. 2, 11, 17, 24, 26), and about the holy garments mentioned xxxix. 5, &c. 15, 25, 30. What was not employed about this work (for the people brought more than enough, xxxvi. 5, 7), it is very probable was laid up in the treasury, for sacred uses, as there should be occasion.

Twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty

shekels.] It hath been noted before, that a shekel is near half a crown of our money: now it is evident (from ver. 25, 26), that there were three thousand shekels in a talent; so that a talent of silver, as Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, computes it (in his learned treatise of Scripture Weights and Measures, chap. 4), amounts to three hundred and fifty-three pence, eleven shillings, and some odd pence, in our money. And a talent of gold (reckoning gold to be about fourteen times in value) to five thousand and seventy-six pounds, three shillings, and tenpence.

Ver. 25.] There being six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men, that offered each of them half a shekel (as the next verse tells us), they make three hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five thousand shekels. Which, amounting to a hundred talents, with one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels more, demonstrates that a talent contains three thousand shekels. For no number (as the same learned bishop hath shown) but three thousand, dividing three hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five, will produce a hundred, and leave one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five in remainder.

Ver. 26. *A bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, &c.*] See xxx. 13. Some may possibly think it unaccountable, that so great treasures should be found among the Israelites in the desert; and especially that they should be furnished with such precious stones, as are mentioned in the next chapter, ver. 10, &c., as they were before, xxviii. 17, 18, &c. But such persons should consider, that their ancestors were very great men, and had gathered great riches, before they came into Egypt; where Joseph, it is likely, left them no small treasures: and though Pharaoh perhaps squeezed them (as I said upon chapter the first) yet they preserved most of their riches, and were reimbursed what they lost, by what they borrowed of the Egyptians. From whose dead bodies thrown on the sea-shore, we may well suppose they got still more; as they did also from the Amalekites, who being a people near to Arabia (from whence a great part of the precious stones came), we may likewise suppose were not unfurnished with them. And besides all this, they had shittim-wood good store in the wilderness (as I noted chapter xxv.); and some of the Jews, particularly Aharibinel, think it not improbable, that they traded with the neighbouring

27 And of the hundred talents of silver were cast the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the vail: an hundred sockets of the hundred talents, a talent for a socket.

28 And of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five *shekels* he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapters, and filleted them.

29 And the brass of the offering was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred *shekels*.

nations, who bordered upon the wilderness, while they continued in it.

Ver. 27. *Of the hundred talents of silver were cast the sockets*] It appears by the twenty-sixth chapter, that there were just a hundred of these sockets, which were the foundation of the house of God (ver. 19, 21, 25, 32). To the making of every one of which there went a talent of silver.

Ver. 28. *Of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five shekels he made, &c.*] A hundred talents being spent in making the sockets, the remainder, which was one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five *shekels* (ver. 25), was laid out upon hooks, and chapters, and fillets, about the pillars. Which made up the whole account of the silver.

30 And therewith he made the sockets to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grate for it, and all the vessels of the altar,

31 And the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the court gate, and all the pins of the tabernacle, and all the pins of the court round about.

Ver. 29.] This verse gives an account of the value of the brass, which the people offered; as the former verses of the gold and silver.

Ver. 30.] This verse and the next gives an account how the brass was employed, according to God's order before mentioned (xxvi. 37, xxvii. 2—4).

Ver. 31.] See xxvii. 10, 17—19. Here is not such a particular account given upon what things the gold was employed (but only in general, in *all the work of the holy place*, ver. 24), because all things that were not made of silver and brass were made of gold; and a great deal, it appears by the next chapters, was employed in making Aaron's glorious attire.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 *The cloths of service and holy garments.* 2 *The ephod.* 8 *The breastplate.* 22 *The robe of the ephod.* 27 *The coats, mitre, and girdle of fine linen.* 30 *The plate of the holy crown.* 32 *All is viewed and approved by Moses.*

1 AND of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made cloths of service, to do service in the holy place, and made the holy garments for Aaron; as the LORD commanded Moses.

2 And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.

3 And they did beat the gold into thin

plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, with cunning work.

4 They made shoulderpieces for it, to couple it together: by the two edges was it coupled together.

5 And the curious girdle of his ephod, that

CHAP. XXXIX.

Ver. 1.] These artificers proceeded in the most natural order, to make all that God commanded. For, first, they made the house itself, in which he was to dwell (ch. xxxvi.), then all the furniture belonging to it (ch. xxxvii.), and then the outward court, and all that was therein (ch. xxxviii.), and now Moses relates how they made the priestly garments, without which they could not minister to God in this house.

They made] This shows how all that goes before (where it is said *he made*) is to be interpreted. Bezaleel and Aholiab, and all that were employed under them, had a hand (as we speak) in these garments; the principal artists directing, and the rest working all that is here mentioned.

Cloths of service,] To be put on when they ministered unto God, in the priest's office (xxviii. 4, xxx. 10, xxxv. 19), not to be worn abroad, but only in the sanctuary. As Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11, p. 145, where he looks upon the following words, *to do service in the holy place* (or, to serve in the sanctuary), as determining them to be used here, and nowhere else.

Ver. 2.] Gave direction for the making it of such materials as here follow (see xxviii. 6, &c.).

Ver. 3. *Did beat the gold into thin plates, &c.*] The under workmen, by Bezaleel's direction, did first beat the gold into very thin plates, and then slice them into wires, or small threads of gold. For in those

days they had not the art which we have now, of drawing a piece of gold into round wires or threads of what length we please; but, as Moses here describes it, they beat it first into broad thin plates, and then cut off lesser and narrower wires (as we call them), which were not round, but of a very small breadth; which they wove with the other materials here mentioned. But nothing is here said of silver thus wrought; for they had not the art of weaving silver in this manner, in ancient times, as Salmasius observes upon Vopiscus, in the life of Aurelian; in whose days the art of making silver into threads, and weaving it with their garments, was not known; but was much in use in the time of the latter Greek emperors.

To work it in the blue, &c.] The manner of it was thus (as Maimonides saith): "They took one thread of wire of gold, and joined it with six threads of blue, and twisted all seven into one. And so they mingled the like thread of gold with six of purple; and another with six of scarlet; and another with six of fine linen; so that there were twenty-eight threads in all." Which R. Solomon Jarchi expresses thus upon xxxviii. 8. These five kinds (blue, purple, scarlet, fine linen, and gold) were twisted into one thread. For the gold being stretched into a thin plate, and threads cut out of it, they wove a thread of gold with six threads of blue (and so they did with the rest), after which they twisted all three threads into one (see Joh. Brannius de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. lib. I. cap. 17, n. 26).

was upon it, *was* of the same, according to the work thereof; of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; as the LORD commanded Moses.

6 ¶ And they wrought onyx stones inclosed in ouches of gold, graven, as signets are graven, with the names of the children of Israel.

7 And he put them on the shoulders of the ephod, *that they should be* stones for a memorial to the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.

8 ¶ And he made the breastplate of cunning work, like the work of the ephod; of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen.

9 It was foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span *was* the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, *being* doubled.

10 And they set in it four rows of stones: *the first row was* a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this *was* the first row.

11 And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond.

12 And the third row, a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst.

13 And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: *they were* inclosed in ouches of gold in their inclosings.

14 And the stones *were* according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, *like* the engravings of a signet, every one with his name, according to the twelve tribes.

15 And they made upon the breastplate chains at the ends, of wreathen work of pure gold.

16 And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold rings; and put the two rings in the two ends of the breastplate.

17 And they put the two wreathen chains of gold in the two rings on the ends of the breastplate.

18 And the two ends of the two wreathen chains they fastened in the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, before it.

19 And they made two rings of gold, and put *them* on the two ends of the breastplate, upon the border of it, which *was* on the side of the ephod inward.

20 And they made two *other* golden rings, and put them on the two sides of the ephod underneath, toward the forepart of it, over against the *other* coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the ephod.

21 And they did bind the breastplate by his rings unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be above the curious girdle of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod; as the LORD commanded Moses.

22 ¶ And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue.

23 And *there was* an hole in the midst of the robe, as the hole of an habergeon, *with* a band round about the hole, that it should not rend.

24 And they made upon the hems of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet, *and twined linen*.

25 And they made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the hem of the robe, round about between the pomegranates;

26 A bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, round about the hem of the robe to minister *in*; as the LORD commanded Moses.

27 ¶ And they made coats of fine linen of woven work for Aaron, and for his sons.

28 And a mitre of fine linen, and goodly bonnets of fine linen, and linen breeches of fine twined linen.

29 And a girdle of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, of needlework; as the LORD commanded Moses.

30 ¶ And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing, *like* to the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Cunning work.] See xxviii. 6.

Ver. 4, 5.] See xxviii. 7, 8.

Ver. 6. *They wrought onyx stones*] See xxviii. 9.

Ver. 7. *For a memorial*] See xxviii. 12.

Ver. 8. *Breastplate, &c.*] See this explained, and all that follows to ver. 22, in xxviii. 15, 16, &c., only observe, that there is not a word here said of his making *urim* and *thummin*: which confirms what I said there, that they were not distinct things from the precious stones in the breastplate.

Ver. 22.] See this and the two following verses explained xxviii. 31—33.

Ver. 24. *Twined linen.*] In the Hebrew there is only the word *twined*: but the Masora rightly observes, that *shesh* is to be understood; which we have therefore justly supplied in the word *linen*. And so the LXX.

Ver. 25. *Bells of pure gold, &c.*] See xxviii. 33, 34. where this and the next verse are explained.

Ver. 27. *Coats of fine linen*] Coats were ordered to be made for Aaron and his sons, xxviii. 40, but the matter of them not mentioned: which is here therefore ordered to be of *fine linen*. For white garments, being pure, bright, unmix'd, and also splendid and

stately (for anciently the greatest persons were so clothed, as appears by Joseph, when he was honourably arrayed by Pharaoh, Gen. xli. 42), were used by all nations in the service of God. And what was most suitable to nature, God thought fit to continue in his service, though used perhaps by idolaters before this time. Only his priests wore these garments nowhere but in the sanctuary; whereas the priests of Isis (for instance) went everywhere clothed in white.

Woven work] Not sewed with a needle; for such coats may be made without any seam; and Braunius hath shown the manner of weaving them, lib. i. de Vestitu Sacerdot. Hebr. cap. 16.

Ver. 28. *Mitre of fine linen,*] See xxviii. 42. And of bonnets and breeches (see there, ver. 40, 42).

Ver. 29. *And a girdle, &c.*] See xxviii. 39.

Ver. 30. *Plate of the holy crown*] See xxviii. 36. To which I shall only add, that the priests, both men and women, among the gentiles, had ordinarily the epithet of *σετεφανοφόροι*, from the crowns they wore upon their heads; which were sometimes of gold, sometimes of laurel (see Cuperus, in his Harpocrates, p. 137).

Ver. 31. *Lace of blue, &c.*] See xxviii. 37.

31 And they tied unto it a lace of blue, to fasten *it* on high upon the mitre; as the LORD commanded Moses.

32 ¶ Thus was all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation finished: and the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.

33 ¶ And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the tent, and all his furniture, his taches, his boards, his bars, and his pillars, and his sockets,

34 And the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of badgers' skins, and the veil of the covering,

35 The ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the mercy seat,

36 The table, and all the vessels thereof, and the shewbread,

37 The pure candlestick, with the lamps thereof, *even with* the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for light,

Ver. 32. *Thus was all the work—finished:*] Every thing belonging to the house of God (which he commanded Moses to make) was completed exactly according to his directions; though they were not yet set in their place, which God orders in the next chapter.

Tabernacle of the tent, &c.] See xl. 2.

So did they.] This hath a more particular respect to the workmen; yet all the materials being brought by the body of the people, they are also comprehended in this expression.

Ver. 33.] In this and the following verse he makes a recapitulation of all the particulars mentioned in the foregoing chapter: which they brought to Moses, that they might see whether they were made according to his order. It is probable that the whole congregation, or the heads of them, accompanied Bezaleel and the other artificers, when they brought these things to Moses for his approbation.

Ver. 34. *Covering of rams' skins, &c.*] Of this covering, and of the next, see xxvi. 14, xxxvi. 19.

Veil of the covering.] See xxvi. 35.

Ver. 37. *Pure candlestick,*] Of pure gold, as we read xxv. 31, xxxvii. 17.

Ver. 42. *So the children of Israel made all the work.*] Here again the whole body of the people are said to have made all the work forementioned (see ver. 37), because they contributed to it, and also helped to

38 And the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the hanging for the tabernacle door,

39 The brasen altar, and his grate of brass, his staves, and all his vessels, the laver and his foot,

40 The hangings of the court, his pillars, and his sockets, and the hanging for the court gate, his cords, and his pins, and all the vessels of the service of the tabernacle, for the tent of the congregation,

41 The cloths of service to do service in the holy place, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and his sons' garments, to minister in the priest's office.

42 According to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so the children of Israel made all the work.

43 And Moses did look upon all the work, and, behold, they had done it as the LORD had commanded, even so had they done it: and Moses blessed them.

prepare some materials for the workmen (xxxv. 25, xxxvi. 6).

Ver. 43. *Moses did look upon all the work,*] Took a solemn view of it; and examined it carefully whether it was performed according to the order they had received.

Done as the Lord had commanded,] This is the tenth time that Moses, in this one chapter, saith all was done as the Lord commanded, ver. 1, 5, 7, 21, 26, 29, 31, 32, 42, and here in this last verse; to show how exact they were in their obedience; and that nothing was done according to their own reason and opinion, but all according to the Divine precept, without addition or detraction. They are the words of the author of Sepher Cosri (par. iii. n. 23), who well observes, that all was done and brought to perfection by two things, which are the pillars of the law; the one is, that *the law is from God*; and the other, that *it be accepted by the church with a faithful heart*. And thus was the tabernacle ordered by the divine precept; and it was made by the whole church or congregation (xxv. 2).

Moses blessed them.] Both the workmen, who had done their work faithfully; and the children of Israel, who had contributed their materials, and also now, together with Bezaleel and the rest of the artificers, presented the whole to him.

CHAPTER XL.

1 *The tabernacle is commanded to be reared, 9 and anointed. 13 Aaron and his sons to be sanctified. 16 Moses performeth all things accordingly. 34 A cloud covereth the tabernacle.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 On the first day of the first month shalt

thou set up the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.

CHAP. XL.

Ver. 1.] After he had taken a survey of all the work before mentioned, God gave him the following command, in the latter end (it is probable) of the twelfth month.

Ver. 2. *First day of the first month*] Of the second year after their coming out of Egypt (ver. 17), which was a complete year (within fourteen days) after that great deliverance.

Set up the tabernacle of the tent] This is a full description of the place which was made for a habitation of the Divine Majesty (xxv. 8), and therefore called *mishchan*, which we translate *tabernacle*, but properly signifies a *dwelling*. It was a movable house, to be set up and taken down as there was occasion; and therefore called *ohel*, a *tent*; such as shepherds dwelt in (Gen. iv. 24. See xxix. 11, of this book). Or, the word *tabernacle* may be thought to signify, the inward part of this house; as *tent*, the outward part, which

3 And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and cover the ark with the vail.

4 And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the things that are to be set in order upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and light the lamps thereof.

5 And thou shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the hanging of the door to the tabernacle.

6 And thou shalt set the altar of the burnt offering before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.

7 And thou shalt set the laver between the tent of the congregation and the altar, and shalt put water therein.

8 And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the hanging at the court gate.

9 And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the vessels thereof: and it shall be holy.

10 And thou shalt anoint the altar of the burnt offering, and all his vessels, and sanctify the altar: and it shall be an altar most holy.

11 And thou shalt anoint the laver and his foot, and sanctify it.

12 And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and wash them with water.

13 And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him; that he may minister unto me in the priest's office.

14 And thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with coats:

15 And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations.

16 Thus did Moses: according to all that the Lord commanded him, so did he.

17 ¶ And it came to pass in the first month in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up.

18 And Moses reared up the tabernacle, and fastened his sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up his pillars.

covered the inward (see ver. 17, 19, 29). Why it is called *ohel moed* [the tent of the congregation] see xxix. 44.

Ver. 3. *Put therein the ark of the testimony.*] This was the principal end of building this house, that God (as was said before) might dwell among them; and his residence was over this ark. Which therefore is ordered, in the first place, to be brought into the holy of holies, prepared for it as soon as the house was erected. Why called the ark of the testimony, see xxvi. 20, 21.

Covered the ark with the vail.] Which hung before it; that nobody (not the priests themselves) might see it (xxv. 33).

Ver. 4. *Bring in the table, &c.*] When the ark was placed in the holiest of all, then the table, with all belonging unto it, and the candlestick (whose lamps were to be lighted) are ordered to be set in the sanctuary, which was divided by the veil from the other (xxvi. 35).

Ver. 5. *Set the altar of gold*] See xxx. 6.

Put the hanging] See xxvi. 36, 37. This is ordered to be hung up, when the table, candlestick, and altar of incense, were put into the holy place, because there were no more things but these three to be there.

Ver. 6. In this and the two following verses, he is ordered to place the altar of burnt-offering, and the laver, as he had been before directed (xxx. 18), and to set up the outward court, and the hanging at the gate of it, in order to place the altar and the laver there (xxvii. 9, &c.).

Ver. 9. *Anointing oil.*] Mentioned xxx. 23, &c. Every thing being disposed in its proper place, now follows their consecration. For they were not consecrated separately, before the house was erected, and its furniture brought in: but after every thing was set in the order which God appointed.

Anoint the tabernacle, &c.] As was before directed, and now ordered to be put in execution, xxx. 26—29, where this and the two following verses are explained.

Ver. 12. *Bring Aaron and his sons*] The laver being sanctified (ver. 11), many think that the sanc-

tification of Aaron and his sons (i. e. their separation to their office) began in their being washed with water. But I look upon this as a mistake, there being a washing prescribed before the laver was ordered xxix. 4), where they were to wash only when they went in to minister (xxx. 19—21).

Ver. 13. *Put upon Aaron the holy garments.*] Mentioned in the twenty-eighth chapter.

Anoint him, &c.] See xxx. 30, 31.

Ver. 14. *Clothe them*] See xxvii. 40, 41.

Ver. 15. *Anoint them.*] See concerning this xxix. 7, where both their anointing and their father's is explained.

For their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood, &c.] Not only consecrate them to the priest's office as long as they live; but consecrate their posterity also, who shall need no other anointing in succeeding generations: but minister to God by virtue of this anointing, as long as that priesthood lasted. So the Hebrews interpret it. None of them needed in aftertimes, saith R. Levi ben Gerson (upon 1 Kings i.) to be anointed, but only the high-priest; whose successors were to be anointed, as they gather from Lev. vi. 22, "The priest of his sons, who shall be anointed in his stead," &c. (see Selden de Succession. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. 9).

Ver. 16. *Thus did Moses.*] He took the same care in erecting the tabernacle, and disposing every thing in its place, that the workmen had done in making all things according to God's mind (xxxix. 43).

Ver. 17, 18, &c.] This and the following verses to ver. 34, give an account of the execution of what God commanded in the foregoing part of this chapter. But it is not easy to resolve, whether every thing was executed at the very time, or no. For full understanding of which, it will be necessary to mark diligently the order wherein God requires all the foregoing commands to be performed. And first he bids him set up the tabernacle, and put every thing belonging to it in its place, ver. 2, 3, and so forward to ver. 9. And next, to consecrate it, and all the vessels thereof, with the altar of burnt-offerings and its vessels, &c. (ver. 9—11). And then to proceed to

19 And he spread abroad the tent over the tabernacle, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; as the LORD commanded Moses.

20 ¶ And he took and put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the mercy seat above upon the ark:

21 And he brought the ark into the tabernacle, and set up the vail of the covering, and covered the ark of the testimony; as the LORD commanded Moses.

22 ¶ And he put the table in the tent of the congregation, upon the side of the tabernacle northward, without the vail.

23 And he set the bread in order upon it be-

fore the LORD; as the LORD had commanded Moses.

24 ¶ And he put the candlestick in the tent of the congregation, over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward.

25 And he lighted the lamps before the LORD, as the LORD commanded Moses.

26 ¶ And he put the golden altar in the tent of the congregation before the vail:

27 And he burnt sweet incense thereon; as the LORD commanded Moses.

28 ¶ And he set up the hanging at the door of the tabernacle.

29 And he put the altar of burnt offering by

consecrate Aaron and his sons (ver. 12—15). Now it is expressly here affirmed, that Moses did perform the first of these, that is, set up the tabernacle, and put every thing appertaining to it in its right place, on the first day of the first month of the second year after their coming out of Egypt. At which time we must suppose also he began to consecrate it, and spent seven days in the consecration of it and of the altar of burnt-offering, as is appointed xxix. 37. But the difficulty is to determine, when he consecrated Aaron and his sons, as he is here required, in which seven days were also spent, as we read Lev. viii. Some think there were but seven days in all set apart for this work, and consequently they were consecrated together. So Torniellus in his Annals, and Abulensis before him, who follow Seder Olam and other Jewish writers, who are of this opinion. The ground of which is, that the tabernacle being erected on the first day of the month before mentioned, and its consecration finished on the eighth, there was a solemn passover kept upon the fifteenth (Numb. ix. 1, 2, &c.), which could not be held, they suppose, unless there were priests to offer the passover: who therefore were consecrated at the same time with the tabernacle; because on the eighth day another business began, which was the offering made by the princes of the tribes, every one in their day (Numb. vii. 1). But the principal ground is, that, in Lev. viii. 10, 11, &c., Moses speaks of the *anointing* (i. e. consecrating) the altar, and of consecrating Aaron and his sons, as done both at the same time. But there is a weighty objection against all this; which is, that in the consecration of Aaron and his sons, there were three sacrifices offered upon the altar, one for a sin-offering, another for a burnt-offering, and the ram of consecration for a peace-offering (Lev. viii. 4, 18, 22). None of which could be acceptable for their sanctification, till the altar itself was made holy. And therefore the seven days appointed for that purpose were ended, before the consecration of the priests began, which continued seven days more; and then the next day was the feast of unleavened bread. Which was famous on a double account; first, because it was the first day of unleavened bread; and then it was the octaves of the consecration. And this appears more plainly from Lev. i. 1, where we find the following commands were given to Moses out of the tabernacle by the Divine Majesty; who therefore dwelt there, when he commanded the priest to be consecrated, which he did not till the tabernacle was solemnly consecrated to be his habitation. There the priests also are commanded to abide during the seven days of their consecration (Lev. viii. 33), which shows that all things belonging to its sanctification were finished, before their consecration began. As to that which is alleged from Lev. viii. 10, 11, &c., I shall consider it there.

Ver. 19. *Spread abroad the tent over the tabernacle.*] The *ahel*, which we translate *tent*, sometimes signifies the whole house of God (see ver. 19), but here only the external part of it, which covered that which was properly called *mishchan* [the tabernacle]. Which Moses having erected with all its sockets, boards, bars, and pillars, ver. 18 (and hung it, we must suppose, with the inward hangings, which were the richest), he spread abroad over them the curtains of goats' hair, called the *tent* (xxvi. 11), to be a covering over the tabernacle (xxvi. 7, xxxvi. 14, 19). So the tabernacle was a house within a house, enclosed with strong walls (as we call them) to secure it from the injury of the weather.

Put the covering] Mentioned in xxvi. 14.

Ver. 20. *He took and put the testimony into the ark.*] The two tables of stone, as he had been commanded, xxv. 16, which he mentions again in the repetition of the law (Deut. x. 5). Hence the ark is called the *ark of the covenant*, or *testimony*, in the next verse, and ver. 3, of this chapter.

Ver. 21. *He brought the ark into the tabernacle.*] It is probable that he had placed the ark, after it was made, in his own tent, which, for the present, was called the *tabernacle of the congregation*, and had the glory of the Lord in it (xxxiii. 7, 9), but now he brought it into this tabernacle, which by God's order was prepared for it.

And set up the vail, &c.] See ver. 3.

Ver. 22. *He put the table in the tent of the congregation.*] Here the whole house is called the *ahel* (or *tent*), as I observed upon ver. 19. But immediately the word *mishchan* (which we translate *tabernacle*) is used, as the most proper expression for the inside of the house, as the other most properly denotes the outside of it. All is made more clear in the thirty-fourth verse; where we read that "the cloud covered the tent of the congregation," that is, the outside of the house; and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle within. Though afterward (ver. 38), the cloud is said to be upon the tabernacle, as (ver. 36) it is said to be over the tabernacle, because it was over the tent which covered it.

Ver. 26. *He lighted the lamps before the Lord, &c.*] In this, and all that follows, of burning sweet incense (ver. 27), offering the burnt-offering and meat-offering (ver. 29), Moses acted as a priest, appointed by an extraordinary commission from God, only for this time; that he might consecrate the house of God, and the priests that were to minister therein; which being done, his priesthood ceased. And he did all that is mentioned in these verses, when the tabernacle was consecrated, and the glory of the Lord had filled it; testifying the Divine presence to be there.

Ver. 31. *Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands, &c.*] This shows that Moses acted now

the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation, and offered upon it the burnt-offering and the meat offering; as the Lord commanded Moses.

30 ¶ And he set the laver between the tent of the congregation and the altar, and put water there, to wash *withal*.

31 And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat:

32 When they went into the tent of the congregation, and when they came near unto the altar, they washed; as the Lord commanded Moses.

33 And he reared up the court round about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the hang-

ing of the court gate. So Moses finished the work.

34 ¶ Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle.

35 And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle.

36 And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys:

37 But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up.

as a priest, and therefore washed himself before he went to sacrifice at the altar, as the priests afterward were always bound to do (xxx. 19—21). But it must be understood, that neither this washing here spoken of, nor his offering sacrifice, mentioned ver. 29, was till some days after this (see ver. 17).

Ver. 33. *So Moses finished the work.*] And then anointed the tabernacle, and all contained in it, according to God's order (ver. 9—11). The execution of which, though now not here mentioned in so many words, is expressly said to be on the same day that he had completely set up the tabernacle (Numb. vii. 1).

Ver. 34. *Then a cloud (or, then the cloud) covered the tent of the congregation.*] After it was anointed and sanctified for the Divine residence (and the princes, perhaps, had also finished that large offering which we read, Numb. vii. was made on this day), God was pleased to fill this place with his glorious presence. For the cloudy pillar, which descended upon Moses's tent, and stood there before the door of it (xxxiii. 9), removed now from thence, and came hither; not standing at the door of it in the form of a pillar, but spreading itself all over the outside of the tabernacle, so that it was covered with it, as we read also Numb. ix. 15.

The glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle.] See ver. 22. What God promised (xxv. 8, 22), he now performed, notwithstanding their revolt from him, by worshipping the golden calf. Which made him withdraw himself from them (xxxiii. 7, &c.), till, upon Moses's earnest intercession for them, and their repentance, he graciously consented to return to them, and abide among them (ver. 14, 15, &c.). As he now did by settling his glorious presence in this tabernacle, which was set up in the midst of them. For, whereas the other tabernacle of Moses was removed a mile or two from their camp (xxxiii. 7), this tabernacle was pitched (a month after this, Numb. i. 1) in the midst of their camps, as we read, Numb. ii. 2, 17.

Ver. 35. *Moses was not able to enter*] For the glory of the Lord shone so bright and so strong, beyond all that it had ever done, that no eye could look upon it. And it filled not only the most holy place, but the whole body of the tabernacle; so that he durst not venture to come within it till he was called (Lev. i. 1). After which time he seems to have had liberty to go in unto God when he pleased (Numb. vii. 89, ix. 8, 9). For after this great day, the glory of the Lord retired into the most holy place, within the veil; and resided constantly there, over the ark of the testimony: from whence he spake to Moses, when he came to consult him in the holy place (see the forementioned Numb. vii. 89).

Whence he is said "to dwell between the cherubims;" though, on some occasions, this glory appeared without upon the tabernacle (but over the ark, it is likely, Numb. xvi. 42). And so perhaps it did (xi. 17, 25), and sometimes at the door of the tabernacle (Deut. xxxi. 14, 15).

Because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle.] The cloud and the glory of the Lord were not two different things; but one and the same, as the pillar of cloud and of fire were. For outwardly it was a cloud, and inwardly a fire: and, accordingly, here the external part of it covered the tabernacle without: while the internal part shone in full glory within the house. Thus it was upon Mount Sinai, where Moses is said to "draw near to the thick darkness where God was" (xx. 21), that is, the glory of the Lord was in that thick darkness. And so we read before, that "the glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud" (xvi. 10). And so those words are to be interpreted, xxiv. 16, "The glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it (that is, covered the *glory of the Lord*, not the *mount*) six days." After which, on the seventh day, the glory of the Lord broke through it, and appeared like *devouring fire*, in sight of all the people (ver. 17).

Ver. 36. *When the cloud was taken up, &c.*] That is, the Lord (whose glorious presence was in the cloud) led and conducted them in all their removals. And therefore they are said to have "journeyed at the commandment of the Lord;" because when the cloud (wherein the Lord was) was taken up, then they journeyed (Numb. ix. 17, 18, 20, 23).

Ver. 37. *But if the cloud were not taken up, &c.*] They were wholly governed by its motions, and followed its directions.

Ver. 38. *The cloud of the Lord*] So it is called also in Numb. x. 34, because the glory of the Lord was in it.

Was upon the tabernacle by day,] And so it was by night, but then had another appearance, as it here follows.

And fire was on it by night,] The fire and the cloud (as I said, ver. 35) were not different things; but the same pillar which was dark by day, when there was no need of light, shone like fire by night, when the dark part of it could not be seen, to lead and conduct them. It appeared, therefore, like a cloud by day, and turned the light side to them (which was as bright as fire) by night, that they might march, if there were occasion, by its direction, both day and night. And thus it is described, xiii. 21, 22; Numb. ix. 15, 16, &c. And so this verse may be translated, "the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and the fire was [so] in it (i. e. in the cloud) by

38 For the cloud of the LORD *was* upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night,

night." For so they are elsewhere described, as one within the other (Deut. v. 22): "The Lord spake unto all your assembly out of the midst of the fire of the cloud, and of the thick darkness."

Throughout all their journeys.] The whole congre-

gation had constantly this comfortable token of God's presence among them, by the cloud in the day-time, and fire in the night; which never left them all the time they were in the wilderness, but brought them to Canaan.

gation had constantly this comfortable token of God's presence among them, by the cloud in the day-time, and fire in the night; which never left them all the time they were in the wilderness, but brought them to Canaan.

THE THIRD BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

LEVITICUS.

THE Greeks and Latins give it this name of LEVITICUS, not because it treats of the ministry of the Levites, properly so called (of which the book of Numbers gives a fuller account than this book doth), but because it contains the laws about the religion of the Jews, consisting principally in various sacrifices; the charge of which was committed to Aaron the Levite (as he is called Exod. iv. 14) and to his sons, who alone had the office of priesthood in the tribe of Levi: which the apostle therefore calls a *Levitical priesthood*, Heb. vii. 11.

CHAPTER I.

1 *The burnt offerings,* 3 *of the herd,* 10 *of the flocks,* 14 *of the fowls.*

1 AND the LORD called unto Moses, and spake unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying,

CHAP. I.

Ver. 1. *And the Lord called unto Moses,*] That is, bade him draw near, and not be afraid because of the glory of that light which was in the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 35). For this is a word of *love*, as the Hebrew doctors speak, who observe, that God is not said to call the prophets of the gentiles; but we only read that God *jikar*, *met* Balaam: not *jikra*, *colled* to him, as he did here to Moses. Who, as Procopius Gazæus hath well observed upon this word, appointed no service of God, in his house which he had lately erected, without his order: whereas the worship performed in the honour of demons, was without any authority from him. Nay, there were magical operations in it, and invocation of demons, and certain tacit obligations which their priests contracted with them. For which he produces Porphyry as a witness.

And spake unto him out of the tabernacle] Hitherto he had spoken to him out of heaven, or out of a cloud; but now out of his own house. Into which, it is not here said he bade him come (as he did afterwards when the glory of the Lord dwelt only in the inner part of the house, over the ark), but he stood, it is likely, without the door of the tabernacle, till the sacrifices were appointed (as it here follows), and the high-priest entered into it with the blood of expiation. I can find no time in which this can so probably be

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man of you bring an offering unto the LORD, ye shall bring your of-

supposed to have been done, as immediately after the consecration of the tabernacle, as soon as the glory of the Lord entered into it. And so I find Hesychius understood it, who, observing this book to begin with the word *And*, which is a conjunction used to join what follows with that which goes before, thence concludes, that the beginning of this book is knit to the conclusion of the last; and consequently, what is here related was spoken to Moses on the same day he had set up the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled it. When Moses might well think (as the Jerusalem Targum explains it), that if Mount Sinai was so exalted by the Divine presence there for a short space, that it was not safe for him to approach it, much less come up into it, till God commanded him; he had much more reason not to go into the tabernacle, which was sanctified to be God's dwelling-place for ever, till God called to him by a voice from his presence: nay, he durst not so much as come near the door, where I suppose he now stood, without a particular direction from the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel,*] The tabernacle being erected, it was fit, in the next place, to appoint the service that should be performed in it: which consisted in such sacrifices as are here mentioned in the beginning of this book. There could not be a more natural order, in setting down the laws delivered by Moses, than this which is here observed.

fering of the cattle, *even* of the herd, and of the flock.

If any man of you bring] It is the observation of Kimchi, that in the very beginning of the laws about sacrifices, God doth not require them to offer any, but only supposes they would; having been long accustomed to it, as all the world then was. To this he applies the words of Jeremiah, vii. 21, and takes it for an indication that otherwise God would not have given so many laws concerning sacrifices, but only in compliance with the usage of the world; which could not then have been quite broken, without the hazard of a revolt from him. And therefore they are directed to the right object, the eternal God; and limited to such things as were most agreeable to human nature.

An offering unto the Lord,] The Hebrew word *korban*, which we translate an *offering*, and the Greeks translate a *gift*, is larger than *zebach*, which we translate a *sacrifice*. For, as Abarinel observes in his preface to this book, though every *sacrifice* was an offering, yet every *offering* was not a sacrifice. A *sacrifice* being an offering that was slain; but there were several *offerings* of inanimate things (as those mentioned in the beginning of the second chapter of this book), which therefore were not properly sacrifices; but were accepted of God as much as the offering of beasts, when they had nothing better to give. And therefore the same Abarinel will have the name of *korban* to be given to these offerings, because thereby men approached to God. For it is derived from a word which signifies to *draw near*: from whence he thinks those words in Deuteronomy iv. 7: "What nation is there that hath God so nigh unto them?" &c.

Ye shall bring] He speaks in the plural number, say some of the Hebrew doctors (who have accurately considered these things), to show that two men might join together to offer one thing.

Your offering of the cattle,] I do not know what ground Maimonides had to assert, in his More Nevochim (par. iii. cap. 46), that the heathen in those days had brute beasts in great veneration, and would not kill them (for it is no argument there was such a superstition in Moses's time, because there were people in the days of Maimonides, as there are now, who were possessed with such opinions). But he thinks God intended to destroy this false persuasion, by requiring the Jews to offer such beasts as are here mentioned; that what the heathen thought it a great sin to kill, might be offered to God, and thereby men's sins be expiated. By this means, saith he, men's evil opinions, which are the diseases and ulcers of the mind, were cured; as bodily diseases are by their contraries. Yet, in the thirty-second chapter of that book, he saith, God ordered sacrifices to be offered, that he might not wholly alter the customs of mankind, who built temples, and offered sacrifices everywhere; taking care (it may be added) at the same time, that they should be offered only to himself, at one certain place, and after such a manner as to preserve his people from all idolatrous rites: which if they had considered, who contemned this book of Leviticus (as Procopius Gazæus tells us some did) because it treated too much of sacrifices, they would not have thought it unworthy the Creator of the world; especially if they had looked further to the wisdom hidden under these things, which were *examples, shadows, and patterns of heavenly things*, as the apostle speaks (Heb. viii. 4, ix. 13). And so was the tabernacle itself, a figure (as we read, ver. 9) "for the time present, of a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands."

3 If his offering be a burnt sacrifice of the herd, let him offer a male without blemish: he

Even of the herd, and of the flock.] That is, bullocks, sheep, and goats. For under the word *izon* (which we translate *flock*) both *sheep* and *goats* are comprehended. And so Moses expounds himself, ver. 10. These were the principal sacrifices, and most acceptable to God, as Abarinel observes in the forenamed place. For though *doves* and *turtles* were accepted when men were not able to bring the other, yet in public sacrifices these birds were never allowed; but only the three sorts of four-footed beasts before mentioned. Which were therefore chosen (as he proceeds) because these were the most excellent of all brute creatures, on several accounts; and because they were not hard to be found, but easily procured: and therefore no wild beasts were required to be offered, because God would not impose upon his people (as his words are) so great a burden as to bring him that which could not be got without some difficulty. For which cause, also, young pigeons and turtles were only offered among birds. He gives other reasons for this, which seem to me very far-fetched; and therefore I shall not mention them. But this I may further add, that as they were the most ready at hand, and in common use among men at their tables (which he should have noted as the plainest reason of all), so they had been in most ancient use among religious people in their sacrifices (see Gen. xv. 9). And it is very likely they were restrained peculiarly to these, that they might not follow the customs of the gentiles; as they would have done had they not been abridged in their liberty. Now, though we find in Homer mention made of hecatombs (which were a sacrifice of a hundred oxen), and of perfect lambs and goats, whereby Achilles hoped Apollo might be appeased and moved to cease the plague he had sent upon the Greeks; yet there was no more ancient sacrifice among the heathen, if we may believe themselves, than that of swine. Which made that learned Roman, Varro, derive the word *ſ*; (which is the Greek word for that creature) from *ſ*, i. e. from a sacrifice; because it was most anciently offered to their gods: there being no more delicious food at their own tables than swine's flesh (see Petrus Castellanus de Esu Carnium, lib. ii. cap. 1). And afterward they also sacrificed not only harts to Diana, but horses to the sun, wolves to Mars, nay, dogs to Hecate; whereby they destroy the very nature of sacrifices, or at least of sacrificial feasts; in which people had communion with the gods whom they worshipped, by partaking at their table. For who would endure to eat of such meat as horse-flesh, and the flesh of wolves, nay, asses, which were offered to Priapus?

Ver. 3. If his offering be a burnt sacrifice] Having prescribed what sort of creatures should be offered, he first directs them about their *holocausts*, as the Greeks call them, which were wholly burnt upon the altar, and were the most ancient sacrifices that had been in the world. They are often mentioned by the Greeks, particularly by Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, lib. viii. where he saith, *ἀποκαίναν τοὺς ταύρους*, &c.: "they sacrificed whole burnt offerings of oxen to Jupiter, and afterward of horses to the sun" (see Bochart. lib. ii. Hierozoic. cap. 33, par. 1.). Sometimes, indeed, the heathen burnt only a part, and reserved the rest to feast upon, as he there observes; but among the Jews no man ever partook of these offerings. For there being four sorts of sacrifices prescribed by the law (Abarinel observes, in his preface to this book, cap. 2), the *whole burnt-offerings*, the

shall offer it of his own voluntary will at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the LORD.

4 And he shall put his hand upon the head

sin-offerings, the trespass-offerings, and the peace-offerings; there was this difference made between them; that, of the first of these, whether it was a public or a private *whole burnt-offering*, nobody partook, no, not the priests themselves; but it was entirely consumed except the skin. Of the second, some part was burnt; the rest the priests had, and were to eat it in the court of the tabernacle (though there was one sort of *sin-offering* which was wholly consumed, as the burnt-offerings were). The third sort, which were *trespass-offerings*, were only offered for private persons; some parts of which, as in the former, were burnt upon the altar, and the rest eaten by the priests. As for the last (the *peace-offering*), some parts of such sacrifices were burnt on the altar; the priest had the breast and the right shoulder; and the remainder, he that brought the sacrifice ate with his friends. I shall add no more, but that these *whole burnt-offerings* seem to have been simple acknowledgments of God, the Creator of the world, and testifications that they owned him to be their Lord, and continued in covenant with him, and implored his blessing upon them. And therefore, with respect to the first and last of these considerations, the gentiles were permitted to bring these sacrifices (as the Jews tell us), but no other whatsoever, to be offered unto God.

Of the herd.] As burnt-offerings were the principal sacrifices, and therefore mentioned in the first place, so those of beeves were the chief of all burnt-offerings, both among the Jews and among the gentiles. Whence *βοῦς*, "to sacrifice oxen," became a proverb for a magnificent entertainment.

Let him offer a male] These were accounted the best, and therefore principally appointed. And so they were among the heathen; insomuch, that the Egyptians offered only *ἀρσενας τῶν βοῶν* (as Herodotus tells us, lib. ii. cap. 41), and thought it unlawful to offer females. Which shows that Moses did not conform his laws to their customs, for he admitted the sacrifice of females (iii. 1). Nay, it was particularly prescribed in some cases (Numb. xix. 2).

Without blemish] Or *perfect*, as the Hebrew word *tamim* signifies. Which word Homer expressly uses when Achilles speaks about the sacrifice to Apollo,

—ἀρνὸν κνίσσῃ αἰγῶν τε τέλειον.

For to the gods (as Eustathius there observes) who are most perfect *προσάγειν χρὴ τέλειον*, "the most perfect things ought to be offered." The like passage a very learned friend of mine, now with God (Dr. Outram), observes out of the scholiast upon Aristophanes's *Acharnenses* (lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 9, sect. 3), where more may be seen to the same purpose. Now that is perfect in which there is no defect in any part, and is not decayed by age. For which reason, Abarinel observes, great care is taken in the law, that this sort of creatures were to be offered before they were three years old; and the other sorts before they were two.

He shall offer it of his own voluntary will] In this translation we follow the opinion of the Jews, who refer this to the persons that brought this offering; which they might do when they pleased. The like expressions we read xix. 5, xxii. 19. But the LXX. thought it hath respect to God; and so the phrase may be interpreted, he shall bring it *for his acceptance*,

of the burnt offering; and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him.

5 And he shall kill the bullock before the LORD: and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall bring

i. e. that he may find a favourable acceptance with God.

At the door of the tabernacle] Where the altar of burnt-offering was placed (Exod. xl. 6, 29). And this was so necessary, that it is required upon pain of death to be brought hither, and offered in no other place (xvii. 3, 4, &c.). For which cause, it is likely, *the door of the tabernacle* is here mentioned rather than *the altar*; that it might be understood to be unlawful to offer at any other altar, but that which stood at the door of the tabernacle.

Before the Lord.] With their faces towards that holy place where the Divine Majesty dwelt: unto whom the sacrifice was brought, and at the door of the tabernacle received by the priest, from the hand of the offerer.

Ver. 4. *He shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt offering*] Both his hands; as some gather from xvi. 21, and (as Maimonides saith) he was to do it with all his might. This was a right belonging to *peace-offerings*, as well as to *burnt-offerings* (iii. 2), and to *sin-offerings* also (iv. 4). The meaning of which in this sort of offerings, seems to have been, that he who brought the sacrifice renounced all his interest in it, and transferred it wholly to God, unto whose service he entirely devoted it. It being like to the old ceremony among the Romans, who laid their hands upon their servants when they gave them their liberty and abdicated their own right in them, saying, *Hunc hominem liberum esse volo*, "I will that this man be free;" which is called *manumission*. In other offerings it had another meaning, as I shall observe in due place: and it was imitated by the gentiles, though not without the addition of impious superstitions. For they writhed back the head of the beast upward, when they sacrificed to the gods above; and thrust down its head towards the ground, when they sacrificed to their infernal deities; as J. Brentius hath observed in his preface to this book.

It shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him.] It shall be so acceptable, as to recommend him to the favour of the Divine Majesty. For so the Hebrew word *caprar* seems here to signify, not properly to make an atonement (which was the business of a *sin-offering*), but to own him to be in a state of reconciliation with God: unto whom he was supposed to give up himself wholly, as he did this beast. The Jews, indeed, who stick to the literal signification of the word, fancy that these *burnt-offerings* expiated evil thoughts and desires: but there is no ground for this in Scripture; and the most that can be made of it is, that God accepted his prayers which he made in general, for the forgiveness of all his sins, when he laid his hand upon the head of this sacrifice. For it must be here observed, that laying on of hands was always accompanied with prayer, as appears by Jacob's laying them on the head of Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen. xlviii. 14, 16, 20), and the high-priest's laying them on the *scape-goat* (xvi. 21, of this book). Insomuch, that *laying on of hands* signifies sometimes in the New Testament *to pray* (Matt. xix. 15; Mark v. 23), and other places. But if a man had committed any sin, there are other sacrifices peculiarly appointed by the law for their expiation; which he was bound to offer with confession of sin, and prayer to God for pardon.

Ver. 5. *He shall kill the bullock*] That is, the man himself who brought it, as Rasi interprets it; or one

the blood, and sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar that *is by* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

6 And he shall lay the burnt offering, and cut it into his pieces.

7 And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put

of the Levites, as others understand it: for they killed the paschal lamb at that great passover mentioned 2 Chron. xxx. 17, as Bochart observes. But he should have added the reason of it, which Rasi there gives; that a great many of the congregation having not sanctified themselves (as we read in that place), "therefore the Levites had the charge of the killing of the passover, for every one that was not clean, to sanctify them unto the Lord." Otherwise every man might kill his own passover (Exod. xii. 6), as they might do all their other sacrifices. For certain it is, this was none of the work of priests, as Maimonides shows in a passage mentioned by Dr. Cudworth (in his book concerning the Lord's supper, p. 27), out of Biath Ammikhath: where he quotes this very place to prove, that "the killing of the holy things might lawfully be done by a stranger; yea, of the most holy things: whether they were the holy things of private persons, or of the whole congregation." The common objection to this is, that none might come into the court where the altar was but the priests. To which the answer is plain, that upon this occasion other persons might come so far within the court, because it was indispensably necessary that the man who brought the sacrifice should lay his hand upon the head of it; which was to be done at the altar when it was to be slain.

Before the Lord.] See ver. 3.

The priests—shall bring the blood,] Now begins the work of the priests: the receiving of the blood and that which immediately followed, belonging to their office. They received it in a basin (Exod. xxiv. 6), as the manner also was among the heathen; which our learned Sheringham observes upon Codex Joma (p. 85), out of Homer's *Odys.* lib. iii. where Thrasymedes is represented as cutting the ox asunder with a cleaver; and Perseus as receiving the blood in a basin, which he calls *αἷον*. A word used in Crete, as Eustathius notes, for such kind of vessels; which some think was originally *αἷον*, from the receiving of the blood.

Sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar, &c.] That this might be done readily, one priest received the blood, and another took it from him, and sprinkled it about the altar; or, as the Jews understand it, on every side of the altar; which they performed by two sprinklings, at the opposite corners of it. Which was a rite also used in peace-offerings and trespass-offerings: but in sin-offerings the blood was poured out at the foot of the altar (see vii. 2). Thus the heathen also themselves took care the blood of their sacrifices should not run upon the ground, but be received, as I said, in vessels prepared for that purpose; and then poured upon their altars, and so offered and consecrated to their gods. So Lucian, in his book of sacrifices, represents the priest, *τὸ αἷμα τῷ θεῷ περιχύνει*, "as pouring the blood upon the altar" (see Dillherrus *Disput. Philolog.* tom. ii. p. 253).

Ver. 6. *Lay the burnt offering.*] Next followed the taking off the skin; which God ordered to be given to the priests (vii. 8). Though the heathen burnt skin and all, in some places, as Bochart observes out of Plutarch and Lucian in the forenamed place (*Hieroz.* par. ii. lib. i. p. 324). But whose work it was to slay the beast, is not here expressed. The Jews say it belonged not to the priests to do this, but to the

man himself, who brought the beast to be offered. For (to show in brief what belonged to the owners of the sacrifice, and what to the priests) it may be fit to note out of Abarbanel, that each of them had five things to do. The owner of the sacrifice laid his hand upon it, killed, slayed, cut it up, and washed the inwards: and then the priest received the blood in a vessel; sprinkled the blood; put fire on the altar; ordered the wood on the fire; and ordered the pieces of the sacrifice upon the wood. And that the beast might more easily be slain, there were eight stone pillars (as the Jews tell us in Middoth, cap. 3), and beams laid over them; in each of which there were three iron hooks fixed; that the greatest beasts might hang upon the highest, the lesser upon the middlemost, and the least of all on the lowest; and so be more commodiously stripped of their skins. Concerning this exhortation both Homer and Virgil speak, as the aforementioned Dillherrus hath observed in the same book, p. 255.

Cut it into his pieces.] This followed the exhortation among the gentiles also, as the same author shows. And it was done with such accuracy, that Homer saith they dissected the sacrifice *ἐνσταμένως* and *περιφραδίως*: from whence some great men have thought St. Paul borrowed the word *ὀρθοτομῆν*, to express the care the ministers of the gospel should have, in dividing rightly the word of truth (2 Tim. ii. 15). These pieces were not the very same in bullocks and goats, that they were in sheep, as will appear afterward; and therefore the greater care was to be used in the cutting of them; especially when, besides those parts which were offered to God, the priests and the people were to have their share also.

Ver. 7. *The priest shall put fire upon the altar.*] This, as I said before, was one of the works of the priests: who did not put fire daily upon the altar (for being once kindled, they were to keep it always burning, vi. 13), but stirred it up, and blowed the coals. Which is meant by *giving fire*, as the phrase is in the Hebrew; that is, disposing it so that it might burn quick. Yet, if the fire were taken off from the altar, as when they removed the camp (Numb. iv. 14), none might lay it on again but the priest. Or, if it were extinct, as it was in the days of Ahaz, who shut up the door of the house of God, which was not opened till Hezekiah reigned (2 Chron. xxviii. 24, xxix. 34), none but they might kindle it again.

Lay the wood in order upon the fire.] This the priests did every morning and every night, that the fire might be preserved from going out. And when the time of the morning and evening sacrifice came, they brought new wood, and laid it in such order upon the fire, that it might the better consume the parts of the sacrifice that were laid thereon.

Ver. 8. *The priests—shall lay the parts, the head, and the fat.*] The Hebrew word *peder* doth not simply signify the fat (for which they have another word, *cheleb*), but that fat which is separated from the rest of the flesh. So it is to be understood here, and in iii. 9, iv. 35. Which being gathered together, and thrown into the fire, fed the flame, and made it burn more fiercely: by which means the other parts, into which the sacrifice was divided, were the more easily and the sooner consumed. Particularly, St. Jerome takes it for that fat which adhered to the liver: and

in water: and the priest shall burn all on the altar, to be a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

10 ¶ And if his offering be of the flocks, namely, of the sheep, or of the goats, for a burnt sacrifice; he shall bring it a male without blemish.

11 And he shall kill it on the side of the altar northward before the Lord: and the priests, Aaron's sons, shall sprinkle his blood round about upon the altar.

12 And he shall cut it into his pieces, with

his head and his fat: and the priest shall lay them in order on the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar:

13 But he shall wash the inwards and the legs with water: and the priest shall bring it all, and burn it upon the altar: it is a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

14 ¶ And if the burnt sacrifice for his offering to the Lord be of fowls, then he shall bring his offering of turtledoves, or of young pigeons.

15 And the priest shall bring it unto the altar,

both Solomon Jarchi and David Kimchi observe, that this *peder* was thrown upon the head of the sacrifice (when it was cast into the fire), just in the place where the head was cut off from the body; because, otherwise, the gore which issued from it might have extinguished the flame (see Exod. xxix. 27).

In order upon the wood, &c.] That they might lie upon the wood, so as to have the same situation in the altar that they had in the beast when it was alive. So Maimonides in Maase Korban, cap. 6.

Ver. 9. But his inwards and his legs shall he wash in water:] These parts were not to be burnt upon the altar till they were well cleansed by washing them in water. For which end there was a private room afterward, in the court of the temple (as now, it is likely, there was in the tabernacle), called the *washing-room* (as we find in Codex Middoth, cap. 5, sect. 2). There they having washed them privately, and freed the inwards from their filth, they brought them into the court, where there were two marble tables, between the pillars before mentioned (ver. 6), and there they were washed more exactly, as we read in the same book (cap. 3, sect. 5). Where Const. L'Empereur observes, out of R. Hobadia, the reason why they used to lay the flesh upon such tables, was, because marble made it cold and stiff, and preserved it from stinking in very hot weather.

Burn all on the altar.] From whence this sacrifice is called *ishch*, an offering made by fire (from *ish*, which signifies fire), because it was altogether consumed in the fire; and no part of it left, so much as for the priests to eat of it.

Of a sweet savour unto the Lord.] i. e. Most acceptable. For it is a form of speech taken from men, who are delighted with the good scent and taste of meat and drink. But none can reasonably imagine it was the mere sacrifice that was pleasing unto God, but, as Conrad. Pellicanus well notes, the devotion, faith, obedience, and sincerity of their minds who made the oblation.

Ver. 10. If his offering be of the flocks, namely, of the sheep, or of the goats, &c.] If a man were not able to bring a bullock for a burnt-sacrifice (which could not be so well spared, being of great use in agriculture), he might bring one of these creatures, which were of less value; only perfect in their kind, as it here follows.

He shall bring it a male without blemish.] See Exod. xii. 5. What the blemishes were, that made any animal unfit to be offered on the altar, Moses tells us in this book, xxii. 22—24, where he mentions twelve, which shall be there considered.

Ver. 11. He shall kill it on the side of the altar northward] The greater sacrifices, which the Jews call the *most holy things*, had this peculiar place assigned them, where they were to be killed, viz. all the burnt-offerings (whether of bullocks, sheep, or goats), and all offerings for sin (vi. 25), and all trespass-offerings (vii. 2). But all the other sacrifices,

which they call the *lesser holy things* (such as the peace-offerings of particular men, the paschal lamb, the first-born, and that which was *tithed*), might be killed in any part of the court, where the altar stood; there being no peculiar place appointed by the law for that purpose, but only at the entrance of the tabernacle.

Yet a peace-offering for the whole congregation, was looked upon as belonging to the things *most holy*; and so was slain (as Maimonides tells us) at the north side of the altar: where there were certain rings fixed, to which the head, or, as some say, the feet of the beast, was tied, in order to its being killed. But they were not perfect rings, as L'Empereur observes, being rather half-segments of rings, one part of which was fastened to the pavement, and by the other the neck of the beast was tied to it (see Codex Middoth, cap. 3, sect. 5). The reason of this difference seems to be, only to make a distinction between these and other sacrifices. And all this is to be understood of the four-footed beasts before mentioned, not of birds; which were sacrificed after another manner, as appears from ver. 15.

Sprinkle his blood] See ver. 5, and vii. 2.

Ver. 12.] This verse hath been sufficiently explained, ver. 5, 6, 8.

Ver. 13.] See ver. 9, where this also is explained.

It is a burnt sacrifice.] As much as to say, this is as acceptable to the Lord as the sacrifice of a bullock, when offered with a pious mind.

Ver. 14. If the burnt sacrifice for his offering to the Lord be of fowls.] It is well observed by Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46, that when a man was not able to go to the charge of a sheep or a goat (much less of a bullock), God was so merciful as to accept of a bird: only he prescribes of what sort they should be. Nay, he that was not able to be at this expense, was accepted if he offered bread, however prepared, whether in an oven or a pan, according to the custom of those times. And he to whom this was too great a burden, might worship God, by bringing only fine flour, as will appear in the next chapter.

Turtle-doves, or of young pigeons.] The same author observes, that there was a vast plenty of these birds in the land of Canaan; and consequently they were so cheap, that it would put the poorest sort to no great charge to bring this oblation. These were also very anciently sacrificed (Gen. xv. 9), and of a gentle nature (as Procopius and others observe). And pigeons being best when they are young, and turtles when full grown, accordingly they are appointed to bring them, when they were most esteemed. These are but seldom mentioned in the sacrifices among the gentiles, who offered cocks to Æsculapius, and geese to Isis, as we read in several of their authors.

Ver. 15. Wring off his head.] Pinch it off with his nail (as the Jews say) at one of the corners or horns of the altar: viz. the whole burnt-offering at the south-east corner, and the sin-offering at the north-west, as

and wring off his head, and burn *it* on the altar; and the blood thereof shall be wrung out at the side of the altar:

16 And he shall pluck away his crop with his feathers, and cast it beside the altar on the east part, by the place of the ashes:

Maimonides saith in his treatise called *Korbanoth*, cap. 5. But their heads were so to be wrung or pinched as not to be separated quite from the body, but to be left still hanging to it. For so it is ordered in that sacrifice mentioned v. 8, and therefore they suppose it was so in all.

The blood thereof shall be wrung out] This is the reason that the priest alone might kill the bird (though others might kill the beast, see ver. 5), because the sprinkling of the blood, which none might do but the priest, was immediately conjunct with the wringing off its head.

Ver. 16. *Pluck away his crop*] Or the stomach; that the sacrifice might be clean, and free from all filth.

With his feathers,] Which were no more to be offered, than the skin of the beasts (ver. 6).

Cast it beside the altar on the east] As far as might be from the most holy place, which was in the west.

By the place of the ashes:] See iv. 12.

Ver. 17. *And he shall cleave it with the wings thereof, but shall not divide it asunder:*] The wings were to be so cloven, as not to be quite separated from the body, but still to remain hanging to it: and so salt being sprinkled upon the whole body, it was thrown into the fire. So Maimonides observes in the forenamed treatise; where he takes notice, also, that

17 And he shall cleave it with the wings thereof, *but* shall not divide *it* asunder: and the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that *is* upon the fire: it is a burnt sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

it was otherwise in *fowls* offered for sin; of which nothing but the blood belonged to the altar; the flesh of them being eaten by the priests and their sons. Whence it was, that no *sin-offering* of birds was accepted, unless it were accompanied with a whole *burnt-offering*; that the altar might not be without a feast, when they that ministered there were entertained. Thus it is required in several cases, mentioned v. 7, xii. 6, 8, xiv. 22, xv. 16, 30, and Numb. vi. 11. The same Maimonides likewise observes, that this sacrifice of birds was one of the most difficult works in the sanctuary; whereby the mind of the priest was kept as intent upon the poorest sacrifice, as upon the most splendid.

The priest shall burn it upon the altar,] This was in part said before, but here repeated more distinctly, to show there was no difference to be made between the sacrifices of the meanest and of the greatest.

It is a burnt sacrifice, &c.] The same is said of this, as of all other holocausts (ver. 9, 15), to show that whether the oblation was of the greater animals or of the less, or only of birds, it made no difference in its acceptance with God: who graciously ordered these various sorts of offerings, that the poor as well as the rich might be capable to express their devotion to him, and be confident to find favour with him.

CHAPTER II.

1 *The meat-offering of flour with oil and incense,* 4 *either baken in the oven,* 5 *or on a plate,* 7 *or in a frying-pan,* 12 *or of the firstfruits in the ear.* 13 *The salt of the meat offering.*

1 AND when any will offer a meat offering unto the LORD, his offering shall be of fine

flour; and he shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon:

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *When any will offer a meat offering*] Here is a merciful provision for those, who were neither able to offer beasts of any sort, nor birds, whom God ordered to bring meal (as was observed before on the first chapter, ver. 14), which was called in the Hebrew language *mincha*, and by us translated a *meat-offering*: for it was a *korban*, or gift, as well as the foregoing, though of a lower sort. And R. Levi Barzelonita thinks this sort of mean present (as we may call it) had the name of *mincha*, because such offerings were very often merely voluntary; from whence whatsoever is not due among men from another is called *mincha*, a *gift*. Some of which were constant and stated, and also of a determinate quantity; being an appendix to the daily burnt-sacrifice, morning and evening, as we read, Exod. xxix. 38, 39, &c. But these here spoken of were voluntary, when any man's devotion inclined him to acknowledge God, and implore his Divine blessing. And no certain quantity was prescribed; only the Jews say, not less than an ephah was accepted, but as much more as they pleased. See Dr. Outram in his excellent book de Sacrificiis, p. 90.

His offering shall be of fine flour;] viz. Of wheat-flour. For all the offerings of this kind, whether for

the whole congregation, or particular men, were of pure wheat flower, sifted from the bran; except only the omer of first-fruits of their harvest (xxiii. 13, 14), and that which was called the *mincha* of jealousy (Numb. v. 15), which were of barley. Of these voluntary offerings there were five sorts, as appears by this chapter: for they were either of raw meal (mentioned in this verse), or meal made into cakes, baked in an oven (which was of two sorts, ver. 4), or baked in a pan (ver. 5), or in a frying-pan (ver. 7). The first of which was the most ancient, as appears from Gen. iv. 3, and from what the heathen say of it; particularly Plato, lib. vi. de Legibus, and Pliny, lib. xxx. Nat. Hist. cap. 5, where he saith Numa ordered the Romans Deos fruge colere, &c. And Pausanias, in his Attica, tells us, in the porch of the most high Jupiter there was an altar, where they did not offer the sacrifice of beasts, but only of fine flour. The same he repeats in his Arcadia, and says this was ordained by Cereops, that they should sacrifice only *πίματα ἐπιχώρια*, which the Athenians in his time called *πίανον*. And accordingly Triptolemus, another of their most ancient lawgivers, enacted this as one of his principal laws, that they should worship their gods "with the fruits of the earth." For these three laws of his, Porphyry saith, were preserved to his days, *Γονεὺς τῶν θεῶν χάριτας ἀνέχεσθαι, Ζῶα μὴ*

2 And he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the priests: and he shall take thereof his handful of the flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest shall burn the memorial of it upon the altar, to be an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD:

σέβειν (lib. iv. περὶ Ἀποχ.): "to honour their parents, worship their gods with the fruits of the earth, and hurt no living creature." Which last St. Jerome (lib. ii. contra Jovin.) translates, *not to eat flesh*.

He shall pour oil upon it.] Which was done to give this sort of offering a grateful relish, as Maimonides observes, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 46. The heathen used oil in their sacrifices, but not mixed with flour; but poured upon the flesh of the beast that was sacrificed, to make it burn the better upon the altar. So that of Virgil shows (*Æneid*. vi.).

"Pingue superque oleum fundens ardentibus extis."

Put frankincense thereon.] To make a sweet odour in the court of the tabernacle, which otherwise would have been offensive, by reason of the flesh that was burnt there daily, as the same Maimonides speaks in the place before named. When they came into the land of Canaan, where they were required (*Numb.* xv. 2, 3, &c.) to take care that this *mincha*, or meat-offering, should attend all the freewill-offerings of beasts, as well as the daily morning and evening sacrifice, there is no frankincense appointed; but a certain quantity of wine, which perhaps was instead of it (having a fragrant smell), and was not required in the offering here mentioned. Both these were common in the sacrifices of the gentiles, as appears by this single passage in Ovid, lib. v. de Tristibus, Eleg. 5.

"Da mihi thura, puer, pingues facientia flammæ,
Quodque pio fuscum stridat in igne merum."

Ver. 2. *He shall bring it*] In a silver dish, or of some other metal (as R. Levi of Barcelona expounds it, *Precept.* cxvi.), wherein he delivered it to the priest, who carried it to the altar, and presented it to God by lifting it up over his head; and, as the Jews generally say, turning it about to all the four quarters of the world, in token that it was offered to the Possessor of heaven and of earth.

To Aaron's sons] To one of them that ministered at the altar that day this offering was brought, as appears by the next words.

He shall take thereof his handful of the flour] As much as he could take up between his fingers, saith the forenamed R. Levi.

Of the oil] Which was mingled, as I said before, with the flour.

With all the frankincense.] None of which was to be reserved for the priest's own use; but entirely burnt upon the altar. Which was contrary to the way of the gentiles, who called frankincense *προσφορά* (as Diodorus Siculus speaks, lib. ii.), "a thing most beloved of the gods," but yet offered only so much as they could take up with two fingers, or, as others say, three (see Cuperus's *Apotheosis Homer*i, p. 74, &c.).

The priest shall burn the memorial of it upon the altar.] As a grateful acknowledgment unto God, that they held all they possessed of him their sovereign Lord; whom they supplicated also hereby, that he would still be mindful of them, that is, be gracious to them. For this offering seems to have something of the nature of a holocaust, or whole burnt-offering: though others will have it to be an expiatory sacrifice, because part of it was eaten by the priests. But it

3 And the remnant of the meat offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of the LORD made by fire.

4 ¶ And if thou bring an oblation of a meat offering baken in the oven, it shall be unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil.

being said in the next words, to be an offering made by fire (which is the phrase for a whole burnt-offering, in the foregoing chapter, ver. 9, 13, 17), I take the other to be the truer.

Of a sweet savour unto the Lord.] The very same being said of this sort of offering, which is of the foregoing, that was more chargeable (i. 9, 13, 17). Procopius Gazæus had great reason here to observe (which cannot be too oft repeated), "that true piety is not demonstrated by the greatness of its presents. The way of piety is open and easy unto all: for God's commandment is exceeding broad. And he that maketh the smallest signification of it, if it be sincere, differs nothing from him, who shows it by the largest gifts," &c. So vain were the reasonings of the heathen, who disputed which were the most acceptable sacrifices to their gods, those of living creatures, or of things inanimate. Julian contended that *τιμωτέρα τῶν ἀνίων ἐστὶ τὰ ἄψυχᾶ*, &c. "the sacrifices of living creatures were more esteemed, than of those without life;" because they were "nearer of kin to the living God, and the Author of life." But his great doctors, Pythagoras and Porphyrius (as St. Cyril observes, lib. x. contra Julianum), condemned these sacrifices of beasts, as hateful to their gods; who they fancied were pleased only with those that were made διὰ καρπῶν καὶ μέανωσιν "of fruits of the earth, and of frankincense." But they might have learned from Moses, if they had pleased (Julian and Porphyry being acquainted with his books), that these things were alike acceptable, God having respect to the mind of him that offered, not to his gifts.

Ver. 3. *The remnant—shall be Aaron's and his sons';*] To be eaten by them. But that meat-offering which was offered for the priests themselves, was to be wholly burnt, and no part eaten (vi. 22, 23).

It is a thing most holy] Nothing is more known than the distinction which the Jews make between things *most holy* and the *lighter holy things* (as their phrase is), which I took notice of before. The *most holy* were such, as none whatsoever might eat of; or none but the priests, and the sons of priests; and that only in the sanctuary, and nowhere else (see vi. 16, 26); such were all whole burnt-offerings, all the sin-offerings, and all the peace-offerings for the whole congregation. The *lighter holy things* were such as might be eaten by those who were not priests, in any place within the city of Jerusalem (to which their camp now answered), and such were all the peace-offerings of particular persons, the paschal lamb, the tenth and the firstlings of cattle.

Ver. 4. *If thou bring an oblation—baken in the oven.*] This is the first sort of baked *minchas*, for the preparing of which there was an oven in the court of the tabernacle, as afterward there was in the court of the temple (1 Chron. xxiii. 28, 29; Ezek. xlv. 20).

It shall be unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil. &c.] If the cakes were thick, then the oil was kneaded together with them; but if they were thin (like a wafer), then it was only spread upon it, before it was baked (see Exod. xxix. 2) or, as some will have it, after it came out of the oven. Concerning its being unleavened, see below, ver. 11.

Ver. 5. *Baken in a pan.*] Or, in a *flat plate*, as we translate it in the margin. For Maimonides says, this

5 ¶ And if thy oblation *be* a meat offering *baken* in a pan, it shall *be of* fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil.

6 Thou shalt part it in pieces, and pour oil thereon: it is a meat offering.

7 ¶ And if thy oblation *be* a meat offering *baken* in the fryingpan, it shall *be made of* fine flour with oil.

8 And thou shalt bring the meat offering that is made of these things unto the Lord: and when it is presented unto the priest, he shall bring it unto the altar.

was the difference between *macabath* (which is the Hebrew word in this place) and *marchesheth*, that the former was a *pan* or *plate* without any rim about it; and the other had one, as our frying-pans have. And so Abarinel, in his preface to this book, observes out of Jarchi, that there was a vessel in the temple, which was only flat and broad, but had no rising on the sides of it: so that the oil being poured upon it, when it was set on the fire, ran down and increased the flame, and made the cake hard.

It shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil.] This sort of cake seems to have been both kneaded with oil, and to have had oil also poured upon it, after it was laid upon the plate.

Ver. 6. *Thou shalt part it in pieces, &c.*] This, according to Abarinel, was done as it lay baking upon the plate. Or, if this division was made after it was taken off, the reason was the same; because part of it was to be given to God, and the rest to the priests.

Pour oil thereon.] Upon the pieces; that they might by this new addition of fresh oil be made more savoury.

It is a meat offering.] And therefore to be eaten with oil (ver. 1).

Ver. 7. *Fryingpan.*] This vessel was not flat, but deep (as Abarinel observes, see ver. 5), because that which was baked in it was moist and fluid.

It shall be made of fine flour with oil.] The oil was not kneaded with this sort of *mincha*, but put into the pan, so that it mixed with the flour; which might be shaken and moved up and down, as things are which are baken in liquors. So Abarinel's words are in his preface to this book.

Ver. 8.] This relates to all the baked meat-offerings before mentioned, which were to be brought to the Lord at his house, and there presented to the priest; who was to bring them to the altar, when they were prepared as before directed (see ver. 1, 2). And this variety of *minchas* was allowed, that the table of the Lord (i. e. the altar) might be furnished, and his ministers that waited on him entertained with all sorts of provisions.

Ver. 9. *A memorial thereof.*] A part of the cake (of whatsoever sort it was) was separated from the rest of the Lord's portion; to whom it was offered as an acknowledgment of his supreme dominion over them, and in commemoration of his goodness to them.

Burn it upon the altar.] Before the other parts were eaten by the priests; as was directed before about the fine flour (ver. 2).

It is an offering made by fire.] See ver. 2.

Ver. 10.] All this verse has been explained, ver. 3.

Ver. 11.] These words [*which ye shall bring unto the Lord*] seem to have a peculiar emphasis in this place; importing, that no meat-offering, part of which was offered upon God's altar, should be leavened. For no part of that leavened bread which was offered in eucharistical sacrifices (vii. 13), nor the two loaves offered in the feast of Pentecost (which some mis-

9 And the priest shall take from the meat offering a memorial thereof, and shall burn it upon the altar: *it is* an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

10 And that which is left of the meat offering shall *be* Aaron's and his sons': *it is* a thing most holy of the offerings of the Lord made by fire.

11 No meat offering, which ye shall bring unto the Lord, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, in any offering of the Lord made by fire.

take for an exception to this precept), were offered upon the altar, but given entirely to the priests, as their portion.

Made with leaven.] There are many moral reasons given, both by Jewish and Christian writers, why none of the cakes before mentioned should have any leaven in them, which I shall not here set down. There is some probability in their opinion, who think this was ordered to refresh their memory, by putting them in mind of their deliverance out of Egypt. But Maimonides seems to me to have given the best account of this, in his More Nevochim (par. iii. cap. 46), where he saith, God prohibited this to root out the idolatrous customs in those days, as he found in the books of the Zabii, who "offered to their gods no bread but leavened." Next to this, the account which Abarinel gives of it is not to be disregarded, who thinks it was forbidden, because it would have made delay, if they had waited at the tabernacle till the fermentation was perfected.

Ye shall burn no leaven, &c.] Neither mixed with bread, nor alone by themselves. For honey was a kind of leaven, and it is certain was used by the heathen in their religious rites: as appears not only from Maimonides (who tells us in the place forenamed, that "they chose sweet things for their offerings, and anointed their sacrifices with honey"), but from a great number of other authors, who make mention of it: particularly Plato, who saith (in his de Legibus, vi.), that anciently men did not sacrifice living creatures, but only fine flour, *καὶ μίλτι καρποὶ δεινύμειοι*, "and fruits moistened with honey." And so Phylarchus tells us (in Athenæus's Deipnos. lib. xv.), that the Greeks sacrificed honey to the sun (which was the great god among the gentiles), but poured no wine upon his altars. Which Polemon (in Suidas) calls *ἡφαλαὺν θυσίαν*, "a sober sacrifice;" because there was no wine in it, but honey and water mixed together. Nay, there was scarce any god among the heathen to whom honey was not offered, as Bochartus hath shown at large in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 12. But one testimony may serve for all, which is from Pausanias (in his Eliaca), where, having reckoned up at least fifty altars in the temple of Jupiter Olympius unto several deities, and some of them common to them all, he saith, they sacrificed upon every one of them once a month, after an ancient manner (*ἀρχαῖον τὰ τεύχεον*), "frankincense and wheat mingled with honey." Which being so common and ancient a thing among the gentiles in their idolatrous worship, was the reason, it is likely, that God forbade it to be used in his sacrifices. And under the name of honey, the Jews think figs and dates, and all other sweet fruits, are comprehended. For the famous composition among the Egyptians called *κίρη*, which was burnt every day, morning and evening, on their altars, consisted of such things, as well as of myrrh, calamus, and cardamum. So Plutarch tells us (in his book de Iside et Osir.), and

12 ¶ As for the oblation of the firstfruits, ye shall offer them unto the LORD: but they shall not be burnt on the altar for a sweet savour.

13 And every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou

suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering: with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt.

14 And if thou offer a meat offering of thy firstfruits unto the LORD, thou shalt offer for

mentions honey in the first place, with wine and raisins: Τὸ μὲν κίβη μίγμα, &c. μέλιτος καὶ οἶνου καὶ σταφύδος, &c.

Ver. 12. *Oblation of the firstfruits.*] There were several sorts of first-fruits (as I observed Exod. xxiii. 19). That which is here spoken of was of the corn unground, only a little parched at the fire, which was to be presented unto God; but not burnt on the altar, because they belonged unto the priests.

Ver. 13. *Every oblation—shalt thou season with salt;*] All the forenamed *minchas*, which were *korbanas* (as they are often here called), were to be thus seasoned, because salt was a thing never wanting at any table; and all meat is unsavoury without it.

The salt of the covenant.] It is called the *salt of the covenant of God*, as some think, because required by this law, which they covenanted with God to observe, as much as to offer sacrifices; which were not acceptable without salt, as appears from the repetition of it three times in one verse. But there is a plainer reason than this, which is, that the sacrifices being God's feasts, and they that did partake of them being his guests, who did in a manner eat and drink with him at his table, the salt that was cast upon all sacrifices (as appears by the words following) is called *the salt of the covenant*, to signify, that as men were wont to make covenants by eating and drinking together (where salt is never wanting at their tables, but a necessary appendix at every feast), so God by these sacrifices, and the feasts upon them, did ratify and confirm his covenant with those that did partake of them. For salt, as is commonly observed, being a constant concomitant of all feasts, and covenants being made by eating and drinking at the same table, where salt was ever used, thence salt itself was counted by the ancients to be the *symbol of friendship*, and proverbially used among the Greeks to express it. By which other places may be explained, about which some have bestowed vain labour, Numb. xxiii. 19; 2 Chron. xiii. 5, where the same words are used, but inverted; it being called a *covenant of salt* (instead of *the salt of the covenant*), because covenants, as I said, were established by eating together, where salt is never wanting.

With all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt.] Not only with the *minchas*, or meat-offerings, mentioned in this chapter, but with all other sacrifices whatsoever. Which is so solemnly enjoined (as Maimonides says in the place before named), because the heathen did not use any salt in their sacrifices. Which is not unreasonable to think, since honey (with which salt doth not well agree) was in such constant use among them. And therefore, saith he, "God prohibited us to offer leaven or honey, and commanded us, with great seriousness, to use salt in all our sacrifices." That is, as R. Levi of Barcelona explains it (Præcept. cxvi.), the flesh of all sacrifices was to be salted; and the meal of all *minchas*. For which he gives these two reasons; because nothing is grateful to the palate without salt; which also preserves things from corruption, as the sacrifices did their souls from perishing. Abarinell saith the same. And therefore, whatsoever the custom might be in ancient time among the heathen, in after ages they learned from Moses to use it in all their sacrifices: as appears from Pliny and Ovid (and many other authors), the first of which says, the salt was so necessary, that no sacrifices were

offered *sine mola salsa*: which every one knows the Greeks called οἶλας and οἰολόγιστας. And, among the Jews, this salt was not brought by him that offered the sacrifice, but was provided at the public charge; there being a chamber in the court of the temple (as we read in Middoth, cap. 5, sect. 2) called *the chamber of salt*. Which was one of the three rooms on the north side of the court (as there were three others on the south side, for other uses), where the flesh of the sacrifices was powdered, as the *minchas* were seasoned at the very altar. And this was so necessary, that though a sacrifice was not looked upon as null, if the priest neglected to salt it; yet the want of it in the *minchas* (as the Hebrew doctors say) made them void; because it is here so expressly required in this verse, "Thou shalt not suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking in thy meat-offering." And whosoever offered any sacrifice without salt, or with honey or leaven, was beaten, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13.

Ver. 14. *If thou offer a meat offering of thy firstfruits, &c.*] This is very different from the oblation of first-fruits mentioned ver. 12. For there they are called *resith*, which signifies the first-fruits at harvest time: but here *bichurim*, which properly imports the first ripe fruits, before the rest were ready. And therefore the manner of their oblation was different from the former, which follows in the conclusion of this verse. And first he describes what he means by the first-fruits, which he calls *abib*, i. e. full ears of corn, but as yet *green and moist*: which he saith therefore in the next place must be dried by the fire; and then bruised and beaten in a mortar, or with a mill: and they were to be brought out of the richest or fattest of their fields; for so the last words seem to signify, *garesh carmel* (which we translate *corn beaten out of full ears*), for *carmel* sometimes signifies a *fruitful field* (Isa. xxxii. 15), and therefore may very well be thought in this place to import, *the largest ears of tender corn*. And the intention of its contusion seems to have been, that it might be reduced into flour; as it might easily be, after it had been dried by the fire. And therefore differed from that meat-offering mentioned ver. 1 only in this; that the former was flour of old corn, this of new: and that was fine flour sifted from the bran; this had nothing taken out of it, but remained as it came from the mortar or the mill. And so the LXX. seem to have understood it. There are those, indeed, who think it was only thrashed out of the husk, and so offered, and fancy also that from this word *garesh* the goddess called *Ceres* had her name among the gentiles. Which last conceit is the stranger, since they endeavour to have it thought that the Jews derived this custom of offering first-fruits from the gentiles; and not the gentiles from the Jews. Whereas the gentiles had no such custom, that I can find, as this, to offer the first-fruits of green corn; but only the first-fruits of their harvest, which they called *novas fruges*: of which the Romans thought it unlawful to taste, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent, "before the priest had offered the first-fruits," as Pliny tells us, lib. xviii. cap. 2, and Censorinus saith the same, cap. 1, de Die Natali. Or if they did offer any first-fruits before corn was ripe, they boiled them in a pot, but did not roast them in the fire, as is here directed. For so Hesychius seems to say that in the

the meat offering of thy first fruits green ears of corn dried by the fire, *even* corn beaten out of full ears.

15 And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay frankincense thereon: it is a meat offering.

feast called *Θαργήλια* (which was in the month that answers to our April), they offered *τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν φαινομένων, καὶ περιποιέζοντι*, "the first-fruits that appeared out of the ground, which they carried about," i. e. in pots, as other authors tell us. And Hesychius himself saith, that *Θαργήλιος* signified "a pot full of sacred decoction."

Ver. 15. *Pour oil upon it, &c.*] See ver. 1.

16 And the priest shall burn the memorial of it, *part* of the beaten corn thereof, and *part* of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof: *it is* an offering made by fire unto the Lord.

Ver. 16. *And the priest shall burn the memorial of it.*] All the rest that was not burnt was the priest's portion, except the frankincense, which is here ordered to be entirely offered to God (see ver. 2), and made this, and such like offerings, be called an "offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord," ver. 2, 9, 12.

It is an offering made by fire] See upon ver. 9.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The meat offering of the herd, 6 of the flock, 7 either a lamb, 12 or a goat.*

1 AND if his oblation be a sacrifice of peace offering, if he offer *it* of the herd; whether *it* be a male or female, he shall offer it without blemish before the LORD.

2 And he shall lay his hand upon the head

of his offering, and kill it *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron's sons the priests shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.

3 And he shall offer of the sacrifice of the

CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *Peace offering.*] Having given orders about *whole burnt-offerings*, in the first chapter, and *meat-offerings* (which had something of that nature in them) in the second; he proceeds to *peace-offerings*, which in the Hebrew are called *shelamim*, from the word *shalam*, either as it signifies *retribution*, or *peace* and *concord*. They that take it in the first sense, think the reason of the name to be from this; that God, the offerer, and the priest, had each of them their portion assigned to them of this sacrifice. And they that follow the second sense do not much differ, when they say, that these sacrifices were symbols of friendship between God and the priests, and those that brought them, for all these feasted at a common table, as R. Levi ben Gerson expresses it. For part being offered on the altar, and the priest having taken his share, the rest was given to him that offered the sacrifice. So that it was called a *peace-offering*, saith Abarinel (in his preface to this book), "because it made peace (or rather declared peace) between the altar, the priest, and the owner." But they seem to me to have given the best account of this, who, because *peace* in their language signifies *prosperity* and *happiness*, think these were called *peace-offerings*, because they were principally thankful acknowledgments of mercies received from God's bounty. For there being three sorts of them mentioned *vii.* 15, 16, that of *thanksgiving* is the first, called *tothah*, acknowledgment of some benefit received.

The gentiles called such sacrifices, *χαριστήρια*, as appears from many places of Dionys. Halicarn. (lib. vi. and lib. viii.), where there are these words, *θυσίας τε χαριστήριους τὰς θεοῖς ἐποιούοντο, καὶ ἅπαντες ἐν ἱερταῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς*. Plutarch calls them, *εὐαγγέλια*, particularly in the life of Agesilaus, where he saith, *θυσίαν εὐαγγέλια, καὶ δέσπεμπε μύριας τοὺς φίλους ἀπὸ τῶν τεθυμένων* which is a perfect description of such sacrifices as are here appointed; with part of which they entertained their friends. They are also called by those writers *ἐκδοτήρια*, especially when they had respect to any great danger they had escaped; for which they offered these thankful acknowledgments. The LXX. call such sacrifices *σωτήρια*.

Male or female.] A *whole burnt-offering* was to be only of a *male*: for being wholly God's, and offered purely for his honour, it was to be of the very best (i. 3). But *peace-offerings*, being also for the profit of him that offered them, who had the greatest share of them; it was at his liberty whether he would offer a *male* or a *female*. Directly contrary to the Egyptian customs, if they were the same now that they were in the time of Herodotus, who saith expressly, *ἄνεως οὐ σφί ἔξετε θύειν*, "it was not lawful among them to sacrifice females" (lib. ii. cap. 41).

He shall offer it without blemish, &c.] See i. 3.

Ver. 2. *He shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering.*] The man who brought the offering was to lay his hand upon the head of it; as was ordered in the *whole burnt-offering* and *sin-offering* (see ch. i. ver. 4). It might not be done by a deputy, unless he was heir to one that had vowed this sacrifice, and died before he had performed it; in which case the heir was to do what the man himself should have done, if he had been alive, as Maimonides observes. In this sacrifice, *laying on of hands* seems to have been done, not only with prayer to God, that he would accept the oblation (which the Jews say always accompanied this action), but with acknowledgment of those mercies which were the occasion of it. So Conr. Pellicanus well glosses upon i. 4 (which may be best applied to the use of this rite in *peace-offerings*): "Laying on of hands signifies devotion and faith, with acknowledgment of the Divine benefits; for which we cannot offer any thing of our own, but rather return and restore to him what we have received; that we may understand giving of thanks to be the greatest of our sacrifices."

And kill it] See chap. i. ver. 5.

At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.] These being the *lesser holy things*, as the Jews call them, were not offered as the *whole burnt-offerings* and *sin-offerings* were, on the north side of the altar (see chap. i. ver. 11), but anywhere else near to the entrance of the tabernacle; which was in the east, where the ashes were thrown out, and therefore a less holy place. Only in laying on of hands, every man was bound, wheresoever the sacrifice was killed, to turn his face westward, towards the sanctuary;

peace offering an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards,

4 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away.

5 And Aaron's sons shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt sacrifice, which is upon the wood that is on the fire: it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

6 ¶ And if his offering for a sacrifice of peace offering unto the LORD be of the flock, male or female, he shall offer it without blemish.

7 If he offer a lamb for his offering, then shall he offer it before the LORD.

8 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering, and kill it before the tabernacle of the congregation: and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle the blood thereof round about upon the altar.

9 And he shall offer of the sacrifice of the peace offering an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat thereof, and the whole rump, it shall he take off hard by the backbone; and the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards,

10 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away.

11 And the priest shall burn it upon the altar:

because then, as I said, he made certain prayers and acknowledgments to the Divine Majesty, which was always to be done in that posture.

Sprinkle the blood] See chap. i. ver. 5.

Ver. 3. *He shall offer*] One of the priests then in waiting at the altar.

Of the sacrifice of the peace offering,] After the sacrifices were flayed and cut up, as is directed i. 6.

The fat that covereth the inwards,] That is, the omentum, as the Latins call it, which hath much fat in it (see Exod. xxix. 13).

All the fat that is upon the inwards,] All the fat which adheres to the mesentery, and other entrails.

Ver. 4. *The two kidneys, and the fat that is on them,*] The kidneys are noted by Aristotle to have more fat about them than any of the other bowels: ἔχοντες δὲ οἱ νεφροὶ μάλιστα τῶν σπλάγχνων πημελήν (lib. iii. de Animal. cap. 9), being so covered with it, that, in dissecting of a body, the kidneys, at first sight, are not to be perceived, as anatomists observe; particularly our own countryman, Dr. Highmore.

Which is by the flanks,] The Hebrew word *cesilim* signifies the loins (as Bochart hath demonstrated in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45), which have *collops of fat* upon them, as Eliphaz speaks (Job xv. 27), and thence are easily inflamed (Ps. xxxviii. 7).

The caul above the liver,] The Hebrew word *jotzereth* signifies the greatest lobe of the liver (see Exod. xxix. 13).

It shall he take away,] Separate from the rest of the flesh, to be offered on the altar. For all the fat here mentioned was God's portion of the sacrifice; the priest had the breast and the right shoulder; and he that brought the offering had the rest; as will appear more fully, vii. 15, &c. 31, 32, &c.

Ver. 5. *Aaron's sons,*] Some of those that minister that day.

Burnt sacrifice,] By the burnt-sacrifice seems here to be meant the daily sacrifice which was burnt every morning: after which this was to be offered, but not before it.

Which is upon the wood that is on the fire,] The same wood, upon which the burnt-sacrifice had been offered, would serve to burn this fat. Which being entirely consumed, as the holocausts were, it is called in the following words, "an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord" (see chap. i. ver. 9). That is, God was pleased graciously to accept their pious acknowledgments: the offerings of these inwards being, as if he that brought them had said, *I will pour out my soul unto the Lord* in thanks and praise for the benefits he had received. So Abarinel explains in his preface to this book.

Ver. 6. *If his offering, &c. be of the flock;*] i. e. Of sheep or goats, which are both comprehended

under the word *flock* (as was noted before, ch. i. ver. 2).

Male or female,] See ver. 1, where I observed a difference between these sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, in this respect; that either *male* or *female* were accepted for peace-offerings, but *male* alone for the other. To which may be added, that birds were allowed for *whole burnt-offerings* (i. 14, 15, &c.), but not for *peace-offerings*: which were only of the *herd* or *flock*: i. e. of bullocks, sheep, or goats. The reason seems to be plain: because *peace-offerings* being to be divided between God, the priest, and him that brought them, the portion of each would have been so small that it would have made the feast upon it so very meager and jejune, that it would have been contemptible.

Without blemish,] It was at his choice whether he would bring it from the *herd* or the *flock*: but in its kind it was to be perfect (see ch. i. 3, 9).

Ver. 7. *If he offer a lamb*] Though a bird was not accepted for a peace-offering, yet a *lamb* was; though not of such value as a fat sheep, or a goat.

Offer it before the Lord,] This seems to be meant of the man's presenting it to be offered at the altar.

Ver. 8.] This whole verse is only a direction to do with a *peace-offering* of a lamb or sheep, as they were to do with that of a bullock (ver. 2).

Ver. 9. *Offering made by fire*] As was directed in the offering of a bullock (ver. 3).

The fat thereof, and the whole rump,] The whole fat being to be offered (as was ordered also before) he enumerates the particulars; because in this was more fat than in other sacrifices of this kind. For the *whole rump* of a sheep was to be offered to God, though not of a bullock, nor a goat. And the reason was because in those countries the tails of their sheep are so vastly big, that (as Goliath and others assure us) the least of them weigh ten or twelve pounds; and some exceed forty pounds weight: and they are so very fat that they melt the fat and keep it to butter their rice, and for other uses, as Bochart observes in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.

Backbone] The Hebrew word *atzah*, which we translate the *backbone*, denotes that part which is next to the tail or *rump*; and therefore must signify that which Galen calls *σάκρυς*. Which is a bone at the extremity of the broad bone, called *ossacrum*: consisting of three cartilaginous parts, as he describes it.

Fat that covereth the inwards,] See ver. 3.

Ver. 10.] This verse is explained above (ver. 4).

Ver. 11. *The priest shall burn it upon the altar:*] As he did the fat of the bullock (ver. 5).

It is the food of the offering made by fire unto the Lord,] That which was offered upon the altar was accounted God's *mess*, as appears from Mal. i. 12,

it is the food of the offering made by fire unto the LORD.

12 ¶ And if his offering be a goat, then he shall offer it before the LORD.

13 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of it, and kill it before the tabernacle of the congregation: and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about.

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

where the altar is called his *table*, and the sacrifice upon it his *meat*: as here it is called his *bread* or *food*; to represent in a lively manner to them, that God dwelt, and (as we say) kept house among them; and that they who partook of these sacrifices, feasted with them upon his provision (see upon Exod. xxv. 8, 30).

Ver. 12. *If his offering be a goat, &c.*] The law concerning this sacrifice is the very same with the former (except what is ordered about the *rump* of a sheep), and this and the following verses (13—15), need no further explication.

Ver. 16.] See before, ver. 11.

All the fat is the Lord's.] That is, all the *fat* before mentioned: which may more properly be translated the *suet*. For that *fat* which was a part of the flesh might be eaten (as appears from many places, particularly Deut. xxxii. 14), but not that which only lay upon it, and might be separated from it; which was burnt upon the altar, when they sacrificed either a bullock, sheep, or goat. And when they killed any of these, or other clean creatures, for their food at home, still they were to forbear to eat the *suet*: partly out of reverence to God, whose portion it was at the altar; and partly because it was heavy and too strong a food, as Maimonides takes it (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 48). And it seems therefore to have been offered upon the altar, because it was so unctuous, that it would easily burn, and make the flesh also consume the sooner. But from its being God's part, it came thence to signify, the very best and most excellent of any kind of thing. As the best of the tithe is called the "fat of the tithe," Numb. xviii. 17, and the best corn is called the "fat of the wheat," Ps. lxxxi. 16, and rich and powerful men are called the "fat of the

15 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away.

16 And the priest shall burn them upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire for a sweet savour: all the fat is the LORD's.

17 It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither fat nor blood.

earth;" as the chief and principal part of the people, Ps. xxii. 29.

Ver. 17. *It shall be a perpetual statute*] In force as long as this law about sacrifices shall last.

For your generations] For their posterity, as well as them who received this law in all succeeding ages.

Throughout all your dwellings that ye eat neither fat nor blood.] This confirms what was said before, that they might not eat such fat as is before mentioned, at home, at their ordinary food; because it is said, "throughout all your dwellings ye shall eat no fat." And *fat* being joined with *blood*, is another argument, that they might no more eat the *suet* of beasts that were killed at home, for common use, than the blood of such beasts. From which they entirely abstained, for the foregoing reasons, as Maimonides observes in the book forenamed; and for another also which he mentions in the forty-sixth chapter of it. Where he saith, "The ancient idolaters, called Zabii, were wont to eat the blood of their sacrifices, because they imagined this to be the food of their god; with whom they thought they had such communion, by eating of their meat, that they revealed to them things to come." And in this R. Moses bar Nachman concurs with him, as Dr. Cudworth observes in the conclusion of his treatise of the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper. For though he saith that blood was forbidden, because it served for expiation (in which he differs from Maimonides), yet he adds also, that it was used superstitiously by the heathen in their idolatrous worship; where "they partook of the blood with their demons, as being their guests, and invited to eat with them at their table. And so were joined in federal society with them; and by this kind of communion enabled to prophesy and foretell things to come."

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The offering of ignorance*, 3 *for the priest*, 13 *for the congregation*, 22 *for the ruler*, 27 *for any of the people*.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying,
If a soul shall sin through ignorance against

any of the commandments of the LORD concerning things which ought not to be done, and shall do against any of them:

CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1.] Having directed him about *whole burnt-offerings*, and *meal-offerings* (which constantly attended some of them), and *peace-offerings*, which supposed men to be in a state of favour with God; he now proceeds to give order about the expiation of their sins, when they had offended him, by doing contrary to his commands; which he continues to the fourteenth verse of the fifth chapter. And this law about *sin-offerings*, seems to have been delivered to Moses at a different time from the former; being about a different

matter; but by a voice speaking to him out of the tabernacle, as before (chap. i. 1).

Ver. 2. *If a soul shall sin through ignorance, &c.*] There are three conditions expressed in this verse, of the sin for which the following sacrifice was admitted. First, It was to be committed *ignorantly*; not wittingly and presumptuously. Secondly, It was for sin against a *negative* precept (as the Jews call them), i. e. such a commandment as forbade something to be done. So it is said here expressly, *concerning things which ought not to be done*. As for the omission of such things as were commanded to be done, they

3 If the priest that is anointed do sin according to the sin of the people; then let him bring for his sin, which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto the LORD for a sin offering.

4 And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the

LORD; and shall lay his hand upon the bullock's head, and kill the bullock before the LORD.

5 And the priest that is anointed shall take of the bullock's blood, and bring it to the tabernacle of the congregation:

6 And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times

might be performed some other time, when men had better bethought themselves; which was much more acceptable to God, than offering sacrifice for the omission. And thirdly, It was for *facts* committed, not for *words* or *thoughts*; so the last words are, *and shall do against any of them*. As for the sins which men might imprudently commit in *word* and in *thought*, they were so many, that the whole flocks and herds would not have sufficed for their expiation, nor the altar contained all such sacrifices. The Jews add a fourth condition, that the sacrifice here appointed was for such *facts*, as if they had been committed wittingly, a *cereth*, i. e. *cutting off*, was threatened to them by the law: which they gather from Numb. xv. 30. But that phrase, *with a high hand*, seems not to signify any sort of sin, but a certain manner of sinning: as when a man despised God's commandments, and brought contempt upon the law by his sins, as a very learned friend of mine, now with God, hath observed. And, therefore, it is probable all sins committed ignorantly were expiated by the following sacrifices, save only those which are appointed to be expiated by other sacrifices, or after another manner (see Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, lih. i. cap. 12, n. 2—4).

Ver. 3. *If the priest that is anointed do sin*] And first he prescribes the sacrifice which he, who was to make the great expiation for all the people, should offer for himself, viz. the high-priest: who only, of all the priests, was constantly anointed at the entrance of his office. And if after he was put out of his office, he committed any such sin as is here mentioned, he was to make this offering for his expiation, as much as if he had continued in it. So Mr. Selden observes out of the Misna, lih. ii. de Syneedr. cap. 15, n. 14.

According to the sin of the people;] In the manner before mentioned. Or, as R. Solomon interprets it, if he hide any thing from the people, whereby they err. For so the words run in the Hebrew, if he sin to the guilt of the people (or to the making them guilty), either by misinforming them, or drawing them into error by his example; so that they take a thing to be clean, which is indeed unclean, or the like.

Let him bring—a young bullock] It is observed by some, that in great offences the sacrifices were small; lest they should imagine their pardon was procured by their great expense. For here the word is *par ben bachur*, a young bullock, that was but a little bigger than a calf. And so this sacrifice is called (*par*) in the following verses. Whereas that of the *peace-offerings* is called (ver. 10) *shor*, an ox (though we translate it also bullock), one that was grown to its full bigness, and consequently of greater value.

For a sin offering.] How *chattah*, which we translate *sin-offering*, differs from *asham*, which we translate *trespass-offering*, I shall examine afterward, when Moses came to speak of the latter; and now only observe, that *chattah* is the name both for *sin*, and for the *sin-offering*: as the word *piaculum* was among the heathen; which signified both a great crime, and the expiatory sacrifice for it. By which those words in the New Testament may be explained, “Christ was made sin for us;” that is, a sacrifice to expiate our sins. And so the word *ἀπαρτία*, *sin*, certainly signifies, Rom. viii. 3.

Ver. 4. *Bring the bullock unto the door*] This, as

I take it, was to be done by himself; who was to present the sacrifice to the Divine Majesty, and desire it might be accepted for the purpose to which it was to be offered.

Lay his hand upon the bullock's head,] As every one that brought other offerings was bound to do (see chap. i. 4, iii. 2, &c.), but here for another purpose; viz. to confess their sins unto the Lord, and beseech him to forgive them (see v. 5). There is a good gloss upon this, in a very bad book called Nitzachen, not long ago published by the learned Wagenseil: where that author saith (p. 11), “When a man sacrificed a beast, he was to think in his mind, I am more a beast than this here present. For I have sinned, and for the sins I have committed, I offer this: but it were more just that he who hath sinned should suffer death, than this beast (which hath not offended): therefore thus a man, by the help of this sacrifice, began to repent.”

Kill the bullock] This seems to have been done by him that laid his hand on the head of the bullock, that is, by the hand of the high-priest himself. For the greatest men, in old time, did not think such work below them; but rather esteemed every thing that served to the worship of God, to be noble and honourable. So Homer represents king Agamemnon as killing the lambs himself; by the blood of which he was to seal the treaty he made with the Trojans (Iliad. 3); yet in this case, it is likely, the high-priest himself did not kill the sacrifices, but some of the other priests that then ministered. For he that did this seems to be distinguished, by the next words (ver. 5), from the *priest that is anointed*; i. e. the high-priest. Nor was this sacrifice killed in the ordinary place where *sin-offerings* were killed (see 24), being an extraordinary sort of offering, as that which follows also was.

Ver. 5. *The priest that is anointed*] Whoever killed the sacrifice, the high-priest himself, for whom it was offered, did what follows.

Shall take of the bullock's blood,] In a basin.

Bring it to the tabernacle] Into the very sanctuary; where, as it follows, he was to dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord.

Ver. 6. *The priest shall dip his finger in the blood,*] Or rather, dip it into the blood.

Sprinkle of the blood seven times] This was peculiar to his sacrifice for sin, and done in no other but that for the whole congregation. To signify, perhaps, that their offences were more heinous, and could not be so easily expiated, as those of other men. The number *seven*, every one knows, was of great account, and thought most powerful in religious actions, even among the heathen. For as Elisha bade Naaman go and wash *seven times in Jordan*, to cure him of his leprosy; so Apuleius, in the beginning of the eleventh book of his *Metamorphosis*, speaks of dipping the head *seven times* in the sea for purification, and gives the reason for it; Quod eum numerum præcipue religioni aptissimum divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit; “because the Divine Pythagoras (as he calls him) taught this number to be above all other most proper in religion.” Which, in all probability, Pythagoras learnt from the truly Divine Moses: to

before the LORD, before the vail of the sanctuary.

7 And the priest shall put *some* of the blood upon the horns of the altar of sweet incense before the LORD, which is in the tabernacle of the congregation; and shall pour all the blood of the bullock at the bottom of the altar of the burnt offering, which is *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

8 And he shall take off from it all the fat of the bullock for the sin offering; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards.

9 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is

upon them, which *is* by the flanks, and the caul above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away,

10 As it was taken off from the bullock of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall burn them upon the altar of the burnt offering.

11 And the skin of the bullock, and all his flesh, with his head, and with his legs, and his inwards, and his dung,

12 Even the whole bullock shall he carry forth without the camp unto a clean place, where the ashes are poured out, and burn him on the wood with fire: where the ashes are poured out shall he be burnt.

whom God revealed the creation of the world, in six days, and his consecrating the seventh day, on which he rested; which made the number *seven* so much used in sacred matters. For not only in this sacrifice, but in making the water of separation by burning a red heifer, this rite was used (Numb. xix. 4), and in purging a leper (Lev. xiv. 7), in dedicating the altar (Exod. xxix. 37), when the oil was sprinkled on it seven times (Lev. viii. 11), and at the consecration of the priests (Exod. xxix. 35); and, to say no more, as every seventh day of the week was holy, so every seventh year the land rested; and after seven times seven there was a *jubilee* (Lev. xxv.). They that would see more of this number, and of its *sacramenta*, as St. Jerome speaks, may read him upon Amos v. 3, and Drusus on this place, and on Josh. vi. 4, and Wolfius upon Nehemiah viii.

Before the vail of the sanctuary.] Which parted the *holy place* from the *most holy*. For that is peculiarly called by the name of *porocheth*, which is the word here used (xxvi. 31, 33, 35; Lev. xvi. 2, &c.), as the other vail which was before the door of the tabernacle, is constantly called *masach* (Exod. xxvi. 36, 37).

Ver. 7.] This also was peculiar to his sacrifice; and to that for the whole congregation (ver. 17).

Pour all the blood of the bullock.] That is, all the rest of the blood which remained after the sprinkling before the mercy-seat; and the tipping of the horns of the altar with it.

At the bottom of the altar.] Where, after the building of the temple, there were two holes; one on the west side of the altar, the other on the south (as the Jews tell us in Middoth, cap. 3, sect. 2), by which it is conveyed into a *canal* under ground, through which it ran into the brook Kidron. And there was only this difference (they say) about these two holes, that the blood of the sin-offering (any part of which was carried into the most holy place) was poured out only into that on the west side of the foundation of the altar. And, if we may believe the Jews, the gardeners bought this blood of those that were the treasurers of the temple, to enrich their ground with it, as Constantine L'Empereur there observes. And while they were in the wilderness, and all the time they had only a movable tabernacle, it is most likely there were receptacles made under ground, with conveyances to some distant place, where it sank into the earth, or was covered with dust, as other blood is commanded to be (xvii. 13). For Maimonides thinks the pouring out the blood (so that it might not remain in one place) which is constantly and strictly required by the law, was in opposition to an idolatrous custom of the old Zabii; who made a collection of the blood in a vessel, or in a little pit, about which they sat, and ate the flesh, imagining their gods feasted upon the blood; as I noted

before out of Maimonides (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46).

Which is at the door.] For there was the place of it, as hath been observed, Exod. xl. 6.

Ver. 8.] All that follows in this and the two next verses (ver. 9, 10), is the same that was ordered to be done about peace-offerings, as appears from ver. 10. See therefore the foregoing chapter, ver. 3—5.

Ver. 11.] This sacrifice was so laborious, to work in them a greater detestation of sin; which was aggravated by the quality of the person that committed it. And Nachmanides hath an observation, which (in some parts of it, at least) is very remarkable; "That all a man doth being performed in words, in works, or thoughts, God commanded them, when they brought an offering for sin, that they should lay their hands on it, which had respect to the works they had done; and make confession over it, which had respect to their words; and burn the inwards and kidneys, which are the organs of thoughts and desires; the legs, also, had a respect to a man's hands and feet, by which he doth all his work; and the blood that was sprinkled on the altar signified his own blood. So that while a man did all these things, he was put in mind how he had sinned against God, both in soul and body, and deserved to have his blood shed, and his body burnt; unless the mercy of the Creator had accepted a price of redemption for him, viz. a sacrifice; whose blood was for his blood, and its life for his life; and the principal members of the sacrifice, for the members of his body." By which it appears, that the best sort of Jews had a sense, that the sacrifices for sin were offered to God in their stead, as a ransom for them. And so we Christians are to understand the sacrifice which Christ made of himself, who "gave himself a ransom for us all," as the apostle speaks, 1 Tim. ii. 6, and our Lord saith the same, Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45. Such sacrifices the heathens themselves had, which they called *Lustralia*, from the word *lustrare*, which signifies to *expiate* among the Romans; and that by *paying a price*. For the ancient poet Ennius (as our excellent Mr. Thorndike hath observed), translating into Latin a Greek tragedy called *Ἐκτορολόγρια* (being taken out of Homer, where he speaks of Priamus ransoming of Hector's corpse from Achilles), entitled *Hectoris lustra* (which shows this is the Latin of *λύτρον*), ransom or redemption: and that *ἀπολυτρόσις* signifies in the New Testament to *deliver by paying a ransom*, see his Epilogue, book ii. chap. 27.

Ver. 12. *Carry forth without the camp.*] It was not dissected, as the *peace-offerings* were, because nobody was to partake of any part of it; being a sacrifice for the priest's own sin. And therefore it was to be carried (though not by himself, but some other person) to be burnt without the camp, to express the abominableness of the sin. This rite, and the carry-

13 ¶ And if the whole congregation of Israel sin through ignorance, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the assembly, and they have done somewhat against any of the commandments of the LORD concerning things which should not be done, and are guilty;

14 When the sin, which they have sinned against it, is known, then the congregation shall offer a young bullock for the sin, and bring him before the tabernacle of the congregation.

ing the blood within the tabernacle, to be sprinkled before the LORD, were used only in these two cases; of the sin of the high-priest, and of all the people. For of other sin-offerings, the priest might eat (vi. 26), but of this, being for himself, he was not to taste at all, because he was in a state of guilt.

Unto a clean place, where the ashes are poured out,] On the east part of the tabernacle there was a place for the ashes to be thrown into, when they were taken from the altar; which afterward were carried into a clean place, without the camp. And so they were carried out after the temple was built at Jerusalem, at the east gate of the city, into a valley which lay between Jerusalem and Mount Olivet.

Burn him on the wood] Not upon an altar, but in a fire made with wood upon the ground, to show the odiousness of the sin, as Maimonides thinks. For as the whole burnt-sacrifices were burnt on the altar, because they were an offering of sweet-smelling savour unto God; so this was burnt without the camp upon the ground, to show that the odour of it was ungratified and abominable; More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46, where he also observes, that the burning of the beast entirely, being the destruction of it, so that nothing of it remained, it signified, in like manner, the utter deletion of sin, so that it should be remembered no more. And the bullock being burnt without the camp, I take it to denote, that the people should not suffer for the sin of the priest, which was abolished together with his sacrifice.

The same Maimonides hath another observation upon the title Zebachim, that there were three places constituted for the burning of holy things. The first was in the sanctuary, as every one knows; the second was in the mount of the house (as they called the place round about the court of the sanctuary), where, if any blemish happened to a bullock or a goat, they were brought out of the sanctuary, and burnt in a place called Bira; the third was in this place of the ashes, without the city.

Where the ashes are poured out] This is repeated, that none might presume to take the liberty to burn the bullock in any other place.

Ver. 13. *If the whole congregation]* The Jews generally understood by the whole congregation, the great Sanhedrin, who represented the whole people of Israel. So Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41, and in his treatise of Sacrifices; and R. Levi, of Barcelona, Precept. cxviii. For they sometimes erred in judgment; and thereby misled the people, they were bound, when they found their error, to offer this sacrifice. Yet the Talmudists have raised many disputes upon this point, and made various cases: in some of which the house of judgment was bound to offer the sacrifice here appointed, and not they who followed their sentence; and others there were, in which they who followed their sentence were bound, and not the judges themselves. But, if Moses's words be well considered, it will appear, that he speaks of a sin committed by all the people, in doing something which God had for-

15 And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock before the LORD: and the bullock shall be killed before the LORD.

16 And the priest that is anointed shall bring of the bullock's blood to the tabernacle of the congregation:

17 And the priest shall dip his finger in some of the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the LORD, even before the vail.

bidden; by making wrong constructions of the law, or by common false opinions, or popular customs. For the whole congregation is here plainly distinguished from the elders of the people (ver. 15), which is certainly the name for their judges and governors. It was Mr. Selden's intention to have treated largely of the sense and notion of this law, as appears by what he saith of it, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 14, n. 4, where he refers his reader to the third book on that subject, for an account of this place. In the beginning of which (cap. 1, n. 1) he signifies his intention to explain what the office of the Sanhedrin was, in offering expiatory sacrifices for the whole congregation. Which he repeats again (cap. 10, n. 1), with this addition, that they made this sacrifice in the name of all the people, when they offended as a community. But he did not live to pursue his intentions, being diverted by long digressions about other matters: yet he shows sufficiently his opinion was, that the sacrifice was not offered for the Sanhedrin, but by them for the people.

And the thing be hid from—the assembly,] They are not sensible of their mistake for the present; but afterward discover it, either by themselves or by their rulers.

And they have done somewhat against any of the commandments] Have offended against some of the negative precepts [as the Jews speak] which forbid such things to be done (see ver. 2).

And are guilty:] Are sensible of their guilt.

Ver. 14. *When the sin—is known,]* When they have discovered what precept they have violated.

Offer a young bullock] Without blemish, as was required for the sin of the high-priest (ver. 3).

Bring him before the tabernacle] i. e. Cause the bullock to be brought thither, by some of his people, in the name of all the rest.

Ver. 15. *The elders—shall lay their hands]* They were to do this as representatives of the people (see ver. 13, and the end of laying on their hands, v. 4).

The bullock shall be killed] Either by some of them, or some of the people whom they appointed (see ver. 4).

Ver. 16. *And the priest that is anointed]* That is, the high-priest (see ver. 5): All the rest that follows, to ver. 22, is exactly the same that is prescribed in the foregoing offering, for the high-priest himself. Only R. Solomon Jarchi hath a nice observation on the next verse, that it is not said in this case (as it is in the former) he shall sprinkle of the blood seven times before the vail of the sanctuary, but only before the vail, without the addition of hakhodesh, of the sanctuary, as it is ver. 6. Because, saith he, if the high-priest only sin, the holiness doth not depart: but if all the congregation sin, then it doth depart. As, if a province rebel against a prince, his family stands; but if there be a general defection, he must fall. He hath the like observation upon ver. 22, 23, but it seems too subtle: for in the eighteenth verse Moses only saith, he shall put some of the blood upon the horns of the altar, without adding of sweet in-

18 And he shall put *some* of the blood upon the horns of the altar which *is* before the LORD, that *is* in the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall pour out all the blood at the bottom of the altar of the burnt offering, which *is* at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

19 And he shall take all his fat from him, and burn *it* upon the altar.

20 And he shall do with the bullock as he did with the bullock for a sin offering, so shall he do with this: and the priest shall make an atonement for them, and it shall be forgiven them.

21 And he shall carry forth the bullock without the camp, and burn him as he burned the first bullock: it is a sin offering for the congregation.

22 ¶ When a ruler hath sinned, and done *somewhat* through ignorance *against* any of the commandments of the LORD his God concern-

ence (as before, ver. 7), and yet it is manifest he means the same altar; and what was done in this sacrifice was as acceptable as what was done in the other.

Ver. 22. *When a ruler hath sinned, &c.*] The word *nasi*, which we translate ruler, signifies the head of a tribe, in Numb. i. 4, 16, vii. 2. But the Jews commonly understand it peculiarly of the head, or prince of the great Sanhedrin: who, when they were under the government of kings, was the king himself. Thus the Misna gathers from these words in the text, "when he sinneth against any of the commandments of the LORD his God," which signify him, say the doctors, that hath no superior but the Lord. And so the Gemarists understand it also, as Mr. Selden shows, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 16, p. 666. But I think it is most reasonable to extend this to all great officers and judges, who had a peculiar relation to God; and therefore were called by his name.

Concerning things—not be done.] See ver. 2.

And is guilty.] Acknowledges that he hath offended God by the sin which he hath committed.

Ver. 23. *Or if his sin—come to his knowledge.*] If we retain this translation (and do not render the first word *and*, but *or*), then the foregoing words in the latter end of ver. 22, *washem*, must be translated (not *is guilty*, but) *and acknowledges his guilt*. Which seems to be the true sense; for when men sin, they are guilty, though the sin was committed ignorantly; but they do not acknowledge their guilt till they see it; as Moses here supposes they might, when they considered better, or somebody informed them aright. So these words signify, *or his sin is made known unto him*. Thus L'Empereur very judiciously translates this whole passage, "And he acknowledges himself guilty, or his sin be shown to him:" otherwise there is no room for this disjunctive particle (see his Annot. upon Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 1, and cap. 9, sect. 4, 5). And thus we ourselves translate the first part of this disjunction (in the latter end of the foregoing verse), Hosea v. 15, *acknowledge their offences*.

A kid of the goats.] His sacrifice was of less value than the two former. From which Mr. Selden concludes, that the high-priest was not always head of the Sanhedrin (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 16, p. 653). For their sacrifices were very different, which argues a difference in their persons. And the Misna says, if the high-priest were put out of his office, his sacrifice was still the same, viz. a bullock without blemish: but it was not so with the *nasi*, or ruler, who offered only the sacrifice of a private man if he lost his office.

ing things which should not be done, and is guilty;

23 Or if his sin, wherein he hath sinned, come to his knowledge; he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a male without blemish:

24 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill it in the place where they kill the burnt offering before the LORD: it is a sin offering.

25 And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put *it* upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out his blood at the bottom of the altar of burnt offering.

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

27 ¶ And if any one of the common people

Male without blemish.] It was to be the best of this kind: though not equal to the sacrifice for the high-priest and the whole congregation (see ver. 28).

Ver. 24. *Lay his hand*] Of this see ver. 4.

Kill it in the place where they kill the burnt offering] Where that was, see chap. i. ver. 11. Neither of the two forementioned offerings (for the high-priest, or the whole congregation) are ordered to be killed here; but only before the LORD (ver. 14, 15), that is, in any part of the court but that which was proper to the burnt-offering, and the common sin-offering, as it here follows.

It is a sin offering.] And therefore was to be killed where the burnt-offering was; for so it is ordained (vi. 25) that all sin-offerings should be there slain. Which doth not imply that the two former were not sin-offerings, but that they were not of the common sort; as appears by the carrying of their blood into the sanctuary, and burning their flesh without the camp, which are not ordered either in this or in the following sacrifices.

Ver. 25. *The priest shall take of the blood*] By dipping his finger into it (ver. 6, 17).

Put it upon the horns of the altar] Whereas the blood of the two former was put upon the horns of the golden altar in the sanctuary (ver. 7, 18).

Pour out his blood] See ver. 18.

Ver. 26. *Burn all his fat upon the altar, &c.*] See chap. iii. 9. It is not here said what should be done with the flesh; which in the two foregoing offerings is ordered to be burnt without the camp (ver. 12, 21). But in chap. vi. 26, 29, and Numb. xviii. 9, 10, the law of the sin-offering is set down to be this, that the priest and his sons should eat it, in the sanctuary, and nowhere else; provided also that they were free from uncleanness (xxii. 4).

The priest shall make an atonement for him] By this sacrifice his guilt was expiated; which must be understood to be the effect of the sacrifice for the high-priest, though it be not expressed, as it is in that for the whole congregation (ver. 20).

It shall be forgiven him.] So that he should not be liable to the punishment of cutting off, as the Jews understand it; who fancy such sins to which that is threatened are here spoken of (see ver. 1). Rather, he was restored to communion with the people of God, from which he was separated while he remained in a known guilt.

Ver. 27, 28. *If any one of the common people sin*] Commit the same offence that a ruler or public officer doth.

sin through ignorance, while he doeth *some-what against* any of the commandments of the Lord *concerning things* which ought not to be done, and be guilty;

28 Or if his sin, which he hath sinned, come to his knowledge: then he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a female without blemish, for his sin which he hath sinned.

29 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and slay the sin offering in the place of the burnt offering.

30 And the priest shall take of the blood thereof with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out all the blood thereof at the bottom of the altar.

31 And he shall take away all the fat thereof, as the fat is taken away from off the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour unto the Lord;

If his sin—come to his knowledge.] See how this ought to be translated, ver. 22, 23.

He shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a female without blemish.] Being a common person, less was required of him than of a prince; who was to offer a *male* (ver. 23), which in all creatures was of greater value than a *female*, as Maimonides observes; who reckons up three-and-forty offences of this sort, that might be committed imprudently (in his treatise called Schegagoth), in one of which, viz. worshipping an idol ignorantly, the sacrifice was the same for a private man as for the king, or the high-priest, or the priest anointed for war: but in all the other forty-two a *female* goat or lamb sufficed for a private man (cap. 1, sect. 4). And this sacrifice they call *stated*, or fixed, because no man offered more nor less, whether rich or poor, man or woman; except only those who ate holy things, or entered into the sanctuary; whose sacrifices were higher or lower, as they speak. And there were three things, if we may believe them, which, though committed by error, were expiated by no sacrifice, viz. blasphemy, neglect of circumcision, and not keeping the passover (so R. Levi of Barcelona, Præcept. cxix.). Which seems to be an unreasonable opinion, since idolatry committed ignorantly, they say, was comprehended within this law.

Ver. 29.] This verse and the following, with the beginning of ver. 31, contain nothing but what was ordered about the foregoing sacrifice (ver. 24—26).

Ver. 31. *For a sweet savour]* This is a phrase used concerning burnt-offerings (i. 9, 13), and peace-offer-

and the priest shall make an atonement for him, and it shall be forgiven him.

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

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

34 And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out all the blood thereof at the bottom of the altar:

35 And he shall take away all the fat thereof, as the fat of the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of the peace offerings; and the priest shall burn them upon the altar, according to the offerings made by fire unto the Lord: and the priest shall make an atonement for his sin that he hath committed, and it shall be forgiven him.

ings (iii. 5, 16), but it is not said of any of the foregoing sin-offerings, that the burning of them, or their fat, was for a *sweet savour unto the Lord*. The reason of which I am not able to give, unless it were to comfort the lowest sort of people with hope of God's mercy, though their offering was mean, in comparison of those offered by others. Abarbanel gives this reason for it; because a sin of ignorance being a less fault in a common man, it was a sign of great probity in him to bring a sacrifice for the expiation of it: but for the high-priest, or senate, or ruler of the people, to be ignorant of the law, was such a high crime, that it was no commendation to them to bring a sacrifice for their purgation.

Ver. 32. *If he bring a lamb, &c.]* For which reason God was pleased to accept a *lamb*, and that a *female*, of those who were not able to bring a young kid.

Ver. 33.] This and the next verse differ not from the foregoing, and therefore need no explication.

Ver. 35. *According to the offerings]* Or rather upon the offerings, or after the burnt-offering (see iii. 5).

The priest shall make an atonement] And if by the same error he had committed several sins, there was a distinct atonement to be made for every one of them: so that if he had committed ignorantly the forty-three offences before mentioned, though it were by one and the same error, he was bound to offer as many expiatory sacrifices (as Maimonides resolves in the forenamed treatise Schegagoth, cap. 4). This, and such like things, made this law “a yoke which they were not able to bear,” as St. Peter speaks, Acts xv. 10.

CHAPTER V.

1 *He that sinneth in concealing his knowledge,* 2 *in touching an unclean thing,* 4 *or in making an oath.* 6 *His trespass offering, of the flock,* 7 *of fowls,* 11 *or of flour.* 14 *The trespass offering in sacrilege,* 17 *and in sins of ignorance.*

1 AND if a soul sin, and hear the voice of swearing, and is a witness, whether he hath

seen or known *of it*; if he do not utter *it*, then he shall bear his iniquity,

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *If a soul sin,]* In the manner following.

And hear the voice of swearing, and is a witness,] Being adjured in the name of God, when he is called to be a witness in a cause, to speak the truth. For judges had power to use such adjurations, that they

might either draw a confession from an accused person, or a faithful testimony from a witness. Of the former of which there is a solemn form remaining in Scripture (1 Kings xvii. 16; 2 Chron. xviii. 15), as Grotius hath observed upon Matt. xxvi. 63. And Dr. Hammond, upon the same place, hath observed instances of the latter (1 Kings vii. 31; Prov. xxix. 24).

2 Or if a soul touch any unclean thing, whether it be a carcase of an unclean beast, or a carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean creeping things, and if it be hidden from him; he also shall be unclean, and guilty.

3 Or if he touch the uncleanness of man, whatsoever uncleanness it be that a man shall be defiled withal, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty.

4 Or if a soul swear, pronouncing with his lips to do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be

that a man shall pronounce with an oath, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in one of these.

5 And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing:

6 And he shall bring his trespass offering unto the Lord for his sin which he hath sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a kid of the goats, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his sin.

And Micah's mother seems by her own authority to have adured her family, as they dreaded the vengeance of the Divine Majesty, to discover if they knew any thing of the eleven hundred shekels of silver, which had been stolen from her (Judg. xvii. 2). In all which cases, men were bound to answer, as much as if they had taken a solemn oath so to do. Inasmuch, that our blessed Lord himself, being thus adured, made an answer to the court of judgment, though before he had stood silent.

Whether he had seen or known of it;] Whether he can say any thing of the matter in question; either from his own knowledge, or from the information of credible persons.

If he do not utter it,] Declare what he knows, being thus adured.

Then he shall bear his iniquity.] Let him not think it is no offence to suppress the truth, when he is so solemnly admonished to declare it; but offer such a sacrifice for his sin, as is prescribed ver. 1, which belongs to all the following cases. The Jews make four sorts of oaths in their courts, or commerce one with another; as Mr. Selden hath observed out of their writers (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11, n. 8), which are *rash oaths*, *vain oaths*, (of which they also make four sorts), *oaths about trusts* (mentioned vi. 2, 3), and this, which they call the *oath of testimony*; which they say every man was bound to give before the Sanhedrin when he was required. With this distinction about capital and pecuniary causes, that in the latter a man was not bound to come and testify, unless he was cited by the plaintiff, or by the court; but in capital causes, and in such things as the law prohibited (as if a man saw another smite his neighbour), he was bound to come of his own accord, without any summons, and give his testimony in court. Yet in this they make some difference, as may be seen in R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxx. They who would see more of these several sorts of oaths among the Jews, may find them considered in Sam. Petitus's Var. Lectiones, cap. 16. And such a law as this there was anciently in other countries, that he who saw a crime committed, if he could not hinder it, should be bound, at least, to prosecute the malefactor. So the Egyptian lawgiver saith concerning *theft*, which a man saw committed, *μὴ δῶσαι γε πάντως ὅρατι τοὺς ληστὰς, καὶ ἐπεξέλαι τὴν παρομοίαν*, "to prosecute the law against that crime." So Plato uses the same word *ἐπεξέλαι*, lib. iv. de Legibus, saying that he who knew of such a fact, or had certain information of it, *καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλαι*, "and doth not prosecute the person that did it," *ἐν αὐταῖς ἐνδείκῳ νόμοις*, "let him be liable to the same punishment" (see Hen. Stephanus's Præfat. ad Fontes Juris Civilis).

Vcr. 2. If a soul touch any unclean thing, &c.] The Hebrew doctors expound this of such persons as having touched any of the unclean things, which are mentioned in this verse and in the next, came into the sanctuary, or did eat of the holy things. Which they gather out of vii. 20, 21, and Numb. xix. 20, where

cutting off is threatened to those, who knowingly were so guilty. For otherwise, it was sufficient for a man's expiation, who touched any unclean thing, to wash himself; and his uncleanness lasted only till the evening (see chap. xi. and Numb. xix.). But why may it not be meant of those who neglected to wash themselves, who were to expiate that neglect by a sacrifice.

He also shall be unclean,] Obligated to offer the sacrifice prescribed (ver. 6) for eating that which is holy (saith Rasi) or coming into the sanctuary.

Vcr. 3. Or if he touch the uncleanness of man,] Such uncleanness as are mentioned in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth chapters of this book.

And it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it,] The words may be translated, "Whether he did it ignorantly, or had some knowledge of it," and yet offended, he shall be obliged to offer the sacrifice mentioned, ver. 6.

Vcr. 4. If a soul swear,] This the Hebrew doctors expound of that sort of oath which they call *futile*, or *rash*: when a man saith he hath done, or will do, or not do, a thing that is in his power to do.

Pronouncing with his lips] It was to be uttered in words, and not merely thought in his mind.

To do evil, or to do good,] That he hath done a thing, or not done it, of whatsoever kind it be; or that he will, or will not do it. For these four kinds of oaths, of this sort, the Hebrew doctors make, two about things past, and two about things to come (see Selden de Synedr. lib. ii. cap. 11, n. 8). As if he swear that he did eat, or he did not eat of such a meat; did talk, or did not talk with Reuben or Simeon, &c. Rasi thinks by *doing good* is meant something for his own advantage, and, consequently, by *doing evil*, we are to understand *afflicting* himself, or *punishing* his servant, &c. But it may as well be understood generally of all things whatsoever, which are comprehended under the name of *good and evil*.

It be hid from him;] He did not rightly understand, or consider the thing about which he swore; whether it was in his power, for instance, to do what he swore he would do; or, whether he could lawfully do it; or if through forgetfulness he omitted to do what he might have done. Some interpret these and the following words, as those of the foregoing verse.

He shall be guilty in one of these,] Obligated to offer a sacrifice (as it follows, ver. 6), if he have sworn rashly in any of the foregoing instances.

Vcr. 5. When he shall be guilty—he shall confess] When he laid his hand upon the head of his sacrifice, this confession of his offence, it is likely, was made; without which his sacrifice would have been of no avail: so all the Hebrew doctors understand it; particularly Abarinel, upon the sixteenth chapter of this book, saith, that "confession was necessary to be added to every sacrifice for sin." For what is here commanded in this case, they resolve belongs to all *sin-offerings*, and *trespass-offerings* also. And, indeed, it was a notion among the heathen them-

7 And if he be not able to bring a lamb, then he shall bring for his trespass which he hath committed, two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, unto the Lord; one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering.

8 And he shall bring them unto the priest, who shall offer *that which is* for the sin offering first, and wring off his head from his neck, but shall not divide it asunder:

9 And he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin offering upon the side of the altar; and the

rest of the blood shall be wrung out at the bottom of the altar: it is a sin offering.

10 And he shall offer the second for a burnt offering, according to the manner: and the priest shall make an atonement for him for his sin which he hath sinned, and it shall be forgiven him.

11 ¶ But if he be not able to bring two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, then he that sinned shall bring for his offering the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall

selves, that an offering without prayer was to no purpose: Quippe victimas cedi sine precatone, non videtur referre, nec Deos ritè consuli, as Pliny speaks (lib. xxviii. Nat. Hist. cap. 2), and every one knows that confession was a part of prayer (see Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 15, n. 9).

Ver. 6. *He shall bring his trespass offering*] There is a difference between a *sin-offering* (called *chattah*) and a *trespass-offering* (called *asham*), as is plain in the latter part of this chapter, compared with this. But here in this place they are not distinguished, for the name of *trespass-offering* is given to that which was really a *sin-offering*; as appears from the latter end of this verse, and from the two next, where this offering is expressly called a *sin-offering*.

For his sin] In any of the four forementioned cases; either by polluting the sanctuary, or eating holy things, or a rash oath, or by refusing to give his testimony, being adjured by the court of judgment to do it. Thus R. Levi of Barcelona explains this, (Præcept. cxxi.).

A lamb or a kid of the goats,] As the Hebrews call the *sin-offering*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter (ver. 27), a *fixed sacrifice*; so they call this *higher* or *lower*, being brought according to every man's faculty or ability; some more, some less, as the forenamed author, and many other of their doctors observe; and is plain of itself from the following verses.

The priest shall make an atonement] By sprinkling the blood, and burning the fat of the sacrifice, as is directed, iv. 34, 35.

Ver. 7. *If he be not able to bring a lamb,*] See the mercy of God, saith the same R. Levi, who was pleased to exact such small punishments for these sins, *because it was very easy for men to fall into them*. For we are more prone to offend in word than in deed: and without great caution it was scarce possible not to fall into such legal pollutions as required this expiation.

He shall bring for his trespass,—two turtledoves, or two young pigeons,] Who, though he would not exact a heavy punishment of them for these offences, yet would not suffer them to escape altogether unpunished; that they might not be presumptuous, but use due care and caution in their words and actions. So the same R. Levi represents the sense of this law, as if the Lord had said, “I would not have such things done; but if any man by frailty commit them, let him repent with all his might, and set a guard upon himself; and let him offer a sacrifice, which may imprint the remembrance of his guilt upon his heart; and preserve him that he may not hereafter offend.”

One for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering.] First, he was to have his peace made with God, by a *sin-offering*; and then his *burnt-offering*, or his gift, might be accepted, as Rasi observes; and is expressly ordered in the next verse, “the priest shall offer that which is for the *sin-offering* first.”

Ver. 8. *Wring off his head*] Or rather, nip it off with his nail (as the Jews explain it, see i. 15), so as not quite to separate it from the body. For that had been to make the sacrifice contemptible (as R. Levi, of Barcelona, gives the reason of it, Præcept. cxxviii.), the bird looking more handsome with its neck still joined to the body, than without it. And it was fit the sacrifice, even of a poor man, should be as decent as possible; it being sufficient he thus suffered, without increasing his affliction by the mean and abject form of his sacrifice.

Ver. 9. *He shall sprinkle of the blood*] Some of the blood, which ran out of itself, as the priest held it by the neck, where he nipped it, he was to sprinkle upon the side of the altar. And then he was to press out the rest of the blood (when as much was run out as would of itself, by that nip) at the bottom of the altar; where they were wont to pour out the blood of the *sin-offering* (iv. 7, 18, 25, 34).

It is a sin offering.] Therefore the blood was there pressed out: whereas, in *burnt-offerings* of a bird, we read only of pressing or squeezing out the blood at the side of the altar (i. 15). It is not said what was to be done with the flesh; but it is plain, from vi. 26, that the priest was to have it; the blood only being offered to God.

Ver. 10. *He shall offer the second for a burnt offering.*] Prescribed in the first chapter, ver. 15.

The priest shall make an atonement for him] Some gather from hence, that the *burnt-offering* was also an expiatory sacrifice. But it is so plainly distinguished from it, that these words seem to me to relate only to the foregoing offering (ver. 8, 9). Though this may be concluded from hence: that the *sin-offering* was not accepted for his expiation; unless this *burnt-offering* followed as a thankful acknowledgment made to God for his goodness.

Ver. 11. *But if he be not able, &c.*] This was still a more merciful provision for the poor; who were not to be so ambitious of offering a beast or a bird, as not to content themselves with offering the smallest thing that God would accept. So R. Levi, of Barcelona, observes, that God having such compassion on men's poverty, it did not become them to strain themselves to offer more than they were able; for so they might have been tempted to steal. Yet, if, after a man had set aside a little money to buy this quantity of fine flour, his estate was bettered, he was then bound (as Maimonides saith, in the treatise called Schegagoth) to add so much to it, as would buy the birds before prescribed. And in like manner, if he had designed to buy birds, and on a sudden grew richer, he was to procure a lamb or a kid. On the contrary, if a man had set apart money to buy a bullock for his *sin-offering*, and unexpectedly grew poor, he might buy two turtles, or young pigeons, and by them redeem his money so consecrated, &c. (cap. 10).

The tenth part of an ephah of fine flour] Neither more nor less; which was but a small quantity (see Exod. xvi. 36), because God would not have

put no oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon : for it is a sin offering.

12 Then shall he bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take his handful of it, *even* a memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar, according to the offerings made by fire unto the Lord : it is a sin offering.

his creature oppressed, as the same author observes (Præcept. cxxix.)

He shall put no oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense] In commiseration of his poverty, God required only a little flour, which every one might easily get, to offer without any oil to it, which was more costly ; and also had something of magnificence in it (kings and priests being anointed) and therefore not becoming the meanness, or the grief and humility, of the person that brought this offering. For which reason *frankincense* was also omitted, being a pleasant thing ; and not fit to be added to an offering for sin : which was offensive to God. To this purpose the same R. Levi, in the same place. And we find this imitated also by the heathen ; for Pliny saith, in his preface to Vespasian before his Natural History, *Mola tantum salsa litant, qui non habent thura*.

Ver. 12. *Bring it to the priest,*] Confessing his sin to him (as is ordered, ver. 5), for which he desired this offering might be accepted.

Shall take his handful of it,] For an acknowledgment of his fault, and as a caution to him hereafter.

Ver. 13. *The priest shall make an atonement for him*] With one of these three forementioned sacrifices ; either with a lamb, or with two turtles or young pigeons, or with fine flour. For as Rasi hath observed there are three sorts of men ; rich, poor, and very poor : and so three sorts of offerings are prescribed in this chapter, suitable to each of their abilities.

The remnant shall be the priest's, as a meat offering,] See chapter the second, ver. 2, 3, where the whole *meal-offering* (except one handful) is given to the priest : who had nothing at all of some of the *sin-offerings*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter (ver. 12, 21), which were entirely consumed.

Ver. 14.] Here begin the orders which were given to Moses about another sort of sacrifice, near of kin to the former ; but delivered, it is likely, at some other time ; after he had written down the foregoing laws about *sin-offerings* (see iv. 1).

Ver. 15. *If a soul commit a trespass,*] In the Hebrew this is a different phrase from what had been hitherto used, signifying another sort of guilt.

And sin through ignorance, in the holy things of the Lord ;] By applying to his own private use any thing that was dedicated to God (as Maimonides expounds it in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46), which might be committed in the payment of tithes, and in first-fruits, and the first-born of cattle, or meddling with that part of the sacrifice which belonged to the priest alone. Which things he that committed *presumptuously*, was to be cut off (Numb. xv. 30), but if *ignorantly*, he was to do as here is directed in this verse. But these words seem to be particularly restrained to the last of those things now mentioned (eating any part of the sacrifice which belonged to the priest alone, xxii. 14), and the end of this law (R. Levi Barzelonita speaks, Præcept. cxxii.) was to excite fear and reverence in all those who approached unto holy things.

He shall bring for his trespass—a ram without blemish] As a sheep was a more noble species among creatures than a goat : so a *ram* was of a greater value among sheep than a female : and therefore this sacrifice was more costly than the *sin-offering* mentioned ver. 6.

13 And the priest shall make an atonement for him as touching his sin that he hath sinned in one of these, and it shall be forgiven him : and the remnant shall be the priest's, as a meat offering.

14 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

15 If a soul commit a trespass, and sin through

With thy estimation] Besides his sacrifice, he was to make satisfaction in money, according as the priest should esteem the damage. For that is the meaning of *with thy estimation* ; according to the value thou shalt set upon the thing, which he applied to his own use.

By shekels of silver,] At least two shekels, as the Jewish doctors resolve.

After the shekels of the sanctuary,] See Exod. xxx.

13. The Jews were thus confined to these rites, and such as are mentioned ver. 8, 9, in the rest of these prescriptions, that there might be no room for idolatrous ceremonies ; nor might men among themselves be left at liberty to invent impious or frivolous ways of worship : and that the obedience of good men might be also exercised in these minute matters ; and the contempt of wicked people be the more apparent in refusing to comply with these known laws of God.

For a trespass offering] The Hebrew word *asham*, which we translate *trespass-offering*, is so near of kin to *chattah*, which we translate *sin-offering*, that one of them is sometimes used for the other, as I observed upon ver. 6, yet there is a real difference between them ; though it be not easy to determine wherein it consists. For the greatest men differ in their opinion about the quality of the offences, for which these two kinds of sacrifices were to be offered : some saying that the offences for which *asham* was offered, were inferior to those for which *chattah* was offered ; which is the opinion of Maimonides in his More Nevochim (par. iii. cap. 46). Others, on the contrary, think, that the offences which were expiated by *asham*, were more grievous than those expiated by *chattah* ; which is the opinion of no less a man than the deservedly admired Bochartus, in his Hierozoicon (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 33). Where he adds that the former sort of sins were committed knowingly ; the other only ignorantly. For so the LXX. translate *chattah* by ἀμαρτία, which seems to denote a fault committed by error and mistake ; but *asham* by πλημμελία, which carries in it the notion of something premeditated and designed. But this is directly contrary to the very words of Moses here in this verse ; which expressly speak of a *trespass* committed through ignorance. Aben Ezra therefore distinguishes these two much better, making *chattah* to signify a *sacrifice* which was made for the purging offences, committed through ignorance of the law ; and *asham* for such as were committed through the forgetfulness of the law. But as he gives no proof of this, so he was sensible it was liable to exception ; there being one of this sort of sacrifice mentioned ver. 17, which he saw could not be comprehended under this rule. Others therefore think, the former hath respect to offences against God ; and the latter to those against men ; not observing, that the very same sort of sin, which when it was known is called *chattah*, when it was doubtful is called *asham*. From whence a very learned person of our own (now with God), who had much and long considered this matter, concludes, that an offence was peculiarly called *asham* (which is a name for the sin, as well as for the sacrifice, as *chattah* also is) about which either a man was dubious (as in the following verse), or did a manifest damage to other men. There being no *asham* (or *trespass-offering*) commanded to

ignorance, in the holy things of the LORD; then he shall bring for his trespass unto the LORD a ram without blemish out of the flocks, with thy estimation by shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for a trespass offering.

16 And he shall make amends for the harm that he hath done in the holy thing, and shall add the fifth part thereto, and give it unto the

priest: and the priest shall make an atonement for him with the ram of the trespass offering, and it shall be forgiven him.

17 ¶ And if a soul sin, and commit any of these things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of the LORD; though he wist it not, yet is he guilty, and shall bear his iniquity.

be offered by the law, but for such offences as were so committed against God, that their neighbours also were injured by them. As in the case of those who did eat holy things, here mentioned, whereby the priests were damaged: and of those mentioned vi. 2—4, and such as lay with a bond-woman betrothed to another (xix. 20, 21), which are all the cases belonging to this matter; excepting that of the Nazarite defiled by the dead (Numb. vi. 12), and of the leper (iv. 12), who were to be purged with a *sin-offering*, as well as with a *trespass-offering*; and therefore not to be considered in this matter. See Dr. Outram, lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 13, n. 8, and Samuel Petitus's *Variae Lectiones*, cap. 22, who hath said the same, but not so fully and distinctly. If this do not satisfy, yet it is plain the sacrifices which go by this name of *trespass-offerings*, and the rites also about them, were so different, that they are sufficient to distinguish them from the other. For none but *rams* and *male lambs* were admitted for *trespass-offerings*, which were not used at all in any *sin-offerings*. And the blood of the *sin-offerings* was put upon the altar (as was noted in the foregoing chapter, ver. 7, 18, 25), but that of the *trespass-offerings* was sprinkled round about upon the altar (vii. 2). *Sin-offerings* also were offered for the whole congregation of Israel (iv. 13), but *trespass-offerings* only for private persons, which made Bonfrevius (I suppose) after a long discussion of this matter, to conclude that the difference between *sin* and *trespass* consisted only in the sacrifices which were offered for them. See him upon the fourth chapter of this book, ver. 1.

Ver. 16. *And shall add the fifth part thereto, &c.*] Besides the compensation mentioned in the foregoing verse, for the damage that was done, according to the valuation made by the priest, there was a *fifth part* more to be added thereto, and given to the priest who had suffered the damage.

And the priest shall make an atonement for him.] The atonement was not made, nor forgiveness obtained, till full satisfaction for the wrong had been made.

Ver. 17. *If a soul sin, and commit any of these things, &c.*] Did eat any of the holy things before mentioned, which God forbade any but the priests to eat.

Though he wist it not.] i. e. Be not certain whether they were holy or no. For the Hebrews generally call this *asham talui*, a *dubious* trespass-offering: being in a matter about which a man was in suspense, whether he had offended or not.

Yet he is guilty.] He shall be obliged to offer this sort of sacrifice. Which was ordained (saith R. Levi Barzelon. Precept. cxxiii.) to make men cautious and fear to sin; and to attend diligently in all their actions, that they transgressed not the laws of God.

Ver. 18. *He shall bring a ram without blemish, &c.*] The offering before appointed (ver. 15, &c.) with this difference only, that no *fifth part* was in this case to be added, because it was not certain whether he had transgressed or no.

Concerning his ignorance wherein he erred and wist it not.] Did not know whether he had offended or not: which distinguishes this from the sin of ignorance, mentioned ver. 15.

It shall be forgiven him.] But if he afterward came to have a certain knowledge of his offence, he was not excused by this *dubious offering* (as Rasi observes), but was bound also to offer a *sin-offering*.

Ver. 19. *It is a trespass offering.*] In this case a sacrifice must be offered, as well as in a certain trespass.

He hath certainly trespassed against the Lord.] The words in the Hebrew are, *asham ashām lajehovā*; which, I think, should be translated, “a trespass-offering certainly unto the Lord.” That is, in this doubtful case, let him take a sure course, by offering the sacrifice here prescribed. For though neither this sort of sacrifices, nor *sin-offerings* were to be voluntary (which was proper only to *whole burnt-offerings* and *peace-offerings*), yet the very suspicion of a guilt required a sacrifice. As for all those offences which might be committed by men who had no sense or suspicion of them, they were expiated by the sacrifices which were offered for the whole congregation, at certain stated times: but no particular person was to offer either *sin-offering* or *trespass-offering* of his own accord, unless he knew or feared he had contracted some guilt.

I cannot think fit to conclude this chapter, without taking notice how Jonathan paraphrases these last words of it; who, instead of saying he hath trespassed (as it is commonly translated) *against the Lord*, saith “against the name of the Word of the Lord.” Which is an observation that might have been made in my notes upon the two foregoing books of Moses, where many such passages occur, which I did not mention. And I should not have done it now (being unwilling to swell this commentary with any thing that doth not tend to the explaining the sense of the text), did not the impious pamphlets that have lately been spread abroad against the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, made it necessary for me to take this occasion to assert, that this doctrine was not unknown to the ancient Jews, as appears even from the frequent mention of the *Word of the Lord* in the Chaldee paraphrasts, where the Hebrew hath only *Jehovah* (or the *Lord*): for which I can see no reason at all, if there had not been a notion among them of more persons than one who was *Jehovah*. It doth not always, indeed, carry this signification in it; but there are very many places where, by the *Word of the Lord*, cannot be meant a *word spoken by the Lord*, or any thing else, but a *person speaking or acting, &c. who is the Lord*. There is a famous instance of it in Gen. xxviii. 20, 21, where Jacob's vow is thus translated by Onkelos: “Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If the Word of the Lord will be with me, and keep me, &c., then shall the Word of the Lord be my God.” Where the *Word of the Lord* is so plainly made the object of his adoration, that it evidently shows they had a notion in those days when Onkelos lived (which was about our Saviour's time), of more persons than one who was the *Lord*. The Jerusalem Targum also speaks this so clearly, that one cannot but be something amazed to meet with such expressions in it, as those upon Gen. iii. 22, “The Word of the Lord said, Behold, Adam whom I have created, is my only

IS And he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the flock, with thy estimation, for a trespass offering, unto the priest: and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his

begotten in this world; as I am the only-begotten in the heavens above." Which may fairly induce a belief that St. John used a known language of those

ignorance wherein he erred and wist it not, and it shall be forgiven him.

19 It is a trespass offering; he hath certainly trespassed against the Lord.

times, when he declared our blessed Saviour's Godhead under the name of the Word, "who was in the beginning with God, and was God" (John i. 1).

CHAPTER VI.

1 The trespass offering for sins done wittingly. 8 The law of the burnt offering, 14 and of the meat offering. 19 The offering at the consecration of a priest. 24 The law of the sin offering.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 If a soul sin, and commit a trespass against the LORD, and lie unto his neighbour in that which was delivered him to keep, or in fellowship, or in a thing taken away by violence, or hath deceived his neighbour;
3 Or have found that which was lost, and lieth

concerning it, and sweareth falsely; in any of all these that a man doeth, sinning therein:

4 Then it shall be, because he hath sinned, and is guilty, that he shall restore that which he took violently away, or the thing which he hath deceitfully gotten, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found,

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1.] What here follows belonging unto the same with that which went before, it is likely, was spoken at the same time. And these words signify, that the Lord further spake unto Moses, what concerned trespass-offerings.

Ver. 2. [*If a soul sin, and commit a trespass*] The same sort of expression is used in the beginning of this law, concerning the trespass-offering, ver. 15. Which some translate *prevaricate*, or act insincerely.

Against the Lord,] The Sovereign of the world; who was peculiarly affronted by the following sins; especially by swearing falsely, which was calling him to bear witness to a lie.

Lie unto his neighbour,] Deny the trust which was committed to him: and that when he was brought upon his oath to deliver the truth, as appears by the next verse. For this is the instance of that sort of oath, which the Jews call *the oath about a thing deposited* (see v. 1). For there being no witness of what was done between two friends or neighbours, who trusted one another in such matters, but God alone; they appeared unto him, from whom nothing could be hid. And this oath, the Jews say, was governed by another, which they call *the oath of the testimony*: which a man was not bound to give, unless he was adjured to it by the court of judgment: and so it was in the oath about the things deposited; he was not guilty who was adjured by private persons, and denied it; but he that denied it before the court. So they resolve in Halicah Olam, par. iv. cap. 2.

Or in fellowship,] To carry on a common trade, in joint stock; or (as others understand it) in any thing for which he gave his hand unto another: for so the Hebrew words are, *putting of the hand*, as contracts are oftentimes made: which if a man afterward denied, he fell under the guilt here mentioned. And there is some reason to think, that this is much of the same nature with the former; because, when he speaks of restitution (ver. 4), this is not repeated. And therefore it seems to be included in that which was deposited with another: whether it were money, called here *pikkadon*; or any other goods, called *tesumah jad*. They that would see more opinions about these words, *putting of the hand*, may consult Const. L'Empereur, in his annotations on Bava kama, cap. 9, sect. 7.

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In a thing taken away by violence,] That is, by robbery or stealth, as the word *gazel* signifies. For theft not being punished among the Jews with death, they tendered an oath to those who were accused or suspected of it, to clear themselves from the imputation (Exod. xxii. 11).

Hath deceived his neighbour;] Wronged him by false accusation, as the Hebrew word *hashok* seems to import. Which St. Jerome always translates *calumny*; as the word *hashak* he translates *calumniate*. It signifies also *extortion*; and Rasi takes it for defrauding a hireling of his wages.

Ver. 3. *Found that which was lost, and lieth concerning it,*] Deny that he found a thing lost; which in truth came to his hand.

Sweareth falsely;] They put men to their oath in this case also, when there was a just cause of suspicion; as they did in matters of theft.

In any of all these] In any of these sorts of things; as the Hebrew may be translated.

That a man doeth,] Wherein one man dealeth with another: or which frequently happen, as Grotius thinks this phrase signifies, in his annotations upon 1 Cor. x. 13.

Sinning therein;] By these means contracting a guilt.

Ver. 4. *Then it shall be, because he hath sinned, and is guilty,*] The last words should rather be translated, *and acknowledges his guilt*. For so this word *asham*, guilty, ought to be expounded, as I showed iv. 22, 23, to make a clear sense of the law there mentioned. And it would otherwise be superfluous here: for when a man hath sinned so grievously as the foregoing verses suppose, who could doubt of his guilt? The true meaning therefore is, *when he hath sinned* (so the first words may be translated) by committing any of those things before mentioned, and *acknowledges his guilt*, he shall restore that which he took away violently, &c. And this most plainly reconciles the contradiction, that otherwise would be between this law and that in Exod. xxii. 1, 7, 9, where a man that stole an ox is condemned to restore five oxen, and four sheep for one; and if he delivered money to another to keep, and it was stolen, the thief was to pay double; whereas here, one simple restitution is exacted, with an addition of a fifth part. The reason is, because in Exodus he speaks of those thieves who were convicted by witnesses in a court of law; and then condemned to

5 Or all that about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in the principal, and shall add the fifth part more thereto, and give it unto him to whom it appertaineth, in the day of his trespass offering.

6 And he shall bring his trespass offering unto the LORD, a ram without blemish out of the flock, with thy estimation, for a trespass offering, unto the priest:

7 And the priest shall make an atonement for

make such great restitution: but here of such as, touched with a sense of their sin came voluntarily and acknowledged their theft, or other crime, of which nobody convicted them, or at least confessed it freely when they were adjured; and therefore were condemned to suffer a lesser punishment, and to expiate their guilt by a sacrifice. See L'Empereur upon Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 1, and cap. 9, sect. 1, 5, 7, where he observes very judiciously, that this interpretation is confirmed by Numb. v. 7, where the first words may be translated, "If they shall confess their sin that they have done," And this seems to be more reasonable that the account which Maimonides gives of this matter in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41, where, expounding these words, *which he took violently*, of an open robber, he gives these reasons why he was not punished so much as a thief, but restored only the principal, with a fifth part; because rapine happens seldom, but theft often; for it cannot be committed so easily as theft; and is done openly and manifestly, whereas theft is committed more secretly: so that a man may be aware (he imagines) of a robber, and defend his goods against him, better than against a secret thief. Yet this is better than the account of R. Johannes f. Zachei (mentioned by J. Coeh upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 7, p. 271), that a mere thief fears man more than God; but a robber fears both alike.

Ver. 5. *He shall even restore it in the principal,*] The same numerical thing which he took away, if it still remains in his possession unaltered; or else the just price of it: as R. Levi Barzelonita expounds it, Præcept. cxv. And the Jews pretend to such scrupulosity in this matter, that they say a man, who was to have a share in his father's estate, from whom he had taken something by robbery, was to restore it before the division was made, and not by detaining it to make his share greater than it ought to be (see Bava kama, cap. 9, sect. 9).

Shall add the fifth part more] The Jews have many subtleties about this, as may be seen there, sect. 6, 7. The plain sense is, that he should compensate the loss which the right owner might have sustained (by wanting the use of his goods so long as the other had detained them in his hand), by adding a full fifth part of the principal, as an amends for the wrong. Yet, if he had really forgotten that he had found such a thing as he was charged withal, at the time he denied it upon oath, he was not bound to pay the fifth part more, nor to offer the expiatory sacrifice, though he really was possessed of the thing: as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11, p. 506.

Give it unto him to whom it appertaineth,] If he hath stolen from a man the smallest piece of money, which the Jews call *peruta*, and had forsworn it, they fancy he was bound to restore it to the owner himself, though he lived as far off as Media; and it would not suffice to give it to his son or his attorney, whom he had left to act for him. Yet they are something humoursome in these absurdities; for they do not tie a man to go so far to pay the fifth part, though in a case

him before the LORD: and it shall be forgiven him for any thing of all that he hath done in trespassing therein.

8 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

9 Command Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt offering: It is the burnt offering, because of the burning upon the altar all night unto the morning, and the fire of the altar shall be burning in it.

10 And the priest shall put on his linen gar-

where it was more than a peruta (see Bava kama, cap. 9, sect. 5, 6).

In the day of his trespass offering,] Or, *in the day of his trespass*; that is, as soon as he acknowledgeth his guilt, as this word I showed, ver. 4, is to be interpreted. And this agrees with what our blessed Saviour requires (Matt. v. 23).

Ver. 6. *A ram without blemish*] This the Hebrews call an offering for a certain guilt; as that, v. 15, was for a dubious.

With thy estimation, &c.] R. Levi, of Barcelona, interprets it, a ram worth two shekels (Præcept. cxxiv.).

Ver. 7. *The priest shall make an atonement for him*] The offender was not to think he was cleared by making restitution, and adding the fifth part, whereby his neighbour might well be satisfied: but withal, this sacrifice was necessary for his expiation, without which no satisfaction was made to the Divine Majesty. The Jews themselves also think that this was prescribed, to make them more sensible of their sin, and to render it more odious unto them; as the same author observes.

Ver. 8.] Here the Hebrews begin a new section of the law, as well as a new chapter (as we call it); for the first seven verses plainly belong to the matter of the foregoing chapter. And it is reasonable to think, that the following precepts were given at a distinct time from the former (see iv. 1), being about a different matter. For having declared what offerings the people should bring to the Lord, he now gives instructions to the priests, how they should manage the several offerings that were brought.

Ver. 9. *Command Aaron and his sons,*] As before he bade Moses speak unto the children of Israel (Lev. i. 2, iv. 2), because the law he then gave concerned them: so now he bids him command Aaron and his sons what to do; and acquaints them with the laws, that is, the rites they should observe in offering the several sacrifices before directed to be made.

This is the law of the burnt offering,] He mentions that first, which was first delivered, and was the principal offering, being purely in honour of God; whereas the other was occasioned by men's sins, or the benefits he had bestowed on them.

It is the burnt offering,] He explains what *burnt-offering* he chiefly means, viz. the daily sacrifice; which was the principal burnt-offering, according to which all other offerings of that kind were to be regulated.

Because of the burning upon the altar all night unto the morning,] Or, *for the burning upon the altar, &c.* This was the reason of its name, because it was burning on the altar from the evening (at which the Jews began this day) till the morning. For which purpose the priests watched all night, and put the sacrifice upon the altar piece by piece, that it might be consumed by a slow and gentle fire. As for the *morning sacrifice*, it is not here mentioned, because it was consumed by a quicker fire; that there might be room for other sacrifices that were commonly offered

ment, and his linen breeches shall he put upon his flesh, and take up the ashes which the fire hath consumed with the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar.

11 And he shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes without the camp unto a clean place.

after it (as appears from ver. 12), and were only offered in the morning, not at night. But if there were no other sacrifices to succeed it in the morning, then, it is very likely, that it was also kept burning till the evening sacrifice; that God's altar might always have meat upon it.

And the fire of the altar shall be burning in it,] Or, *For the fire of the altar, &c.* So it should be translated: unless we translate the last word *not in it*, but *by it*. *And the fire of the altar shall be burning* (i. e. be fed or maintained) *by it*.

Ver. 10. *Linen garment,]* Mentioned Exod. xxviii. 40.

His linen breeches shall he put upon his flesh,] To cover his secret parts, as appears from Exod. xxviii. 42.

Which the fire hath consumed with the burnt offering, &c.] Or rather, *When the fire hath consumed the burnt offering on the altar.* For the word *ashar*, which we here translate *which*, signifies also *when*; and is so translated by us, iv. 22. Or else the sense must be, *The ashes into which the fire hath consumed the burnt-offering.* Or, to make good our present translation, a few words must be added, in this manner: "The ashes (of the wood) which the fire hath consumed with the burnt-offering."

He shall put them beside the altar.] On the east part of it, as far as might be from the most holy place (see i. 16). For this was most suitable to the glory of the house of God (saith R. Levi, of Barcelona), and the fire would burn better when the altar was cleared from the ashes.

Ver. 11. *He shall put off his garments,]* Those before named, and put on other garments. It is a question among the Jews, whether he mean his common raiment, or some other garments, not holy, and yet not quite common, but of a middle nature. It is most likely that the carrying the ashes out of the tabernacle, being not a holy action, as they were not to perform it in their priestly, i. e. sacred garments, wherein they took them from the altar; so they did it in the common habit, which they wore when they did not minister. Yet Rasi thinks this was not absolutely necessary, but only fitting and seemly: it being indecent to do this work in the same garments wherein they served at the altar. And the ashes having been upon the altar, there are those (as I said) who fancy this was not a work fit to be performed in their common garments; and therefore have devised a habit of less dignity than those garments wherein they ministered, which they used when they carried out the ashes. Thus Maimonides himself, and others, mentioned by Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11, n. 6; where he likewise observes, that Chiskuni is of opinion, that such of the family of the priests as were both excluded from their ministry in the sanctuary and from wearing the holy garments, by reason of some defect in their bodies, were permitted to perform this office of carrying away the ashes.

Carry forth the ashes without the camp] See iv. 12. The forementioned Rasi will have it, that they needed not to take away all the ashes every day; but only a shovelfull, which they laid beside the altar. And when the hollow place of the altar was so full that there was no room to lay on the wood, they were bound to empty it, and carry all the ashes away.

12 And the fire upon the altar shall be burning in it; it shall not be put out: and the priest shall burn wood on it every morning, and lay the burnt offering in order upon it; and he shall burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings.

13 The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar; it shall never go out.

Ver. 12. *The fire upon the altar shall be burning in it; it shall not be put out.]* This precept is repeated again in the next verse; as it was mentioned once before (ver. 9). For which there is a just reason, as Abarbinel makes account. For in the ninth verse he requires, that the wood for the evening sacrifice should be so ordered and attended, that the fire might be kept in till the morning. And then, here, in this verse, he requires there should such care be used in taking away the ashes, that the fire might still remain, and not be extinguished. After which, speaking of the morning sacrifice, in the latter part of this verse, he requires in the next (ver. 13), that such a quantity of wood should be laid on the altar, when they offered it, that the fire might be kept in till the evening sacrifice; or that, if there were any extraordinary sacrifices brought besides the daily burnt-offering, the priests should still add more wood, that the fire might not be put out by that means, but be able to devour them.

The priest shall burn wood on it] The Hebrew word for wood being in the plural number, R. Levi of Barcelona concludes there were more bundles than one brought in every day. And from this place (and i. 7) he gathers there were three. The first of which he calls the *great heap*; with which the daily sacrifice, and the rest for which there was occasion, were offered: of which he thinks Moses speaks in the ninth verse of this chapter. The second was lesser, which was laid at the side of the other, that they might have coals for the burning incense; and this he thinks intended here. And the third was merely to keep in the fire perpetually; of which he thinks Moses speaks in the next verse. The Misna also tells us, that there being seven gates to the great court of the sanctuary, three on the north, and as many on the south, and one at the east; the first on the south was called the *gate of burning*, because at that gate they brought in the wood which was to preserve the fire perpetually on the altar (see Codex Middoth, cap. i. sect. 4).

Burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings.] This fat of the peace-offerings was to be burnt together with the burnt-offering, and not separate from it: by which means the burnt-offering was the sooner consumed, and more room was made for other occasional sacrifices.

Ver. 13. *The fire shall ever be burning]* This fire was not kindled by the priests, but by God himself; who sent it from heaven to consume the first sacrifice that was offered by Aaron (ix. ult.). From which time they were bound to take care, that it never went out; that so their sacrifices might be constantly offered by celestial fire: because it was the continuation of that fire which came from heaven, by a continual addition of fuel, whereby it was preserved. And so it continued, as the Jews affirm, till the captivity of Babylon; and after it, as some of them would have us believe (who fancy it was preserved in a pit, by the care of some religious priests, till their return), though against the common tradition among them, which is, that *there was no sacred fire in the second temple*; for they reckon this among the five things which were wanting there, and had been in the first. And as for the constant continuance of this fire, there was care taken that wood should be laid up in the

14 ¶ And this is the law of the meat offering: the sons of Aaron shall offer it before the LORD, before the altar.

15 And he shall take of it his handful, of the flour of the meat offering, and of the oil thereof, and all the frankincense which is upon the meat offering, and shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour, even the memorial of it, unto the LORD.

16 And the remainder thereof shall Aaron and his sons eat: with unleavened bread shall it

be eaten in the holy place; in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation they shall eat it.

17 It shall not be baked with leaven. I have given it unto them for their portion of my offerings made by fire; it is most holy, as is the sin offering, and as the trespass offering.

18 All the males among the children of Aaron shall eat of it. *It shall be a statute for ever in your generations concerning the offerings of the LORD made by fire: every one that toucheth them shall be holy.*

temple for the maintenance of it: so in order thereunto, there was a certain set time, when the people were obliged to carry wood thither; which made a kind of festival, called by Josephus, *ξυλοφορία*, lib. ii. de Bello Judaico, cap. 31, τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτὴ ὄνους, &c.: "it being the feast of the wood-carrying; when it was the custom for all to bring up wood for the altar: that there might be no want of fuel for the fire, which was never to go out."

It shall never go out.] This was a thing so famous, that it was imitated among the gentiles, who thought it ominous to have their sacred fire go out; and therefore appointed persons on purpose to watch it, and keep it perpetually burning, as appears by the vestal virgins at Rome, whose great business it was to look after the *eternal fire*, as they called it; imagining the extinction of it purported ἀφανισμόν τῆς πόλεως, "the destruction of the city," as Dionysius Halicarn. speaks. This institution is ascribed, both by him and by Plutarch, unto Romulus; into whose history many things were translated by the ancient pagans out of these sacred records of Moses, as the learned Huetius hath made probable in his *Demonstratio Evangel.* Propos. iv. cap. 9, n. 8. The Greeks also preserved such a πῦρ ἀσβεστον, "inextinguishable fire" at Delphi; and the Persians in like manner, and many other people, as Bochartus hath shown in his *Hierozoicon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 35, and Diiherus before him, in a special dissertation (as he calls it) de Caco-zelia Gentilium, cap. 11, where he hath heaped up a great deal to this purpose; and, among other things, hath this conjecture—that the Grecian *ἑστία* and the Roman *Festa*, had their names from the Hebrew word *esh*, or the Chaldean *esha*, which signifies *fire*. The conjecture of David Chytræus also is no less ingenious, who derives those names from *eshjah*, "the fire of the Lord."

Ver. 11. *This is the law of the meat offering.*] He doth not speak of the offerings which accompanied the daily burnt-offerings, but of those which were offered alone, mentioned in the second chapter. Where directions are given of what they should consist; and also how much the priest should have for his portion: but here are some things added concerning the place where they should be eaten by the priests; and concerning those *meat-offerings* which were peculiarly to be offered for themselves.

The sons of Aaron shall offer it before the Lord, before the altar.] Or rather, *upon the altar*: for so the Hebrew phrase [on the face of the altar] signifies. Or else the meaning is, he shall present it to the Lord before the altar; and then afterward (as is directed in the next verse) burn a handful of it upon the altar. And so the rule is, chapter second, ver. 8, 9, "When it is presented to the priest, he shall bring it to the altar," &c.

Ver. 15. *He shall take of it his handful, of the flour.*] According to the prescription in the second chapter, ver. 2, where all this verse is explained.

Ver. 16. *The remainder thereof shall Aaron and his*

sons eat.] If they had no pollution upon them, xxii. 6 (see chap. ii. 3). The reason of the precept was (as R. Levi Barzel. observes, *Præcept. cxxxiii.*), that it preserved the dignity of the sacrifice to have it eaten only by the priests: and by them (I may add, only in the holy place, and not carried out from thence, as it here follows.

With unleavened bread.] There is nothing in the Hebrew text to answer unto the word *with*; which makes the sense unaccountable, that otherwise is easy and natural, if we translate it as the Hebrew words plainly signify, *unleavened it shall be eaten*, see x. 12.

In the holy place.] There was a room in the court of the priests, where they ate these holy things, as Kimchi observes upon Ezek. xlii. Which may be confirmed out of Numb. xviii. 10, where the *most holy place* can signify nothing but the court of the priests, as L'Empereur rightly understands it in his *Annot.* upon Middoth. cap. 2, sect. 6.

In the court—they shall eat it.] As the priests did eat it in their own court, so their male children had place in the court of the Israelites wherein to eat it (x. 12, 13). And they are all said to eat before the Lord, because this was a part of the tabernacle: as was also the court of the women, where there was a place for the priests' daughters to eat, as well as their sons, of the firstlings that were offered to the Lord (Numb. xviii. 19).

Ver. 17. *It shall not be baked with leaven.*] There were two little rooms at the east gate of the court of the temple, called the gate of Nicanor; one of which was a vestry for the priests to put on their garments when they went to minister; and the other was for baking this flour, and that mentioned ver. 21. So they tell us in Middoth, cap. 1, sect. 4. And therefore it is ordered to be baked without *leaven*, because it was a part of the Lord's sacrifice: which being offered unleavened (chapter second, ver. 11), the remainder must needs be unleavened also, because the whole was God's; and the priests could have it no other ways than it was offered unto him.

I have given it unto them for their portion.] That is, of the *meat-offerings* before mentioned.

It is most holy, &c.] This is the reason why it was not to be carried to be eaten out of the holy place (see ch. ii. ver. 10).

As is the sin offering.] See ver. 26, and vii. 6.

Ver. 18. *All the males among the children of Aaron shall eat of it.*] And none but they, because it was a thing most holy.

It shall be a statute for ever.] That is, as long as the law about sacrifices shall last.

Every one that toucheth them shall be holy.] According to this translation of these words, the meaning is, that it was not sufficient to be descended of priests, and to be males, but they were also to be free from any legal defilement, who were admitted to eat of this offering (xxii. 6). But these very words, which we here translate *every one*, in the twenty-seventh verse we translate *whatsoever*: and then the

19 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
 20 This is the offering of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer unto the LORD in the day when he is anointed; the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meat offering perpetual, half of it in the morning, and half thereof at night.
 21 In a pan it shall be made with oil; and when it is baked, thou shalt bring it in: and the baked pieces of the meat offering shalt thou offer for a sweet savour unto the LORD.

22 And the priest of his sons that is anointed in his stead shall offer it: it is a statute for ever unto the LORD; it shall be wholly burnt.

23 For every meat offering for the priest shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.

24 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

25 Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: In the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin

meaning is, "Every thing that toucheth them shall be made holy by them." That is, the very *dishes* into which such holy things were put, or the *spoons*, or *knives*, wherewith they were eaten, were never to be employed to any other use (see Exod. xxix. 37).

Ver. 19.] At the same time the Lord gave direction about another offering, near of kin to the former; but not yet mentioned.

Ver. 20. *This is the offering of Aaron and of his sons,*] The Jews call this a *mincha* of initiation; which every high-priest, and every other priest (as they understand it), were bound to offer, when they were consecrated; and the high-priest to continue every day as long as he lived. So Abarbinel, in his preface to this book (sect. 2), reckoning the various sorts of meat-offerings, makes this the fourth kind; which the high-priest offered every day, and every other priest once in his life, viz. when he first was admitted to minister at the altar, at the age of twenty years. For both these meat-offerings, saith he, are comprehended in this verse. But it may as well be understood only of Aaron, and his successors in the priesthood, of whom the following words seem to speak, and not of the common priests.

In the day when he is anointed;] The Hebrew word *bejom* may be translated *from the day*; and so the Jews understand it, that he was to make this oblation, not only upon the day of his consecration, but ever after (as I said), every day, as long as he continued in the priesthood. And so the next words seem to explain it.

The tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meat offering perpetual,] The high-priest, saith Josephus (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10), sacrificed twice every day at his own charges: and then he describes this very offering, which was distinct from that which attended the daily burnt-offering; as appears by the quantity of this meat-offering, and by the manner of ordering it. For that seems to have been raw flour, mixed with oil; but this baked, as it follows in the next verse (see Exod. xxix. 40, 41). The reason why it is here mentioned, is, because it was a *mincha* (or meat-offering), of whose rites Moses is treating; and this is an exception from the rest.

Ver. 21. *In a pan shall it be made with oil;*] With three logs of oil; as the Jews determine.

When it is baked,] See ver. 17.

Thou shalt bring it in:] Unto the altar.

And the baked pieces—shalt thou offer, &c.] If it was a meat-offering of the high-priest, it was divided into twelve pieces (as Maimonides saith); if of a common priest (for they will have both to be included in this law) then into ten pieces; which were so exactly divided, that half of them were offered in the morning, and the other half in the evening. And the handful of frankincense (which they say was offered with them) was in like manner divided, and burnt on the altar (Maase Korban, cap. 13).

Ver. 22. *The priest of his sons—shall offer it;*] What he had said of Aaron and his sons in general (ver. 20), he now particularly requires of every son

of his, that should succeed him in his office. For which there was the greater necessity, because (as R. Levi of Barcelona understands it, Præcept. cxxxiv.) the high-priest was an ambassador between the Israelites and their heavenly Father (by whom their prayers were offered to God, and who made reconciliation for them), and therefore should be bound, in all reason, to offer a perpetual sacrifice twice every day, for the constant needs of the congregation; and to apply his mind to this (as he speaks), that he and they might be the better for it.

It is a statute for ever] As long as that priesthood continued.

It shall be wholly burnt.] In which it differed from other meat-offerings, as will appear in the next verse.

Ver. 23. *For every meat offering for the priest*] Or of the priest. This may seem to relate to every common priest; who were not all bound to offer this sacrifice every day, but only he who did it in the name of all the rest, viz. the priest who offered the daily burnt-sacrifice. He may be well thought to have been obliged to this; by which means this meat-offering was offered to God every day, by one or other of them, and never omitted. But Abarbinel (as I noted before, ver. 20) thinks, that only the high-priest was bound to offer this meat-offering every day; and every other priest once in his life, viz. when he began his ministry.

Shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.] The priests had all the meat-offerings which were brought by the people, except one handful which was offered to the Lord (see chapter second, ver. 2, 3). But of their own meat-offerings they were not to taste, but wholly burnt them on the altar. For it had not been seemly for him, both to offer unto God, and to eat of it as if it were his own; as Maimonides speaks (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 46), or, as R. Levi Barzelonita gives the reason (Præcept. cxli.), the scope of the sacrifice being to raise the mind of him that offered it unto God, it was not fit he should think of eating any part of his own offering; which would have taken his mind off from God.

Ver. 24.] He added further several things concerning other offerings; which perhaps were delivered at the same time with the foregoing: being still concerning the priests (see ver. 8, 9). And therefore the next verse begins thus, "Speak unto Aaron and his sons, saying."

Ver. 25. *This is the law of the sin offering;*] That is, for particular persons: that for the priests themselves being governed by another law. For it is plain, that, in the fourth chapter, he distinguishes the sin-offering into two kinds: one, whose blood was carried into the sanctuary, and the flesh of it burnt entirely without the camp (ver. 7, 8, &c. and here ver. 30), and another, whose blood was not carried into the sanctuary; the flesh of which the priests were to eat, as is here directed.

Where the burnt offering is killed] See iv. 24, 29, 31.

It is most holy.] This is the reason of what follows

offering be killed before the LORD: it is most holy.

26 The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat it: in the holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation.

27 Whatsoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in the holy place.

that none might eat of it but those who were holy to the Lord.

Ver. 26. *The priest that offereth it for sin, shall eat it:]* The flesh of this *sin-offering* fell to the share of him who offered the sacrifice that day; and to his male children: though he might invite any other priests, and their sons, to partake with him, if he pleased; as appears from ver. 29. I need not add, that the *immurim*, as the Hebrews call them, were excepted: that is, the fat, &c., mentioned iii. 9, 10, iv. 26, which were to be wholly burned upon the altar.

In the holy place shall it be eaten, &c.] See ver. 16. For it being *most holy* (as the words are in the conclusion of the foregoing verse), it was to be eaten in the *holy place*; and that the same day and night when it was offered; and none of it to be kept till the morning. Whereas some of the peace-offerings (which they called the *lighter holy things*) might be eaten the next day (vii. 16). See Maimonides, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46. This seems to have been imitated by the heathen, who required that their most holy sacrifices should not be carried out of the temple; as the scholiast upon Aristophanes's *Equites* observes, concerning the sacrifices offered to Ceres and Proserpina: οὐκ ἐξῆν τὰ θύόμενα Δημότερι καὶ Περσιφόνῃ ἔξω ἀφίεναι.

Ver. 27. *Whatsoever shall touch the flesh]* See ver. 18.

And when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment,] This is commonly understood of the priest's garment, who alone sprinkled the blood. But his garments being holy, the blood that might chance to fall upon them was not thereby at all dishonoured: and therefore (if this be the meaning) we are to understand, that the garments would appear less venerable, when they were spotted with blood; and upon that account were to be washed. If we take it for the garment of him that brought the sacrifice, which when it was killed, the blood might chance to spirt upon his clothes; then the washing of them was out of reverence to the blood; which, being holy, was not to remain upon a common garment. Which way soever it be interpreted, the intention, it is manifest, was to preserve in their minds an awful regard to God, and to whatsoever belonged unto his service.

Thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in the holy place.] Where there was a room (after the temple was built) which was called *lishath hagullah*, the chamber of the spring, or well, out of which water

28 But the earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brasen pot, it shall be both scoured, and rinsed in water.

29 All the males among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most holy.

30 And no sin offering, whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile *withal* in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt in the fire.

was drawn for the use of the court of the sanctuary. And there it is probable, these garments were washed (see Codex Middoth, cap. 5, sect. 3).

Ver. 28. *But the earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken:]* For it being very porous, might so deeply imbibe a tincture from the flesh, that it could not be washed out; but the smell of it might remain a long time. And being of a small value, it was no great loss to have it broken; rather than any thing that was holy, remaining in it, be profaned. What became of the broken shreds of these earthen vessels is a doubt among the Hebrew doctors; because it was neither fit to throw them out in a profane place, nor yet seemly to heap them up in the sanctuary: and therefore they fancy the earth opened and swallowed them up, as a great man in this kind of learning (J. Wagenseil) hath observed upon the *Mischna* of Sota, cap. 3. But they might have rather said, that they were thrown abroad into a clean place, after they were broken into small bits, or crumbled to powder; just as the ashes were that came from the altar, which was a holy place.

If it be sodden in a brasen pot, it shall be both scoured, and rinsed in water.] Nothing could so easily sink into this, being a solid metal: but whatsoever stuck to it might be rubbed out and cleansed by washing. From this verse compared with other places, it seems apparent, that nothing was roasted in the sanctuary, but only boiled. So we find the peace-offerings (mentioned 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14, 15), were constantly sodden; and all other holy offerings, except the paschal lamb (which they roasted at home), 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. And after their return from the captivity of Babylon, the same is intimated in the last verse of the prophecy of Zechariah.

Ver. 29.] See ver. 16, and 26.

Ver. 30. *And no sin offering,]* Or rather, *but no sin-offering.*

Whereof any of the blood is brought—to reconcile withal in the holy place, shall be eaten, &c.] Such were those sin-offerings for the high-priest (iv. 3), and for the whole congregation, upon particular occasions (iv. 13, &c.). Or upon the day of general atonement (xvi. 27). No part of these was to be eaten, but entirely burnt in the fire; as it here follows in the end of this verse. There is no necessity of Maimonides's observation upon these words; that no man whatsoever might eat of these sacrifices: for if the priest might not, they were certainly prohibited to all other persons.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The law of the trespass offering, 11 and of the peace offerings, 12 whether it be for a thanksgiving, 16 or a vow, or a freewill offering. 22 The fat, 26 and the blood, are forbidden. 28 The priests' portion in the peace offerings.*

1 **LIKEWISE** this is the law of the trespass offering: it is most holy.

2 In the place where they kill the burnt offering shall they kill the trespass offering: and the blood thereof shall he sprinkle round about upon the altar.

3 And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof; the rump, and the fat that covereth the inwards,

4 And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the flanks, and the caul that is above the liver, with the kidneys, it shall he take away:

5 And the priest shall burn them upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto the Lord: it is a trespass offering.

6 Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: it shall be eaten in the holy place: it is most holy.

7 As the sin offering is, so is the trespass offering: there is one law for them: the priest that maketh atonement therewith shall have it.

8 And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt offering which he hath offered.

CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *Trespass offering.*] The people were directed before in what cases they should bring this sort of offering; and I have noted the difference between them and *sin-offerings* (v. 15); but now the priests are directed in their office about *trespass-offerings*.

It is most holy.] In general they were to observe that these offerings, as well as *sin-offerings*, were to be numbered among the *most holy things*; and therefore to be accordingly used (ver. 6).

Ver. 2.] The same order that was given about *sin-offerings* (iv. 24, vi. 25).

The blood thereof shall he sprinkle round about upon the altar.] This is a different rite from that which was observed in the *sin-offerings*; whose blood was put upon the horns of the altar (iv. 25, 34), and the blood of such *sin-offerings* as were made for the high-priest, or the whole congregation, was also to be sprinkled seven times before the veil of the sanctuary (iv. 6, 17). But this was to be sprinkled round about the altar of burnt-offering; according to the manner used in the whole burnt-offerings (i. 11), and in the *peace-offerings* (iii. 2, 8), only with this difference, that there being a scarlet thread, or line, which went round about the altar exactly in the middle, the blood of the whole burnt-offerings was sprinkled round about above the line, and the blood of the *trespass-offerings*, and the *peace-offerings*, round about below the line (see Codex Middoth, cap. 3, sect. 1, and L'Empereur, Annot. 12).

Ver. 3. *He shall offer.*] This was the work of the priest, first to offer unto God his part of the sacrifice.

The rump,] All the fat belonging unto God; this is particularly mentioned in the first place, as the principal fat. For the tails of their sheep in those countries (and no other creature but a ram was allowed for a *trespass-offering*, as was before noted) were of a prodigious bigness, as hath been noted by many; particularly by the famous Bochartus, in his *Hiero-zoicon* (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45), and lately by another excellent person, Jobus Ludolphus, in his *Ethiopic History* (lib. i. cap. 10, n. 16), and in his commentaries on it (num. 76). And therefore it is called, both here and in other places, by the peculiar name of *altija*; whereas the tail or rump of other creatures, is called *zanah* (see what I have noted upon iii. 9).

The fat] This, and all that follows in the next verse, hath been explained before (iii. 3, 4, 8, 9).

Ver. 5. *The priest shall burn them, &c.*] As he did the fat of the *sin-offerings* and *peace-offerings* (iv. 26, 31).

Ver. 6. *Every male among the priests shall eat thereof, &c.*] All the fat being offered to God, the flesh became the portion of the priest; who, with his male children, but not females, were to eat it: but not in any place out of the sanctuary; as it here follows (see vi. 18, 26, 29).

Ver. 7. *As the sin offering is, so is the trespass offering.*] In this matter (though in other things they differed), for the same rule is given here about the *trespass-offering*, that is given in the chapter foregoing (ver. 26), about the *sin-offering*.

The priest that maketh atonement therewith shall have it.] Who might invite other priests, if he pleased, to eat with him, and with his sons: but he was not bound to it; for the flesh of this sacrifice was entirely his own.

Ver. 8. *The priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest*] Or, *that priest* who offered it.

Shall have to himself the skin of the burnt offering] All the flesh of the burnt-offerings being wholly consumed, as well as the fat, upon the altar (ch. i. ver. 8, 9), there was nothing that could fall to the share of the priest, but only the *skin*: which is here given him for his pains. I observed upon Gen. iii. 21, that it is probable that Adam himself offered the first sacrifice; and had the skin given him by God, to make garments for him and for his wife. In conformity to which the priests ever after had the skins of the whole burnt-offerings for their portion. Which was a custom among the gentiles (as well as the Jews), who gave the skins of their sacrifices to their priests, when they were not burnt with the sacrifices, as in some *sin-offerings* they were among the Jews (iv. 11). Who employed them to a superstitious use, by lying upon them in their temples, in hope to have future things revealed to them in their dreams. This Dilherrus hath observed, out of these words of Virgil:

“hac dona Sacerdos
Quum tulit, et caesurum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit,
Multa modis simulacra videt variantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque Deorum
Colloquio.”

And in the Eleusinia, he observes, out of Suidas, the Daduchus put on the skins of the beasts which had been sacrificed to Jupiter; which were called *Δαῦς πόδια*, “the fleece of Jupiter” (Dissert. Special. de Cacozelia Gentil. cap. 9).

9 And all the meat offering that is baked in the oven, and all that is dressed in the fryingpan, and in the pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it.

10 And every meat offering, mingled with oil, and dry, shall all the sons of Aaron have, one as much as another.

11 And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which he shall offer unto the LORD.

12 If he offer it for a thanksgiving, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and un-

leavened wafers anointed with oil, and cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour, fried.

13 Besides the cakes, he shall offer for his offering leavened bread with the sacrifice of thanksgiving of his peace offerings.

14 And of it he shall offer one out of the whole oblation for an heave offering unto the LORD, and it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace offerings.

15 And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving shall be eaten the same

Ver. 9.] See concerning these various sorts of *meat-offerings* in the second chapter, ver. 4, 5, 7.

Shall be the priest's] All but the memorial of it, which was burnt upon the altar (see ii. ver. 9, 10).

That offereth it.] That particular priest who offered it was to have the remainder for his portion.

Ver. 10. *Every meat offering.*] Or, but every *meat-offering*: for here is an exception to the foregoing rule.

Mingled with oil, and dry.] The foregoing verse speaks of such *meat-offerings* as were any ways *baken*; but this of those that were *raw*: which were of two sorts; either of flour mingled with oil, as all voluntary offerings of this sort were (ii. 1), or dry without any oil, as some *sin-offerings* were (v. 11), and the *offering of jealousy* (Numb. v. 15).

Shall all the sons of Aaron have.] All the priests who attended on that day were to have an equal share in this kind of *meat-offering*; though he alone who ministered at the altar had the *baked meat-offerings*. There are some, indeed, who can see no reason for this difference (though this last sort, others think, was more easily divided, and therefore shared among them all), and consequently take these words to signify the same with those in the foregoing verse: "Every one, in the course of his ministry, shall have this benefit, in his turn of waiting at the altar."

Ver. 11. *This is the law—of peace offerings, &c.*] This is the only sort of offerings remaining to be spoken of; which, when he required them of the people, are mentioned in the third place, after the *burnt-offerings* and *meat-offerings*; before the *sin-offerings* and *trespass-offerings*. But here are reserved for the last place, in his directions he gives to the priests about them; because as there were several sorts of them, so there were various rites to be observed about them. Which rites, as I observed before, are called here the *law* of such sacrifices.

Ver. 12. *If he offer it for a thanksgiving.*] In this, and in the sixteenth verse, we have an account of three sorts of peace-offerings. This, which was the principal, for benefits received from God's bounty; the other two, for the obtaining such blessings as they desired to receive. And this of thanksgiving, was either general for the whole congregation (of which there was but one only, at one time of the year, in the feast of Pentecost, xxiii. 19, which was accounted *most holy*), or particularly for private persons, as occasion offered, which were accounted *less holy*. And they are these here mentioned; which might be either of the flock, or of the herd (but no birds), and either greater or smaller of those kinds; that is, of the herd from the first year to the third, and of the flock from the first to the second year complete. If they were older, they were not fit for sacrifice. All this, R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. cxxxvii.), explains at large.

He shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving] The same R. Levi observes, that some peace-offerings were offered without any bread; viz. such as they

called *hagigah* and *shimcah*, sacrifices of festivity and rejoicing, i. e. at their great solemn festivals. But these here mentioned were all offered with bread; and that offered with this, which was the first of them, was called the *bread of thanksgiving*. R. Solomon Jarochi restrains this sort of peace-offerings (of thanksgiving) to such wonderful deliverances, as those mentioned in the hundred-and-seventh Psalm; from tempests at sea, or dangerous travels through the wilderness, and the like. Aben Ezra also seems to have been of the same opinion, when he saith, that men being delivered out of straits and distresses, gave thanks to God by this oblation. But I can find no ground for this limitation; it being far more likely, that this sacrifice was offered by all devout persons, for any mercy whatsoever that God bestowed upon them.

Unleavened cakes.] For none of God's bread was to be leavened (see ch. ii. 11).

Ver. 13. *Besides the cakes.*] Before mentioned; which were to be unleavened.

He shall offer—leavened bread] Not upon the altar (for that was absolutely forbidden in the forenamed chapter of this book), but he was to give it to the priest who waited at the altar, and was to partake of this sacrifice, and to rejoice together with him that offered it. Which is the reason that such different sorts of cakes are ordered in the foregoing verse, all unleavened (of which the priest was to have his share), and also others leavened, which are prescribed in this verse; that God's family (his servants the priests) might want no variety of bread, at their feasts upon these sacrifices; and that God might show his friendship with those who offered the sacrifice, by accepting the same bread at his own table, which they were wont to use at theirs.

Ver. 14. *He shall offer one out of the whole oblation, &c.*] One of the cakes before mentioned (ver. 12), was to be presented to God for a *heave-offering*: concerning which, see Exod. xxix. 24, 28.

It shall be the priest's] Having offered one cake out of the whole, all that remained was the portion of the priest who sprinkled the blood of the *peace-offerings* on the altar.

Ver. 15.] The reason of this, which was observed in most of their sacred feasts (particularly in the paschal lamb, Exod. xxii. 20, and in the manna itself, xvi. 19, &c.), was to maintain the honour and dignity of the sacrifices; that they might not be in danger to be corrupted, or turned to any profane use, or gratify men's covetousness. For, as Philo observes (in his book of Sacrifice), "It was not fit that these holy things should be put into their cup-boards, but immediately set before those who are in need; for they were no longer his that offered them, but his to whom they were offered: who, being himself most liberal and bountiful, would have guests invited to his table to partake with those who offered the sacrifice. Whom he would not have to look upon themselves as masters of the feast, ἐπίτοροι γὰρ εὐχρίας εἰσὶν οὐκ

day that it is offered; he shall not leave any of it until the morning.

16 But if the sacrifice of his offering be a vow, or a voluntary offering, it shall be eaten the same day that he offereth his sacrifice: and on the morrow also the remainder of it shall be eaten:

17 But the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire.

18 And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of

ἱερείων, "for they are but ministers of the feast, not the masters or entertainers. That belongs to God himself, whose bounty ought not to be concealed, by preferring sordid parsimony before generous humanity." His meaning is, that all the sacrifice was God's, who graciously granted to him that offered it a part of it, to entertain his friends and the poor, whom he would have invited forthwith, that no part of it might be converted to any other use but that which God appointed, who made the feast.

Ver. 16. *A vow, or a voluntary offering.*] These two other sorts of *peace-offerings* were in the nature of prayers, for the obtaining such blessings as they desired and hoped for. And they were either the performance of a vow, which they made to God of offering him such a sacrifice, when they received the benefit, which was called *neder*: or, they were freely made beforehand, in hope God would bestow the benefit: which sacrifice was called *nedebah*, a *voluntary offering*. Now these were not so holy as the former; and therefore might be eaten on the morrow, as well as on the same day they were offered. So it here follows.

It shall be eaten the same day] Then they were immediately to begin to feast upon the sacrifice.

On the morrow also the remainder of it shall be eaten.] But if they could not conveniently eat it all the same day, or had a mind to lay up some of it till the next, they had that liberty allowed them. For which Philo gives this reason (in the same book), that these being for mercies not yet received (or offered by virtue of an obligation), they might take more time to feast upon them with their friends, and be more sparing: but the former being a thankful acknowledgment of blessings already bestowed, their hearts were to be enlarged in greater bounty, *ὅτι οἱ ἐπαινεῖ-
ζόντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ προθυρὰν εὐεργεσίῃν, ἰσχυρὰ καὶ
ἀντιδίδον ποιεῖται τὴν μεράβον*, "that they upon whom God readily bestowed his benefits, might make a quick and speedy return," by doing good to others without delay. And what is here said of the flesh of the sacrifice, the Jews also understand of the *meal-offerings* mentioned ver. 12, 13. None of which was to be kept longer than two days at the most.

There is no place here assigned, when these sacrifices should be eaten, at the sanctuary: as there is for the other, vi. 16, 26, and here in this chapter, ver. 6. The reason is, because there was such a multitude of them, that it might have made too great a crowd in the court of the Israelites, if they had been confined to it. Where they might eat them if they pleased (as I showed before, vi. 16), but were not determined to that place; but left at liberty to eat them in any part of the city where the tabernacle, and afterward the temple, stood (see Deut. xii. 6, 7). And consequently, while they dwelt in the wilderness, they might eat them anywhere in the camp; which was pitched round about the tabernacle; only it was to be in a clean place, where the priests might eat them as well as the people (x. 14).

Ver. 17.] If there were such plenty, or they and their friends were so few, or they were so niggardly

his peace offerings be eaten at all on the third day, it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be imputed unto him that offereth it: it shall be an abomination, and the soul that eateth of it shall bear his iniquity.

19 And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire: and as for the flesh, all that be clean shall eat thereof.

as not to call poor enough to eat all in two days' time, they were to have no further benefit of the flesh of this sacrifice; but what remained of it on the third day was to be burnt. Which was to preserve the *dignity of the sacrifice*, as the Jews speak, in preventing its stinking. And there was no nobler way of consuming it than by fire, which consumed the sacrifice on the altar. So R. Levi Barzel observes, *Præcept. cxxxviii.* where he also adds, that God taught them hereby not to be solicitous for the future, nor careful to hoard up more than needed; when they saw him command the holy flesh to be destroyed, after the time allotted for its use was past. The heathens themselves thought this a decent rite; for there was a sacrifice at Rome, which they called *Protervia* (as Bochart observes out of Macrobius, lib. ii. *Saturnal.* cap. 2), in which the custom was, ut si quid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur, "that if any thing of the feast remained, it was consumed in the fire (see his *Hierozoic.* par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50).

Ver. 18. *If any of the flesh—be eaten at all on the third day, it shall not be accepted, &c.*] He lost the fruit of his sacrifice which he had offered to God by this profanation; which destroyed the grace and favour which it had procured him with God.

Neither shall it be imputed to him that offereth it:] He shall not be thought to have made any offering at all.

It shall be an abomination,] And, more than that, it rendered him abominable; being abominable itself: and made him liable to be scourged, as the Jews here understand the last words of this verse, *he shall bear his iniquity*. Which, I think, also signifies, that he should lie under a great guilt, till it was purchased by a *trespass-offering*.

Ver. 19. *The flesh that toucheth any unclean thing,*] That is, the flesh of the *peace-offerings* before mentioned, which might happen, as they carried it from the altar to the place where they intended to make a feast upon it, to touch any unclean thing, might not be eaten by anybody.

Shall be burnt with fire:] As that which remained to the third day was (ver. 17). This made them very careful to preserve it pure.

As for the flesh,] That is, all the flesh which was not defiled by touching any unclean thing.

All that be clean shall eat thereof:] Whether the priest, or other persons. For the priest had the right-shoulder and the breast (as we read expressly, ver. 33, 34), and he that brought the sacrifice had the rest. Of the former, the whole family of the priest might eat: not only his sons, but his wife and daughters, who were not married; or, being widows, were come back to their father again, if they had no children; or if those they had were begotten by priests; yea, their servants born in his house, or bought with his money (see xxii. 11—13; Numb. xviii. 11). And of the rest of the sacrifice, he that offered it might eat it, with all his family and his friends; excepting those who had any uncleanness upon them. There is frequent mention of these feasts in the following books of the Bible. As that made by Elkanah (1 Sam. i. 4),

20 But the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that *pertain* unto the LORD, having his uncleanness upon him, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.

21 Moreover, the soul that shall touch any unclean *thing*, as the uncleanness of man, or any unclean beast, or any abominable unclean *thing*, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which *pertain* unto the LORD, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.

22 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

23 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no manner of fat, of ox, or of sheep, or of goat.

24 And the fat of the beast that dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn with beasts, may be used in any other use: but ye shall in no wise eat of it.

25 For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD, even the soul that eateth it shall be cut off from his people.

26 Moreover ye shall eat no manner of blood, *whether it be* of fowl or of beast, in any of your dwellings.

27 Whatsoever soul *it be* that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.

28 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

and by Samuel, when he entertained Saul (1 Sam. ix. 13, 21). And when the kingdom was renewed to Saul at Gilgal, there was a public feast made on these offerings, with great rejoicing (1 Sam. xi. 15). And the like was made for Jesse and his sons (xvi. 3, 5). And by David, when he entertained the people (1 Chron. xvi. 3). And by Solomon, at the dedication of the temple (1 Kings viii. 65). And all the children of Israel made such a feast, at their return from Babylon (Neh. viii. 19). There are many examples also of the like feasts among the heathens; particularly in Homer, where Agamemnon (Iliad. i.) offered a hecatomb, and made a feast upon it. And Nestor (Odys. iii.) offered a sacrifice of eighty-two oxen, and made the like entertainment.

Ver. 20. *Pertain unto the Lord.*] By these last words it appears, that the whole offering was the Lord's, whose bounty entertained him and his friends, to whom he gave the greatest part of it.

Having his uncleanness upon him.] In this verse and in the next, any one that had any legal defilement upon him is prohibited, under a severe penalty, to eat of the *peace-offerings*.

And they might be made unclean, either by impurity in their own body, or by the contact of unclean things; of the former of which he speaks in this verse; and of the other in the next. Both were to be punished with *cutting off*; which hath been explained elsewhere (Gen. xvii. 14). From whence it was that the Jews were so very careful, not to go into the judgment-hall when our Saviour was condemned, "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover" (John xviii. 28), at which feast, *peace-offerings* were offered together with the paschal lamb (see more of this, xxii. 2-4).

Ver. 21.] All these several sorts of uncleanness, contracted by touching things unclean, we shall find in the following chapters, xi. &c.

And eat the flesh of the sacrifice, &c.] The intention of such precepts was, that the greater reverence (as Maimonides speaks, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 41) might be maintained towards the sacrifices which were offered unto God. Upon which account, Julian highly commends Moses, who, he saith (as St. Cyril quotes his words, lib. ix. contra Julian.), was *ὁρῶνς εὐλαβὴς περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἰδωδὴν*, "truly religious about the eating of holy things;" which he proves from these very words of Moses. But his conclusion from thence was very frigid, as St. Cyril calls it, that Christians were therefore to blame, because they would not partake of such sacrifices: for we abstain not from them, saith that father, as unclean things, but *ἵμεν δὲ μάλλον ὡς ἐκ τύπων, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀληθές*, "we rather make a progress, as from types, unto the truth."

Ver. 22.] At the same time that all these precepts were ordered to be delivered to the priests, he takes occasion to repeat several precepts he had before given, which concern all the people; because it was of great moment to have them observed.

Ver. 23. *Ye shall eat no manner of fat.*] Because this was God's part, and therefore not to be eaten by any one, but burnt upon his altar (see iii. 16, 17). And the reason Maimonides gives, why it was reserved for him alone, was, because it was very delicious to the taste (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41).

Of ox, or of sheep, or of goat.] The Jews restrain this precept to these three sorts of creatures (which were the only beasts that were offered on the altar), taking the fat of all other beasts to be lawful (so R. Levi, before mentioned, Præcept. clix.).

Ver. 24. *The fat of the beast*] Of one of the fore-named beasts, which alone were allowed in sacrifices.

That dieth of itself, &c.] Though the flesh of such beasts was unclean, yet they might apply the fat, when separated from the body, to any use: only they might not eat it.

Ver. 25.] This seems to justify the opinion of those Jews who restrain the eating of fat only to the three sorts of creatures mentioned ver. 23, as was there observed.

Even the soul that eateth it, shall be cut off] If he did it presumptuously; but if through inadvertence, he was to be scourged, as the Jewish doctors affirm. Yet, if he did it a third time, scourging did not suffice; but they shut him up in a little cave, where he could not stand upright, nor had room to sit down; and there fed him with the bread and water of affliction, till his bowels were sorely pinched, &c., as Maimonides describes this punishment (see Schickard's Mischpat Hammeleck, and Carpzovius's annot. on him, cap. 2, Theor. vii.).

Ver. 26. *Ye shall eat no manner of blood.*] See iii. 17. Men were very prone to this in those times (as Maimonides thinks), whereby they ran into idolatrous worship. Which was the reason God restrained them from it, by threatening *cutting off* (ver. 27) to those who were guilty of it (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41).

In any of your dwellings.] This is added to signify, that they might no more eat of the blood of those beasts which they killed at home, than of those slain at the altar.

Ver. 27. *Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, &c.*] The reason of it is given, xvii. 10, 11. But the Jews here distinguish (particularly R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxlviii.) between the *blood of the soul, or the life* (as they speak), and the *blood of a member*. The former, which ran out freely when the beast was killed, in which was the life of the beast,

29 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings unto the LORD shall bring his oblation unto the LORD of the sacrifice of his peace offerings.

30 His own hands shall bring the offerings of the LORD made by fire, the fat with the breast, it shall he bring, that the breast may be waved for a wave offering before the LORD.

31 And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar: but the breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'.

32 And the right shoulder shall ye give unto the priest for an heave offering of the sacrifices of your peace offerings.

33 He among the sons of Aaron, that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for his part.

34 For the wave breast and the heave shoulder

is that which is here meant, as Moses more fully explains it, in the place before mentioned. The other, which remained in the several parts of the beast, they looked upon as belonging to the flesh, and therefore might be eaten with it.

Ver. 28.] He delivered at the same time some other rules to be observed by the people in these matters (see ver. 22).

Ver. 29. *He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings*] The meaning may be no more than this, that before he and his friends feasted together, as is directed ver. 15, &c. he was to take care to bring his oblation unto the LORD, that is, to see that God had his part of the peace-offering; for till that was offered, none could meddle with the rest. But if the import of the Hebrew words be well observed, they seem to have a further meaning; which is, that whosoever any man brought the sacrifice (which in the Hebrew is here called *zebach*) of his peace-offerings, he should also bring his oblation (which, in distinction from the other, is called *korban*), that is, a *mincha*, or meat-offering together with it; that the feast which was to be made, might be completely furnished with bread and wine, as well as the flesh of the sacrifice.

Ver. 30. *His own hands shall bring the offerings*] The sacrifice being slain and divided, the priest was to put what belonged unto the Lord into the man's own hands (viz. the fat, with the breast and the shoulder), that he might present it himself unto the Divine Majesty.

That the breast may be waved] This is the manner wherein it was to be presented; the man was to lift it up over his head, and wave it to and fro; his hands being supported and guided by the priest (see Exod. xxix. 24, and Numb. vi. 19, 20). Maimonides describes the order of it in this manner: first, the priest put into the man's hands the fat; and then laid upon it the breast and the shoulder; and after that, one of the pieces of the cakes for the meat-offering upon them; all which he waved about.

Ver. 31.] When that part which belonged to God's altar (viz. the fat) had been burnt there, the priests had the breast and the shoulder to their own use; as servants have what comes from their master's table. For it was all offered unto God (ver. 29, 30), who, taking only the fat for himself, bade them take the rest, viz. the breast and the shoulder: which had been presented unto God by waving them to and fro, as a sacrifice to the Lord of the world; but by him bestowed upon his ministers for their maintenance in his service. This is more fully expressed in the

der have I taken of the children of Israel from off the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons by a statute for ever from among the children of Israel.

35 ¶ This is the portion of the anointing of Aaron, and of the anointing of his sons, out of the offerings of the LORD made by fire, in the day when he presented them to minister unto the LORD in the priest's office;

36 Which the LORD commanded to be given them of the children of Israel, in the day that he anointed them, by a statute for ever throughout their generations.

37 This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meat offering, and of the sin offering, and of the trespass offering, and of the consecrations, and of the sacrifice of the peace offerings;

three next verses; in which there is no difficulty, and therefore I shall but lightly touch them.

Ver. 32.] This is only a more particular declaration what belonged to the priest; who was to have not only the breast before mentioned, but also the right shoulder.

Ver. 33.] This is still a more special direction, providing for the encouragement of that priest, who, on that day, ministered at the altar; unto whom the right shoulder was appropriated, as a reward of his pains in offering the sacrifice.

Ver. 34.] This doth not contradict what I observed just before; for when he saith, he hath given these to Aaron the priest and his sons, the meaning must be, to those of his sons, who, at the time when these were offered, sprinkled the blood and burnt the fat.

Ver. 35. *This is the portion of the anointing.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *This is the anointing of Aaron*, &c., that is, this they have in right of their unction to the priest's office; which entitles them to all before mentioned.

In the day] The Hebrew word *bejom* may, both here and in the next verse, be translated (as I observed before, vi. 20) from the day, and ever after.

When he presented them] Made them draw near to attend upon him at his altar.

Ver. 36. *In the day that he anointed them.*] By virtue of a grant from God when they were made priests, to enjoy this benefit in all future ages.

By a statute for ever] As long as this law of sacrifices and this priesthood shall last (see vi. 22).

Ver. 37.] This verse contains a summary of what he had commanded Aaron and his sons, from the ninth verse of the sixth chapter unto this place.

Of the consecrations.] The whole order of their consecration is not here directed (but in Exod. xxxix), only something belonging to that matter (vi. 20, &c.).

Ver. 38. *Which the Lord commanded Moses in Mount Sinai.*] In that mountainous country which lay near to Mount Sinai, as Maimonides truly expounds it. For he was come down from Mount Sinai, and had delivered to them all that he received there (Exod. xxxiv. 29, 32), before these commands were given: but they still continued near unto it; and so the word *behar* may be translated, by *Mount Sinai*. For, as the last words of this verse tell us, they were still in the wilderness of Sinai: that is, in that part of the wilderness which took its name from its nearness to Mount Sinai.

In the day that he commanded] This doth not

38 Which the LORD commanded Moses in mount Sinai, in the day that he commanded the

children of Israel to offer their oblations unto the LORD, in the wilderness of Sinai.

precisely signify, that he commanded Aaron and his sons (vi. 9, &c.) all these things, on the very same day that he commanded the children of Israel what

oblations to bring (ch. i. 2, &c.), but they were delivered all at the same time, immediately after the other, without any other commandments intervening.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Moses consecrateth Aaron and his sons.* 14 *Their sin offering.* 18 *Their burnt offering.* 22 *The ram of consecrations.* 31 *The place and time of their consecration.*

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Take Aaron and his sons with him, and the garments, and the anointing oil, and a bullock for the sin offering, and two rams, and a basket of unleavened bread;

3 And gather thou all the congregation together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

4 And Moses did as the LORD commanded him; and the assembly was gathered together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

5 And Moses said unto the congregation, This is the thing which the LORD commanded to be done.

6 And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and washed them with water.

7 And he put upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the curious girdle of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith.

8 And he put the breastplate upon him: also

CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses.*] See iv. 1.

Ver. 2. *Take Aaron and his sons with him.*] Having delivered the laws and rules about sacrifices and the rites belonging to them, he now prepares the priests to offer them, as had been commanded. And there is not much said in this chapter, but what had been explained in Exod. xxix. and other neighbouring chapters; where he relates the orders he received in Mount Sinai about those things which were now performed.

Garments.] Exod. xxviii. 2, 4.

Anointing oil.] Exod. xxx. 24, &c.

A bullock for the sin offering, &c.] See Exod. xxix. 1—3, &c. These were in their kind the very best of the legal sacrifices, as appears, in part, from that expression of the Psalmist, Ps. lxi. 30, 31, where he prefers thanksgiving and praise, before a bullock that hath horns and hoofs (a young bullock, which began to spread its horns and hoofs), that is, before the very best of all their bloody sacrifices.

Ver. 3. *Gather thou all the congregation, &c.*] All the elders of the people, with the great officers who were set over thousands and hundreds, &c. For these are frequently called by the name of *col ha edah*, which we translate *all the congregation*; particularly in Numb. xxv. 7, xxxv. 12; Josh. xx. 6; Judg. xxi. 10, 13, 16, where the *elders of the congregation*, and the *congregation*, and *all the congregation*, are plainly the same thing. Which is further confirmed from the next chapter of this book (ver. 1), where it is said expressly, "Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel."

Ver. 4. *Moses did as the Lord commanded*] Summoned them to appear before the Lord.

The assembly was gathered together] The word we translate *assembly*, is the same with that in the foregoing verse, which we translate *congregation*: that is, as I said, the assembly of the elders.

Unto the door] That they might be witnesses of what was done, and satisfy all the people, that Aaron and his sons did not intrude themselves into his office; but were solemnly called and consecrated to it by Moses, the servant of the Lord. It is likely, also, that as many of the people as the place would

conveniently hold, met together to be spectators of this solemnity.

Ver. 5. *This is the thing which the Lord commanded to be done.*] I am now about to execute what God hath formerly commanded, when I was with him in the holy mount (Exod. xxix. 4). At what time this was executed, is a question among learned men. And our great primate of Ireland places this consecration of Aaron and his sons, together with the tabernacle and all things belonging to it, in the second month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt; moved thereunto, I suppose, by what is said in Numb. vii. 1, 2. So that, according to his opinion, the numbering of the people, and the separation of the Levites to God's service, preceded this action. But I do not see any reason why we should not think all things were done in the order wherein they are related. And then this consecration was performed in the first month of that year; after the tabernacle had been erected and set apart for the habitation of the Divine Majesty (see Exod. xl. 17, 18).

Ver. 6. *Moses brought Aaron and his sons.*] To the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; as he had been directed (Exod. xxix. 4).

Washed them with water.] As is there also directed; having first likewise washed himself (xl. 31).

Ver. 7.] Moses, by an extraordinary commission from God, performed the office of a high-priest on this day, and the six days following; and put Aaron in possession of this office by clothing him with the garments here mentioned (according to the orders which had been given, Exod. xxix. 5, &c.), which was thought sufficient for the consecration of a high-priest, after the captivity of Babylon; when they wanted the holy oil, as hath been before observed. Whence Philo often calls Moses by the name of Ἀρχιερεὺς, i. e. *high-priest*. And in Shemoth Rabba the tradition is, that he continued high-priest all the time they continued in the wilderness: though others, they confess, are of opinion (which is the truth) that he officiated only the seven days of the consecration; after which this office was settled in Aaron (see Selden, lib. i. de Succession. in Pontificatum, cap. 1).

Ver. 8.] See Exod. xxviii. 30. It is observable that he saith nothing here in this place of the precious stones, but only mentions *urim* and *thummin*;

he put in the breastplate the Urim and the Thummim.

9 And he put the mitre upon his head; also upon the mitre, *even* upon his forefront, did he put the golden plate, the holy crown; as the Lord commanded Moses.

10 And Moses took the anointing oil, and anointed the tabernacle and all that *was* therein, and sanctified them.

11 And he sprinkled thereof upon the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all his vessels, both the laver and his foot, to sanctify them.

as in Exod. xxxix. 10 (where he describes the same thing), he makes mention only of the *four rows of stones*, but saith not one word of *urim* and *thummim*: which I look upon as a proof that they were all one.

Ver. 9.] According as God commanded him in Exod. xxviii. 36, 37, &c., xxix. 6.

Ver. 10. *Moses took the anointing oil.*] See Exod. xxix. 26, &c., and xl. 9—11. There being several ways of anointing a thing or person, either by pouring oil upon them, or by putting it upon them with the finger, or by sprinkling; it is not an improbable conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, that Moses anointed the tabernacle and its utensils, by dipping his finger in the oil, and putting it upon them. For though the word *mashach*, which he useth for *anointing*, be general, yet the Vulgar expressing it by *linivit*, and the LXX. by *ἐχρίσας* (which import this particular sort of anointing), and there being different words used to express the anointing of the altar and of Aaron, it may well incline one to his opinion (Myrothec. 2, Sac. Elæochrysm. cap. 70).

Sanctified them.] Set them apart by this unction for the holy use; for which they were designed.

Ver. 11. *He sprinkled thereof upon the altar seven times.*] We do not find this expressly before directed: but the intention of anointing the altar being to make it most holy (because it was to sanctify all that was laid upon it, Exod. xxx. 29, xl. 10), it was very fit it should be both sprinkled seven times with oil, and also anointed: in token of its extraordinary sanctity, which was put upon it by this very solemn rite. For here are two distinct words about this anointing; the first is *jaz*, he sprinkled of the oil upon it; and then *jimshach*, he anointed it, by putting some of the oil on it; whereas it is said of the tabernacle, and of the things there, only *jimshach*, he anointed them, without any sprinkling.

Some think, that the altar being mentioned twice in this verse, he speaks of the *altar of incense*, as well as of the *altar of burnt-offerings*. But it is plain by those places in Exodus it was the altar of burnt-offerings, which was thus sanctified; and here the laver and its foot (which stood in the same court) is said to be sanctified with it. As for the altar of incense, it is included in what is said in the foregoing verse, that he anointed the tabernacle and all therein.

Both the laver and his foot.] It may be thought that he sprinkled with oil the laver and its foot, as well as anointed them; which is the opinion of the forenamed Fort. Scacchus. But the Hebrew words will not warrant it; for they only signify that they were anointed as the altar was after its aspersion.

Ver. 12. *He poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head.*] Here now is a third word, distinct from the two former, viz. *jitzak*, which signifies there was more done to Aaron than to any of the holy things, to sanctify him to his office; for the holy oil was poured on his head.

12 And he poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to sanctify him.

13 And Moses brought Aaron's sons, and put coats upon them, and girded them with girdles, and put bonnets upon them; as the Lord commanded Moses.

14 And he brought the bullock for the sin offering: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the bullock for the sin offering.

15 And he slew it; and Moses took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, and purified the

Anointed him.] Perhaps he drew the oil with his finger upon his forehead, after it was poured on his head, as the Jews think he did (see Exod. xxix. 7, 8, xxx. 30, xl. 13).

To sanctify him.] i. e. Set him apart to this sacred office. Now this consecration of Aaron and his sons being mentioned here together with the consecration of the tabernacle, and all belonging to it, it hath made some conclude, that both were done at the very same time. But I have given some arguments to prove the contrary, upon Exod. xl. 17, 18. And the meaning of these three verses (tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of this chapter) may be, not that they were consecrated at the same time, but with the same oil. For first he says, Moses took the anointing oil; and shows how it was employed after a different manner upon the tabernacle and its utensils, upon the altar, and upon Aaron, on whose head it was poured; whereas the former had it only put upon them with the finger, or were sprinkled with it. But though they were not consecrated together, yet their consecration immediately followed one another. For seven days being spent in sanctifying the tabernacle and the altar, then immediately began the sanctification of Aaron and his sons: during which time Moses may be supposed to have received the foregoing laws about sacrifices, in which they were to be employed as soon as they were consecrated. And the seven days for the consecration of Aaron and his sons, immediately succeeding the other seven days which were spent in the consecration of the tabernacle and the altar; it may be the reason why they are here succinctly mentioned both together, and neither of them mentioned before. For if the account we have in the fortieth of Exodus concerning these things be well attended to, it will appear that nothing is there said of the anointing of the tabernacle, or any thing else; but only that he set it up the first day of the month, as he was commanded, ver. 2, &c. and 17, &c. And he is commanded in like manner to take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle and all therein (ver. 9, &c.), and then to anoint Aaron and his sons (ver. 13, 15); but he relates nothing of his doing either of them till now, when he executed those commands.

Ver. 13. *Moses—put coats upon them.*] See Exod. xxviii. 40, 41, xxix. 30, xl. 14.

As the Lord commanded Moses.] He commanded him also to anoint them at the same time (Exod. xxviii. 41, xl. 15), but it is not here mentioned; because they were not anointed as he was, by pouring oil upon their heads; but sprinkling it on their garments, with the blood of the sacrifice offered for them. And that he did afterward as he had been ordered, ver. 30 (see Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 7).

Ver. 14. *Bullock.*] See Exod. xxix. 1, 10, &c.

For the sin offering.] So it was designed to be, Exod. xxix. 14.

altar, and poured the blood at the bottom of the altar, and sanctified it, to make reconciliation upon it.

16 And he took all the fat that *was* upon the inwards, and the caul *above* the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses burned *it* upon the altar.

17 But the bullock, and his hide, his flesh, and his dung, he burnt with fire without the camp; as the Lord commanded Moses.

18 ¶ And he brought the ram for the burnt offering: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram.

19 And he killed *it*; and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about.

20 And he cut the ram into pieces; and Moses burnt the head, and the pieces, and the fat.

21 And he washed the inwards and the legs in water; and Moses burnt the whole ram upon the altar: it *was* a burnt sacrifice for a sweet savour, and an offering made by fire unto the Lord; as the Lord commanded Moses.

Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the bullock] See Exod. xxix. 10; Levit. i. 4.

Ver. 15. *He slew it*] Exod. xxix. 11.

Moses took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar] As he had been directed, Exod. xxix. 12.

Purified the altar.] It was purified before; but this was a further purification of it; that it might be the more fitted to be a place to make reconciliation upon it, as it follows in the conclusion of the verse.

Poured the blood at the bottom of the altar, &c.] The Vulgar Latin, I think, gives the true interpretation of these words, rather than translate them in this manner; "it being expiated and sanctified, he poured out the blood at the bottom of the altar," &c. Fort. Scacchus hath taken a great deal of pains to prove that this expiation (as the Vulgar Latin calls it) went before the anointing or consecration of the altar; in his *Myrothee*. (par. ii. cap. 34). But his arguments seem to me of no force to overthrow the opinion of Abulensis and Philo, that these words do not speak of a proper expiation of the altar; but that it was only hereby more particularly set apart (as the word *sanctify* signifies), to be the place where sin-offerings might be made; that men who had committed offences might be expiated by these sacrifices.

Ver. 16.] See Exod. xxix. 13.

Ver. 17. *But the bullock, and his hide, his flesh, and his dung, he burnt with fire without the camp*] See Exod. xxix. 14. Yet we do not find that the blood of this sacrifice was carried into the holy place; and therefore it did not fall under the rule in the sixth chapter of this book (ver. 30), but might have been eaten by the priests, as is there allowed (ver. 26). Some think it sufficient, for the solution of this, to say that Aaron and his sons were not yet completely consecrated, and therefore had not a right to eat of the flesh of this sin-offering. But such persons do not consider that Moses, who now acted as a priest, could not be debarred of that benefit by this reason. And therefore it is better to say, that no high-priest, whether ordinary or extraordinary (such as Moses now was), might eat of any sin-offering, offered for the priests themselves; although the blood of it was not brought into the sanctuary. From whence we may draw this consequence: that although the sins of the people were taken away by the priests; who,

22 ¶ And he brought the other ram, the ram of consecration: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram.

23 And he slew *it*; and Moses took of the blood of it, and put *it* upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot.

24 And he brought Aaron's sons, and Moses put of the blood upon the tip of their right ear, and upon the thumbs of their right hands, and upon the great toes of their right feet: and Moses sprinkled the blood upon the altar round about.

25 And he took the fat, and the rump, and all the fat that *was* upon the inwards, and the caul *above* the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right shoulder:

26 And out of the basket of unleavened bread, that *was* before the Lord, he took one unleavened cake, and a cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and put *them* on the fat, and upon the right shoulder:

27 And he put all upon Aaron's hands, and

by eating of their sin-offering, plainly showed that they *bare their sin* (as the phrase is, x. 17), yet the sins of the priests themselves could not be taken away, by any sacrifice they could offer for sin, of which they might not eat: but they were to expect, as an excellent person of our own speaks (Dr. Jackson, book ix. upon the Creed, chap. 26), a better sacrifice, made by a better high-priest, the Son of God. But these legal sacrifices, in the mean time, were offered in such a place, as prefigured the place where this better sacrifice should be offered, viz. without the camp: as when they came to their rest, without the city of Jerusalem, where our Saviour's body was offered for our redemption.

Ver. 18. *He brought the ram for the burnt-offering*.] According to the direction given to Moses, when he was with God in Mount Sinai (Exod. xxix. 15, 16), where all that follows here, to the end of the twenty-first verse, is explained: this being nothing else but the execution of what was before ordered.

Ver. 22. *He brought the other ram*.] For he was commanded to bring *two*, (ver. 2, and Exod. xxix. 1).

The ram of consecration:] So it is called Exod. xxix. 22, 31, for the reason there given.

Ver. 23, 24.] These two verses are explained Exod. xxix. 20, where order was given for what was now done. I shall only add a remark of R. Levi ben Gerson, upon the order wherein these sacrifices were offered; which was most rational. For, first, there was a *sacrifice for sin* offered (ver. 14), before they could be worthy to have any gift or present which they made to God received by him. But upon their expiation, a *whole burnt-offering* was accepted (ver. 18); and after that followed this sacrifice, which was a *peace-offering* (as appears from ver. 31), part of which was burnt upon the altar, part given to the priest, and the rest they themselves ate for whom it was offered; that it might appear they were so far in the favour of God, as to eat with him of his meat from his table. Abarinel hath the same observation.

Ver. 25.] All this verse likewise is there explained, Exod. xxix. 22.

Ver. 26—28.] These three verses show, that Moses exactly followed the orders he had received, Exod. xxix. 23—25, where they have been explained.

upon his sons' hands, and waved them *for* a wave offering before the Lord.

28 And Moses took them from off their hands, and burnt *them* on the altar upon the burnt offering: they *were* consecrations for a sweet savour: it *is* an offering made by fire unto the Lord.

29 And Moses took the breast, and waved it *for* a wave offering before the Lord: *for* of the ram of consecration it was Moses' part; as the Lord commanded Moses.

30 And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood which *was* upon the altar, and sprinkled *it* upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon his sons' garments with him; and sanctified Aaron, and

his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.

31 ¶ And Moses said unto Aaron and to his sons, Boil the flesh *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and there eat it with the bread that *is* in the basket of consecrations, as I commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it.

32 And that which remaineth of the flesh and of the bread shall ye burn with fire.

33 And ye shall not go out of the door of the tabernacle of the congregation *in* seven days, until the days of your consecration be at an end: for seven days shall he consecrate you.

34 As he hath done this day, so the Lord hath commanded to do, to make an atonement for you.

Ver. 28. *Burnt them—upon the burnt-offering.*] This shows that they were not a burnt-offering properly, as I there observed, but an appendix to it.

They were consecrations] Because they were offered to consecrate and sanctify them, as this is explained Exod. xxix. 33 (see there).

Ver. 29. *Moses took the breast, and waved it*] According to the direction given Exod. xxix. 26, where it is also ordered that this should be Moses' part.

Ver. 30. *Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood*] See Exod. xxix. 21, where it appears plainly this blood that was mixed with the oil, was the blood of the ram of consecration.

Ver. 31.] God having had his part (ver. 28), and Moses, who performed the office of a priest at this time, having had that which belonged to him on that account (ver. 28), the rest was given (as the manner was in *peace-offerings*) to those for whom the sacrifice was offered: that is, all but the *right shoulder*, which was burnt upon the altar, and the *wave breast*, which was given to Moses, as priest (see Exod. xxix. 31, 32).

Ver. 32. *That which remaineth—shall ye burn with fire.*] See Exod. xxix. 34. This shows it was of the nature of a *peace-offering* (vii. 15, 17).

Ver. 33. *Ye shall not go out—seven days.*] For till then their consecration was not perfected (as the following words signify), no more than the consecration of the altar was, till a bullock had been offered, to cleanse it, and make an atonement for it, for seven days together (see Exod. xxix. 35—37). This was to make them more sensible of the great weight, as well as dignity of their office.

Ver. 34.] Every day of these seven those sacrifices were to be repeated, the sin-offering, the burnt-offering, and the peace-offering; and their garments were to be sprinkled with the blood and the anointing oil, as the Lord required when Moses was with him in the mount (Exod. xxix. 35). This shows the imperfection of all the legal sacrifices; which would not have been so often repeated, if they had been of greater efficacy; yet the continuance of them *seven days*, doth signify the complete consecration of these priests, according to the rites of those times. In conformity to which, our great high-priest, the Lord Christ, who was perfected by one sacrifice of himself, spent seven days in his consecration to his office. For as Aaron is commanded to attend at the tabernacle so many days together, in like manner our Lord Christ (as Dr. Jackson observes in the forenamed book, chap. 25), did attend the temple five days one after another, before his death (see John xii. 1, 12, &c. Matt. xxi. 8, 9, &c.); and having purged it on the first or second of those days, from the pro-

faneness that was exercised in it by merchandising; and afterward hallowed it by his doctrine, and by his Divine presence, which appeared in several miraculous cures, he went the sixth day into his heavenly sanctuary, into paradise itself; to purify and sanctify it with his own blood: as Moses, at Aaron's consecration, did the material sanctuary and altar with the blood of beasts. And having rested the seventh day, finished all by his resurrection early the next day in the morning.

Ver. 35. *Abide at the door of the tabernacle*] Where all things mentioned in this chapter had been done, and were still to be repeated (ver. 3, 4), for they could not go into the sanctuary till they were completed.

Day and night] This was to make their consecration more solemn, and taken notice of by all the people.

Seven days,] By which means, a Sabbath, as the Jews observe, passed over their heads; without which, they conceive, Aaron and his sons could not have been completed. But the Sabbath of the Lord did never so exactly pass over any high-priest in his consecration, as it did over the High-priest of the New Testament. For however it were of Aaron's it was to our blessed Saviour (as the forenamed Dr. Jackson notes) a day of rest indeed, after six days of labour, watching, praying, and fasting, which concluded in his bloody death and passion.

Keep the charge of the Lord,] That which he had now enjoined. Or rather, watch the tabernacle and his vessels, &c., as they were to do in time to come. The Hebrew doctors have here raised a great difficulty about the necessary easements of nature; for which they had no convenience, if they might not stir for seven days from the door of the tabernacle; and therefore they fancy, there was a hole digged in the ground for such occasions. But it is more likely they were not so confined, as not to be allowed this liberty: and one cannot well doubt of it, who considers the word *misnoroth* here used (which we translate *keep the charge of the Lord*), which is a military phrase, signifying the stations and watches kept in their turns for certain hours: after which they were at liberty to attend their own affairs. Such was the charge here one may reasonably think, of not departing from the door of the tabernacle, while they were upon the guard (as we speak), which some or other of them kept night and day; in such order, that while some watched, others might sleep, or step out about the necessary occasions of nature.

That ye die not.] It may seem hard that they should be in peril of their life, if they omitted any of these rites. But this was necessary, to make those

35 Therefore shall ye abide at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation day and night seven days, and keep the charge of the

LORD, that ye die not: for so I am commanded.

36 So Aaron and his sons did all things which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses.

serious and intent upon their business, who were to save the lives of others, by making expiation for them, when they deserved to perish.

For so I am commanded.] These orders, as hath been already observed, he received in the holy mount.

So Aaron and his sons did all things which the LORD commanded.] This was necessary to be added, that all generations might be assured, whatsoever was performed by their ministry, would be effectual, to the end for which it was appointed; they being exactly

consecrated to God's service, without the least omission of any thing that he had required. In like manner, our great High-priest was consecrated to his eternal priesthood, by fulfilling all the will of God; and that in a far more solemn and public way than Aaron's was; it being performed by suffering such things, as nothing but a perfect filial obedience to his heavenly Father could have moved him to admit, because it was accomplished by shedding his own blood in a lingering death.

CHAPTER IX.

1 The first offerings of Aaron, for himself and the people. 8 The sin offering, 12 and the burnt offering for himself. 15 The offerings for the people. 23 Moses and Aaron bless the people. 24 Fire cometh from the LORD, upon the altar.

1 AND it came to pass on the eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel;

2 And he said unto Aaron, Take thee a young calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a

burnt offering, without blemish, and offer them before the LORD.

3 And unto the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying, Take ye a kid of the goats for a sin offering; and a calf and a lamb, both of the

CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *It came to pass on the eighth day,*] He doth not mean on the eighth day of the month; but on the next day after their consecration, which was seven days in doing (viii. 33, 35). Then it was that the fire fell down from heaven, and consumed the sacrifices which Aaron offered; and this seems also to have been the first day of unleavened bread, which fell upon the fifteenth day of this month; for on the fourteenth in the even, which was the last day of the consecration of the priests, the passover was kept (Numb. ix. 2, 5).

That Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel;] Just as he had done before (viii. 2, 3), that the rulers, and as many of the people as could meet together, to behold what was done, might see the glory of the LORD, which appeared at this time (ver. 6).

Ver. 2. *Take thee a young calf*] This is the first sacrifice that was offered to God, by the priests of the order of Aaron. It differed from that which was offered by Moses for Aaron and his sons, as *egel*, a young calf, doth from *par*, a young bullock: by which his sin was expiated at his consecration. And Maimonides saith, that the former signifies a calf of one year old; the latter, one of two. Others say, a calf was called *egel* till his horns budded; and then it was called *par*.

For a sin offering,] For his sins in general; not for any determinate offence, like that iv. 3, which therefore was something different from this. The Jews fancy, that a young calf was appointed for the first *sin-offering*, to put Aaron and the people in mind of the golden calf, which they worshipped. So Maimonides reports the opinion of their wise men, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 46). Where he also hath this conceit, that it was to expiate that sin.

And a ram for a burnt offering,] For none but males were accepted for burnt-offerings (i. 10). There is no *peace-offering* ordered for him (as there is afterward for the people, ver. 4), because it was not fit he

should have all the sacrifice, as he must have had, according to the law of such sacrifices, being both the priest and the offerer; between whom and the priest (after the fat was burnt) all was to be shared.

Ver. 3. *Unto the children of Israel thou shalt speak,*] Unto all the elders (ver. 1), who were to bring the following offerings, in the name of all the people of Israel; and that by Aaron's direction, who was now to act as God's high-priest, and give out this order.

Take ye a kid of the goats for a sin offering;] The Hebrew word *seir* signifies a *he-goat*. Concerning which Maimonides (in his book concerning Sacrifices) delivers this opinion, that "all sacrifices for sin, whether of private persons, or the whole congregation, at their three principal feasts, new moons, and the day of expiation, were *he-goats*." For this reason, because the greatest sin and rebellion of those times was, that they sacrificed to demons, who were wont to appear in that form. For which he quotes xvii. 7, "They shall no more offer their sacrifices," *lesseirim*; which we translate *unto devils*: but the word *seirim* is but the plural number of the word *seir*, which signifies a *goat*. And further he adds, that their wise men think the sin of the whole congregation was therefore expiated by this *kid of a goat*, because all the family of Israel sinned about a goat when they sold Joseph into Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 31). And such reasons, saith he, as these should not seem trifles, for the end and scope of all these actions was, to imprint and engrave on the mind of sinners the offences they had committed, that they might never forget them. According to that of David, Psalm li. 5, "My sin is ever before me."

This *sin-offering* was different from that iv. 14, being not for any particular sin, as that was; but in general, for all the offences that the high-priest might have committed.

A calf and a lamb, both of the first year, &c.] When they were in their prime.

Ver. 4. *Also a bullock and a ram*] These also were, no doubt, to be without blemish, as is prescribed in the two foregoing offerings. And the Hebrew word

first year, without blemish, for a burnt offering;

4 Also a bullock and a ram for peace offerings, to sacrifice before the LORD; and a meat offering mingled with oil: for to day the LORD will appear unto you.

5 ¶ And they brought *that* which Moses commanded before the tabernacle of the congregation: and all the congregation drew near and stood before the LORD.

6 And Moses said, *This is the thing which the LORD commanded that ye should do: and the glory of the LORD shall appear unto you.*

7 And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar, and offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering, and make an atonement for thyself,

son (which we translate a *bullock*) often signifies a well grown ox: as in Exod. xxi. 28; Deut. xxv. 8. As *ajil*, a *ram*, the Hebrews say, signifies a sheep of above a year old. These made very large *peace-offerings*, and consequently a liberal feast upon them.

For peace offerings.] The very same order is here observed that was at Aaron's consecration: first, *sin-offerings*, then a *burnt-offering*, and then a *peace-offering* was offered to the Lord (viii. 14, 18, 23).

A meat offering mingled with oil.] Which was to complete the *peace-offerings* on which they were to feast, that meat might not be without bread to it.

For to day the Lord will appear unto you.] Give you an illustrious token of his presence by sending fire from heaven, or from the brightness of his glory, to consume the sacrifice (ver. 23, 24). Whereby they were all assured that both the institution of this priesthood, and the sacrifices offered by it, were acceptable to the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 5.] Both Aaron (ver. 2), and all the congregation (ver. 3), brought all the offerings which Moses required.

Before the tabernacle] Where these sacrifices were to be offered.

All the congregation drew near] Approached to the door of the tabernacle, and stood there by their sacrifices, looking towards the holy place; and worshipped the Lord.

Ver. 6. *Moses said.*] Unto the congregation.

This is the thing which the Lord commanded that ye should do.] I require this of you by the commandment of God, who will demonstrate, by a visible token, his presence among you.

The glory of the Lord shall appear unto you.] That glory which filled the tabernacle when it was erected (Exod. xl. 34, 35), openly showed itself to them all (ver. 23), and declared his grace and favour towards them, by consuming their sacrifices, as an acceptable oblation to him (ver. 24). Whereby a particular honour also was done unto Aaron, who was hereby most illustriously owned to be God's high-priest; and all other persons deterred from pretending to his office.

Ver. 7. *Offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering.*] One of them after the other, in the order wherein they were directed, viz. his *sin-offering* first, to make his *burnt-offering* acceptable.

Make an atonement for thyself, and for the people.] First for himself (as the apostle observes, Heb. vii. 27), that then he might be capable to offer for the sins of the people. This was the great imperfection of the Aaraonical priests, that they were sinners like other men: by reason whereof they were bound, "as for the people, so also for themselves, to offer for sins" (Heb. v. 3).

and for the people: and offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them; as the LORD commanded.

8 ¶ Aaron therefore went unto the altar, and slew the calf of the sin offering, which *was* for himself.

9 And the sons of Aaron brought the blood unto him: and he dipped his finger in the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar, and poured out the blood at the bottom of the altar:

10 But the fat, and the kidneys, and the caul above the liver of the sin offering, he burnt upon the altar; as the LORD commanded Moses.

11 And the flesh and the hide he burnt with fire without the camp.

12 And he slew the burnt offering; and

Offer the offering of the people.] After he had offered both the *sin-offering* (ver. 8), and the *burnt-offering* (ver. 13), for himself; then he was to begin to offer for the people. For his own sins being expiated, and his *burnt-offering* being accepted, he was fit to procure remission and acceptance for them.

Ver. 8. *Aaron therefore went unto the altar.*] That he might be ready to perform his part of the service, which was to sprinkle the blood, after he had first of all offered the morning sacrifice (see ver. 17).

Slew the calf—for himself.] Ordered it to be slain: for this was no part of the priest's work, as I showed upon the first chapter, ver. 5.

Ver. 9. *The sons of Aaron brought the blood unto him.*] They received it in basins as it ran from the calf when it was killed (see i. 5), and brought it unto him; who stood at the altar to receive it, and do what follows.

He dipped his finger in the blood.] The forefinger of the right hand, which had been sanctified to this ministry, by putting the blood of the sacrifice of consecration upon the thumb of the right hand (viii. 23, 24), whereby we grasp all things, and cannot hold them strongly, nor perform any thing well, if that be wanting.

Put it upon the horns of the altar.] See iv. 25.

Ver. 10. *But the fat, &c.*] See iv. 8, 9.

He burnt upon the altar.] Laid or disposed them upon the altar, to be burnt by the heavenly fire (ver. 24), as most understand it. And the LXX. justify this opinion; who, though they here translate it, "he offered it on the altar," yet, ver. 13, where there is the same phrase, they expressly translate it, *ἐπέθηκεν τὸ ἱεροσάντωμα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον*, "he laid the burnt-offering upon the altar:" and again, ver. 17, in the same manner, *ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καρπὸς, &c.* "he laid it upon the altar, beside the burnt-sacrifice of the morning." For common fire, it is supposed, was no longer to be used when Aaron's sacrifice began; as it had been all along before. But there is no certainty in this: and we may as well take the words in their proper sense, that Aaron burnt this and the following sacrifice, as Moses had done before (viii. 14, 21, 28), until the *burnt-offering* for the people came to be offered, which God consumed by fire from himself; and then followed those other sacrifices mentioned, ver. 17, 18. For all these sacrifices, for Aaron and for the people, could not be laid upon the altar at once; but one after another, in the order here directed; and consequently, this sacrifice here mentioned was actually burnt upon the altar, to make way for those which followed it.

Ver. 11. *The flesh—he burnt.*] See viii. 17.

Ver. 12. *He slew the burnt offering, &c.*] See i. 5.

Aaron's sons presented unto him the blood, which he sprinkled round about upon the altar.

13 And they presented the burnt offering unto him, with the pieces thereof, and the head: and he burnt *them* upon the altar.

14 And he did wash the inwards and the legs, and burnt *them* upon the burnt offering on the altar.

15 ¶ And he brought the people's offering, and took the goat, which *was* the sin offering for the people, and slew it, and offered it for sin, as the first.

16 And he brought the burnt offering, and offered it according to the manner.

17 And he brought the meat offering, and took an handful thereof, and burnt *it* upon the altar, beside the burnt sacrifice of the morning.

18 He slew also the bullock and the ram *for* a sacrifice of peace offerings, which *was* for the

people: and Aaron's sons presented unto him the blood, which he sprinkled upon the altar round about,

19 And the fat of the bullock and of the ram, the rum, and that which covereth the *inwards*, and the kidneys, and the caul *above* the liver:

20 And they put the fat upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat upon the altar:

21 And the breasts and the right shoulder Aaron waved *for* a wave offering before the LORD; as Moses commanded.

22 And Aaron lifted up his hand toward the people, and blessed them, and came down from offering of the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and peace offerings.

23 And Moses and Aaron went into the tabernacle of the congregation, and came out, and blessed the people: and the glory of the LORD appeared unto all the people.

Ver. 13, 14.] All that is contained in these two verses is explained in the first chapter (ver. 8, 9), where the law about *burnt-offerings* is delivered.

Ver. 15.] Having offered all that was necessary for himself, now he became fit to make supplication for the people.

Offered it for sin, as the first.] In the same manner as he offered the foregoing *sin-offering* for himself (ver. 8, &c.).

Ver. 16. *He brought the burnt offering.*] Here being no express mention of *burning* it, some from thence conclude, that this was the offering which alone was consumed by fire from the Lord (see ver. 24).

Offered it according to the manner.] Laid it upon the altar as Moses had directed in the first chapter of this book.

Ver. 17. *They brought the meat offering.*] Which attended upon *burnt-offerings* (Numb. xv. 2—4, &c.).

Beside the burnt sacrifice of the morning.] This shows that Aaron began his priestly function with the morning sacrifice, which preceded all other, and was never omitted for the sake of any other sacrifice that was to follow it, and it had always a meat-offering waiting upon it (Exod. xxix. 39, 40).

Ver. 18, 19.] These two verses are explained in the third chapter; which treats of such kind of offerings.

Ver. 20. *He put the fat upon the breasts.*] That it might by elevation and waving be presented unto the Lord; and then burnt upon the altar (see vii. 30).

Ver. 21.] The fat being burnt upon the altar, as God's portion, these were the portion of the priests, who feasted upon God's meat; for they were solemnly presented unto him before they had them (see vii. 34).

Ver. 22. *Aaron lifted up his hand toward the people.*] Imploring the Divine blessing upon the people; which he afterwards pronounced. At this day, they that are of the family of Aaron, going up the steps which lead to the place where the book of the law is kept, lift up their hands as high as their heads, and pronounce a blessing in their synagogues upon the assembly. And they say the ancient custom was, which is still observed, not only to lift up and spread their hands, but then to join them together by the thumbs and the two fore-fingers; dividing the other from them, in that figure which is represented by an eminently learned person, J. Wagenseil, in his commentary upon Sota (cap. 7, p. 672 and 1132).

Blessed them.] We read of no order for this; but

natural reason taught them, from the beginning, that the priestly office consisted in praying for the people, and blessing them: we find an example of it in Gen. xiv. 18, 19. And not long after Aaron's consecration, Moses delivered from God a form of words, wherein the priests should bless the people (Numb. vi. 24). And at this day, there is nothing done among the Jews with such solemnity, and in which they place so much sanctity, as this. For when the blessing is pronounced in their synagogues, they all cover their faces; believing they would be struck blind if they should look up; because the Divine Majesty, at that time, sits upon the hands of the priest. So the same Wagenseil observes, in the place above named; which shows, not only how laborious they have been to maintain in the people's minds an opinion that God is still as much present with them in their synagogues, as he was anciently in the tabernacle and temple; but how high a value they set upon the Divine blessing pronounced by his ministers.

And came down from offering of the sin offering, &c.] He pronounced the blessing before he came down from the altar, which stood upon raised ground (though there were no steps to it, Exod. xx. 26), that all the people might the better see what was done, while he offered all these sacrifices for them, and lifted up his hands to implore God's blessing upon them.

Ver. 23. *Moses and Aaron went into the tabernacle*] The sacrifice being ended, it is likely Moses went with Aaron into the sanctuary, to instruct him how to sprinkle the blood, and to burn incense, and order the shew-bread, and such like things as were to be done only in the holy place.

Came out, and blessed the people.] I suppose that all the sacrifices before mentioned might be offered after the *morning sacrifice* (ver. 17), which took up a great deal of time before they were all completed. After which Moses and Aaron went into the sanctuary, and stayed there till the time of the *evening sacrifice*; and then came out and dismissed the people with a new blessing, when the evening sacrifice was finished.

The glory of the Lord appeared] That *glory* which filled the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 34, 35), now appeared without; either at the door of it, or upon it, in the sight of all the people, as Moses had foretold (ver. 6).

Ver. 24. *There came a fire out from before the Lord.*] Either out of the sanctuary, from the holy of holies; or from that glory which now appeared unto them, and sent out flashes of fire which burnt up the sacri-

24 And there came a fire out from before the LORD, and consumed upon the altar the burnt

offering and the fat: *which* when all the people saw, they shouted, and fell on their faces.

fice. In either of these senses, it may be said to come from the *face of the Lord*, as the Hebrew phrase is.

Burnt offering and the fat:] It seems to me most natural and easy to take this *burnt-offering* and its *fat* for the evening sacrifice; which concluding the work of this day, God gave a special token of his acceptance of all the other sacrifices, by consuming this; and likewise publicly testified his approbation of all the forementioned rites of the ministry of Aaron, whose authority was hereby established in a miraculous manner. To confirm this, it may be noted, that, as the place which God chose for his worship and service was afterward designed in the time of David after the very same manner (1 Chron. xxi. 26), so it was at the time of the *evening sacrifice*, as may be gathered from 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, where it is said the pestilence continued from morning to the time appointed, that is, to the evening; and then David saw the angel, who commanded Gad to bid him set the altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah; where God answering by fire from heaven, it made him say, "This is the house of God, and this is the altar of burnt-offering" (1 Chron. xxii. 1). And when Solomon built the temple in that very place, it was thus consecrated by fire coming from heaven, and consuming the burnt-sacrifice, as well as by the glory of the Lord filling the house (2 Chron. vii. 1—3). And it is very probable, also, that this was at the time of the *evening sacrifice*; for the former part of the day had been spent in bringing the ark into the house of the Lord, and in Solomon's prayer; as we read in the two foregoing chapters. Certain it is, that the authority of Elijah to restore God's true religion and worship was thus justified, 1 Kings xviii. 38, 39, and it was at the time of the offering the *evening sacrifice* (ver. 39). From whence that prayer of the Psalmist (Ps. cxli. 2), "Let the lifting up of my hands be as the evening sacrifice."

All this was so notorious, that Julian himself acknowledges, that fire came down from heaven in the time of Moses, and again in the days of Elijah, *τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναδίσκον*, "consuming the sacrifices;" as we find his words related by St. Cyril (lib. x. contra Julianum). And this gave such a Divine authority to the Jewish religion, that it is no wonder to find that the pagans endeavoured to get credit to their religion by the like reports of fire, from an invisible power, consuming their sacrifices: which perhaps was sometimes really done by the prince of the power of the air, as the apostle calls the devil. However that be, there are several instances of this in Pausanias, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny. But Servius may serve instead of all; who, upon those words of Virgil in *Æneid* xii.,

—"fœdera fulmine sancit,"

saith, that anciently they did not kindle fires upon their altars; sed ignem divinum precibus eliciebant, &c., "but they procured by their prayers Divine fire," which inflamed their altars. And Solinus saith (cap. 11), that the flame sprung out of the wood by a Divine power. Si Deus adest, si sacrum probatur, sarmenta licet viridia ignem sponte concipiunt, &c., "If God be present, if the sacrifice be acceptable, the fagots, though green, kindle of themselves;" and without any one to set them on fire, a flame is raised by the Deity to whom the sacrifice is offered. Thus *there rose up fire out of the rock*, and consumed Gideon's sacrifice (Judg. vi. 21). They that would see more of this out of pagan writers, may consult J. Dilherrus Dissert. Special. de Cacozelia Gentil. (cap. 11). But

especially Huetius, in his *Alnetanæ Quæstiones* (lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 21).

But whether this fire, which now came from before the Lord, consumed Aaron's sacrifice instantly, or only set it into a flame, which consumed it leisurely in the sight of all the people, cannot certainly be determined. The Jews seem to suppose the latter; the heavenly fire being now kindled, which continued ever after by a constant supply of fuel, whereby it was kept perpetually burning, as is ordained, vi. 12, 13 (see note on that place). Where to me it seems very observable, that this law of keeping in the fire perpetually, is ordered to be put in execution at the evening sacrifice, ver. 9 of that chapter. Which is a sufficient reason to incline one to think that the celestial fire now came, as I have supposed, at the evening sacrifice, and consumed the burnt-offering.

Which when all the people saw, they shouted,] They fled not from it as men affrighted, but shouted for joy; or, as Abarinel's phrase is, "they lifted up their voices with singing, and prayed to God," or rather, praised him. Just as they did when the fire came down at the consecration of Solomon's temple: "When the people saw it they praised the Lord, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever" (2 Chron. vii. 3).

Fell on their faces.] Worshipped God with humble thankfulness; who hereby testified his presence among them, and his gracious acceptance of them. For thus he had of old showed his respect to Abel (Gen. iv. 4), and to Noah (vii. 20), and to their father Abraham; whose sacrifice was thus accepted in the evening, when the sun went down (Gen. xv. 17).

And there was great reason, that both priests and people should rejoice at this sight; for, as the author of the book *Cosri* discourses (par. iii. sect. 53), "If a man look only at the foregoing part of the work of this day (the killing of the sacrifices, the blood running about their hands; their slaying of them, washing the entrails, rinsing the pieces of flesh, sprinkling the blood, laying the wood in order, kindling the fire), they would rather set his mind further off from God, than draw it near to him: till after all these things performed orderly, he saw the fire coming down from heaven, testifying God's gracious acceptance of the sacrifice; or felt another spirit excited in him, beyond any thing he was acquainted withal before; or had Divine dreams, or heroic motions; which he believed were the effects of what he had been doing," &c. And no doubt, all good men, in future ages, felt their minds raised by the thoughts that the sacrifices they offered were as acceptable to God as that offered at this time; being consumed, in some sort, by the same fire, which burnt continually on this altar; and after this day, was never extinguished till the captivity. Which seems to be the original of that expression of the people, in their prayer for their king, that God would "remember all his offerings, and accept (*turn to ashes*, it is in the Hebrew) his burnt-sacrifice" (Ps. xxi. 3).

"Such acceptable sacrifices (St. Cyril tells Julian), we Christians still offer, but infinitely better, being spiritual and intellectual (and consequently nearer to the Divine nature), and that by fire sent from heaven, viz. the Holy Ghost (of whom this fire was but a figure), *καταφωτίζων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, 'illustrating the church,' and enabling the members of it to offer continually the sweet-smelling sacrifices of faith, and hope, and charity, and righteousness, temperance, obedience, perpetual doxologies, and all other virtues" (lib. x. contra Jul.).

CHAPTER X.

1 *Nadab and Abihu, for offering of strange fire, are burnt by fire.* 6 *Aaron and his sons are forbidden to mourn for them.* 8 *The priests are forbidden wine when they are to go into the tabernacle.* 12 *The law of eating the holy things.* 16 *Aaron's excuse for transgressing thereof.*

1 AND Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the LORD, which he commanded them not.

2 And there went out fire from the LORD, and devoured them, and they died before the LORD.

3 Then Moses said unto Aaron, This is it that the LORD spake, saying, I will be sanctified in

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron,*] His two eldest sons (Exod. vi. 23).

Took either of them his censer,] Here are two of their errors expressed in these words, if Abarbinel conjecture aright (who supposes this to have happened on the last day of their consecration, when fire came down from heaven); first, that they adventured, without any order from God, to go and burn incense in the sanctuary. For though this did not belong to the office of the high-priest alone, yet, upon this solemn day, Aaron only was commanded to perform the whole service; as upon the day of expiation (ix. 7). And this account Bochartus gives of their offence, that sine vocatione thus obtulerunt, "they offered incense without any call to it" (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 49, p. 557). And secondly, both of them went about this work; whereas the incense was to be offered only by one, and not by two at a time. Procopius Gazeus adds a third error; that they attempted this out of the due season for it, which was only in the morning and evening.

Put fire therein,] As the priests were required to offer "no strange incense" (Exod. xxx. 9), so, in all reason, they were to think it was not to be offered with *strange fire*; but only with a coal from that altar, where there was a fire kindled by God himself.

Offered strange fire before the Lord,] Here are two sins more (if Abarbinel take it right); that they brought fire from another place without the sanctuary, and did not take it from the altar; and then, that they attempted to go into the *most holy place*: which he thinks is signified by these words, *before the Lord*. The first of these is the opinion also of Aben Ezra, and other learned men among the Jews; who, by *strange fire*, understand, *fire that did not go out from before the Lord* (ix. 24), that is, was not taken from the altar of burnt-offering, where fire from heaven lately consumed their oblations. And so R. Bechai: "They imagined that the fire on the altar of burnt-offerings was only for consuming sacrifices; and therefore they fetch some from without for the burning incense." But as to the second thing, it doth not seem to me probable; for Aaron himself had not yet gone into the holy of holies.

Which he commanded them not,] This they did (saith Aben Ezra) from their own proper motion and opinion: without any authority from God: for whose order they should have waited, if his mind was not already sufficiently declared, as it was fully afterward (xvi. 12).

How two such excellent men as these (who had had the honour to be called up to God, when he appeared on Mount Sinai, and to have a sight of him, and to eat and drink in his presence, Exod. xxiv. 1, 9, 10, &c.) came to be so rash, and to fall so unadvisedly into so great an error, as this here mentioned, cannot be certainly resolved. But it seems to me

highly probable, that at the feast upon the *peace-offerings*, they had eaten and drunk too liberally; which made them forget themselves, and fall into this gross mistake. For I can see no other reason why that command (ver. 8), of not drinking wine or strong drink, when the priests were to go into the sanctuary, is annexed unto this story of their death and burial; but only this, which I have now alleged; that their miscarriage arose from drinking too much wine before this office was to be performed.

Ver. 2. *There went out fire from the Lord,*] As they were entering into the sanctuary, or as they stood at the golden altar, ready to offer incense, fire came out from the most holy place (where the glory of the Lord was), and struck them dead.

Devoured them,] It did not reduce their bodies to ashes, nor so much as burn their clothes (ver. 5), but they were killed as men sometimes are with lightning which penetrates into the vital parts, and puts a sudden end to their life. That is meant here by *devoured them*; took away their breath in a moment. From which expression the Hebrew doctors conclude, that when any body was condemned to be burnt, it was not to be consumed to ashes, but only examined by the fire; because this is called *devouring* or *burning*, here in this place (see Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. 7, n. 1).

They died before the Lord,] Fell down dead in the house of God. Which may seem too great a severity till it be considered how reasonable and necessary it was to inflict a heavy punishment upon the first transgressors of a law concerning a matter of great moment, to deter others from the like offence. Many instances of which there are in Scripture; some observed by St. Chrysostom upon Psalm vi. 2, where he gives this account, why the man who gathered a few sticks on the Sabbath day was adjudged to be stoned, as blasphemers were; because it was a very heinous thing, *ἡ προσιμίων ἐνδύως παραβῆναι τὸ πρόσταγμα*, &c. "as soon as a law was enacted, immediately to break it:" which made it necessary it should be thus severely punished, to strike such a terror into others, that they might not dare to do the like, which was the reason, he observes, of the sudden death of Ananias and Sapphira, mentioned Acts v. Isidore of Pelusium hath made the same observation (lib. i. epist. 181), and goes so far back as to our first parents, who were dreadfully punished for a seemingly small offence, because they were the first transgressors. The same others have observed, of the punishment of Cain, who committed the first murder; of the filthiness of Sodom; of the idolatry of the golden calf; the covetousness and sacrilege of Achan; the disobedience of Saul, the first king of Israel; the sudden death of Uzzah, who was the first that presumed to touch the ark of God.

Ver. 3. *Moses said unto Aaron,*] To satisfy him in the justice and wisdom of this dreadful stroke, at which he could not but be extremely afflicted.

them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified. And Aaron held his peace.

4 And Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said

I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me,] To come nigh unto God, is, in the holy language, to perform the office of a priest (Exod. xix. 22; Numb. xvi. 5), who, having the honour of attending upon the service of the Divine Majesty, was bound to approach into his presence with the greatest reverence. We do not read indeed those very words, which Moses here recites in the foregoing books; but, as many things were spoken to them which are not recorded, so the sense of these words is in the place forenamed Exod. xix. 22, and the reason of them in Exod. xxix. 43, 44, where the tabernacle being said to be sanctified by the Divine glory, and the priests being sanctified to minister unto him therein (which was seven days a doing, as we read here, viii. 35), they were plainly taught to draw nigh to God with a holy fear, and to do nothing rashly, nor without order from him. For God being peculiarly known by the name of the Holy One, i. e. who hath incomparable perfections, such as no other being hath, he justly required to be accordingly worshipped, suitable to his most surpassing greatness; by peculiar rites of his own prescribing in a different manner from all other beings. It was, for instance, below his eminency, or rather supereminent majesty, to have common fire (such as they employed in their kitchens) used for the burning sacrifices on his altar. And in like manner all other parts of his service were, in reason, to be performed after such a fashion as might signify their sense of the peculiar excellences of the Divine nature; who, therefore sent fire from heaven as only fit to burn perpetually upon his altar.

Before all the people I will be glorified.] This may be thought to be but a solemn repetition of what was spoken before, as the manner is in these books to deliver the same thing twice in different words. Or the meaning is, if they who draw nigh to me will not sanctify me, I will vindicate my own honour by such punishments as shall openly declare to all that I am the Holy One. Thus God is said to be honoured upon Pharaoh by drowning him in the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 4).

Aaron held his peace.] Silently adored the justice of the Holy One, and did not complain of his severity. For this doth not seem to be the effect merely of great grief, but of great reverence to the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 4. Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan,] It appears from Exod. vi. 18, that Uzziel, the father of Mishael and Elzaphan (ver. 22), was the younger brother of Amram, the father of Aaron, and consequently Aaron's uncle.

Come near, carry your brethren] All near kindred are called brethren in Scripture. And these cousin-germans of theirs are appointed to carry them out, because Aaron's other sons were now attending upon God in their ministration, upon the day of their consecration. But without this special order, these two persons could not have been admitted to come near into the very sanctuary, being not of the family of priests, though of kin to them.

From before the sanctuary] See ver. 2.

Out of the camp.] For anciently they buried not in their cities, but in the fields adjacent to them (Gen. xxii. 9, 17), and so they did in aftertimes, Matt. xxvii. 7, and Luke viii. 27, where the tombs are plainly intimated to be without the city.

Ver. 5. So they went near,] There being two ac-

unto them, Come near, carry your brethren from before the sanctuary out of the camp.

5 So they went near, and carried them in their coats out of the camp; as Moses had said.

6 And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto Elea-

cents upon the Hebrew word for draw near, the cabalists from thence observe (I know not upon what grounds), that these men did not come into the very sanctuary where the dead bodies lay, but drew them out with long poles, and those of iron, being afraid of the fire wherewith Nadab and Abihu had been killed, or rather fearing to go into the sanctuary, or too near it (see Hacksplan's Cabala Judaica, n. 58).

Carried them in their coats] Their linen vestments wherein they ministered; which having touched dead bodies, were no more fit to be used in the Divine service.

As Moses had said.] As he had directed in his order which he gave them.

Ver. 6. Eleazar and Ithamar his sons,] These two were all the sons that Aaron had now remaining; from whom came two great families of the priests; which, in the days of David, we find very numerous (though more of the house of Eleazar than of the other), when they were by him divided into twenty-four classes, and had their courses of waiting appointed them (1 Chron. xxiv. 4, &c.).

Uncover not your heads,] The Hebrew doctors interpret it quite contrary, *Let not the hair of your head grow*: so long, that is, as to cover their faces: which was the custom of mourners (2 Sam. xv. 30, xix. 4, and many other places). And thus Onkelos, and the Arabic version set forth by Erpenius, and many of the Jewish commentators (such as R. Solomon and Aben Ezra), who give the same account of Lev. xxi. 10, where the same thing is required of the high-priest. And the time of their letting their hair grow on such occasions, they determine by the law of the Nazarites who were not to cut their hair all the time of their vow of separation, which the Jews say was at least thirty days (Numb. vi. 5). Therefore the priests were not to let their hair grow so long: if they did they were incapable of officiating. Only they make this difference between the common priests and the high-priest; that this law did not bind the priests at all times, but only in their course of ministration: but the high-priest (whose presence was always necessary in the sanctuary) might never let his hair grow; but was bound every week to have it cut even, on the eve of the Sabbath (see Selden, lib. ii. de Successu, in Pontif. cap. 6).

But the foundation of all this is not very strong; for it relies chiefly on the use of the Hebrew word *gao* in that place of Numbers vi. 5, where it signifies *hair*: from whence they conclude the verb here may have the same notion, and signify the *growth of hair*. But this is not the usual signification of it in Scripture, where it commonly imports the *rejection of something*; as of good counsel (Prov. i. 25), of *reproof or instruction* (Prov. xiii. 18, xv. 32). And being joined with the *head*, plainly signifies the *uncovering it* (see Numb. v. 18). And, therefore, so the LXX. understand it here; as if they were forbidden to *put off their bonnets*. But that they always did, as soon as they had performed their sacred office in the sanctuary: and therefore it may be meant of making their heads *bare* by shaving them, or *bald* by pulling off the hair, as the manner was in mourning (Isa. xv. 2; Jer. xli. 5, xlviii. 37, and many other places). And in this, the priests among the Jews directly opposed those among the Egyptians who shaved their heads; as appears by what Minutius Felix, and Lampridius, in the life of Commodus, say, concerning

zar and unto Ithamar, his sons, Uncover not your heads, neither rend your clothes; lest ye die, and lest wrath come upon all the people: but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the Lord hath kindled.

7 And ye shall not go out from the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: for the anointing oil of the Lord is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses.

the priests of Isis. And Herodotus, also, in his Euterpe, whose words are these, *οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Θεῶν τῇ μὲν ὡδὴ κομίζονται, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρίνται*, "in other places the priests of the gods nourish the hair: but in Egypt they are shaved."

Neither rend your clothes;] Which was another rite of mourning; not only among the Jews, but among all people in ancient times, especially in the eastern countries; as every one knows that hath read any of their authors (see Job i. 20). And it was used on many other occasions among the Jews, as well as in their funerals; particularly when any man blasphemed (Numb. xiv. 6; 2 Kings xix. 1), when any ill tidings came which put them into a passion (2 Kings v. 7), or any misfortune befell them (Gen. xliv. 13; Judg. xi. 35). But was thought so unseemly in a priest, especially when he ministered, that the Jews say, they whose garments were rent by accident, were as incapable of ministering, as they who rent themselves in mourning.

The reason of this precept was (as R. Levi of Barcelona well observes, *Precept. clv.*), that it being not allowed in those countries for mourners to come into the presence of their kings (as appears by the history of Esther), much less was it seemly for any that attended upon the Divine Majesty, to come into his house in such a habit.

Lest ye die,] As Nadab and Abihu did. For after such a monition as this, they had highly dishonoured God if they had appeared in his sanctuary in such an indecent manner.

Wrath come upon all the people:] For want of priests to make atonement for them when they offended.

But let your brethren,—bewail the burning] He doth not prohibit the rest of the people, who were not priests, to mourn for them; but rather requires it of them all; that they might be sensible of their loss and of the sin which was the cause of it. And it is likely the people bewailed them, by rending their clothes, and baring their heads, and putting ashes upon them; or some such rites then in use among them.

Ver. 7. Ye shall not go out from the door] For it is supposed the seven days of their consecration were not yet quite ended (viii. 35), or they had begun some other ministration in the sanctuary; and therefore were not to stir out of the court of it till it was finished. And the Hebrews think this law did not only bind Aaron and his sons at this time, but their posterity for ever: that if they heard of the death of any of their kindred, when they were ministering in the sanctuary, they should not stir from their duty; for that would have been to show a greater affection to a dear friend, than to the living God. This appears to be true, by the like command to this, and in the same words, laid particularly upon the high-priests, xxi. 12.

For the anointing oil of the Lord is upon you.] You are devoted and consecrated by a solemn unction (viii. 10, &c.) to the service of God; which must not be omitted out of respect to any person whatsoever. For in this precept (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes,

8 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying,

9 Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations:

10 And that ye may put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean;

Precept. civii.) the dignity and majesty of the Divine worship were consulted; which, if his ministers had deserted on such occasions, for a moment, would have been brought into contempt. For it would have been a declaration that there was something in the world more to be regarded than God's service. And therefore the punishment of death is threatened (in the foregoing words) to those who were guilty of such an offence.

They did according to the word of Moses.] Stayed in the tabernacle, without any of the usual tokens of mourning. Wherein they performed an eminent piece of obedience to God; whose commandment suppressed those natural affections, which are very hard to be kept in subjection.

Ver. 8.] It may be thought that the Lord was so pleased with his obedience, that he himself now spake unto Aaron; whereas hitherto he had spoken to him by Moses.

Ver. 9. Do not drink wine nor strong drink,] By wine every one knows is meant that liquor which is pressed out of grapes: and by *shecar* (which we translate *strong drink*) is meant such liquors as were made in imitation of wine, of dates or figs, and many other sorts of fruits; also that which was made of honey, which we call mead, and metheglin. There are many sorts of such liquors mentioned by Pliny (in his Natural History, lib. xiv. cap. 16), which he calls *vina factitia*.

When ye go into the tabernacle] To perform your ministry. At other times they might drink wine; and, if we may believe the Jews, they did not offend against this precept, if, before they went into the sanctuary, they drank no more than a fourth part of a log; which contained an egg-shell and a half. If they exceeded this measure, then their ministry, they say, was profaned, and they were liable to death by the hand of Heaven. See R. Levi of Barcelona, *Precept. clviii.*, who hath many niceties about this matter; as hath also Maimonides, mentioned by the learned Dr. Outram, in his book de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 6, n. 4.

Lest ye die:] As their brethren did: see upon ver. 1, where I observed it to be very probable, that they were burnt with fire from the Lord upon this account. They that think it worth their while, may see after what manner the cabalists make out this, and what reflections they make upon it, in Theod. Hackspan's Cabala Judaica, n. 144, 145.

It shall be a statute for ever] And such a law there was in some heathen countries, that no magistrate, all the year he was in office, nor any judge, while he was in action and employment, should *οὐκ ἔνεσθαι τὸ παράπαν*, "so much as taste a drop of wine." So Plato tells us; with which Eusebius compares this law of Moses (lib. xii. *Præp. Evang.* cap. 25). And Chæremont, the Stoic, describing (in Porphyry's book, περὶ Ἀποχρῆς, lib. iv.) the diet of the Egyptian priests, tells us, that οὐκ οἶνον οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὀίνως οἱ δὲ, οὐλύστρα ἐπὶνόντο, "some of them drank no wine at all, and others very little."

Ver. 10. That ye may put difference between holy

11 And that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses.

12 ¶ And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the meat offering that remaineth of the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and eat it without leaven beside the altar: for it is most holy:

13 And ye shall eat it in the holy place, because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the sacrifices of the Lord made by fire: for so I am commanded.

and unholy, between clean and unclean;] Here is the ground and reason of this precept; that they might have their wits about them (as we speak), and preserve their minds from being clouded (as Nadab's and Abihu's were, who put no difference between holy fire and common), and so be able "*both to put a difference* (as the first words may be translated) between holy and unholy," &c., and also to "teach the people all the statutes," which God had delivered to them; as it follows in the next verse.

And here it must be observed, that as some days and places were more holy than others, so were some parts of the sacrifices also; which they might not eat themselves, but were reserved for the altar. Some heasts also were clean, and others so unclean, that they might neither be offered in sacrifice nor eaten at their common tables (xi. 47). Some men and women were so unclean that they were not to be admitted into their ordinary conversation; much less into the sanctuary (chap. xii. xiii.). Of all which the priests were the judges, and therefore had need to be perfectly sober, that they might make an accurate difference between one thing and another. And for such a like reason it was, the Egyptian priests were so abstemious in drinking wine, because they looked upon it as *ἐμπόδιον εἰς εὐσεβίαν*, "an impediment to the finding out of the truth." So Chæremón speaks in the forementioned book.

Ver. 11. *Teach the children of Israel all the statutes]* Which concern the rites and ceremonies of God's worship.

Ver. 12. *Moses spake]* This was still spoken on the same day, a little after what he had said to them ver. 6, 7.

Take the meat offering that remaineth] He seems to have been afraid, that Aaron's grief for the loss of his sons might have so disturbed his mind as to have made him negligent in some part of his duty; or that Eleazar and Ithamar, through mistake or forgetfulness, might have offended against some of the laws lately delivered about sacrifices; which therefore he here repeats, that they might be exactly observed. And in the first place, that they should eat *what remained of the meat-offering*, as was commanded, vi. 16. Where it is required also, as it is here, to be eaten *without leaven, and beside the altar*, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation, as it is there expressed.

For it is most holy:] See there, vi. 17.

Ver. 13. *Ye shall eat it in the holy place,]* This he repeats, because they might possibly have forgotten it, or not sufficiently attended to the difference between things *most holy* and things *only holy*. The former of which the priests alone might eat, and that only in the *holy place*: the other all their family might eat (as he saith in the next verse) in any place that was *clean*.

14 And the wave breast and heave shoulder shall ye eat in a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee: for *they be thy due, and thy sons' due, which are given out of the sacrifices of peace offerings of the children of Israel.*

15 The heave shoulder and the wave breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave offering before the Lord; and it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee, by a statute for ever; as the Lord hath commanded.

16 ¶ And Moses diligently sought the goat of

Because it is thy due, &c.] Nobody might eat but holy persons; for so God directed, ch. ii. 3, vi. 16—18, vii. 9, 10.

Ver. 14. *The wave breast and heave shoulder shall ye eat in a clean place;]* They were not bound to eat these in the court of the tabernacle (as in the former case, ver. 13), but in any part of the camp that was not defiled.

Thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee:] These being those which the Jews call *lighter holy things*, might be eaten by the whole family, as was before observed.

For they be thy due, and thy sons' due,] They were bestowed upon them by an express grant, vii. 34, where, though only his sons be mentioned, as they are here, yet it is plain all of their family, who were clean, might eat of these things (see upon vii. 19).

Ver. 15.] This also he inculcates again, which had been said before (vii. 29, 30), that they must take care first to wave these things before the Lord, and to burn the fat upon the altar: for till this was done, they had no right to eat these things.

It shall be thine, and thy sons'] When they had been presented to the Lord of the whole earth, and he had received his part, these became theirs, by an express grant from him (vii. 32—34).

By a statute for ever;] As long as such kind of sacrifices should last.

Ver. 16.] *Moses diligently sought the goat]* Which had been offered for the people (ix. 15).

Behold, it was burnt:] This justified Moses' suspicion and fear, that some mistake might have been committed in other matters; because he found, upon a diligent inquisition, that they had burnt upon the altar those parts of the sin-offering which they ought to have eaten themselves (vi. 26, 29). In which it was the easier for them to mistake, without diligent observation of Moses's directions; because the sin-offering, which had been offered for Aaron himself, was just before wholly burnt without the camp (ix. 11), and so were all the sin-offerings for the high-priest, and for the whole congregation, ordered to be (iv. 12, 21), that is, if their blood was carried into the holy place, then nothing of them might be eaten (vi. 30). But otherwise, their flesh was to be eaten in the court of the tabernacle, as is expressly commanded (vi. 26). This distinction they either did not well observe, when it was delivered; or, being oppressed with sorrow for the loss of Nadab and Abihu, they did not think it fit to feast at this time upon the flesh of this offering. For so Aaron excuses this fact (ver. 19).

He was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar,] He said nothing to Aaron, either because he was loth to add to his grief, or because it was the business of his sons to look after this sacrifice, and to see that the flesh of it was disposed of according to God's orders.

the sin offering, and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron *which were left alive*, saying,

17 Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the holy place, seeing it is most holy, and God hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord?

18 Behold, the blood of it was not brought in

The sons of Aaron which were left alive,] Who, by the punishment of their brethren, should have learned greater caution in their ministry.

Ver. 17. *Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the holy place?* That is, obeyed the commandment which I gave you (vi. 26).

Seeing it is most holy,] See vi. 25.

God hath given it you] See vi. 29.

To bear the iniquity of the congregation, &c.] God bestowed upon the priests this reward of their service, that they might be the more willing to take upon them the people's sins, and to make an expiation carefully for them. And indeed the very eating of the people's sin-offering, argued the sins of the people were in some sort laid upon the priests; to be taken away by them. Which being done, they had reason to rejoice also in a feast upon this sacrifice; which God had been pleased to accept, for the taking away of the sins of the people. From whence the sacrifice of Christ may be explained, who is said to *bear our iniquity* (as the priest is said here to do), all our sins being laid on him; who took upon him to make an expiation for them by the sacrifice of himself. For the priest here by eating of the sin-offering, receiving the guilt upon himself, may well be thought to prefigure one who should be both priest and sacrifice for sin: which was accomplished in Christ.

Ver. 18. *Behold,]* Observe what I say to you.

The blood of it was not brought in within the holy place:] It was none of those sacrifices which I commanded you to burn entirely; but required you to eat of (vi. 26, 30).

Ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy place, as I commanded.] For as there was a peremptory law forbidding the priests to eat the flesh of any sacrifice whose blood was brought into the holy place, to make atonement with it; so there was as peremptory a law, that they should eat the flesh of those sacrifices for sin, whose blood was not brought in thither.

Ver. 19. *Aaron said unto Moses,]* Though Moses questioned only Eleazar and Ithamar, yet Aaron makes the answer: they not being able perhaps, to give an account of what they had done, though sensible of their mistake.

Behold, this day have they offered their sin offering, &c.] His apology for them seems to be this, that they had not wholly violated God's command; but performed the substance of it, though they had failed in one circumstance. For they had not only offered the

within the holy place: ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy place, as I commanded.

19 And Aaron said unto Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin offering and their burnt offering before the Lord; and such things have befallen me: and if I had eaten the sin offering to day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord?

20 And when Moses heard that, he was content.

sin-offering for the people (for that is meant by *their sin-offering*), but also their *burnt-offering* (ix. 15, 16), and that *before the Lord*, in the place where he ordered them to be offered. In all this Aaron was the principal minister, but they assisted him; for it is expressly said, *they presented unto him the blood of the peace-offerings* (which at the same time were also offered), *and they put the fat upon the breasts, when he burnt the fat upon the altar* (ix. 18, 20).

Such things have befallen me:] After this was done, followed the death of Nadab and Abihu, who went in to burn incense: which struck him into such a consternation, and made him so exceeding sad, that he was not fit to feast with Eleazar and Ithamar upon the sacrifice; and so suffered them to burn it.

If I had eaten the sin offering to day, should it have been accepted? Would God have been pleased with me, if in such sadness and sorrow I had eaten of the sacrifice? This is the reason whereby he justifies the omission of which his sons were accused, in not eating the sin-offering in the holy place. The blame of which he takes upon himself; for to have eaten it with a sad countenance and a heavy heart, he thought would have been to pollute it. And therefore he chose to forbear it, and to give it wholly to God, by burning the flesh of it, as he had done the fat; which he hoped would be more acceptable than to eat it in grief. And to eat it without grief and sorrow was impossible; for though they had not been so dutiful to him as they ought to have been, yet he could not extinguish the affection of a father towards them, nor suddenly cease to mourn inwardly for their untimely death.

From this place Maimonides gathers, there was but one day of mourning due to the dead, viz. the first; the rest were added by the constitution of the elders.

Ver. 20. *When Moses heard that, he was content.]* He was either satisfied with his reason, and thought he had done well (for nature seems to have directed what was afterwards enjoined, that they should rejoice in their feasts, Deut. xii. 7, &c., and not eat holy things in their mourning, xxvi. 14), or he would not further charge him with a fault, for which there was so far an excuse. For where there is no wilful contempt, but rather a respect intended in any action, all good men are inclined to make a favourable construction of it, and grant it an indulgence, though there be some error in it.

CHAPTER XI.

What beasts may, 4 and what may not be eaten. 9 What fishes. 13 What fowls. 29 The creeping things which are unclean.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying unto them,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying,

CHAP. XI.

Moses having mentioned, in his preceding discourse about sacrifices, several sorts of uncleanness (v. 2, 3), and in the foregoing chapter (x. 10) commanded the priests to keep themselves sober, that they might at all times be able to distinguish between *clean* and *unclean*, takes an occasion from thence to give an account of that matter. For otherwise that which we read, ch. xvi. would here have most naturally followed (as appears from the eleventh verse of it), being about the principal sacrifice, whereby all manner of uncleanness was to be expiated; which he now inserts in the midst of those things that belong to that head. For, first, he treats in that chapter of *unclean meats*; and in the twelfth to fifteenth, of *unclean persons, garments, and habitations*. And then (after he hath directed how to make the great atonement for the whole nation, and some other things) he returns in the latter end of ch. xvii. to speak of some *forbidden food*; and ch. xviii. of *unclean marriages*; and after a repetition of several laws (ch. xix.) of some greater uncleannesses; and ch. xxi. of priests that were unclean; and lastly, of sacrifices not fit to be offered (ch. xxii.).

Ver. 1.] The consecration of Aaron being now completely finished, God spake to him, as well as unto Moses; he being also highly concerned to teach the people the difference that is here made between several sorts of meats (x. 11), which Moses assures them was enacted by Divine authority.

Ver. 2.] They were all to take special notice of what follows, because, by the diet here prescribed, they were discriminated from all other people in the world.

These are the beasts that ye shall eat] God having bestowed upon mankind, after the flood, every living thing to be their food (Gen. ix. 3), it hath raised a question among learned men, why God should limit and restrain his own people from the benefit of this general grant. And some have thought this so unaccountable, that they have said it is in vain to inquire into the reason of the difference that is made here of meats; concerning which P. Cænæus declares (as Plutarch doth of the laws of Solon and Lycurgus), that no doubt they were enacted with wise counsel; but the reason of the authors cannot be known (lib. ii. Republ. Heb. cap. 24). But others think the reason is plain enough; and the Jews are of opinion, that the creatures here called *unclean*, were forbidden to be eaten, because they were unwholesome food. So Maimonides discourses at large in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 48, where he saith, there can be no doubt that every thing here prohibited yields a bad nourishment, except it be *swine's flesh* and *fat*; and yet he endeavours to show, that there is no reason to think otherwise of those two. R. Levi of Barcelona is of the same mind, but pretends not to be able to demonstrate it, as Maimonides doth. For the sum of a long and pious discourse, which he hath upon this subject (Præcept. lxxix. where he treats of that flesh which was torn by wild beasts) amounts to this: "that the

These are the beasts which ye shall eat among all the beasts that are on the earth.

3 Whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is cloven-

body being the seat of the soul, where it doth its business, God would have it fitted to the desires and employments of the soul. And therefore the law (saith he) removes from us all those things which may hinder the soul in its operations. For which reason such and such meats are forbidden, as breed ill blood: among which, if there be some whose hurtfulness is neither visible to us, nor to physicians, do not wonder at it; for the faithful Physician, who forbids them, is wiser than any of us."

This opinion I cannot think to be wholly groundless; for though there be some creatures here prohibited, which seem to us of as good nourishment as those which are allowed; yet, considering that climate wherein the Jews lived, and the temper of their blood, which was very hot, and apt to be extremely corrupted (as appears by the unusual leprosy to which they were obnoxious, more than other nations), it is reasonable to conclude, that God had some respect to this, in the ordering of their diet (see J. Wagenseil Confut. Carminis R. Lipmanni, p. 556). Yet I cannot think this to have been the chief reason of this law (though it be very agreeable to the peculiar care God had of his people, that he should not only give them civil and sacred laws, but direct them in the smallest matters, as he did in their apparel, building, &c.), but the main drift and scope of it was, that the Israelites might be separated from all other nations in the world by a diet peculiar to themselves, which kept them from such a familiar conversation, as otherwise they might have had with the gentiles; and consequently from learning their idolatrous customs. And I do not see why I should not add, most of the creatures, which are reckoned *unclean*, were such as were in high esteem and sacred among the heathen. As a *swine* was to Venus, the *owl* to Minerva, the *hawk* to Apollo, the *eagle* to Jupiter, and even the *dog* to Hecate, &c. Whence Origen justly falls into a high admiration of Moses's wisdom; who so perfectly understood all animals, and what relations they had to demons, that he pronounced all those to be unclean, τὰ νομιζόμενα παρ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μαντικά, &c., "which were esteemed by the Egyptians and other nations to be the instruments of divination;" and those to be clean, which were not so (lib. ix. contra Celsum, p. 225). And if in Moses's time such creatures were not sacred to demons, it is a greater wonder that he should mark those out for impure, which proved to be so sacred in after-ages: as a great number of birds mentioned by Porphyry (lib. iii. περὶ Ἀποζῆς), who saith the gods used them as Κήρυκες, to declare their mind to men: and several other creatures, mentioned by other authors, as peculiarly appropriated to other deities.

Many have discoursed largely of the moral reasons of these precepts; particularly a very learned man now living, Joh. Wagenseil, in his annotations on that title in the Misna called Sota (fol. 1171, &c.).

Ver. 3. *Whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is cloven-footed.*] There are some creatures which Porphyry (in the book before mentioned, lib. iv.) calls μώνυχα, whose hoofs are solid, and not at all divided; such as

footed, *and* cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat.

4 Nevertheless these shall ye not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the hoof: as the camel, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he *is* unclean unto you.

horses, asses, and mules: others that are *πολυσχιδῆς*, "divided into several parts," like toes; as *lions, wolves, and dogs*: but a third sort that are only *διχρῖα* (as Aristotle calls them), "divided into two parts;" as *oxen, deer, sheep, goats, &c.* And these are of two kinds; for some divide the hoof into two parts, but it is not cloven quite through; as the camel, whose hoof is parted above, but joined by a thick skin below, and therefore reckoned among the unclean beasts. Others both divided and cloven, which are those allowed by this law to be clean creatures.

And cheweth the cud, &c.] As all those beasts do, which are not *αμπίδοντα* (as Aristotle calls them, lib. x. cap. 50), that is, have not a set of teeth both above and below: such are oxen, sheep, and goats, which want upper teeth; and therefore bring their meat up again into their mouths, after it hath been some time in the stomach; that it may, by a new chewing of it, be better prepared for digestion. So the author of *Porta Cœli*, who explains this very exactly, when he saith, "For want of upper teeth they cannot chew their food perfectly at one time; nor can the stomach make a perfect digestion till it be ground a second time. And therefore such creatures are provided with a double stomach; an upper, into which the meat goes down after the first chewing; and another, into which it is sent, after it hath been grinded a second time."

That shall ye eat.] The Hebrews truly observe (particularly R. Levi Barzelonita, *Præcept. clix.*), that all kinds of animals, which had not every one of these marks (of parting the hoof, and being cloven-footed, and chewing the cud) were unlawful to be eaten.

Ver. 4.] This is added as an explication of the foregoing rule, to show, that if any of the forementioned marks were wanting, such creatures must not be eaten.

As the camel, &c.] The latter part of this character is not to be understood, as if the *camel* did not divide the hoof at all; but not quite through, so as to be *cleft*, as well as *divided*. For though its hoof be divided above, it coheres below, as R. Solomon observes. And so doth Aristotle (lib. ii. cap. 1), and Pliny (lib. ii. cap. 45). This being so very plainly expressed in this law, it is something strange that Heliogabalus should order the flesh of *camels* and *ostriches* to be served up to his table, *Dicens, præceptum Judeis ut ederent*: "saying, the Jews were commanded to eat them;" as Lampridius reports his words (cap. 28). Salmassius, indeed, upon that place, saith he found these two words, *struthiones* and *camelos*, joined together, to make one word in a MS. of the Palatine library, which reads *struthiocamelos* exhibit in cœnis. Which seems to some to mend the matter; but then they are forced to interpret *præceptum* by *concessum*; as if he had said, "God did not forbid this meat to the Jews;" which is altogether uncertain. It is better to say, that though many of the pagans did read the law of Moses, yet they did it carelessly, without sufficient attention to it.

Ver. 5. *Coney.*] Much might be said to justify our translation of the word *saphan*, by the English *coney*, if it could be proved that they *chew the cud*: which they do not, having upper teeth. Therefore, Bochart, by many arguments, proves this word, *saphan*, to sig-

5 And the coney, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he *is* unclean unto you.

6 And the hare, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he *is* unclean unto you.

7 And the swine, though he divide the hoof,

nify a *mountain mouse*; which, as Solomon saith (Prov. xxx. 26), *make their holes in rocks*: which *rabbits* do not; but this creature doth, as he proves out of the Arabian writers; who call it *aharbuo*, and say it chews the cud (see Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 33).

Because he cheweth the cud, &c.] Or rather, *though he cheweth the cud*, yet wanting the other mark, they were to look upon it as unclean.

Ver. 6. *And the hare, because he cheweth* (or *though he cheweth the cud*.) The same author shows in the same book (cap. 37), that the Hebrew word *arneteth* is rightly translated a *hare*. For though no author, but Moses, saith it *chews the cud*, yet Aristotle saith something like it, lib. iii. cap. 22, where he observes, it hath a runnet in the stomach. And Tho. Bartholinus, in his *Anatom. Hist. Cent. 2, Histor. lxxxvi.*, tells us, that in his dissection of a *hare*, though he found but one stomach, which made him wonder, at first, that Moses should reckon it among the creatures that ruminate, yet he found, that what was wanting in the simple stomach was supplied by the largeness of the *intestinum cæcum*, which gut is of a great bigness, consisting of two parts. In one of which he found liquid and white excrements (like to *chyle*), as if it were another stomach; the other part towards the *ileon*, being full of black excrements.

Ver. 7. *And the swine,—he is unclean to you.*] Though the swine hath the first part of the mark of a clean creature completely, being cloven-footed, as well as having the hoof divided, yet not chewing the cud, it is forbidden to be eaten. And this, no doubt, was the sole foundation of the Jews abstaining from this meat. Whose filthy feeding and wallowing in the mire, Maimonides fancies, was the only cause why it was prohibited (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 48). To which others add, its feeding upon flesh, as Vossius observes, lib. iii. de Orig. et Progressu Idol. cap. 42, where he gives other reasons also for it. One of which, viz. that it was apt to breed the leprosy, to which they were very subject in those countries, is ingeniously treated of by Petrus Cunæus in his *Republ. Hebræor.* (lib. ii. cap. ult.) and more lately by another very learned person, J. Wagenseil, *Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio*, p. 556. To which Clemens Alexandrinus adds several other reasons (lib. vii. Strom. p. 718), and there are many more in Lactantius relating to mortality (lib. iv. *Divin. Instit.* cap. 17). But whatsoever grounds there might be of this prohibition, that alone could not be the reason why the whole nation of the Jews abhorred this more than any other unclean creature, which was equally forbidden with this. Inasmuch that they would not, when they spoke of it, mention its proper name; but called it *another* (or a *strange*) thing. Which arose sure from some other cause; that, in process of time, made this the most abominable of all other creatures. And that was, I take it, because the Gentiles used it in their sacrifices and mysteries of religion; and because nothing was accounted a more delicious food among many great nations: which (if a vehement abhorrence had not been infused into the Jews of this creature) might have invited them to their tables, and bred such familiarity with them, as might have concluded in idolatry. Pliny observes (lib. viii. cap. 51),

and be clovenfooted, yet he cheweth not the cud; he is unclean to you.

8 Of their flesh shall ye not eat, and their carcase shall ye not touch; they are unclean to you.

9 ¶ These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat.

that no creature affords greater plenty of delicious dishes at their tables than this, "Neque alio ex animalibus numerosior materia ganeæ," &c. Inasmuch that old Homer, relating how Eumæus entertained Ulysses (Odys. xiv.), saith only, that he killed a great hog of five years old, and that only for five guests. They that would see more of this, may look into Petrus Castellanus, lib. ii. de Esu Carnium, cap. 1, 2, &c. where he shows also, out of Varro (lib. ii. de Re Rustica, cap. 4), that the gentiles knew of no sacrifices more ancient than this, after they began to offer animals upon their altars. For they thought that would be most acceptable to their gods, which best pleased themselves: inasmuch that a swine, which the later Greeks called *ῥέτις*, was anciently called *ῥέτις*, ab illo verbo quod dicitur *ῥέτις*, "from that word which signifies to sacrifice." For the first sacrifices were of this creature, as appears by the mysteries of Ceres, in which a sow was offered; and at their marriages the ancient kings and great men of Etruria offered the like sacrifice; and so did the Latins and Greeks in Italy. The Hierapolitans, indeed, looked upon swine as unclean, and would neither eat them, nor offer them to their gods; nor would they of Pessinuntium, in Galatia: quod prorsus Mosaium est, "which they learnt, in all likelihood, from Moses," as Huetius thinks (Demonst. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 11, n. 1). But in many other nations this food was highly valued: and Athenæus, I observe, gives the very same reason of its name that Varro doth (lib. ix. Deipnos.): οἱ δὲ οὖν εἰρησάουσι κρένη *ῥέτις*, τὸν εἰς ῥέτιαν εὐτεθούτα. From whence it is, that Aristophanes calls them *μυστικὰς χοίρους*, "mystical swine," in his Acharn. because as the scholiast there explains it, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἀρχαῖος θύεσθαι, "they were offered in the mysteries of Ceres." And Julian himself, in his oration upon the Mother of the Gods (Orat. v.), confesses φιλον εἶναι πεπίστευται δῖμα τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικώτως, "it was deservedly believed to be a grateful sacrifice to the terrestrial gods" (p. 332. Edit. Patav.).

Ver. 8. *Of their flesh shall ye not eat, and their carcase shall ye not touch;* Some think the latter part of this precept signifies no more, but that they should not meddle with their carcasses to prepare it for meat (as the word *touch* seems to be used, Gen. iii. 3), though they did not eat it. But others take it more largely, that they should not so much as open them, to take out the fat, and apply it to any use. In this the Jews are so scrupulous, that they say they may not touch them (though alive) with one of their fingers, for fear of the leprosy. It being a proverbial saying among them, which we read in the treatise Kidduschin, that "ten measures of leprosy descending into the world, swine took to themselves nine of them, and the rest of the world one."

If we may believe Herodotus (lib. ii. cap. 47), the Egyptians looked upon swine as so unclean, that if any one touched one of them by chance, as he passed by, he was bound to wash himself, with his garments, in the river. Certain it is, that not only they, but the Arabians, and some other neighbouring nations,

10 And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of any living thing which is in the waters, they shall be an abomination unto you:

11 They shall be even an abomination unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, but ye shall have their carcasses in abomination.

12 Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in

did abstain from swine's flesh, as Bochartus and others have observed (see his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 57, p. 702, and Petr. Castellanus, lib. ii. de Esu Carnium, cap. 4), which they learned, I doubt not, at first from the Jews; and afterward found other reasons for it. This abhorrence of swine is propagated into far distant countries among the Mahometans; particularly into Mindanao, one of the Philippine islands; where, if any one have but touched one of these creatures, he is not permitted to come into anybody's house for many days after. So Dampier relates in a late voyage round the world (chap. 12, p. 343), where he says, "the sultan's brother having a pair of shoes made him by one of their ship's crew (which they seldom wear there), fell into a great passion, when he was told the thread wherewith the shoes were sewed, was pointed with *hog's bristles*; and would not wear them."

Ver. 9. *These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters:* Though some of the heathens abstained perpetually from all fish, and others only for some time, *ἐν ταῖς ἀγαστείαις*, "when they were under strict obligations of purity" (as Julian tells us in the forementioned oration v.), yet God left his people at greater liberty, forbidding to them only some kinds of fish; by abstinence from which they were sufficiently distinguished from those nations which did eat all indifferently, and accounted fish the greatest delicacy.

Whatsoever hath fins and scales] If both these marks did not concur in a fish, they were not to eat it. But their doctors say (as we learn from R. Levi Barzelonita, Precept. cl.), that if but one scale was found on a fish, it was accounted lawful; and they needed not to observe whether it had fins or no: for all that have scales, they say, have fins; though, on the contrary, all that have fins have not scales. They observe, also, secondly, that it was lawful to eat young fish before their scales appeared, if they were of that kind which have scales when they are grown. And, thirdly, all fishes that have scales when they are in the sea, but cast them when they are taken out, are lawful.

In the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers.] By *waters* in this place, as distinguished from *seas* and *rivers*, are meant *lakes* and *ponds*. And so Moses expresses all the places where fish is found.

Ver. 10. *All that have not fins and scales, &c.*] There was an ancient law among the Romans, made by Numa, that no fish which wanted scales should be used in those feasts which they made in honour of their gods. So Pliny tells us, lib. xxxii. Nat. Hist. cap. 2, where he quotes an ancient writer for it.

Ver. 11. *An abomination unto you;* The next words explain what he means by *abomination*; that they should not eat their flesh, nor touch their carcasses.

Ver. 12.] He repeats it again, that they might take notice, that this alone was a sufficient mark of difference: and therefore, he doth not give any instance of particular fishes that might be eaten or not eaten; as he did of beasts. He uses also the word *abomination* concerning prohibited fishes (which he

the waters, that *shall be* an abomination unto you.

13 ¶ And these *are they which* ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they *are* an abomination: the eagle, and the ossifrage, and the ospray,

doth not of such beasts, which he only calls *unclean*), because there was greater danger of their transgressing in this matter; fishes being a more usual food among the eastern people than flesh. Inasmuch, that among the later Greeks, the word *ὀσφρ*, which signifies *all manner of victuals* came to be used peculiarly for fish. See Bochartus, in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. i. cap. 6, where he observes, also, the greatest luxury was committed in this sort of food; which any one may see that reads Athenæus.

Ver. 13.] Here are no notes given, as in the two foregoing sorts of creatures, to distinguish clean birds from unclean: and therefore the Hebrew doctors say, all birds are lawful to be eaten, but these twenty-four mentioned in this chapter, which they were to have in abhorrence. Yet they adventure to give four marks of a clean bird; the principal of which are, if it do not fasten its talons; i. e. be not rapacious; and have one claw longer than the rest (see R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxi.).

They are an abomination:] This is repeated to make them more careful in this matter.

Eagle,] He names in the first place, the king of birds, as Pindar calls the eagle,

οἰωνὸν βασιλῆα,

whose flesh is very hard, and whose nature is very rapacious: and therefore, both upon a natural and moral account, some authors fancy it was forbidden to be eaten (see Vossius, lib. iii. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 77). But I think Origen hath given a better account of it, in the place I named above; that Moses by his admirable wisdom understood what creatures were looked upon as prophetic by the Egyptians and other nations; and these he prohibited to the Jews: among which he expressly names the eagle and the hawk (lib. iv. contra Celsum, p. 225). For Diodorus Siculus saith (lib. i.), that τὸν δ' αἰετὸν Ἰθυβαῖοι τιμῶσι, “the people of Thebes worship the eagle,” looking upon it as a royal bird, and worthy of Jupiter. And Julian in his oration upon the Mother of the Gods (Orat. v.) saith, that in the time of their strictest purifications, they were permitted πτηνοῖς χρῆσθαι (so Spanhemius truly reads in the late edition of Julian’s works), “to eat birds,” πλὴν ὀσφρῶν, οὓς ἱεροῖς εἶναι πάντῃ συμβέβηκε, “except a few which had been commonly held sacred.” Which is a plain acknowledgment of the sacredness of some birds among the gentiles.

Ossifrage,] All authors in a manner agree, that the Hebrew word *peres* signifies a kind of eagle; but what kind is not so certain. Bochartus thinks it is rightly translated by Junius, as it is by us, the *ossifrage*; for the Hebrew word *paras*, in Micah iii. 3, is used for *breaking of bones* (see Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 5.).

Ospray,] This is also of the same species; and signifies that sort which the Greeks call *halietus*, the sea-eagle. But Bochartus in the same book, cap. 6, thinks the Hebrew word *oznijah*, rather signifies that which they call *malinietus*, the black eagle. Which though it be the least, yet is the strongest of all other, and therefore called *valeria* by the Romans: and was so noted for many other qualities, besides its great strength, that it makes it probable Moses did not here omit it.

14 And the vulture, and the kite after his kind;

15 Every raven after his kind;

16 And the owl, and the night hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind,

17 And the little owl, and the cormorant, and the great owl,

Ver. 14. *Vulture, and the kite]* No wonder interpreters differ in their translation of the two Hebrew words, *daa* and *aja*: the former of which we translate a *vulture*, the latter a *kite* (which others translate quite contrary, taking *daa*, or *raa*, as it is called in Deuteronomy, for a *kite*), because there is no way to find the signification of them, unless it be, by the roots, from whence they may be thought to be derived. Which makes Bochart think the first ought to be translated a *kite*, called *daa*, from its very swift flight. Most of the ancient and later interpreters also are of his mind. As for the second word in this verse, *aja*, some take it for a *vulture*: but Bochart, from several observations, judges it to be a kind of *hawk* or *falcon* (see the same book, cap. 8). After this word there follows in Deuteronomy xvi. 13, the name of a bird which is here omitted, called *daja*, which he takes for the *black vulture*; as the reader may find in the next chapter (cap. 9).

After his kind] Though there be some little difference in shape, yet these birds all belong to one species (see Ver. 22).

Ver. 15. *Every raven]* Nobody doubts that the Hebrew word *oreb* (which signifies *blackness*), is rightly translated a *raven*; of which the Arabian writers mention four kinds. And some think under this name is comprehended, not only crows, and daws, and choughs; but starlings and pies also (see Bochartus, cap. 10, p. 202).

Ver. 16. *Owl,]* The Hebrew word *bath-jaana*, it appears by many places in the prophets, signifies a bird which inhabits the wildernesses, and desolate places (see Isa. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 13; Jer. l. 39, &c.). By which the ancient interpreters of Scripture almost unanimously understand the ostrich; though a very learned man of our own nation (Nic. Fuller in his Miscellanies, lib. vi. cap. 7), endeavours by a probable argument to support our translation. But it hath been the constant persuasion of the Jews, that God did not permit them to eat the flesh of an ostrich, which is nowhere forbidden, if not in this word. And therefore Bochartus maintains against our Fuller, and labours to prove that *bath-jaana* signifies the *female ostrich*, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 14, where he shows the word *bath* (i. e. *daughter*) is prefixed to the name of many birds, without any respect to their age, and doth not signify their *young ones*; but only the *females*.

Night hawk,] In the next chapter to that now named, the same Bochart proves, that the Hebrew word *thacum* (which we here translate the *night-hawk*), signifies *male ostrich*. For there is no general name for this bird in the Hebrew language, to comprehend both sexes (as there is for an eagle and raven), and therefore Moses mentions both male and female distinctly, that none might think, by forbidding one of them only, he allowed the other.

Cuckow,] The LXX., St. Jerome, and some later interpreters translate the Hebrew word *sachoph* by the Greek word *δάψο*, a “sea-gull.” Which the same great man, before mentioned, thinks most probable (cap. 18).

Hawk] There is the greatest consent in the translation of the Hebrew word *netz*, which all agree signifies a *hawk*; from its strength and swiftness in flight, which made it sacred to Apollo. For Eusta-

18 And the swan, and the pelican, and the gier eagle,

19 And the stork, the heron after her kind, and the lapwing, and the bat.

20 All fowls that creep, going upon *all* four, shall be an abomination unto you.

thus observes upon Iliad. x. that ὄξυπτεγὶς ὁ ἰέραξ, καὶ ἥλιος ὀξυκίνητος, “a hawk flies, as the sun moves, very swiftly.” And every one knows there are very various kinds of these birds. Callimachus mentions six, Aristotle ten, and Pliny sixteen sorts (see Bochart in the same book, cap. 19).

Ver. 17. *Little owl.*] Interpreters generally agree that *chus* signifies a kind of owl, following the LXX., who translate it νεκτιχόραξ. Yet Bochart hath collected a great many ingenious arguments, to prove that it signifies that bird which the Greeks call ὀνοκρόταλος, a “bittern” (see there, cap. 20).

Cormorant.] Though the same learned person doth not approve of this translation, yet he acknowledges the Hebrew word *salach* signifies some *sea-bird*, which sits upon rocks, and strikes at fishes with great force, and draws them out of the waters. And so the Talmudists, in the treatise called Cholin, expound it; and the gloss upon it there says, it signifies the *crow of the waters*, that is, a *cormorant*.

Great owl.] There are various translations of the Hebrew word *jansaph*, which St. Jerome takes for a *stork*, and others for a *bustard*; but Bochart acknowledges the Syriac and Chaldee translation to be the most probable, which is the same with ours.

Ver. 18. *Swan.*] In this translation we follow St. Jerome: but Jonathan takes it for a kind of *owl*, which he calls *alia*. Whereby he means, no doubt, that bird which Aristotle calls ὠτός: which he saith is like an owl, having tufts of feathers about its ears, from whence it hath the name of *otus* (lib. viii. cap. 12). And so the Chaldee, the Syriac, and the Samaritan here translate the Hebrew word *thinsemeth*, which a great many modern interpreters follow: who take this for that which the Latins call *noctua*, as the former for that owl which they call *bubo*.

Pelican.] That the Hebrew word *kaath* signifies a *pelican* is not disputed. But that it also signifies the bird we call a heron, is not improbable; being joined with *chos* in Ps. cii. 6, which is a bird that makes an unpleasant noise, especially that kind of them that cries like a bittern, and is called by later writers *butorius*.

Gier eagle.] There are many various opinions about this bird, which the Hebrews call *racham*. But Bochart hath shown out of the Arabian writers, that it signifies, a kind of eagle, or vulture: for sometimes they call it by one of these names, sometimes by the other. It being of a dubious kind, between an eagle and a vulture; and therefore happily by us translated a *gier-eagle*, that is, a *vulture-eagle*, which Aristotle calls γυραιός. See Hierozoi. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 25—27, where Bochart shows it is such a harmless and good-natured bird, that thence it had the name of *racham* in Arabic of *rachama*; and was made the hieroglyphic of mercy and tenderness among the Egyptians, if Horus Apollo may be believed.

Ver. 19. *Stork.*] There are vastly different interpretations of the word *chasida*; which imports kindness no less than the foregoing *racham*. But there is no reason to depart from the opinion of the later Hebrews, who take it, as we do, to signify a *stork*. The *piety* (as the Latins call it) of which bird is celebrated by all authors, and is the very import of the Hebrew word *chasida*. But it feeds upon serpents, and therefore, as Bochart imagines, was prohibited to be eaten by the Jews: though upon this account it was

21 Yet these may ye eat of every flying creeping thing that goeth upon *all* four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth:

22 *Even* these of them ye may eat; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his

had in honour by the people of Thessaly, and by the Egyptians, as he observed in the forementioned book, cap. 29.

Heron.] There are at least ten different interpretations of the Hebrew word *anapha*; among which ours is one. But it being derived from a word which signifies *anger*, Bochart rather takes it for a *mountain-falcon*, which is a fierce bird, and very prone to anger.

Lapwing.] The Hebrew doctors take *dukiphah* for a *mountain-cock*, which had a double crest, and thence hath its name, according to R. Solomon. Or rather it may be so called from the place where it resorts; for *dick* in Arabic is a *cock*, and *kapha* a *rock*, from whence Bochart probably conjectures this bird had its name, because it lives in mountainous places. And he thinks the LXX. and the Vulgar have rightly translated it ἰσοπα, and *upupam*: which is the sense also of four Arabian interpreters. It is a portentous kind of bird, which hath a crest round its bill to the hindmost part of its head; and one of the principal birds used in the ancient superstitions of the magicians and augurs, as he observes, cap. 31.

Bat.] As Moses begins the catalogue of birds with the noblest, which is the eagle, so he ends it with the vilest, which is a *bat*; being of a dubious kind, as Aristotle observes, between a bird and a mouse, lib. iv. cap. 13, where he saith it doth ἰσαμφοτερίζειν τοὺς πτεροὺς καὶ τοὺς οὐροὺς, &c. See the famous Bochartus, who shows that his name in Hebrew, which is *attaleph*, imports it to be a *bird of darkness*. Whence that phrase in the prophet Isaiah, ii. 20, “In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and gold to the bats, and the moles;” i. e. they shall no more appear to delude men with their glittering brightness, but be utterly destroyed.

Ver. 20. *Fowls that creep.*] The Hebrew word *oph* is not well translated *fowls*; but signifies rather all *flying things going upon all four*. All flying things that go upon four feet are here forbidden; such as all kinds of flies, and wasps, and bees, as Jonathan here explains it. A fly indeed is observed to be ἱξάνων: but though it have six feet, yet it goes only upon four, as not only Lucian, but Aristotle notes; the two fore-feet serve for other uses (see Bochart in his Hierozoi. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 9).

Shall be an abomination unto you.] It is observed by some, that the birds here forbidden are either rapacious, and live on flesh (as eagles and hawks, &c.), or are night birds (as owls, &c.), or haunt lakes and marshes (as the bittern, &c.), or are heavy, and not easily raised from the earth, as the ostrich; or live in graves or in dung, as the upupa and some of those flying things mentioned in this verse: and upon these accounts are forbidden by Moses; who allows all those that live upon a cleaner food, as those that follow do.

Ver. 21. *Yet these may ye eat of every flying creeping thing, &c.*] In this verse he excepts such flying insects, as, besides their four feet wherewith they go, have two legs or thighs, which enable them to leap upon the earth, as well as to go. Such are all the locusts mentioned in the next verse; unto which Aristotle ascribes six feet, whereas Moses mentions but four. In which they do not disagree; for Aristotle plainly saith, “they have six feet, σὺν τοῖς
2 P

kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind.

23 But all other flying creeping things, which have four feet, *shall be* an abomination unto you.

24 And for these ye shall be unclean: whosoever toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the even.

25 And whosoever beareth *ought* of the

carcase of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

26 *The carcasses* of every beast which divideth the hoof, and is not clovenfooted, nor cheweth the cud, *are* unclean unto you: every one that toucheth them shall be unclean.

27 And whatsoever goeth upon his paws, among all manner of beasts that go on *all* four,

ἀλτρίχοις μορίοις, if we take into the number the parts with which they leap" (lib. iv. cap. 6). Which two hinder leaping legs Moses distinguishes from the other four wherewith they go.

Ver. 22. *Even these of them ye may eat;* There are nine kinds of locusts mentioned in the holy books: four of which are here permitted to be eaten.

Locust] The Hebrew word *arbeh* is sometimes a common name for all locusts; but here signifies a peculiar sort, of that kind before mentioned, which leaped as well as went.

Bald locust] The Hebrew word is *salam*; so called, as Aben Ezra thinks, because it climbs up roots, in which it delights.

Beetle] This sort of locusts, called *chargol*, seems to have its name from the vast company wherein they fly together. But it is not fitly translated a beetle; for none ever ate beetles; nor are they four-footed, with legs to leap withal. Therefore *chargol* is another sort of locusts, unknown to us in these countries: and so is that which follows; for a grasshopper is not a sort of meat: but there were locusts of that shape, which were large and fleshy in the eastern countries, and were good food.

Grasshopper] The Hebrew word *chagab* signifies (as I said) a sort of locusts, the original of whose name Eben Ezra intimates may be found in the Arabic tongue. In which *ghahageba* signifies to cover as with a veil; and in such troops these locusts fly, that sometimes they seem to darken the sun itself. But by what marks these were distinguished from one another, the Hebrews differ so much, that it plainly shows they are wholly ignorant in this matter. The most that can be made of what they say, is (as a man very learned in these things hath observed, Job Ludolphus, in his dissertation de Locustis, par. i. cap. 23), that *chargol* hath both a bunch on its back and a tail also: *arbeh* hath neither: *salam* only a bunch, and not a tail; and *chagab* a tail, but no bunch. Which whether it be true or false it doth not much concern us to know. But it is evident, that before our Saviour's time they knew very well and certainly what kind of locusts is here meant; and accordingly perfectly understood what they might eat, and what not. For otherwise John the Baptist would have been hard put to it, who had no other diet but this and honey. And, indeed, in desert places there was little other food but this; by which whole armies of men have been relieved, when they were in danger to perish in Libya. For, that locusts were a common food in the eastern and southern countries is so known, that I need not produce any authors for it. Nay, among the Greeks also, as Bochartus hath shown in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 7, and Vossius, lib. iv. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 78. But nobody hath given such satisfaction in this matter as the forenamed Ludolphus, who hath shown at large how many nations live upon them, in his commentary upon his Ethiopic History: and more lately in his most excellent Dissertation concerning Locusts. Wherein he relates what clouds of them came into Germany not long ago (in the month of August, in the year one thousand six hun-

dred and ninety-three); of which he seeing hogs and hens and other creatures feeding greedily, he and his family adventured to eat freely of them also, and found the taste of them like that of a crab. And a Jew of Jerusalem, who was then in their country, assured him, that the locusts in Judea were much of the same shape with these in Germany, which he demonstrated to him by a draught he had made of them.

After his kind.] Here it may be fit to note, in the conclusion of all, that this phrase, *after his kind* (which is so often repeated in this discourse of fowls and flying things), doth not necessarily signify that there are different kinds of every bird or flying thing to which it is applied; but only imports *every one of that kind*. For he doth not speak in the plural number, according to their kinds, but in the singular, after his kind; which only denotes that the whole species is prohibited. And what he saith of some fowls, is in reason to be applied to all; though, to avoid repetition, he doth not add these words [*after his kind*] to every one of them.

Ver. 23. *All other flying creeping things, which have four feet.*] Whether they were locusts, or any other kind of creature, who came under this character, they were to avoid them carefully.

Ver. 24. *Whosoever toucheth the carcase*] If they did either eat of them, or so much as touch the carcass of them, they might not be admitted to come into the tabernacle, nor eat of any holy thing, nor converse with their neighbours.

Until the even.] He doth not say they were to wash themselves, or their clothes (as in the following verse), which would incline one to think, that their mere separation for all the day, from communing with God and with one another, was their cleansing, without any other purification. But there are so many commands for washing themselves, and their clothes, in other defilements no greater than this, that it hath persuaded some to think such cleansing was necessary in this case also (see xv. 5—8, 10, and several other verses in that chapter).

Ver. 25. *Whosoever beareth ought of the carcase of them*] Though it were only to carry them out of the camp or city, to remove them out of the way, that they might not infect the air.

Shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.] His body also, in all likelihood, was to be washed, as was required in other purifications. No time is appointed for this, which, perhaps, a man might think fit to do presently, but, notwithstanding, he was to remain unclean till the setting of the sun.

Ver. 26.] He takes occasion from hence to inform them, that it was as unlawful to touch the carcasses of beasts, before prohibited to be eaten (ver. 3, &c.), as of the fowl and flying things now mentioned. But while they were alive it was not unlawful to touch them; for they used camels, and horses, and asses, for their necessary service; and therefore it is so expressed in other things (ver. 31), *when they are dead*.

Ver. 27. *Whosoever goeth upon his paws, &c.*] Hath feet with fingers like unto a hand; for so it is in the Hebrew, *Whosoever goeth upon his hands*, such as the

those *are* unclean unto you : whoso toucheth their carcase shall be unclean until the even.

28 And he that beareth the carcase of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even : they *are* unclean unto you.

29 ¶ These also *shall be* unclean unto you among the creeping things that creep upon the earth ; the weasel, and the mouse, and the tortoise after his kind,

ape, the lion, the bear, dogs and cats, &c., whose forefeet resemble hands : these might neither be eaten, nor their carcases touched, without incurring uncleanness till sunset.

Ver. 28.] See ver. 25.

Ver. 29. *These also shall be unclean*] So that they might not so much as touch them (as it is explained ver. 31), when they are dead, much less eat them.

Among the creeping things that creep] Among things that have such short feet, that some of their bellies seem to touch the ground.

Weasel.] Though most interpreters follow this translation of the Hebrew word *choled* ; yet Bochartus hath alleged a great many probable reasons that it signifies a *mole* ; and one is, because it is joined here with the *mouse*. See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 35, where he treats of this very largely.

Mouse.] All acknowledge the Hebrew word *achbar* signifies *mouse*, and more especially a *field-mouse*, which doth great mischief there ; and thence hath its name, as the same Bochartus shows in the foregoing chapter of that book. But all sorts of mice are here to be understood, as Jonathan observes, who thus paraphrases this word, “the black mouse, the red, and the white ;” for they are of so many colours.

Tortoise] The same author has taken a great deal of pains to prove that *tzab* doth not signify a *tortoise* ; but as the LXX. and St. Jerome take it, a *land-crocodile*, which is a large sort of *lizard*, a cubit long, with which Arabia abounds ; out of which language he endeavours at large to prove the truth of this interpretation (lib. iv. cap. 1).

Ver. 30. *Ferret.*] Out of the same language, and the Syriac and Samaritan paraphrase, the same judicious writer proves, that *anaka* signifies another sort of *lizard*, which the Latins called *stellio*, and in those countries, hath a shrill cry (see there, cap. 2).

Chameleon.] Most of the ancient interpreters take *coach* for another sort of *lizard*, which is the strongest (as this name imports) of all other ; and in these countries was famous for its encounters with serpents and land-crocodiles ; as the forenamed Bochartus shows out of the Arabian writers (lb. cap. 3).

Lizard.] All the ancient interpreters agree, that the Hebrew word *letaa* signifies a sort of *lizard*, but of what kind it is hard to determine. The aforesaid Bochart out of the Arabian writers hath shown, it is like to that which is of a reddish colour, and lies close to the earth, infecting the meat which it touches with its venom (lb. cap. 4).

Snail.] The same admirable person, with great probability, still thinks Moses speaks of a sort of *lizard* called here *chomet*, because it lies in the sand, which, in the Talmudic language, is called *chomelon* (lb. cap. 5).

Mole.] It is apparent that the word *thinsemeth*, which we here translate a *mole*, is of a very doubtful signification : for in the eighteenth verse of this chapter, it signifies a sort of *fowl* ; as here, in all probability, another sort of *lizard*. And if we may guess what sort, by the original of the word, it probably signifies the *chameleon*, which gapes to draw in air (see Bochart. Hieroz. par. i. lib. iv. cap. 6). But

30 And the ferret, and the chameleon, and the lizard, and the snail, and the mole.

31 These *are* unclean to you among all that creep : whosoever doth touch them, when they be dead, shall be unclean until the even.

32 And upon whatsoever *any* of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean ; whether *it be* any vessel of wood, or raiment, or skin, or sack, whatsoever vessel *it be* wherein

after all that can be said, it must be acknowledged, the significations of all these words are lost among the Jews ; as Aben Ezra confesses upon this verse : “Neither these eight sorts of creeping things, nor the birds before mentioned, are known to us, but by tradition.” Which is as much as to say, they are not known at all ; for there is no tradition about them, as the Talmudists acknowledge ; who send those who are doubtful what birds are lawful, and what not, to be informed by those that are masters of the art of fowling. Which might help to convince the Jews, were they not resolved to shut their eyes, that difference of meats is now ceased, because they know not what is forbidden, and what not, in many cases. And, consequently, the Messiah is come, to whom the *gathering of the people* was to be (according to their father Jacob’s prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10), so that they should be no longer separated, but all nations collected into one body, and converse freely together, without any danger of being defiled. For idolatry being abolished by him, there was no reason remaining for keeping up the discrimination between Jews and gentiles by a different diet. This some of the ancient Jews saw very well, who said, that in the days of the Messiah it should not be unlawful to eat swine’s flesh, no more than it was while they were subduing the land of Canaan. This tradition is acknowledged by Abarbinel himself in his Rosch Ananah, where he disputes for the eternity of their law, and endeavours to elude this tradition of the ancient doctors by allegorical interpretations (see J. Carpovius in Shickard. Mischnat. hammelech, cap. 5, Theorem. xviii.).

Ver. 31. *These are unclean to you*] The Jews understand this with respect to the touching the dead carcases of these creatures, and make the sense of it to be, “These eight alone are unclean to you ; all other reptiles, as serpents, and scorpions, &c., you may touch and not be polluted.” Thus R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. clii. For nothing was unclean by Moses’s law, whilst it was alive, but only a leper, and a woman in her separation. Worms, dogs, swine, &c., were unclean to be touched, only when they are dead.

Until the even.] See ver. 4. This was a plain document, as Pellicanus there observes, that there was no impurity in the things themselves ; but it was merely a prudential constitution, to make such defilements end with the day wherein they were contracted.

Ver. 32. *Upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall.*] That is, it might not be used till it was cleansed. Whence the same R. Levi saith, the Jews are wont to call these the fathers of pollutions : because by their contact they defiled other things (vessels and raiment, &c.), as well as men (Præcept. clii.), where he acknowledges that the reason why these creatures made things unclean, more than others, is not manifest. But he gives this pious admonition thereupon : “If by our reason we be able to discern the usefulness of some precepts, let us be very thankful for it : but if we cannot find how they are any way profitable to us, let us believe that God

any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the even; so it shall be cleansed.

33 And every earthen vessel, whereinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean; and ye shall break it.

34 Of all meat which may be eaten, that on which such water cometh shall be unclean: and all drink that may be drunk in every such vessel shall be unclean.

35 And every thing whereupon any part of their carcase falleth shall be unclean; whether it be oven, or ranges for pots, they shall be broken down: for they are unclean, and shall be unclean unto you.

36 Nevertheless a fountain or pit, wherein

in his infinite wisdom, saw the benefit we should receive by it, and therefore commanded it."

Whatsoever vessel it be, wherein any work is done, it must be put into water, &c.] The heathens purified all things, in a manner, by washing them in water; but Moses requires only these things, which were of common use, to be so purified, in case of any defilement. And therefore Maimonides saith, "Such laws as these were made to lessen their labour and service; and if there be any thing in them that seems too troublesome and tedious, it arises from our ignorance of the rites and customs of those times, which make such precepts necessary" (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 47).

Ver. 33.] It defiled both the vessel and that which was contained in it.

Ye shall break it.] This is prescribed vi. 28, because such vessels were of no great value.

Ver. 34.] The Jews have many observations about these sorts of pollutions: but the simple meaning is, that any meat which might otherwise be lawfully eaten, was made unclean, if any water poured out of such a vessel as is before named, had come upon it. For the water being defiled, it made the meat on which it came to be unclean also. This appears to be the sense by what follows.

All drink.] It might not be drunk out of such a vessel, though otherwise it was not prohibited; but though liquid things were by such means made unclean, yet not dry things (such as bread), because they did not so soon receive any effluvia from a dead carcase as liquid things did. This they gather from ver. 37, 38.

Ver. 35. *Every thing whereupon any part of their carcase falleth.]* Though the whole carcase did not fall upon the things here named, yet, if any part of it did, they were not fit to be used any more, but were to be broken in pieces (see ver. 33). The design of all which laws is very visible, that by making the Israelites very cautious how they touched these things, or any other on which they fell, they might much more abhor to eat any unclean creature; and thereby be kept a separate people from all other nations, from whose familiar conversation they were by this means restrained, and consequently in less danger to learn their idolatrous customs.

Whether it be oven, or ranges for pots, &c.] Some translate the words simply pots: and Conr. Pellicanus hath pertinently observed, that those places where meat and drink were commonly prepared (such as oven, and pots, and wine vessels, and cellars), it became them to preserve very clean and pure: which is the reason that Moses requires them to be broken down, if any part of the carcase of unclean creatures fell upon them.

there is plenty of water, shall be clean: but that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean.

37 And if any part of their carcase fall upon any sowing seed which is to be sown, it shall be clean.

38 But if any water be put upon the seed, and any part of their carcase fall thereon, it shall be unclean unto you.

39 And if any beast, of which ye may eat, die; he that toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even.

40 And he that eateth of the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: he also that beareth the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

41 And every creeping thing that creepeth

They are unclean,] Rendered hereby unfit for use. *Shall be unclean unto you,]* And therefore shall not be used by you as heretofore.

Ver. 36. *Nevertheless a fountain or pit (or cistern, as some translate it), wherein there is plenty of water, shall be clean:]* This exception seems to have been a merciful provision for their speedy cleansing from such pollutions as they frequently contracted; by allowing them to make use of any collection of waters (notwithstanding any such carcass had fallen into them) in their own private grounds, as well as in the public baths; such as Bethesda seems to have been, which had five porches; that they who laboured under the same sort of pollution, might betake themselves to the same porch, and go down into the water together. If this had not been permitted, it might have been impossible (considering the few rivers they had in that country) to have cleansed themselves after their defilements.

But that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean,] The man who drew out these carcasses out of such waters was to be unclean till the even; i. e. separated as I said before, from the tabernacle and from common conversation. Or the meaning may be, that the instrument, whatsoever it was, which he used to pull the carcase out of the fountain or cistern, should be unclean, and not used any more.

Ver. 37.] If a mouse, for instance, was found dead among the wheat that was to be sown, it might notwithstanding be used for seed: but other wheat, which was not intended for seed, was made unclean, and might not be used till it was washed. The reason of this difference is plain, because the seed that was to be sown went through many alterations before it could become food, which took away all the pollution.

Ver. 38.] Wet seed might be supposed to have received some tincture from the carcass, which dry did not: and not being so fit to be sown till it was dry, was in that time to be cleansed.

Ver. 39. *If any beast of which ye may eat, die;]* Either of itself, or torn by wild beasts, or be suffocated, so that the blood remains in the veins.

He that toucheth—shall be unclean] Such meat became unlawful, not only to be eaten, but to be touched.

Ver. 40.] See ver. 24, 25. He speaks of such as ate of this meat ignorantly: for if they did it knowingly, it was a presumption to which cutting off is threatened (Numb. xv. 30).

Ver. 41. *Every creeping thing]* Except those before mentioned, ver. 21, &c.

Shall be an abomination,] Such as worms and serpents: which for this very reason are counted vile and filthy, because they crawl upon the earth.

upon the earth *shall be* an abomination; it shall not be eaten.

42 Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon *all four*, or whatsoever hath more feet among all creeping things that creep upon the earth, them ye shall not eat; for they *are* an abomination.

43 Ye shall not make yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby.

44 For I *am* the Lord your God: ye shall therefore sanctify yourselves, and ye shall be

holy; for I *am* holy: neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

45 For I *am* the Lord that bringeth you up out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: ye shall therefore be holy, for I *am* holy.

46 This is the law of the beasts, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that moveth in the waters, and of every creature that creepeth upon the earth:

47 To make a difference between the unclean and the clean, and between the beast that may be eaten and the beast that may not be eaten.

Ver. 42.] This verse seems to be an explication of the foregoing. For some creeping things have such short feet, that they are not to be discerned by our naked eyes, but they appear as if they went upon their bellies. Others have feet apparently; and some only four (as moles, &c.), others have many more than four, as caterpillars and hog-lice, which we call *millepedes*, and those called *centipedes* in the Philippine islands (mentioned in Dampier's late Voyage round the World, p. 320), not because they have really a thousand or a hundred feet, but because they have a great many. And the *scolopendra*, which the Arabians call *nedall*, is another of this sort, which, they say, hath precisely forty-four feet, viz. twenty-two on each side, as Bochart notes, lib. iv. cap. 6, p. 1. And so the English call the *centipedes*, before mentioned, *forty legs*, which are on each side of the belly.

[Creeping things] Here Nachmanides is something curiously critical, and bids us observe, that Moses speaking (both here and in the foregoing verse) not merely of *creeping things*, but of such as *creep upon the earth*; doth not intend such little worms as are in pease, or figs, or dates, or other fruit, which were not included in this precept, but might be eaten.

Ver. 43. Ye shall not make yourselves abominable] They made themselves abominable if they did eat them: and they made themselves unclean if they did but touch them. R. Levi of Barcelona fancies, that in this verse Moses speaks particularly of things creeping in the waters; as in the foregoing, of things creeping on the earth. And then, as all those worms which are in fruit were not to be deemed unlawful; so all those little animals which move in the waters might be drank, together with the water which was drawn out of wells, or pits, &c. and which were bred in water kept in vessels.

Ver. 44. I am the Lord] See Exod. iii. 15, 18. Ye shall—sanctify yourselves.] By this separate sort of diet, and other forementioned observances.

Ye shall be holy:] The word *holy* signifies sometimes that which is most excellent and highly exalted above all other things. In which sense God here puts them in mind, that he being the most eminent in all perfections, incomparably above all the gods of the nations, both in his nature and in his works (particularly in their redemption out of Egypt, ver. 45), it was but reasonable that they should be distinguished from all other nations in their manner of living; and particularly by abstaining from all the defilements before mentioned. For he having declared them a *holy people* (Exod. xix. 6), it was but just that they should live after another fashion than the rest of the world; and look upon those things as unclean to them, which were not so to other people (see Exod. xxii. ult.).

Neither shall ye defile yourselves with any—creeping

thing] Here being a different word used in the last clause from that in the foregoing (both which signify *creeping things*), Maimonides distinguishes between them: and saith, that the first word *sheretz* signifies such creeping things as are produced by male and female; and *romesh* (which is the other word) such as arise out of putrefaction. Which is now discovered to be an error; there being no such animals as are produced merely by the power of the sun, out of putrefied matter; but all out of some seed or other which comes from male and female. This, therefore, is only a repetition of what was delivered before, and now confirmed by an unanswerable reason.

Ver. 45. I am the Lord that bringeth you up] This was a benefit so fresh in their minds, that he speaks of it as if it were now a doing: and being the first and greatest benefit (the very foundation of the rest), there could not be a higher aggravation of guilt, than to be insensible of this obligation (Exod. xxxii. 8).

To be your God:] He having redeemed them out of slavery, made them thereby his own people; over whom he had a peculiar dominion, in the right of this redemption (see Exod. xx. 2).

Ye shall therefore be holy,] They being his peculiar people, he separated them from all other nations by peculiar laws; which made them different from all other people, as he himself was from all other beings.

Ver. 46. This is the law of the beasts, &c.] That is, this is the rule you are to observe in eating of *beasts*, and *fowl*, and *fish*, and things that *creep* on the earth. Of which four sorts of living creatures, Moses hath treated in this chapter, though not in that very order in which they are set down in this verse; but first of *beasts*, (ver. 2, 3, &c.), then of *fishes* (ver. 9, &c.), then of *birds* (ver. 13, &c.), and lastly of *creeping things* (ver. 20, &c.). Some of all which kinds he forbade them to eat, for such reasons as I have already mentioned: unto which may be added, that by not allowing them an entire liberty to eat every thing, but rather laying many restraints upon them, he intended to prevent that gluttony and luxury which is the ruin of a state: unto which nothing administers more than too great a variety of meats, the desire of which is insatiable.

Ver. 47. To make a difference] To direct you how to make a difference.

Between the unclean and the clean, &c.] There was no uncleanness in any of these things, but what was made by this prohibition of them. But there being great reason to prohibit them, it was very necessary that both priests and people should observe, and be well skilled in the marks whereby what was lawful to be eaten, might be known from what was unlawful. Upon which account this is so oft repeated, and the same here expressed twice in different words.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *The purification of women after childbirth.* 6 *Her offerings for her purifying.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child: then she shall be unclean seven days; according to the days of the separation for her infirmity shall she be unclean.

3 And in the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised.

4 And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days; she shall

touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled.

5 But if she bear a maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her separation: and she shall continue in the blood of her purifying threescore and six days.

6 And when the days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a

CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1.] The directions in this chapter are given to Moses alone; whereas those in the foregoing were delivered unto Aaron also; as those are in like manner which follow, about the leprosy (xiii. 1), because Aaron and his sons were peculiarly concerned in those matters, to make an exact difference between clean and unclean (x. 10, 11, xiv. 57), in which there was some difficulty; and therefore they are charged by God himself, to attend carefully to the laws he gave about them. But there was no such difficulty in what belonged to the purification of women; and therefore it was sufficient that they received admonitions from Moses concerning it.

Ver. 2. *Born a man child:*] Whether it were born alive or dead; were an abortive, or come to its full time: this made no difference, as the Hebrew doctors understand it.

She shall be unclean seven days:] For the first seven days after the birth of the child, she was neither to partake of any holy thing, nor to have common conversation with others; her husband not being permitted to eat and drink with her all that time: for they that attended her became unclean also. And so they were accounted among the heathen, as Dilherus observes out of Plautus, in his Dissert. Special. de Cæcælia Gentilium, cap. 3, where he saith, the women that assisted at the labour solemnly washed their hands, and had a sacrifice offered for them on the *fifth day* after the delivery. Plautus's words indeed will not warrant all this, which I find in his Truculentus, act 2, scen. 4, where the harlot says, she will sacrifice for the child on the *fifth day*, according to the custom:—

“Quin Diis sacrificare hodie pro puero volo
Quinto die, quod fieri oportet.”—

Where Scaliger observes, that the Greeks were wont to purify their children on the *fifth day*; but the Latins on the *eighth*, if they were daughters; and on the *ninth*, if they were sons; which was called Dies lustricus.

According to the days of the separation for her infirmity:] That is, her case shall be the same with that of a menstruous woman, who was in a state of the highest uncleanness (xv. 19, 20). For every thing she touched was unclean, and made those so who touched that thing.

Ver. 3.] This is here mentioned to show, that one reason for not circumcising the child till the eighth day was, its mother's uncleanness the first seven days of her lying-in; which made the child unclean also.

Ver. 4. *She shall then continue*] From the seven days' end.

In the blood of her purifying] In the purification of

her blood: for all the following days were days of purification; not of entire separation.

Three and thirty days:] All the days of her uncleanness were *forty*: and for the first seven days she was to be separated from all conversation with her neighbours; but the following three-and-thirty she had free conversation with them, and was only excluded from the sanctuary, and from eating of the peace-offerings, or the paschal lamb, and (if she were the wife of a priest) of the tithes, and other *lesser holy things*; of which otherwise she might have eaten.

She shall touch no hallowed thing, &c.] If Maimonides may be credited, the Zabii, the ancient sort of idolaters in those eastern parts, had a great number of tedious and tiresome customs about the purification of their childbed women; from all which God freed his people, by restraining them only from coming into his sanctuary, or partaking of holy things; but, otherwise, leaving them at liberty to perform all manner of offices in their family, during the time of their purification (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47). It is apparent also, that other gentiles kept their women from their temples, a long time after their childbirth; and that superstitious people would not so much as go within their doors. See Dilherus, in the forenamed book and chapter.

Ver. 5.] The time of strict separation, when they brought forth a female, was double to that which was prescribed (ver. 2) when they brought forth a male. And so also was the time of their purification: which lasted threescore and six days, as they in the other case by thirty-and-three. The reason of which difference, not only the Jews, but others also, derive from the greater redundancy (as R. Levi Barzelonita calls it, Præcept. elxvi.) of blood in the latter case than in the former; and from the slowness of nature in its operation, which made the purgation longer before it was effected. Hippocrates himself treats of this difference, in his book de Natura Puæp. where he saith, women are sooner purged after the birth of males than of females (see Joh. Meursius in his Syntagma de Puerperio, cap. 6, 7). The natural weaknesses of women also, during this time, required quiet, and little company: from which the very temper of their blood, in those climates, made a longer separation more necessary than in these colder regions. But if there were no such apparent reason to be given of these things, yet, *vol ex ipsa veneranda antiquitate, et simplicitate suscipienda forent et minime contemnenda* (as Conrad. Pellicanus speaks upon the foregoing chapter, ver. 35), “they ought, for the sake of their venerable antiquity and simplicity, to be duly regarded, and not to be despised.”

Ver. 6. *When the days of her purifying are ful-*

burnt offering, and a young pigeon, or a turtle-dove, for a sin offering, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest:

7 Who shall offer it before the LORD, and make an atonement for her; and she shall be cleansed from the issue of her blood. This is

filled,] Which were not till the end of the fortieth day for a son, and the eightieth day for a daughter. And therefore, the offerings here mentioned were not offered till the day after, viz. the forty-first day for the one, and the eighty-first day for the other; because, till then her purification was not perfected, as Maimonides observes in his book de Sacrificiis (Tract. v. sect. 5), where he observes, also, they might not eat of holy things, till these sacrifices had been offered for them.

Bring a lamb of the first year] Which then was in its greatest perfection, as hath been often noted.

For a burnt offering,] In gratitude to God for giving her a safe deliverance, and bestowing a child upon her, and raising her up to her former strength, and bringing her again to his sanctuary. Where, by this offering, she also commended herself and child to his continued care and blessing, and implored his Divine guidance and assistance in its education. For these offerings, as I observed before, were a kind of supplication, which they that brought them made to God: and there was nothing that pious people could more earnestly desire on such occasions, than that God would take their little ones into his tuition. Who are continually liable to so many dangers, that without the special favour of God, and the custody of his angels, they could never grow to be able to take care of themselves. They are the words of Conradus Pellicanus upon this place: who thence infers, how necessary it is that the people of the church should be admonished frequently, to commend their children unto God both by private and by public prayers, and take care of their instruction, "lest they become like the horse and the mule, that have no understanding."

A young pigeon, or a turtle-dove, for a sin offering,] To complete her purification from her uncleanness. For that is here meant by *sin*; the impurity which the law made, by separating such persons from others, and from the sanctuary for a time. And thus a *sin-offering* is commanded to be brought by a leper, when he was cleansed; who was charged only with a legal uncleanness, not a moral. And it is more plain, from what is ordained concerning menstruous women, whose courses were purely natural, and yet they were to offer a *sin-offering* when they were gone (xv. 30), because the law accounted that a state of uncleanness; and from the case of a Nazarite, who had unwillingly touched a dead body, Numb. v. 11, where it is said, he had *sinned by the dead*; i. e. was legally polluted. And this may be the reason, perhaps, why a *burnt-offering* is here mentioned before the *sin-offering*, which is wont to precede the other (ver. 7, 8).

It may be conceived, indeed, that in all the fore-mentioned cases, those persons (especially lepers) had some way offended God, before or in their state of separation; and therefore were to have their sin (properly so called) expiated by a *sin-offering*. And R. Bechai also gives another probable account of it; that this sacrifice was offered not for her own sin, but the sin of her first parent, the mother of all living, who brought sin and sorrow into the world; for from

the law for her that hath born a male or a female.

8 And if she be not able to bring a lamb, then she shall bring two turtles, or two young pigeons; the one for the burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering: and the priest shall make an atonement for her, and she shall be clean.

a bad stock there cannot sprout good branches; and therefore God appointed this offering for the expiation of that primary sin.

Unto the door] It was a most wise constitution (as a person of excellent learning, Dr. Alix, observes), which bound this people, from their first coming into the world, to their going out of it, to have a dependence upon the priests and the Levites (who for that purpose were dispersed through all the tribes of Israel, that people might be instructed by them how to govern themselves in all the passages of human life). For there are laws not only about marriages and successions, but about their lying-in, whether of a son or daughter, and about all they were to do while that time lasted, and when it ended; and indeed all the time they lived, and when they went out of the world; in their funerals, and mourning for the dead.

Ver. 7. *Who shall offer it]* By this offering she was restored to the liberty of God's house, and to partake of holy things. For so it follows.

She shall be cleansed] No longer separated from the holy society.

For her that hath born a male or a female.] All this principally respected the woman; yet not excluding her child, who (it appears by St. Luke ii. 22) was on this day of his mother's purification *presented unto the Lord*. That indeed had respect to the law about the first-born: but a very ancient MS. and the Syriac, and Origen, taking this for the day of their purification, and not merely of hers (καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν), it plainly shows the child could not be admitted into the Divine presence, no more than the mother, till the days above mentioned were accomplished.

Ver. 8. *If she be not able to bring a lamb, &c.]* This was a merciful provision for the poorer sort, as in other cases (v. 7, 11). And from this very place we may learn in how mean a condition the mother of our Lord was; who for her purification did not bring a lamb (unto which her piety, no doubt, would have prompted her, if she had been able), but only this lower sort of offering, as we read, Luke ii. 24.

The priest shall make an atonement for her,] This sacrifice was as available as the other, to restore her to communion with God's people. The Greeks imitated this; among whom the fortieth day was *insignis* (as Censorinus speaks), *famous or remarkable* upon more accounts than one. For women with child did not go to the temple ante diem quadragesimum, "before the fortieth day;" and after their delivery, commonly, they were not fit to go out till forty days more (his words are, "Quadraginta diebus pleræque fæte graviore sunt, nec sanguinem interdum continent"), during which time their little ones were sickly, never smiled, nor were out of danger. Which is observed by that great physician Celsus (lib. ii. cap. 1), "Maxime, omnis pueritia primum circa quadragesimum diem periclitatur." And therefore, when this day was past, they were wont to keep a feast (as Censorinus there tells us, cap. 11, de Die Natali), which they called Τεσσαρακοστόν, at which time, it is likely, they offered sacrifices also, as the Jewish women did.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The laws and tokens whereby the priest is to be guided in discerning the leprosy.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying,

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

3 And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and when the hair in the

plague is turned white, and the plague in sight be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is a plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and pronounce him unclean.

4 If the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and in sight be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white; then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague seven days:

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1.] Here God speaks to Aaron again, as well as unto Moses (see xi. 1), because he and his posterity were peculiarly concerned in the following laws about the leprosy, both in judging and cleansing of it.

Ver. 2. *When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh*] For there this disease lay and showed itself.

A rising, a scab, or bright spot,] The leprosy appeared in one of these three forms; either as a tumour or swelling, or a scab, or a bright spot in the skin.

Like the plague of leprosy;] There were some swellings, and scabs, and spots, which were not the leprosy, but only like it. And therefore Moses here teaches the priests how to discern between a true leprosy and the resemblance of it; that accordingly they might either pronounce a person clean or unclean; shut him up, or let him have his liberty; shave him, or let his hair grow.

Plague of leprosy;] If we may believe Pliny (lib. xxvi. cap. 1), this disease was peculiar to Egypt, which he calls *genitrix italium vitiorum*; and if Artapanus, in Eusebius, saith true (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27), Pharaoh, who sought to kill Moses, was the first who was struck with this disease, and died of it. So false is the story of Manetho, who, to hide the true cause of the Israelites' departure out of Egypt, saith, that they cast out a company of leprous people, of whom Moses was the captain. Out of Egypt, it is likely, this disease spread into Syria, which is noted likewise to have been much infested with such foul eruptions in the skin; which have as many various names as there are risings, or breakings-out, or spots there; and are commonly all comprehended under the name of *leprosy*, as P. Cunæus observes (lib. ii. de Republ. Judæorum, cap. ult.). But Moses here distinguishes them, and seems to instruct the Israelites that the *leprosy* which he speaks of was no common disease, but inflicted by the hand of Heaven. So the Hebrew doctors understand it; particularly R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. clxviii.): "a leprous man ought not to look upon his disease as a casual thing; but seriously consider and acknowledge that some grievous sin is the cause of it." Which made the knowledge of their priests so admirable (as the author of the book Cosri speaks, par. ii. sect. 58), that they were able to understand what was *Divine* in the leprosy, and what was from *natural* temper. For that there was something *Divine* in it is confirmed by the story of Naaman (2 Kings v. 7); where the king of Israel plainly declares, none but God could cure a leper: whom therefore they looked upon as smitten by God; and thence called this disease the *plague* or *stroke of leprosy*, and sometimes simply the *plague* or *stroke* (ver. 3, 5, 17, 22, of this chapter). For they could not understand how such a pestilential disease as infected not merely men's bodies, but the very walls

of their houses, and garments, should proceed merely from ordinary causes; and therefore they thought there was an extraordinary hand of God in it.

He shall be brought unto Aaron the priest,] Not to the physicians, but to the priests; who were the only judges whether it was a true leprosy or no; and if it were, could best direct him to his cure (by repentance and prayer to God), and cleanse him when he was cured. But they might resort to any priest whatsoever, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Talmud (where there is a large treatise of this matter), though he was maimed in any part of his body, and so unfit to minister at the altar, provided his eyes still continued good (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 14, num. 5).

Ver. 3. *The priest shall look on the plague*] When there is a suspicion that it is a leprosy. The same great man observes, that this inspection might be made upon any day of the week but the Sabbath or festivals. Yet not in the night, nor in any hour of the day but the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth: for they accounted the morning, evening, and noon, not such proper times to make this inspection. Which, they say, also might be made by an Israelite; though none but the priest could pronounce one clean or unclean. For though perhaps the priest was ignorant, and stood in need to be informed by wiser persons than himself, yet that man who was not a priest could only direct him what to judge, but not give the judgment. According to that law (Deut. xxi. 5), "Out of their mouth, or, by their word, shall every stroke be tried:" which particularly relates to the leprosy (xxiv. 8).

When the hair—is turned white, &c.] He begins with the last of the three indications of a leprosy, viz. the *bright spot*. In which, if the very hair was turned white, and it was not only a superficial whiteness, but the spot seemed to have eaten deeper into the very flesh, then it was to be judged a true leprosy. R. Levi Barzelon. expresses it thus; "When there was one or more places so white that their whiteness was like that of an egg-shell, or more glossy, then it is the leprosy."

Shall look on him,] Having made this inspection, and found it to be the leprosy.

Pronounce him unclean.] Command him to be separated from the congregation, and shut up by himself (ver. 46).

But though all the Israelites, children and servants, as well as others, were under this law, yet no gentile, nor the *proselytes of the gate*, were, as Maimonides and the rest of the Hebrew doctors tell us.

Ver. 4. *If the bright spot be white in the skin*] i. e. If there be barely a white spot in the skin, which hath not altered the hair.

And in sight be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white;] The forenamed R.

5 And the priest shall look on him the seventh day: and, behold, *if* the plague in his sight be at a stay, *and* the plague spread not in the skin; then the priest shall shut him up seven days more:

6 And the priest shall look on him again the seventh day: and, behold, *if* the plague be somewhat dark, *and* the plague spread not in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean: it is *but* a scab: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.

7 But if the scab spread much abroad in the skin, after that he hath been seen of the priest for his cleansing, he shall be seen of the priest again:

Levi explains this passage thus: If it were not a perfect white, but something dusky, below the whiteness of an egg-shell, he was to look upon it as that which might prove a lesser sort of foulness in the blood and skin, short of the leprosy, which infected the very hair in that place.

Shall shut up him—seven days:] He had something like the plague, which might prove to be it; and therefore he was to be separated from others so long, that some judgment might be made, whether it was, or would be so or not: for seven days commonly make considerable alterations in the state of all diseases.

Ver. 5. *Look on him the seventh day:]* Until which it was not likely any certain judgment could be made.

And, behold,] Observe this.

If the plague in his sight be at a stay,] In the Hebrew words are, *If the plague stand in his sight;* i. e. seemeth to him not to have spread itself at all in the skin, as it follows in the next words. Or, as it may be translated, *if it continue in the same colour,* which it had before, and were not altered: for the Hebrew word signifies *colour* as well as *sight*. And if this translation be right, then here are two marks which the priest was to observe (*viz.* whether the spot had not altered its complexion, and whether it had not spread further in the skin); but according to our present translation there is but one, the next clause being but the explication of this.

Shut him up seven days more:] The case remaining dubious, he was to make a further trial.

Ver. 6. *If the plague be somewhat dark,]* The priest was to mark diligently whether there were any alteration in the colour, and that which was bright before now looked dark; which justifies the second interpretation of the first clause in the foregoing verse.

Spread not in the skin,] This was another token by which the priest was to be governed in his judgment.

Pronounce him clean:] He was to be shut up no longer, but left at liberty to go abroad and freely converse with his brethren.

It is but a scab:] An ordinary scab, or scurf, short of the leprosy: such as is now in Guam and Mindanao; which Dampier (in his late New Voyage round the World, chap. 12), describes to be a dry scurf all over the body, that causeth great itching, and raiseth the outer skin in small white flakes, like the scales of little fish, when they are raised on end with a knife. But he did not perceive that they made any great matter of it, for they did not refrain any company for it.

He shall wash his clothes, and be clean.] Having been suspected to have a leprosy, and something like it appearing, which had kept him separate from his brethren several days, he was to use this small purifi-

8 And *if* the priest see that, behold, the scab spreadeth in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a leprosy.

9 ¶ When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest;

10 And the priest shall see him: and, behold, *if* the rising be white in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and *there be* quick raw flesh in the rising;

11 It is an old leprosy in the skin of his flesh, and the priest shall pronounce him unclean, and shall not shut him up: for he is unclean.

12 And if a leprosy break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all the skin of him

cation; because there was some kind of impurity in his blood, which broke out into the skin, though not infectious.

Ver. 7. *If the scab spread]* The second sort of leprosy was a scab (ver. 2), which seems to have been of two kinds; one of which Moses joins to what he saith of the swelling, and the other to what he saith of the bright spot.

After that he hath been seen of the priest] That is, after the priest had pronounced him clean (ver. 6).

He shall be seen of the priest again:] A new inspection was to be made by the priest. And if any man. (as Maimonides saith) was so profane as carelessly to neglect it, by not going to the priest, and showing him his case, his punishment was to have his leprosy cleave to him for ever.

Ver. 8.] Though it lurked for a time, yet this spreading of it in the skin was to be taken for an evident mark that it was the leprosy.

Ver. 9. *When the plague of leprosy is in a man,]* That is, when there is a suspicion of the first sort of leprosy, mentioned ver. 2, and called a *rising* or *swelling*.

He shall be brought unto the priest:] By those who feared his company might be infectious; but good men went of themselves to him.

Ver. 10. *The priest shall see him:]* Diligently view, and consider the nature of the scab.

If the rising be white] If upon examination the priest found a third mark, besides the two former (*whiteness in the skin and the hair turned white*), *viz.* that it had eaten into the very flesh; he was to look upon it as an undoubted leprosy.

Quick raw flesh] Quick or living flesh (as the Hebrew word is) signifies sound flesh not corrupted. So the meaning seems to be, if it have broken through the skin, and in the raw sound flesh there appeared white spots, there needed no further consideration: for it would soon taint the whole mass of blood.

Ver. 11. *It is an old leprosy]* The first two signs were very bad, particularly the second, *the hair turning white*, (just as a plant, saith Procopius Gazæus, or a flower dies, together with the earth in which it grows), but this last was far worse; being a mark of an inveterate evil that had been long breeding, and got not only into the skin and the hair, but into the very living flesh; which, as the same Procopius speaks, it began to corrode, and would devour.

Pronounce him unclean,] Without any further examination.

Shall not shut him up:] Because there was no need of any more proof, nor any doubt, whether it was the leprosy or not.

For he is unclean.] It was apparent from the tokens, which were already very visible.

Ver. 12. *If a leprosy break out]* He calls that a

that hath the plague from his head even to his foot, whosoever the priest looketh;

13 Then the priest shall consider: and, behold, *if* the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce *him* clean *that hath* the plague: it is all turned white: he *is* clean.

14 But when raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean.

15 And the priest shall see the raw flesh, and pronounce him to be unclean: *for* the raw flesh *is* unclean: it *is* a leprosy.

16 Or if the raw flesh turn again, and be changed unto white, he shall come unto the priest;

17 And the priest shall see him: and, behold, *if* the plague be turned into white; then the priest shall pronounce *him* clean *that hath* the plague: he *is* clean.

18 ¶ The flesh also, in which, *even* in the skin thereof, was a boil, and is healed,

19 And in the place of the boil there be a white rising, or a bright spot, white, and somewhat reddish, and it be shewed to the priest;

20 And if, when the priest seeth it, behold, it be in sight lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white; the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it *is* a plague of leprosy broken out of the boil.

21 But if the priest look on it, and, behold, *there be* no white hairs therein, and *if* it be not lower than the skin, but *be* somewhat dark; then the priest shall shut him up seven days:

22 And if it spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it *is* a plague.

23 But if the bright spot stay in his place, and spread not, it *is* a burning boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

24 ¶ Or if there be *any* flesh, in the skin whereof *there is* a hot burning, and the quick

leprosy, which was not truly so, but was by some thought to be so, because it had a likeness to it.

Him that hath the plague] i. e. Seemeth to have it.

From his head even to his foot.] An eruption in every part of his body, which was spread all over with scabs.

Ver. 13. *He shall pronounce him clean*] This sort of breaking out, from top to toe, as we speak, was not to be looked upon as the plague of leprosy; being rather a relief to the body, than a disease.

It is all turned white.] There was no danger in this eruption; nature having only discharged those putrid salt humours which were in the blood. Just as those among us, who have the measles and small-pox, are likely to do well, when they come out everywhere; but not when they stick in the skin.

Ver. 14.] When the sound flesh appeared speckled with the forementioned spots, it was an evident token that it was a settled leprosy; nature being not able to throw out the ill humour into the skin; but working inward into the flesh.

Ver. 15.] When he sees the sign before named, he shall make no further examination, but declare him to be unclean.

For the raw flesh is unclean.] This was so undoubted a mark, that there needed no more. Which makes Moses repeat it, that the priest might observe it the more carefully, when he made his inspection.

Ver. 16. *If the raw flesh turn again.*] If there was such an alteration in it, that it was freed from these pestilent spots.

Be changed unto white.] Look like other flesh, which hath a white skin upon it.

He shall come unto the priest.] Desire him to make a new examination of the state of his body.

Ver. 17. *The priest shall see him.*] Take a view of his body; especially in those parts where the leprosy was suspected to be.

If the plague be turned into white, &c.] If, upon due consideration, his body appear alike white everywhere, and no spots to be seen in the flesh, the priest was to declare him to have no leprosy remaining.

Ver. 18.] In this and the following verses he treats of such a leprosy as arose out of ulcers which had been healed: and afterward there was a new eruption, which might prove a leprosy.

Ver. 19. *In the place of the boil*] Where the bile formerly broke out; but seemed to be healed.

There be a white rising, or a bright spot, white.]

These two are the first and last indications of a leprosy, mentioned ver. 2.

Somewhat reddish.] This is a mark not hitherto mentioned: which some render "exceeding shining;" or "an inflammation which looked very red." For so the Hebrew word *adamdameth* seems to import; it being certain, that the doubling of the radicals of any word increases the sense. This is apparent from abundance of instances in other words; which are heaped up together by Bochartus in his Hierozoicon (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 6), where he observes, with respect to this word, that it being impossible that the same thing should be both very white and very red, it hath made most interpreters expound this word *adamdameth* as we do, *somewhat reddish*; quite contrary to the true sense of the word, which imports a high degree of some colour, and therefore ought to be translated *exceeding glistering*. For *adam* signifies not only *red*, but also to *glister*: and accordingly, persons very leprous are said in Scripture to be as *white as snow* (Exod. iv. 6; Numb. xii. 10; 2 Kings v. 27). See ver. 49 of this chapter.

It be shewed to the priest.] That he might pass his judgment upon it, whether it were the leprosy or not.

Ver. 20.] If, upon a serious search, it appear to have the two marks here mentioned (which are those before set down, ver. 3), the priest was to declare him unclean.

It is a plague of leprosy broken out of the boil.] In the place where the *bile* formerly was (ver. 19).

Ver. 21.] If he find upon search neither of the two marks before named.

But be somewhat dark, &c.] Though it had not eaten into the flesh (which was a certain sign of a leprosy), yet, if it changed colour, there was some ground of suspicion: and therefore he was to be "shut up seven days" (see ver. 4).

Ver. 22. *If it spread much abroad*] The spreading of the spot was a token the blood was much vitiated, and that this foul disease was begun in the body.

It is a plague.] Of leprosy.

Ver. 23. *If the bright spot stay in its place, &c.*] If it continued in the same condition, and made no progress, it was an indication the bile was breaking out again; which did not make him unclean.

Ver. 24. *Or if there be any flesh, in the skin whereof there is a hot burning.*] In the Hebrew the words run

flesh that burneth have a white bright spot, somewhat reddish, or white;

25 Then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, *if* the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and *it be* in sight deeper than the skin; it is a leprosy broken out of the burning: wherefore the priest shall pronounce him unclean: *it is* the plague of leprosy.

26 But if the priest look on it, and, behold, *there be* no white hair in the bright spot, and *it be* no lower than the *other* skin, but *be* somewhat dark; then the priest shall shut him up seven days:

27 And the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: *and if* it be spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: *it is* the plague of leprosy.

28 And if the bright spot stay in his place, and spread not in the skin, but *it be* somewhat dark; *it is* a rising of the burning, and the priest shall pronounce him clean: for *it is* an inflammation of the burning.

29 ¶ If a man or a woman have a plague upon the head or beard;

30 Then the priest shall see the plague: and,

thus, "Or the flesh, when it shall be in the skin a burning fire." That is, when there is an inflammation made in the skin and the flesh, by a hot burning coal, or some such thing falling upon it. For in the foregoing paragraph (ver. 16, &c.), he speaks of ulcers which arose of themselves from bad humours in the body: and here of such as were made by fire.

And the quick flesh that burneth] The part of the body that is burnt.

Have a white bright spot,] Very shining (see ver. 19). For this was a sign of the leprosy broken out in that burnt place, which otherwise would have looked black.

Ver. 26. *If the hair—be turned white,*] See ver. 20.

Ver. 26.] The same direction is given here, as in the foregoing case (ver. 21).

Ver. 27.] This verse and the next contain the same marks with those ver. 23, 24.

Ver. 28. *It is a rising of the burning,*] A tumour made by fire, or a hot iron, &c., which burnt the part. A mere *inflammation* (as he calls it in the end of this verse) arising from that burning.

Ver. 29. *Plague upon the head or the beard,*] Such a kind of disease, Pliny saith, came into Italy in the middle of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar which they called *mentagra*, because it commonly began in the chin; and was so filthy, ut quæcunque mors præferenda esset, "that any death was preferable to it" (lib. xvi. Nat. Hist. cap. 1).

Ver. 30.] There are the same marks of this sort, with those of the former: only instead of a white hair, which there was in other kinds of leprosy, there was a yellow hair in this; and not so thick as the white.

Ver. 31.] This was some indication that it was not a leprosy; yet if there were no black hair in it (as it here follows) which was a sign of soundness and health (ver. 37), the case was not certain, but doubtful; and therefore he was to be shut up seven days, to see what it would prove.

Ver. 32. *Shall look on the plague,*] So he calls it, because it had a resemblance of the leprosy.

If the scall spread not,] For this was the nature of

behold, if *it be* in sight deeper than the skin; and *there be* in it a yellow thin hair; then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: *it is* a dry scall, *even* a leprosy upon the head or beard.

31 And if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, *it be* not in sight deeper than the skin, and *that there is* no black hair in it; then the priest shall shut up *him that hath* the plague of the scall seven days:

32 And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, *if* the scall spread not, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the scall *be* not in sight deeper than the skin;

33 He shall be shaven, but the scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall shut up *him that hath* the scall seven days more:

34 And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the scall: and, behold, *if* the scall be not spread in the skin, nor *be* in sight deeper than the skin; then the priest shall pronounce him clean: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.

35 But if the scall spread much in the skin after his cleansing;

36 Then the priest shall look on him: and,

the disease, which Pliny describes in the place above mentioned, that it spread itself in many persons, from the chin all over the face, except the eyes; and went down to the neck, the breast, and the hands, feto cutis furfur, "with a filthy scurf of the skin," which is here called a *scall*.

In it no yellow hair,] This, with the foregoing and the following sign (that it was not in sight deeper than the skin) made it probable it was not the leprosy. Yet he was not upon this immediately discharged; but a further trial, as the next verse tells us, was to be made, before he was set at liberty.

Ver. 33. *He shall be shaven, but the scall shall he not shave,* &c.] For sureness's sake, the head and beard were to be shaven (which might be performed by any body), that the priest might the better discern whether the scall spread or no. Only the place where the scall appeared was not shaven; because the priest was to observe of what colour the hair in it was. So R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. clxxii.). "They shave round about the scall, leaving only the two next hairs; that they may know the decrease or increase of the disease."

Shut up him—seven days more,] In which time some considerable alteration would be made one way or other.

Ver. 34. *In the seventh day*] Before it was completed.

If the scall be not spread] Here are the same marks which were mentioned before: that if the scall did not spread in the skin, nor eat into the flesh, he was not to be shut up any longer, but pronounced clean; and, after he had washed his clothes, be admitted into the society of God's people again (see ver. 6).

Ver. 35.] It fell out sometimes, that the scall, which had stood at a stay for a fortnight, and seemed neither to spread nor corrode at all began to go on to the neighbouring parts.

Ver. 36.] If he found this single mark, that after the scall had been at a stand a good while, it began to spread much, he was not to trouble himself for any further token, by seeking for the *yellow hair*, (ver. 30), but immediately declare him to be a leper.

behold, if the scall be spread in the skin, the priest shall not seek for yellow hair; he *is* unclean.

37 But if the scall be in his sight at a stay, and that there is black hair grown up therein; the scall is healed, he *is* clean: and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

38 ¶ If a man also or a woman have in the skin of their flesh bright spots, *even* white bright spots;

39 Then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be darkish white; it *is* a freckled spot that groweth in the skin; he *is* clean.

40 And the man whose hair is fallen off his head, he *is* bald; yet *is* he clean.

41 And he that hath his hair fallen off from the part of his head toward his face, he *is* forehead bald; yet *is* he clean.

42 And if there be in the bald head, or bald

forehead, a white reddish sore; it *is* a leprosy sprung up in his bald head, or his bald forehead.

43 Then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the rising of the sore be white reddish in his bald head, or in his bald forehead, as the leprosy appeareth in the skin of the flesh;

44 He *is* a leprous man, he *is* unclean: the priest shall pronounce him utterly unclean; his plague *is* in his head.

45 And the leper in whom the plague *is*, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean.

46 All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled; he *is* unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.

47 ¶ The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, whether it be a woollen garment, or a linen garment;

Ver. 37.] If after this the scall stopped again, and made no further progress; and withal there was a black hair appeared in it (which the priest could not find before, but now was grown up in it), he was to take it for an evident sign that the man was cured of his leprosy. For the hair being restored to its natural colour, was a certain indication that the blood was cleansed from its impurity.

Ver. 38.] No other sign of the leprosy but only this.

Ver. 39.] In this case the priest was to observe, whether the spots had any thing of a cloudiness in them; for if they had, it was not a leprosy: if they were perfectly clear and bright, then it was.

Ver. 40.] From the hinder part of it.

Ver. 41.] The design of these two verses is, to instruct the priest that the mere falling off of the hair from his head, which made him bald, either behind or before, should not be taken to be a sign of the leprosy.

Ver. 42, 43.] If either in the hinder or forepart of a bald head there appeared a *white sore exceeding bright* (as it should be translated), like that which appeared sometimes in the skin (ver. 24), then, as it here follows, he was to be looked on as a leprous man.

Ver. 44. *Shall pronounce him utterly unclean;* As unclean as any of the forenamed persons.

His plague is in his head.] The leprosy appears in his head, as in other persons it appears in the skin of their bodies.

Ver. 45. *The leper in whom the plague is,*] Any of the forenamed sort of leprosies.

His clothes shall be rent,] After the manner of mourners (as some take it), that he might sensibly declare his afflicted condition. For upon any sad occasion, they were wont in those countries to rend their clothes (Ezra ix. 3, 5; Job ii. 12). Others, indeed, think this was intended only for a mark of his uncleanness: but I do not see why it might not serve to both ends.

His head bare,] This was another token of mourning. But the Hebrew writers unanimously translate these words quite contrary: the phrase in the original being, *his head shall be free*; i. e. say they, from cutting or shaving; which was as much as to say, he should let his hair grow long. This also was a sign of sadness and sorrow (see x. 6).

Put a covering upon his upper lip,] Either he was to cover it with his hand, or with the skirt of his garment, which they threw over their heads, when they were in a state of mourning. Of which this was

another sign (Ezek. xxiv. 17, 22), as it was also of shame (Mic. iii. 7). Some will have all these to be marks only for men to avoid them: but that is sufficiently taken care of, in the last words of this verse.

I shall only add, that the Hebrews well observe, that none were bound to any of these things, who were shut up on suspicion of leprosy; but only such as were absolutely pronounced to be leprous.

Shall cry, Unclean, unclean.] Give notice to passengers not to come near him, by crying out aloud, so that they might hear him, *I am in the most unclean condition wherein any man can be*. Some fancy this was required, that men might avoid infection: but the true reason was, that they might avoid legal pollutions by conversation with them; as appears by the next verse. Jeremiah seems to allude to this, Lament. iv. 15. And there seems also to have been the like care among the heathen, to give notice of any place which was unclean, that none might be defiled by it. So Servius tells us upon Æneid. iv. that the Romans were wont to set a cypress-tree (which being cut down could not grow again) before the door of a dead man's house, *Ne quis sacram rem facturus, imprudens domum præteriret*, "lest any man, who was going to perform sacred offices, should unawares pass by his door."

Ver. 46. *He shall be defiled;*] Remain in that desolate state.

He is unclean;] Separate from company.

He shall dwell alone;] 2 Kings xv. 5.

Without the camp] There were three camps (as the Hebrews commonly observe); that of the Divinity (or the sanctuary), that of the Levites, and that of the Israelites: out of all which a leprous man was to be removed, that no man might have conversation with him, but only such who were leprous like himself; who in aftertimes were shut out of the cities, as now out of the camp (2 Kings vii. 3).

Ver. 47. *The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in,*] This is a matter which we do not now understand; that a leprosy should not only cleave to a garment and infect it, but appear and be seen in it. As, in the next chapter, Moses speaks also of a leprosy in a house (xiv. 34), which he doth not mention here, because they had no houses in the wilderness, but dwelt in tents covered with skins, and such-like things: in which, as well as in garments, he supposes the leprosy will be (see xiv. 34). But what kind of disease this was, which appeared in insensible things, the Syrians and Egyptians perhaps might then under-

48 Whether *it be* in the warp, or woof; of linen, or of woollen; whether in a skin, or in any thing made of skin;

49 And if the plague be greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; *it is* a plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest:

50 And the priest shall look upon the plague, and shut up *it that hath* the plague seven days:

51 And he shall look on the plague on the seventh day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in a skin, or in any work that is made of skin; the plague *is* a fretting leprosy, *it is* unclean.

52 He shall therefore burn that garment,

whether warp or woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it *is* a fretting leprosy; it shall be burnt in the fire.

53 And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin;

54 Then the priest shall command that they wash *the thing* wherein the plague *is*, and he shall shut it up seven days more:

55 And the priest shall look on the plague, after that it is washed: and, behold, *if* the plague have not changed his colour, and the plague be not spread; *it is* unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire; it is fret inward, *whether it be* bare within or without.

stand, but we now are ignorant, as P. Cuneus speaks; Cujusmodi id vitium in rebus inanimatis fuerit, Syri fortasse et Egyptii tunc intellexerunt; nos hercle ignoramus (lib. ii. De Republ. Hebræor. cap. ult.). And, indeed, it seems to have been a Divine stroke, as Moses himself signifies (xiv. 34), and appears not only from the place above mentioned (2 Kings v. 7, 27), but from xv. 5, of the same book. And so the Jews have always understood it, particularly Maimonides, who, in his treatise on this subject (cap. 16, sect. 9), saith, "that this change in garments and houses did not proceed from natural causes, but was a sign and a miracle in Israel." That is, an extraordinary punishment inflicted by God, as a token of his high displeasure. And it is not at all incredible that such a strange plague should then infest them, which is not now known in the world; when we consider what unusual diseases there have been in other countries, unknown in former times; which afterwards have also vanished, and are now to be found only in books. Pliny mentions several new diseases, *omni priori ævo incognitos*, "unknown to all ages past;" some of which were peculiar to some provinces, and touched not others. Concerning which he did not know what to say, but only this: *Quid hoc esse dicamus, aut quas Deorum iras!* "What shall we call this! or from what great anger of the gods doth it proceed, that the diseases which already certainly infest men's bodies (which in number are above three hundred) should not be sufficient; but new ones are still to be feared" (lib. xxvi. Nat. Hist. cap. 1). He looked, that is, upon these strange diseases as sent by God, when men had highly incurred his displeasure. The last century was famous for such an extraordinary plague (as Johannes Wierus, who then lived, often calls it), when the scurvy, which was confined before to some northern regions, near the sea, overran the Low Countries, being at that time unknown in Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, which were entirely free from it (see his *Observationum Medicarum*, lib. i. sect. 1).

Woollen garment, or a linen] There is a great dispute among the Talmudists, whether garments made of camels' hair (which they call the *wool of camels*) were comprehended under these words or not.

Ver. 48. *Warp, or woof; of linen, or of woollen;*] In the inward or outward part of it.

In a skin, or in any thing made of skin;] They were more likely to be infected than woollen or linen garments; because they had been part of the body of living creatures.

Ver. 49. *if the plague be greenish or reddish*] There seems to be great reason in what Maimonides saith, in his treatise of the leprosy, that the Hebrew word

jerakrak (which is made by the doubling of the radical letters) should be interpreted the *most intense green*; such as is in the wings of a peacock (as he speaks) or in the leaves of a palm-tree. As the word *adamdam*, in like manner, signifies the highest degree of another colour, viz. redness; such as the brightest scarlet (see ver. 19). And if a spot of these colours were found in a garment or skin, as broad as a bean, it was a sufficient ground to think it might be the leprosy; if it were not so broad, it was accounted clean.

It is a plague] It was justly to be suspected, and therefore was to be brought to the priest for his judgment to be passed upon it. Who was to make a trial what it would prove, by shutting up that garment or skin wherein the spot was for the space of seven days; as is directed in the next verse.

Ver. 50.] If, upon his inspection, he found the forenamed tokens, he was to do with it as he did with persons who were under a suspicion of a leprosy.

Ver. 51.] There were three certain marks (as Maimonides notes) of the leprosy in a garment; the extreme greenness or redness of the spots in it; and the spreading of them after they were first discovered.

Fretting leprosy.] The Hebrew word *mamereth*, which we translate *fretting*, is very variously rendered by the ancient interpreters; as Bochart hath observed in his *Hieroicoicon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45, where, from the Arabic tongue, he thinks it may be best translated an *exasperated* or *irritated* leprosy: that is, very sharp and pricking (which suits well with our translation), eating into the garment or skin, till it was consumed. Abarbanel translates it *painful*: because this sort of leprosy in the body of a man was full of anguish. And so this word is used in Ezek. xxviii. 24, where a *thorn* is called *mamir*; and translated by us a *grieving thorn*.

Ver. 52.] It seems this leprosy could never be got out of the garment or skin wherein it was; which therefore was ordered to be burnt, as never likely to be fit for use.

Ver. 53, 54.] If the spot was at a stay, and did not proceed further, then the garment, as the following verse directs, was to be washed, and shut up for seven days: in which time it appeared whether the impurity were quite gone, or still remained.

Ver. 55. *Have not changed his colour.*] If washing had not altered that vicious colour, but it still continued very red or green.

Be not spread;] Or, *though it be* not spread; yet it was to be pronounced unclean, and adjudged to be burnt.

56 And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be somewhat dark after the washing of it; then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof:

57 And if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is a spreading *plague*: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire.

It is fret inward,] Though it did not spread in breadth, yet it fretted in depth.

Whether it be bare within or without.] In the Hebrew the words are, "In the baldness of the hinder part, or in its forepart:" which seems to be a manner of speaking taken from ver. 42, 43, where he treats of bald heads. And the meaning is, whether it eat into the right side of the garment (which is compared to the forehead), or into the wrong side (which is compared to the hinder part of the head), making it as bare as a bald head is, when there is not a hair left. For this sort of leprosy was wont to eat off the nap of the cloth, and make it threadbare.

Ver. 56.] If it had changed its colour, from very green or red, and became dusky (or, as Abarbanel understands it, the spot was contracted or shrunk up in the washing, so that it was gone in part, if not in whole), then the priest was to cut out that part of the garment where the spot was; there being some indication that the whole garment might not be tainted.

Ver. 57. *If it appear still in the garment,]* If, after the spot was out, the neighbouring parts appeared to have a tincture of a very green or red colour, it was to be taken for a demonstration that there was a spreading leprosy (as it here follows) in the garment, or skin, which would proceed till it was entirely infected with it.

Burn that wherein the plague is] Therefore, the

58 And the garment, either warp, or woof, or whatsoever thing of skin *it be*, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed the second time, and shall be clean.

59 This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen, either in the warp, or woof, or any thing of skins, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.

leprosy being incurable, there was no other remedy but to destroy the thing wherein it was.

Ver. 58.] Whatsoever, after washing, had no appearance of such spots, as are here before mentioned (ver. 49, &c.), remaining in it, there was no further trial to be made of it, but, being washed a second time, it was to be accounted *clean*, i. e. fit for common use.

Ver. 59.] By these rules, the priests were to judge whether garments were lawful to be used or not; and accordingly to determine: as, by the rules in the foregoing part of the chapter, they were to judge and pronounce whether men and women were fit to be allowed to keep company with others. And when we consider how nice and diligent many nations were, and still are, in their washings, after any sort of defilement, it is no wonder (as Conradus Pellicanus here glosses) that some laws of cleanliness, even about their garments, were prescribed to the Jews; which admonished them of that inward purgation of their hearts from all impure affections, about which they were to be far more solicitous. I have forbore to apply what is here said of the leprosy, in this chapter, to the various degrees of pollutions that are in men's minds; because that would have made this book too large; and it is done already by a great number of commentators, both modern and ancient; particularly among the latter, by Procopius Gazæus, and Hesychius Presb. Hierosolymorum, who sometimes have done it very ingeniously.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *The rites and sacrifices in cleansing of the leper.* 33 *The signs of leprosy in a house.* 43 *The cleansing of that house.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 This shall be the law of the leper in the day of his cleansing: He shall be brought unto the priest:

3 And the priest shall go forth out of the

camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper;

4 Then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two birds alive and clean, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop:

was to be brought to him. But these words seem to import the leper was first to come towards the camp (unto some place which the priest, it is likely, appointed), and then the priest, having notice of it, was to go out and look upon him.

Ver. 3. *The priest shall go forth out of the camp;]* To the place where the leper was (xiii. 46).

Shall look,] Diligently examine in what condition the leper is, by the rules mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

If the plague of leprosy be healed] The priest, no doubt, had been informed, before he went to make the inspection, that there were good grounds to believe the man was freed from his leprosy.

Ver. 4.] Some of his friends, or such as he ordered, should provide what follows for his purification.

Two birds alive and clean,] The margin of our Bible translates it *two sparrows*: and they who take the word in this sense have some pretty conceits

CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1.] All that is said before, concerning the rules whereby they were to discern the leprosy from the like diseases, were given unto Aaron as well as unto Moses (xiii. 1). For Aaron and his posterity were constituted the judges of such matters, in which they had need to be well studied and versed. But the way and manner of cleansing a leper is delivered only to Moses, to be by him given unto Aaron and his sons, who were to depend on him as God's great minister, and their instructor in all religious rites.

Ver. 2. *This shall be the law of the leper]* The manner and means which God hath ordained of purifying a leper (as Maimonides expounds it), and restoring him to the communion of God's people.

Brought unto the priest:] Not to the house of the priest; for he was to go out to the gate of the camp (as appears by the next verse), and thither the leper

5 And the priest shall command that one of the birds be killed in an earthen vessel over running water :

6 As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird *that was killed over the running water* :

7 And he shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and

shall pronounce him clean, and shall let the living bird loose into the open field.

8 And he that is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and wash himself in water, that he may be clean : and after that he shall come into the camp, and shall tarry abroad out of his tent seven days.

9 But it shall be on the seventh day, that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his beard and his eyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave :

about it. Particularly this : that it signifies him who lately sat alone, like a solitary sparrow on the housetop (as the Psalmist speaks), to be now admitted into the society of others again. But Origen takes these birds to have been *lens* (and so Scaliger shows out of Nicander, that the Greek word *σπορδός* anciently signified, Exerc. 230), and the LXX. better translate it, *δύο ἀπρίτια*, "two little birds," of any sort whatsoever, provided they were *clean*, i. e. lawful to be eaten, as the Vulgar truly interprets it. For to restrain it to *sparrows* had been very absurd, whether they had been clean birds or unclean ; because it had been in vain to say a clean sparrow, when the whole species were so by the law ; and more unaccountable to require a clean sparrow, if all had been unlawful, as Bochart rightly observes, lib. i. Hieroz. cap. 22, par. ii.

Grotius takes this to have been the *δῶρον*, or *gift*, which is mentioned Matt. viii. 4, which was presented by the leper in the day of his cleansing ; rather than those mentioned ver. 10 of this chapter. But I can see nothing of the nature of a gift or present in these birds, which were not to be offered at the altar.

Cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop.] Why his purification was to be made by these things, Maimonides saith he could never understand (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47). But Abarbinel adventures to guess at the reason, and imagines that these four things, the *living birds*, the *cedar*, the *scarlet*, and the *hyssop*, signified the leper to be cured of the four evils under which he had laboured ; in his flesh, his humours, his colour, and smell, which were represented by the four things before mentioned ; and were now all become sound and good. For the *living birds*, he thinks, were a sign that his dead flesh were restored to vigour and life again. And the *cedar wood*, which is not easily corrupted, denoted the putrefaction was cured which the leprosy had made in the humours of his body. The *scarlet* thread, or wool, was an indication of his good complexion restored to him : for this is a bright and grateful colour, as the leprosy was livid and loathsome ; signifying (saith he) his blood was purified, which made a lively colour return into his countenance. And lastly, the *hyssop*, which in that country was a very odoriferous plant, signified the nastiness and stench of that disease was gone. Whatsoever any one may judge of this account of these things, I think it is very plain, that the Jews being possessed with a great detestation of the filthiness of the leper, it was necessary (as Pellicanus observes) that they should be as strongly persuaded, by a great many prolix, laborious, and public ceremonies used for men's purification from it, that they were fit for their society again.

I omit the moral reasons which are given by R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. clxiii.), for the use of the forementioned things ; and the mystical significations of these, and all the following rites of purification : which the most learned and ingenious Bochartus hath drawn out in near twenty particulars (Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. i. cap. 22).

Ver. 5. *One of the birds be killed*] Not as a sacrifice ; for that could be made nowhere but at the altar, whereas this was without the camp, at a great distance from the sanctuary ; and therefore was used only as a rite of cleansing (see ver. 49).

In an earthen vessel over running water.] There seems to be a transposition (as is very usual) in these words : the sense being, over an earthen vessel, that hath running, i. e. spring water in it. For so R. Levi Barzelonita, in the place before named, describes this ceremony : "The priest takes a new earthen vessel, and pours into it living water, till it be a quarter full : " which was the measure, according to the tradition of the scribes. Who say, also, that the best and fattest of the two birds was killed over the water, and the blood pressed out so long, that the water was discoloured with it ; and then he digged a hole, and buried the dead bird before the leper.

Ver. 6.] He took a stick of cedar wood (as R. Levi Barzelonita describes this rite, and Maimonides saith the same), which was a cubit long ; and tying the bird to it, with its tail uppermost, together with a bunch of hyssop, of a handful long, and as much scarlet-wool as weighed a shekel ; he then dipped the bird's tail and wings, with the hyssop and scarlet wool, in the water tinged with the blood of the other bird.

Ver. 7. *Sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed*] R. Levi will have it, that he sprinkled the back of his hand, towards the top of it, with this water and blood.

Seven times.] In token of a perfect purification (see iv. 17).

Pronounce him clean,] So as to let him come into the camp (from whence he had been excluded), as, in aftertimes, into the city.

Let the living bird loose] The manner of doing it (as the same R. Levi relates) was, the priest, going into the city, threw the bird over the walls towards the wilderness ; the intention of which was, to show that the leper was restored to a free conversation with all his neighbours, as the bird was with the rest of its kind (see ver. 53).

Ver. 8. *Wash his clothes,*] He was to do this, and what follows, before he could be admitted into the camp.

Wash himself in water,] i. e. Wash his whole body. All which contributed to cleanliness.

After that he shall come into the camp,] But not enter into his own habitation ; as appears by the words following.

Tarry abroad out of his tent seven days.] They lived in tents while they remained in the wilderness, which every man had apart, for himself and for his family. Unto which a leper was not restored immediately after his admission into the camp : for fear there should be any undiscerned remainder of his disease, whereby his wife and children might be endangered. For which reason he might not lie with his wife, till seven days were over.

Ver. 9. *On the seventh day, that he shall shave all his*

off: and he shall wash his clothes, also he shall wash his flesh in water, and he shall be clean.

10 And on the eighth day he shall take two he lambs without blemish, and one ewe lamb of the first year without blemish, and three tenth deals of fine flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, and one log of oil.

11 And the priest that maketh him clean shall present the man that is to be made clean, and those things, before the LORD, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation :

hair] This may be thought to have been the time appointed for the *shaving* mentioned in the foregoing verse: but R. Levi, and other Hebrew doctors, understand it of a second shaving at the seven days' end, that they might be assured nothing of the leprosy remained.

Even all his hair he shall shave off:.] Under his arm-holes, and in other places of the body where it uses to grow; as well as the hair of his head, and his beard, and his eye-brows.

He shall wash his clothes,.] This seems to be a second washing, after the first at the end of the seven days. And the Hebrew doctors note, that the killing of the bird, the shaving and the sprinkling, were all to be done in the day-time; the rest might be done either by day or by night.

He shall wash his flesh.] His whole body. For which end such a measure is prescribed by the Hebrew tradition, as would cover it entirely.

He shall be clean,.] So as to be not only restored to his tent, but admitted to go to the tabernacle of the congregation, and offer the sacrifices appointed (in the following part of this chapter) for his complete purification. Till which time he was called *Mechussar Kapparah*, one that needed expiation; and was not permitted to eat of the holy things.

Ver. 10. *On the eighth day*] If we may believe the Hebrew tradition, he washed himself again on this day, in the court of the women; where there was a room, called the *chamber of the lepers*, provided for that purpose. So Maimonides. Which great caution was imitated by the primitive Christians, who would not receive great sinners into their communion again, till they had made a long trial of the truth of their repentance.

Take two he lambs—and one ewe lamb] There were three kinds of sacrifices to be offered upon this occasion; viz. a *trespass-offering*, a *sin-offering*, and a *burnt-offering*; for which these three lambs were to be provided.

Of the first year] Such were all the lambs to be, both male and female.

For a meat offering,.] To each of these sacrifices there was a *meat-offering* appointed, consisting of a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour, i. e. an omer (see Exod. xvi. 36). Which is a thing unusual: for we read of no meat-offerings ordered (in the fourth and fifth chapters of this book, which treat of them) to accompany either *trespass-offerings* or *sin-offerings*. But there were peculiar rites belonging to the cleansing of a leper, different from the common usages, to make him sensible how great a mercy he had received from God, who alone could cure this disease, which his hand had inflicted.

Mingled with oil,.] As the manner was in *meat-offerings* (see ch. ii. 1).

One log of oil,.] Which served to another purpose, mentioned ver. 15, 16 of this chapter. And oil being of a healing virtue, may be thought to denote the perfect health and soundness to which the leper was

12 And the priest shall take one he lamb, and offer him for a trespass offering, and the log of oil, and wave them for a wave offering before the LORD :

13 And he shall slay the lamb in the place where he shall kill the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the holy place: for as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the trespass offering: it is most holy :

14 And the priest shall take some of the blood of the trespass offering, and the priest shall put

now restored; as the fragrantcy of it put him in mind of the happiness he now enjoyed.

A *log* was the smallest measure among the Jews, containing about half a pint of our measure, as a very learned prelate of our own (Dr. Cumberland) hath computed in his *Scripture Weights and Measures*, p. 86.

Ver. 11. *The priest that maketh him clean*] Who performeth this office of declaring the leper perfectly clean.

Shall present the man—at the door, &c,.] He set the man in the first place at the east gate of the court of the Israelites (which in aftertimes was called the gate of Nicanor), with his face towards the sanctuary. For here all those who needed expiation stood; it being unlawful for them to enter into the court of the Israelites, until the expiation was made. So Maimonides observes in his treatise called *Mechussar Kapparah*, sect. 4.

Ver. 12. *Shall take one he lamb, and offer him*] Next he was to bring one of the lambs to the same place, and present him to the Lord, as is directed in the end of the verse; for that is meant here by *offering him*, the slaying of him following in the next verse.

For a trespass offering,.] After the manner that the *trespass-offerings* were offered (of which see ch. vii.), that he might beg pardon of God (as Abartinel understands it) for such sins as he had ignorantly committed.

The log of oil,.] Which was presented at the same time with the lamb.

Wave them] Both the lamb and the log of oil.

For a wave offering] Which was done by waving them to and fro, up and down, and turning towards all the four quarters of the world, as was noted before. But Maimonides saith, this was waved towards the east: and if he waved them both together, or separated one from the other, the lamb first, and afterward the log of oil, it made no difference.

Ver. 13. *He shall slay the lamb*] The lamb was brought, saith the same author in the forenamed treatise, to the door of the court where the leprous man stood, who stretched out his hands into the court and laid them upon his sacrifice; after which it was killed, as is here directed.

Where he shall kill the sin offering] See vi. 25.

In the holy place:.] In the court of the tabernacle, at the north side of the altar of *burnt-offering* (ch. i. 11), which was a place more holy than the entrance, or east end of the court, where the *peace-offerings* were to be killed (see iii. 2).

For as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the trespass offering:.] See vii. 7. Both of them were to be eaten by the priests in the court of God's house; and, therefore, were equally holy.

It is most holy:.] See ii. 3.

Ver. 14. *The priest shall take some of the blood*] There stood two priests, as Maimonides represents it,

it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot:

15 And the priest shall take *some* of the log of oil, and pour it into the palm of his own left hand:

16 And the priest shall dip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall sprinkle of the oil with his finger seven times before the Lord:

17 And of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great

toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the trespass offering:

18 And the remnant of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall pour upon the head of him that is to be cleansed: and the priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord.

19 And the priest shall offer the sin offering, and make an atonement for him that is to be cleansed from his uncleanness; and afterward he shall kill the burnt offering:

20 And the priest shall offer the burnt offering and the meat offering upon the altar: and the priest shall make an atonement for him, and he shall be clean.

(in his treatise before mentioned, sect. 4), ready to receive the blood of the lamb: one, in a holy vessel, with which he sprinkled the altar; the other, in his right hand, which he poured into his left; and then with the fore-finger of his right hand put it upon the right ear, &c. of him that was to be cleansed.

Put it upon the tip of the right ear, &c.] The priest standing within the court at the entrance of it, and the man standing still without, the man thrust his head within the gate, and the priest put some of the blood which he held in his hand upon the tip of his right ear. After which, the man stretched out his right arm, and the priest put some of the same blood upon the thumb of his right hand; and next, his right leg, on the great toe of which he likewise put some more blood. Thus Maimonides in the same place. Where he saith, if the priest had put the blood upon the left ear, thumb, or toe, all had been of no effect. And he adds (sect. 5), that the blood was put upon half of the flap of his ear, and upon the whole breadth of the top of his thumb and great toe, for if he put it on the sides or beneath, it was ineffectual. Which is very reasonable to believe, because there was no natural efficacy in these things to cleanse a leper; but it depended wholly upon the will and pleasure of God, which was punctually therefore to be observed; that, by the exact performance of all these ceremonial signs (as Pellicanus speaks) in the face of the church, all men might be satisfied that he was perfectly purified; and he might be publicly authorized to associate himself with the rest of God's people, and be no longer abominated by them for his impurity. For the signification of these ceremonies some think to have been that he was restored to free communion with God and with man (see Exod. xxix. 20). And Abarbinel looks upon them as a signification also, that the leprosy began in those parts of the body which are less fleshy and fat, and were now, therefore, particularly declared clean. But whatever the intention of them was, there was a just and wise reason no doubt for them; though at this distance from those ages, countries, and customs, &c. we may not be able to discover it.

Ver. 15. *Pour it into the palm of his own left hand.*] Or, as Maimonides saith, he might pour some of it into the left hand of the other priest, who sprinkled the blood at the altar.

Ver. 16. *Dip his right finger in the oil, &c.*] The fore-finger of his right hand, as the same Hebrew doctor observes.

Sprinkle of the oil with his finger seven times] At every sprinkling he dipped his finger in the oil, and directed it towards the most holy place, where God dwelt: though, if it were not exactly directed to it, the same doctor saith, the sprinkling was good.

Ver. 17.] Then the priest returned to the man who

was to be cleansed, upon the tip of whose ear, and thumb, and toe, he had put the blood of the trespass-offering, and put some of this oil upon that blood. Which seems to have been a token of forgiveness by the blood, and of healing by the oil.

Ver. 18. *The remnant of the oil—he shall pour upon the head*] Which one thing, if it were omitted, the leper was not cleansed. As for the rest of the log of oil, which was not all poured into his hand, but only some of it (ver. 15), that was distributed to the priests (as the same Maimonides observes), who alone might eat it in the court of the tabernacle, as they did other holy things. But none might taste of it, before the sprinkling, and other things before mentioned, were performed. If any man did, he was beaten; as he was who ate the holy things before the sprinkling of the blood. For that was a great profaneness for any person to take his portion before God had that which belonged unto him.

Make an atonement for him] This seems to suppose that the leprosy was inflicted as a punishment for some sin, which by this sacrifice was taken away. But the word *make atonement* doth not always signify the taking away sin; but sometimes merely making a thing fit for holy uses. Thus Moses is said to *make an atonement for the altar*, Exod. xxix. 36, 37 (see there). And in the same sense may an atonement be said to be made for the leper by this sacrifice; which restored him to be made partaker of the holy things offered at the altar (see below, ver. 53).

Ver. 19. *Offer the sin offering.*] The other *he lamb*, mentioned ver. 10, which was to be offered after the manner of the sin-offering for such offences (as Abarbinel understands it) as he knew he had committed.

And make an atonement for him] His atonement was begun by the *trespass-offering* (ver. 18), and was advanced by this; which, Abarbinel thinks, was added to make men more cautious how they contracted any sort of impurity, which would put them to great charges, before they were purged from it. For he could find no other reason, he saith, for the like sacrifices which were offered by him that had an *issue*, or had meddled with a *menstruous woman*, or had been defiled by the *dead*, or tasted *wine's* flesh, or any *creeping* thing.

Afterward he shall kill the burnt offering.] This being a present to God himself, was not accepted, till, by the other offerings for trespass and sin, the man was purified. And this I take to be properly the *δῶρον*, or *gift*, mentioned by our Saviour, Matt. viii. 4.

Ver. 20. *Offer the burnt offering and the meat offering*] There were so many offerings made, to show the greatness of his uncleanness, and now his perfect cure. We read of no *meat-offering* made with the two former sacrifices; but the *three tenth deals of fine flour* (mentioned ver. 10) seem to signify, every one of these

21 And if he *be* poor, and cannot get so much; then he shall take one lamb for a trespass offering to be waved, to make an atonement for him, and one tenth deal of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering, and a log of oil;

22 And two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, such as he is able to get; and the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering.

23 And he shall bring them on the eighth day for his cleansing unto the priest, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, before the LORD.

24 And the priest shall take the lamb of the trespass offering, and the log of oil, and the

priest shall wave them for a wave offering before the LORD:

25 And he shall kill the lamb of the trespass offering, and the priest shall take *some* of the blood of the trespass offering, and put it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot:

26 And the priest shall pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand:

27 And the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger *some* of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before the LORD:

28 And the priest shall put of the oil that is

sacrifices, the *trespass-offering*, the *sin-offering*, and the *burnt-offering*, had its proportion of a *tenth-deal* of flour offered with it. But if we think the whole was appropriated to the *burnt-offering*, yet it was the same thing to the leper, whose cleansing cost him as dear one way as the other. Only by understanding it thus, the priest, perhaps, had a greater reward for his pains; if we suppose he only burnt a handful upon the altar (as the manner was in these offerings), and had all the rest to his own use (see ch. ii. ver. 2, 3).

Make an atonement for him,] By this, his atonement was completed; and he was made so perfectly clean as to be admitted to be partaker of the altar, when *peace-offerings* were sacrificed.

But this very long process, through so many different rites, and for so many days, before men could be purified from a legal defilement in their bodies, was a plain instruction to all persons of good sense, how much more difficult it would prove to cleanse their souls from those moral impurities which they contracted by long habits of sin: and what great pains must be taken both by the sinners themselves, and by God's ministers, to root them out; and with what repeated prayers the mercy of God towards them was to be implored, of which they ought not hastily to presume.

Ver. 21. *If he be poor*] The Divine goodness always made a merciful provision that his service should not be burdensome to men; and therefore took care the poor should not be charged with too costly sacrifices, and yet partake of the benefit of them as much as the rich (see i. 14, 17, v. 11, &c.).

He shall take] After he had undergone all the purgations before mentioned, from the fourth verse of this chapter to the tenth, which continued for seven days together: for though his poverty excused him from such chargeable sacrifices, as others of greater ability were to offer, yet he was to be at all the trouble and pains that others took for their purification; there being not one of the rites before prescribed which is omitted in the following verses, only they were less expensive.

One lamb] It is not determined whether it should be a *he lamb* or a *ewe lamb*; and, therefore, it was left indifferent, for the greater ease of his poverty; only it was to be of the *first year*, and without *blemish*, as is prescribed ver. 10.

Waved,] According to the directions given ver. 12.

An atonement for him,] Which was effected by this as well as by a more valuable sacrifice; when it was the best he had to offer.

One tenth deal of fine flour] Instead of three-tenth deals, which the richer sort were to offer (ver. 10). But if a poor man had vowed he would offer all that is prescribed in that verse, in case God would be pleased to cure him, he was bound thereby, (as Mai-

monides says in the forenamed treatise), and this smaller sacrifice would not serve for his cleansing; but, by the help of his friends or neighbours, he was to procure all that he had vowed.

Log of oil,] This is the same quantity the better sort were to offer; for oil was not dear in this country.

Ver. 22. *Two turtledoves, or two young pigeons,*] Instead of the other two lambs, required of those who could provide them (ver. 10).

Such as he is able to get;] The best he could procure: but the meanest would be accepted, if he could get no better.

One shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering.] Neither of which was to be omitted, though the things offered were but mean (see i. 14, v. 11); it being necessary he should perform all religious services, according to his ability. And I think the observation of Conr. Pellicanus is not absurd, that, though there was an exchange made of two lambs for two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, in consideration of a man's poverty; yet no person whatsoever, whether rich or poor, could be cleansed without the sacrifice of *one lamb*: which may well be looked upon as the figure of the *Lamb of God*, who alone taketh away the sins of the whole world.

Ver. 23. *Bring them on the eighth day*] This plainly suggests, that this poor man had done all that was prescribed on the seven days foregoing, as well as the rich.

For his cleansing, &c.] See ver. 10, 11, &c., where all that follows here, unto ver. 33, is explained: there being the same rites prescribed, and in the same words about a poor man, which were used for the cleansing of the rich.

Ver. 24. *Lamb of the trespass offering,*] See ver. 12.

Ver. 25. *Kill the lamb*] See ver. 13.

Take some of the blood] See this explained, ver. 14.

Ver. 26. *Pour of the oil*] See ver. 15. It is not said either there or here how much, but only *some of the oil* (as it is there translated), that is, as much as the priest thought would be sufficient.

Ver. 27.] According to the directions given before, ver. 16.

Ver. 28. *Put of the oil*] See ver. 17.

Upon the place of the blood of the trespass offering;] It being not said here, *upon the blood of the trespass-offering*, (as the words are ver. 17), but *upon the place of the blood*; the Jews infer from thence, that if the blood laid upon the tip of the ear, thumb, or toe, were by any means wiped off, it was sufficient to lay the oil in the very place where the blood had been. So Mai-monides, in the forenamed treatise, concerning *those that wanted expiation*, sect. 5. But that which he there adds is very unreasonable; that if a man wanted the thumb of his right hand, or the great toe of his right foot, or the lap of his right ear, he could never be pu-

in his hand upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the place of the blood of the trespass offering :

29 And the rest of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed, to make an atonement for him before the LORD.

30 And he shall offer the one of the turtle-doves, or of the young pigeons, such as he can get ;

31 *Even* such as he is able to get, the one for

rified from his uncleanness. For it is not to be thought that God would make his cleansing impossible, who was maimed or defective in any of these parts : which had been to add one misery to another. Therefore, in this case, the blood and the oil might be put upon the parts next to these.

Ver. 29. *Put upon the head, &c.*] See ver. 18.

Ver. 30. *Such as he can get ;*] i. e. The best that he is able to procure.

Ver. 31. *Such as he is able to get,*] He repeats it again, that the man might not be troubled if he was not able to procure the very best, provided he did his endeavour to bring the best that his estate could reach.

One for a sin offering, &c.] See ver. 19, 20.

Ver. 32. *This is the law of him*] Who was shut out of the camp, because of the leprosy, which formerly appeared in him.

Whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.] Who is so poor that he cannot procure what is prescribed to those that are able to make such offerings as are before mentioned (ver. 10, &c.), for their reception into the congregation again, when they are found to be free from their leprosy.

But here Maimonides puts this case : suppose a man, having brought the offering of the poor, suddenly becomes rich ; or, on the contrary, having brought a rich man's offering, immediately becomes poor, what is to be done ? He answers : if this happen before the sacrifice be finished, he is to proceed according to the state in which he was when his *sin-offering* was offered : that is, offer the sacrifice of a rich man, viz. another lamb, if he was then rich ; or the sacrifice of a poor man, if he was then poor.

Ver. 33.] Now he again speaks to them both conjunctly (which he did not ver. 1), as he had done xiii. 1, because Aaron and his sons were peculiarly concerned to judge concerning the leprosy in houses as well as in their inhabitants.

Ver. 34. *When ye be come into the land of Canaan,*] This seems to import that the leprosy did not infect their habitations, till they came into the land of Canaan. When some of the rabbins say (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. clxxvii.), that God sent this plague for the good of the Israelites, into certain houses, that they being pulled down, the treasure which the Amorites had hidden there might be discovered. But this looks like one of their dreams, who are not willing to think themselves at any time out of the favour of God.

Which I give to you for a possession.] From these words (and those in the conclusion of this verse, where Canaan is called the *land of their possession*), Moses bar Nachman draws a better conclusion ; that the leprosy was a Divine stroke in this country, and nowhere else ; because it was a *holy land*, bestowed upon the Israelites by God, who dwelt here himself, and punished great offences against his Divine ma-

a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, with the meat offering : and the priest shall make an atonement for him that is to be cleansed before the LORD.

32 This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.

33 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

34 When ye be come into the land of Canaan, which I give to you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession ;

jeisty with this sore disease ; whereby he banished them from his presence, till they amended.

I put the plague of leprosy, &c.] These words seem to be a good ground to think, that this plague was a supernatural stroke : not like the contagion which now adheres to the house and clothes of those who have the pestilence. Thus Abarbinel understands it, when he saith, *I put the plague*, it shows the thing was "not natural, but proceeded from a special providence and pleasure of the blessed God." And so the author of Sopher Cosri (par. ii. sect. 58), "God inflicted this plague of leprosy upon houses and garments, as a punishment for lesser sins ; and when men continued still to multiply transgressions, then it invaded their bodies." So that it began in the houses, which were not infected by the inhabitants, but the inhabitants by the houses. And Maimonides will have this to have been the punishment of an *evil tongue*, i. e. of detraction and calumny ; which began in the walls of his house, and went no further, but vanished, if he repented of his sin. But if he persisted in his rebellious courses, it proceeded to his household-stuff ; and if he still went on, it invaded his garments, and at last his body (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47). The very same is quoted by Muscatius, out of Midrash Ruth, to this sense : "That God is so very merciful, as not at first to inflict punishment on men's bodies, as appears from the case of Job ; whose goods were first destroyed, and then his children, before his body was touched : and in the plagues of Egypt itself, whose vines and fig-trees God smote, and then their cattle, before he killed their firstborn. In the same manner, the plague of leprosy first invaded a man's habitation ; though not the whole house, but some stones only, in the beginning of it. Then it spread all over, till the house was pulled down. From thence it went to men's garments ; and, if they did not amend, to their bodies ; till in the issue they were shut out of the camp, from the company of their brethren." R. Levi Barzelonita explains it after the same manner, in the place before mentioned. And Abarbinel thinks the end and intention of this miracle (as he calls it) "to be a caution and admonition from God, that the man might be converted from his sins : as if the stone in the wall had cried out, and the beam out of the timber answered it (as Habakkuk speaks, ii. 11), to the master of the house, saying, 'Turn unto the Lord thy God, O Israel : behold, the plague is come into thy house ; and if thou wilt not be converted, it shall abide upon thee and on thy children.'" And this he saith is the opinion of their rabbins.

In a house] They had no houses till they came into Canaan ; but dwelt in tents.

Of the land of your possession ;] The Jews were so fond of Jerusalem, that they have excepted it from this plague ; because, saith the forenamed R. Levi, Jerusalem was not divided among the tribes ; and, there-

35 And he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, It seemeth to me *there is* as it were a plague in the house :

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

37 And he shall look on the plague, and, behold, *if* the plague *be* in the walls of the house with hollow strokes, greenish or reddish, which in sight *are* lower than the wall ;

38 Then the priest shall go out of the house to the door of the house, and shut up the house seven days :

39 And the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look : and, behold, *if* the plague be spread in the walls of the house ;

40 Then the priest shall command that they

take away the stones in which the plague *is*, and they shall cast them into an unclean place without the city :

41 And he shall cause the house to be scraped within round about, and they shall pour out the dust that they scrape off without the city into an unclean place :

42 And they shall take other stones, and put *them* in the place of those stones ; and he shall take other mortar, and shall plaister the house.

43 And *if* the plague come again, and break out in the house, after that he hath taken away the stones, and after he hath scraped the house, and after it is plaistered ;

44 Then the priest shall come, and look, and, behold, *if* the plague be spread in the house, it *is* a fretting leprosy in the house : it *is* unclean.

45 And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and the timber thereof, and all the

fore, cannot be comprehended under the name of *their possession*. This he had out of the Gemara of Bava kama, where this is reckoned among the ten privileges of the holy city ; that it *was not defiled with the plague of leprosy* (see Con. L'Empereur's annotations on Bava kama, cap. 7, sect. 7).

Ver. 35. *He that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, &c.* As soon as any inhabitant (for he is meant by him that *owneth the house*) had a suspicion that this plague was in his dwelling, he was bound to give notice of it to the priest ; or else was in danger to incur a further punishment.

Ver. 37. *Empty the house.* Of all the household-stuff ; and that the inhabitants also should go out of it.

Before the priest go into it To see whether that which the man suspected was the plague or not.

Be not made unclean. Till the priest had given his judgment, all things in the house were accounted clean : as till a man was pronounced by him to have a leprosy, nobody was bound to avoid his company.

Afterward the priest shall go in When it was cleared of every thing that might hinder his exact inspection.

Ver. 37. *If the plague be in the walls* They were principally to be searched, together with the pavement, and the roof ; where this plague appeared.

With hollow strokes. There was the same kind of mark of a leprosy in a house, that there was of it in the body of a man ; for if a spot was deeper than the skin of the flesh (xiii. 3), it was a bad token : in like manner, when there were *hollow or depressed strokes* in the wall of a house (or as it is in the latter end of this verse, in *sight lower than the wall*), it was a sign of the leprosy, which began to corrode and eat into it. This seems to be the import of the Hebrew word *shikharuvroth*, which signifies something that lies deep, and is sunk into the place where it is. For that is a more probable derivation of the word, from *shakah*, than that of Forsterus, who derives it from *shakar*, which signifies false. And so the LXX. translate it by the Greek word *xorâdas*, signifying the leprosy had so eaten into the stones, as to have *pitted* them (as we speak in our language), i. e. made a cavity in them. Which the Jews justly looked upon as a thing very extraordinary ; a *miraculous effect* (as Maimonides calls it) of the Divine hand.

Greenish or reddish. Which was the mark of a leprosy in a garment (xiii. 49).

Ver. 38. *The priest shall go out of the house to the door* Where he was to stay till he had seen the house shut

up, that none might go into it, and thereby be endangered to be defiled.

Shut up the house seven days. In which time he might be able to make a certain judgment, whether it was the leprosy or not (see xiii. 4). For the plague would sooner appear when the house was not inhabited.

Ver. 39. *The priest shall come again the seventh day.* Make a new inspection, as he did when a man or a garment were suspected to have the leprosy (xiii. 6, 51).

If the plague be spread in the walls This was a bad sign in a man's body or garment (xiii. 5, 51).

Ver. 40. *Command that they take away the stones* As far as it was spread in the walls of the house ; which it seems were generally made of stones, when they came to Canaan. Meaner houses, the Jews say, were not infected with the leprosy ; nor a habitation called a *house* (as their doctors affirm) unless it had four walls of four cubits high, built of stones and timber (ver. 45).

Cast them into an unclean place. Where they threw their dung and all manner of filth. For such places there were without their cities ; as there were others where no manner of filth might be thrown ; which were called *clean places* (see iv. 12).

Ver. 41. *He shall cause the house to be scraped* All the rest of the walls, where no spots as yet appeared, were to be scraped ; that if any of the contagion stuck to them, it might be taken away, and the spreading of it prevented. For which end these scrapings were also thrown out into the same unclean place where the stones were laid.

Ver. 42. *Shall take other stones.* Put fresh untainted stones in the room of the other which were taken out of the walls.

Plaister the house. Command them to lay fresh plaster all over the walls, where they were scraped.

Ver. 43.] If after all the forementioned care (of putting in new stones, scraping, and new plastering the walls) the same marks appeared again, which are mentioned ver. 37, the house was to be pulled down, as it is directed in the next verse but one.

Ver. 44.] Upon notice given him ; or, perhaps, he was bound to come after a certain time, and examine the state of it.

If the plague be spread Of the same nature with that in a garment, which could not be stopped (see xiii. 51).

It is unclean. Incapable to be cleansed from the leprosy, and therefore (as it follows) to be demolished.

Ver. 45. *He shall break down the house.* This was

morter of the house; and he shall carry *them* forth out of the city into an unclean place.

46 Moreover he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up shall be unclean until the even.

47 And he that lieth in the house shall wash his clothes; and he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes.

48 And if the priest shall come in, and look upon it, and, behold, the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plaistered: then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed.

49 And he shall take to cleanse the house two birds, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop:

50 And he shall kill the one of the birds in an earthen vessel over running water:

51 And he shall take the cedar wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of the slain bird, and in the running water, and sprinkle the house seven times:

52 And he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the running water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and with the scarlet:

53 But he shall let go the living bird out of the city into the open fields, and make an atonement for the house: and it shall be clean.

54 This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, and scall,

55 And for the leprosy of a garment, and of a house,

a damage to the owner, but it was to prevent a greater unto him, and unto others: and was not done till there was no remedy. For if he had hearkened to the stones that cried out of the wall (as Abarbinel speaks), saying, *Repent, and amend, &c.* (which was the meaning of the plague), the infection would have spread no further (see ver. 34). The same author fancies, that this plague in their houses was an emblem of the idolatry they would exercise there when they came into Canaan; and that the pulling down of their houses, was a sign of the destruction of the sanctuary itself, because of their iniquities. This seems to be something forced: but we may not unfitly look upon this manner of proceeding with their houses, when they were infected (some of the stones whereof were taken out, &c., before all was pulled down), as a representation of God's proceedings with them, when they rebelled against him: for, first, some of them were removed; and then the whole nation, by degrees, very much impaired, before they were all carried captive out of their own land.

Shall carry them forth] Order them to be carried to the place, where the stones and the scrapings of the house, mentioned ver. 40, 41, were thrown. Which may well be looked upon as a figure of their being carried away for their wickedness into heathen countries, which in Scripture are called *unclean lands*. Such the land of Canaan was before they came into it (Ezra ix. 11), and such were all people uncircumcised (Isa. lii. 1).

Ver. 46.] If he did but enter within the door of the house, while it remained under a suspicion of being defiled, he contracted a defilement himself, under which he lay till night. Which strict care to keep the Israelites free from all such pollutions, is an admonishment to us (as Conradus Pellicanus well notes) to avoid all suspected places and company: according to the exhortation of the apostle, "Abstain from all appearance of evil."

Ver. 47. *He that lieth in the house shall wash his clothes;*] It sufficed for the cleansing of him that only entered into such a house, but made no stay there, to be separated for a short time from society: but he that lay there all night, was to do more for his purification; being in more danger to bring away the infection, if there were any.

He that eateth] He that made a meal there was also exposed to danger, and therefore was bound to wash his clothes (which were very apt to catch the infection), though he did not stay so long as to lie there.

Ver. 48.] *If the plague hath not spread*] Just as it was in the leprosy in men's bodies or garments (xiii. 6, 53).

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Because the plague is healed.] A stop being put to its progress, it was a sign the house was free from the plague of which it was suspected.

Ver. 49.] The very same rites are used for the cleansing of a house, which were appointed for the cleansing of man (ver. 4). And the reason of it was, as Abarbinel well conjectures, to denote that the house was smitten for the man's sake; who was to look upon himself as saved and preserved by the Divine mercy.

It is not said here, indeed, that these two birds should be *alive and clean* (as is directed, ver. 4); but that is necessarily understood; for he is ordered immediately to kill one of the birds, and let the other fly away (as in the former case), and nothing unclean could be of effect to cleanse a man from uncleanness.

Ver. 51.] This whole verse is explained before, ver. 6, which differs not from this in any thing, but only that the living bird is there mentioned in the first place, and here in the last; and in this verse is more distinctly declared that all these things should be dipped in the blood of the slain bird, and in the running water.

Ver. 52.] There is nothing to be observed here, more than before, but only this, that the house is said to be cleansed *by the living bird*, as well as by the blood of that which was slain: its flying away being a declaration the house was free for any man's habitation. Thus the scape goat, which was let run into the wilderness, took away the sins of the people, as well as the goat offered at the altar (see xvi. 5).

Ver. 53. *He shall let go the living bird*] This justifies what the Jewish doctors say upon ver. 7 (see there).

Make an atonement] An atonement was made for the house, no other way than for the altar (see upon ver. 18), by cleansing it so as to make it fit for any man to dwell in it.

It shall be clean.] The owner (who was commanded to forsake the house, ver. 36) or any one else, might return to it, and inhabit it, as before it was suspected to have the plague in it.

Ver. 54. *This is the law*] The rule whereby to judge and to cleanse all leprosy in the bodies of men, and that leprosy in the head or the beard, called a *scall* (xiii. 30—38).

Ver. 55, 56.] The foregoing verse and these two are a recapitulation of the laws delivered in the thirteenth chapter and in this.

Ver. 57. *To teach*] To guide the priest in judgment when to pronounce a man, a garment, or a house, infected with the leprosy; or when to declare them free from it.

56 And for a rising, and for a scab, and for a bright spot :

This is the law] Here is a conclusion of what belongs to this matter. Which profane minds, who love to disparage the Holy Scripture, and admire no ancient authors but such as Homer, Virgil, and Plautus (to use the words of Pellicanus upon ver. 39), may deride as unworthy to be made a part of a Divine law. But men better disposed may discern herein the great goodness of God to the Israelites, whom he had adopted for his peculiar people, in taking care to

57 To teach when *it is* unclean, and when *it is* clean : this *is* the law of leprosy.

give them precepts about all manner of things, which were many ways profitable both for the regulating their manners and preserving their health, and accusing them to an exact obedience to him in every thing. And who doth not see that by these external rites and ceremonies he admonishes us to keep pure consciences, void of offence both towards God and men, in a strict observance of all the rules of our most holy religion ?

CHAPTER XV.

1 *The uncleanness of men in their issues.* 13 *The cleansing of them.* 19 *The uncleanness of women in their issues.* 28 *Their cleansing.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When any man hath a running issue out of his flesh, *because of his issue he is* unclean.

3 And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue : whether his flesh run with his issue, or his flesh be stopped from his issue, *it is* his uncleanness.

4 Every bed, whereon he lieth that hath the issue, is unclean : and every thing, whereon he sitteth, shall be unclean.

5 And whosoever toucheth his bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even,

6 And he that sitteth on *any* thing whereon he sat that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

7 And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

8 And if he that hath the issue spit upon him that is clean ; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

9 And what saddle soever he rideth upon that hath the issue shall be unclean.

10 And whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him shall be unclean until the even : and he that beareth *any* of those things shall

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Ver. 1.] For Aaron was particularly concerned to see these laws observed, as well as the foregoing.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Moses, it is likely, first delivered these laws to them, in the presence of Aaron ; who afterward instructed and exhorted them to the observance of them.

When any man hath a running issue] He speaks of that disease which physicians call a *gonorrhæa* : which commonly proceeded from an ill course of life, and had in those countries a great virulency in it. If it proceeded merely from some strain in the back, by carrying too great a burden, or by violent leaping (and several other natural causes, which Maimonides enumerates in his *Mechuss. Kapparah*, cap. 2), the man was not defiled with it, nor concerned in this law. And therefore the causes from whence it proceeded were diligently to be considered, as Maimonides there admonishes ; which might be discerned by such effects, as made it a very nasty and offensive disease in those hot countries, as it is sometimes here in these colder climates.

Out of his flesh.] The word *flesh* signifies the secret parts, as it doth Gen. vi. 10, xvii. 13 ; Ezek. xvi. 26 ; and other places.

Because of his issue he is unclean.] Upon that account alone he was to be kept from the sanctuary, and separated from company (see ver. 31).

Ver. 3. *And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue :*] The rule whereby to judge of it.

Whether his flesh run with his issue, &c.] Whether there were a continued distillation of the corrupt matter, or it was so coagulated as to stop in the passage ; either way it made the man unclean.

From his issue,] Rather, *with his issue* ; as the Hebrew words will bear.

Ver. 4.] This and the following verse unto ver. 13, are a demonstration that this disease made a man legally unclean to a very high degree ; being so offensive, that not only every thing he touched became unclean, but whosoever touched such things was made unclean also. There is little in them that needs any explication ; the only difficulty was, to know whether a man laboured under this disease. Which was not wholly left unto his conscience to determine ; but his countenance discovered it ; the continual flux making a great alteration in the whole habit of his body. For virulent gonorrhæas sometimes last several years (as Tho. Bartholinus saith, he knew one that had it ten years, and was reduced to skin and bone), being frequently accompanied with inflammations and ulcers in the neighbouring parts from which the filthy humour flows (Bartholin. *Hist. Anatom. Cent. ii. Hist. xxxvi.*).

Ver. 5. *Toucheth his bed*] Upon which he hath lain.

Shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water.] Which was the law in other cases, when men had touched an unclean thing (xi. 23).

Ver. 6. *He that sitteth on any thing*] Though he did but just sit down, and did it ignorantly, presently rising up again as soon as he knew his error, he became defiled, and might not go to the sanctuary till he was purified by washing his clothes and himself in water.

Ver. 7. *He that toucheth the flesh*] That is, any part of his body.

Ver. 8. *If he—spit upon him*] By the same reason, if he blew his nose upon him it defiled him.

wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

11 And whomsoever he toucheth that hath the issue, and hath not rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

12 And the vessel of earth, that he toucheth which bath the issue, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water.

13 And when he that hath an issue is cleansed of his issue; then he shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in running water, and shall be clean.

He shall wash his clothes,] i. e. The man upon whom the spittle fell.

Ver. 9.] By the same reason that the seat he sat upon was defiled (ver. 4).

Ver. 10. *Whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him*] Either the saddle, or any thing else that was under him when he rode.

He that beareth any of those things, &c.] Removeth them from one place to another; though it be to carry them out of the way, that others may not be defiled by them unawares.

Ver. 11. *Whomsoever he toucheth that hath the issue, and hath not rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash, &c.*] It is somewhat doubtful whether these words ("hath not washed his hands in water") belong to him that had the issue, or to him that his hands touched. Most understand it of the former, that if the man who had an issue touched any other man, and had not first washed his hands, that man whom he touched should be defiled. But the Syriac takes it to refer to the man that was touched by him, who, if he did not immediately wash his hands with water, was to be cleansed after a more laborious manner, by washing his clothes, and bathing himself in water. But I do not see how washing of his hands could cleanse him, when the man that had the issue touched, perhaps, some other part of his body.

Ver. 12. *Shall be broken.*] That it might not be employed hereafter to any use (see xi. 33, vi. 18).

Every vessel of wood shall be rinsed] Such vessels were not broken, but only well washed, because they were not so easily made as the other, and were of more value. There are so many washings prescribed here, and on other occasions, that it is reasonable to believe there were not only at Jerusalem, and in all other cities, but in every village, several bathing-places contrived for these legal purifications, that men might, without much labour, be capable to fulfil these precepts. And one cannot but think that such frequent washings were enjoined, to admonish them how carefully they ought to preserve purity of heart and life.

Ver. 13. *When he that hath an issue is cleansed*] It having ceased for some time.

He shall number to himself seven days] That there might be sufficient proof made whether the issue was stopped; that is, he was really cured.

Wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh] In the conclusion of the seventh day.

In running water,] i. e. Spring water (as we speak), which was most pure. River water was the same, which comes from springs.

Shall be clean.] So that he might keep company with his neighbours, but not have communion with God at the sanctuary, till after the following sacrifices were offered: for if, in the end of the seventh day, after his washing, the flux returned again, all this labour was lost, and he was to stay seven days more,

14 And on the eighth day he shall take to him two turtlesdoves, or two young pigeons, and come before the LORD unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and give them unto the priest:

15 And the priest shall offer them, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for him before the LORD for his issue.

16 And if any man's seed of copulation go out from him, then he shall wash all his flesh in water, and be unclean until the even.

17 And every garment, and every skin, whereon is the seed of copulation, shall be

as Maimonides observes in his treatise on this subject, cap. 3.

Ver. 14. *On the eighth day*] If he continued free from the flux, after his washing on the seventh day, in the evening.

He shall take—two turtlesdoves, &c.] These were the sacrifices appointed for the meaner sort of people, who were not able to be at the charge of a lamb, or other sacrifices of the flock or herd (v. 7, xii. 8). And perhaps the great trouble the man had endured, and given others, while he laboured under this disease, might be considered so far as to put him to as little charge as might be for his purification.

Unto the door] But not into the court of the Israelites, till his sacrifices were offered.

Ver. 15. *The priest shall offer*] As in the case of a poor leper (xiv. 31), who was bound also to offer a trespass-offering of greater value.

Make an atonement for him] Perfectly restore him to partake of holy things, of which he was debarred while he had his issue. And here it may be fit to observe, that the greater part of all the legal defilements depended upon the seat or place of the Divine Majesty (as the author of *Sepher Cosri* speaks, par. iii. sect. 49), whose presence there made their country be called the *holy land*, and was the ground of all these injunctions about cleanliness: to which, he thinks, they have no obligations at this day, now that they live in an *unclean land* (i. e. among us gentiles), and want the presence of the Divine Majesty among them.

Ver. 16. *If any man's seed*] Though the holy writers speak very plainly of some things that we think it not so modest to name in that manner, yet it is observable, on the other hand, that in things of the same nature they use circumlocutions to express them, which we stick not to speak of in blunter words. As when they say, "the water of the feet," meaning urine; and call going to stool, "uncovering of the feet," which shows that it is nothing but the vast difference of times and places, which makes that language seem uncivil to us, that was not so to them; and, on the contrary, made them very cautious in their expressions, where we think it unnecessary.

Go out from him.] Involuntarily; in his sleep, or otherwise, which the Hebrews call *keri*, i. e. accidental.

He shall wash all his flesh] This was one of the smallest legal pollutions, from which they were soon cleansed without any sacrifice; and which some of them think did not oblige them to wash, unless they intended to go to the sanctuary. But though that opinion be not true, yet this rite had such a respect to the sanctuary, that now they have none, they do not think themselves bound to use it on such occasions.

Ver. 17. *Every garment, &c.*] These things were made so unclean by such accidents, that they might

washed with water, and be unclean until the even.

18 The woman also with whom man shall lie with seed of copulation, they shall *both* bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the even.

19 ¶ And if a woman have an issue, *and* her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.

20 And every thing that she lieth upon in her separation shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean.

21 And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

22 And whosoever toucheth any thing that she sat upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

not be used the next day, nor till they were washed.

Ver. 18. *The woman also with whom man shall lie*] It is no wonder the holy writers speak so plainly of these matters, being men of great simplicity, free from all wantonness, commonly far advanced in years; among whom marriage and a numerous issue were accounted the greatest blessings, and therefore coveted by all, and renounced by none.

Shall both bathe] There is no sort of pollution in the act of marriage, which is of God's own institution, but what this law made; and the law made it, as Theodoret thinks, that the trouble of such constant purification after it, might preserve them from the immoderate use of it. So those words of his signify, *χελεύει καθαίρεισθαι, ἵνα καὶ τῆς συνουσίας τὸ συνεχές ἢ περὶ τὴν καθάρσιν ἀποχρησία* (Quest. xx. in Levit.).

Ver. 19. *If a woman have an issue, &c.*] In the Hebrew the words run much clearer; "and a woman when she shall have an issue of blood, and her issue be in her flesh." The latter part of which are added, to distinguish this from bleeding at the nose, or from the hemorrhoids (which did not pollute any body); for the word *flesh* here signifies, as it doth ver. 2.

She shall be put apart seven days.] From her husband, and from the sanctuary: to which these sorts of uncleanness have a peculiar respect, as I before noted. And Maimonides here, not unfidly, observes, that whereas the Zabii accounted a man polluted if he did but speak with a menstruous woman, or if the wind, which came from the quarter where she was, blew upon him; God only required her not to meddle with holy things, nor to approach to the sanctuary. Otherwise she might eat all manner of common meat, and perform all domestic offices for her husband, as formerly, only not lie with him, while she remained in this condition. So he explains this, More Nev. par. iii. cap. 47.

Whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.] If they were grown persons, as Menochius well observes; for infants were excepted from this pollution, by their age and the necessities of nature. The same is observed by Maimonides, in the chapter forenamed; that the more frequent any of these uncleannesses were, the greater and longer purifications were required. As touching of a dead body, especially of friends and neighbours, being the most usual, it could not be cleansed but by the ashes of the red heifer (which were not easily had), and not till seven days were passed. In like manner, fluxes and menstruous pollutions, because they oftener hap-

23 And if it be on *her* bed, or on any thing whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even.

24 And if any man lie with her at all, and her flowers be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days: and all the bed whereon he lieth shall be unclean.

25 And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days out of the time of her separation, or if it run beyond the time of her separation; all the days of the issue of her uncleanness shall be as the days of her separation: she *shall* be unclean.

26 Every bed whereon she lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her separation: and whatsoever she sitteth upon shall be unclean, as the uncleanness of her separation.

27 And whosoever toucheth those things shall be unclean, and shall wash his clothes, and bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even.

pened, and were more grievous than touching the unclean, those therefore that laboured under them, had need of seven days' purification; but they that touched them, of one day only, before they became clean.

Ver. 20.] The very same sort of uncleanness was contracted in this case, as in the foregoing, ver. 4, &c. For if we believe some authors, it might not only be properly called *her sickness*; but such an one as had some infection in it (at least something offensive) in those hot countries (see Pliny, lib. vii. 5, and lib. xxviii. 2).

Ver. 21.] This and the two following verses contain the very same prohibition in this case, which were given in the other (see ver. 5, 6, &c.).

Ver. 24. *If a man lie with her*] i. e. Unwittingly, not knowing in what condition she was: for if he did it knowingly, both of them were liable to be cut off (xx. 18).

He shall be unclean seven days;] As having contracted one of the greatest sorts of uncleanness (ver. 19). For though this flux was natural and beneficial, and therefore could have no sort of uncleanness in it but what was made by this law: yet there was a great reason for the keeping men from the company of women in this condition, if leprosy, and such-like diseases, were thereby propagated, as Theodoret says some think; *Φάσι γὰρ τινες, ἐκ τῆς τῶαντῆς συναφείας, καὶ νόσῳ καὶ λήπραν ἀπογεννᾶσθαι, &c.* Especially since they were so libidinous a people (as he describes them, in words of a very bad signification), that it was highly necessary to lay such restraints upon them; and to make even involuntary pollutions very penal, that they might learn *ὅτι πολλὰ μάλλον ἐνοχλῇ ἐκούσια*, "that all wilful uncleannesses were far more detestable."

Ver. 25.] As before he spoke of the natural course of the blood, so here of a disease; which Procopius Gazæus calls *malum immedicabile*, "an incurable evil." So it sometimes proved, as appears by the story of the women in the gospel, whose case this was (Matt. ix. 20).

All the days of the issue.] She was to be in the same condition with the woman mentioned ver. 19, who was put apart seven days; i. e. as long as her uncleanness lasted. Which made the case of those that laboured under this infirmity very lamentable, because it continued in some many years.

Ver. 26. *Every bed whereon she lieth, &c.*] Like the bed and the seat of her mentioned ver. 20.

Ver. 27.] As in the case before mentioned ver. 21.

28 But if she be cleansed of her issue, then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean.

29 And on the eighth day she shall take unto her two turtles, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

30 And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make an atonement for her before the LORD for the issue of her uncleanness.

31 Thus shall ye separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness; that they die not in their uncleanness, when they defile my tabernacle that is among them.

32 This is the law of him that hath an issue, and of him whose seed goeth from him, and is defiled therewith;

33 And of her that is sick of her flowers, and of him that hath an issue, of the man, and of the woman, and of him that lieth with her that is unclean.

Ver. 28. *If she be cleansed*] Cured of her disease. *Then she shall number to herself seven days,*] For a trial whether it was a perfect cure or not.

After that] If there were no return of the flux.

She shall be clean.] So as to be restored to common conversation: but not to the sanctuary, till the following oblations were made.

Ver. 29.] The same sacrifices which were prescribed in the case of a man who was cured of an issue (ver. 14). And this relates only to the extraordinary flux, out of or beyond the usual course of nature (ver. 25), for it would have been too burdensome unto some persons, if they had been bound to offer thus once a month.

Ver. 30.] See ver. 15.

Ver. 31. *Thus shall ye separate the children of Israel*] Take care that they separate themselves; by instructing them, when they are under any of the forenamed impurities, to observe the directions now given. Thus the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin understand these words.

That they die not] Lest I punish them with death, if they approach unto my sanctuary, having any of the forementioned uncleannesses upon them.

When they defile my tabernacle] This shows what is meant by separation and putting apart in the foregoing verses: which was principally from the tabernacle where God dwelt. Out of respect to which, and to preserve their due regard to it (that is, to God himself), all these cautions were given, as I observed before, ver. 15 of this chapter. And see ch. xii. ver. 4, what I noted out of Maimonides, who discourses excellently on this subject, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 47), where he observes, that there

could not well be a more notable means contrived, to maintain a holy fear and reverence to the Divine Majesty upon their minds, than to forbid every person that was any way polluted to come unto his sanctuary. For there were so many sorts of pollutions, made by the law, that it was very hard to avoid falling under some of them: and, consequently, a business of great care, circumspection, and labour, to approach, as they ought, into the Divine presence. For if a man escaped defilement by a dead body, yet he could not easily avoid being defiled by some of the eight creeping things, which he might chance to tread upon; or might fall on his meat, or his drink: and if he escaped these, yet he might be defiled involuntarily by the means mentioned here (ver. 16), or by touching a menstruous woman, or one that had a flux of blood; or, at least, by touching their beds, their seats, or something belonging to them, &c. All which kept a man from the sanctuary; which he could not enter therefore when he pleased, but was to stay a certain time before he could be admitted to worship God there; and not then neither, till he had washed himself. "By all which actions, reverence, affection, and devotion, were preserved to the sanctuary; and men were excited to great humility, which in this was principally regarded."

Ver. 32. *This is the law of him that hath an issue, &c.*] In this and the next verse, he recapitulates the matter of this chapter: as he did, in the latter end of the foregoing, sum up the contents of that.

Ver. 33. *Of the man, and of the woman,*] Even of the person that hath an issue, whether it be man or woman, &c.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 How the high priest must enter into the holy place. 11 The sin offering for himself. 15 The sin offering for the people. 20 The scapegoat. 29 The yearly feast of the expiations.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses after the death of the two sons of Aaron, when they offered before the LORD, and died:

2 And the LORD said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the vail before the

CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1.] This chapter would have naturally followed the tenth chapter, where the death of those two persons is related, if that had not occasioned the inserting some other laws about uncleanness (see preface to chapter xi.), which being delivered, Moses now goes on to give directions about the great sacrifice, in which the whole nation was concerned: as he treated of lesser and common sacrifices in the beginning of the book.

When they offered—and died.] See x. 1. This is mentioned again, to make the priests careful, not

only to sacrifice unto the Lord alone, but after such a manner as he ordered.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto Aaron thy brother,*] Into the holy place without the veil, he, or some of the other priests, were bound to go every day, morning and evening, when they offered incense: but into this, as none of them might go at all, so he not at all times, when he went into the other; but only upon one particular occasion, which is mentioned here in this chapter.

Before the mercy seat,] This being the place of God's special presence, none might enter into it but his principal minister; and he no oftener than the Divine

mercy seat, which *is* upon the ark; that he die not: for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat.

3 Thus shall Aaron come into the holy place:

Majesty allowed; which was only once a year (it appears from ver. 29), when he offered the great sacrifice here prescribed. And so much was intimated to Moses before (Exod. xxx. 10). And the Jews add, that on this day of the year he might go in but four times; once to burn incense; a second time to sprinkle the blood of the bullock; then to sprinkle the blood of the goat; and lastly, to fetch out the censer, wherein he burnt incense. If he went in a fifth time, he died for his presumption, as they say; particularly R. Levi Barzel. (Præcept. cclxxvi.). Such sacred places the gentiles had in some countries, which, according to this pattern, were opened only once a year. Particularly Pausanias mentions, in his Bæotica, the temple of Dindymene: which they thought it was not lawful to open more than one day in the year: *Μία δ' ἐπ' ἑκατόν ἔτων ἡμεῖς, καὶ οὐ πέρα τὸ ἑπὶ ἀνοίγειν νομίζομεν*. And the same he saith of another, in the same book; and in his Eliaca, of the temple of Oræus, *Ἀνοίγεται μὲν ἅπας καὶ ἔτος ἑκατόν, &c.* "It is opened once every year" (see Dr. Outram's excellent book de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 3).

That he die not: As his sons had done for their presumption, in offering with other fire than God allowed. In the like danger Aaron himself had been, if he had come into the Divine presence without his leave, and without such caution as is given ver. 13, which is the reason of this order here delivered to Moses, and by him to Aaron, for the prevention of any such dangerous mistake.

For I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat. That was God's own dwelling-place, where his glory appeared; into which, therefore, none might enter, but when he appointed, and as he directed. The only difficulty is, what is meant by the *cloud*, wherein he saith he will appear on the mercy-seat. One would think he meant, as usually, the cloud wherein the Divine glory resided (Exod. xl. 34, 35; 1 Kings viii. 10, 11). But the *cloud* seems to have been on the outside of the tabernacle; and within a *glory*, or great splendour, only unclouded. And therefore most, I think, understand this of the smoke of the incense, that the high-priest burnt when he entered into the most holy place; which was the *cloud* wherewith the mercy-seat was then covered (ver. 13). And there is great reason for this opinion: for if there had been a cloud in the most holy place, over the mercy-seat, before the high-priest entered, what need had there been to make a new cloud of smoke (as he is ordered, ver. 13), when the Divine glory was sufficiently obscured already? Besides, in the place before mentioned (Exod. xl.), the *cloud*, as I now observed, is said to be without the tabernacle, and to cover it; the *glory* only being within: and in the other place of the book of Kings (and 2 Chron. v. 13, 14), it is said only to *fill the house of the Lord*, i. e. the body of the temple: but not to be settled upon the mercy-seat. Where we may very well doubt whether there was any cloud or not; but only the Divine glory. The only ground that I can see for it is, that God is said there to *dwell in thick darkness*: which seems to import that the Divine glory was wrapped up in a cloud. But however that be expounded, these words, which we here translate, "I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat," may well be rendered, "I will be approached in a cloud" (i. e. of incense). For so this word we translate *appear* is used Exod. xxiii. 15, not for God's appearing to them, but for the people's appear-

ing before him: and this sense the thirteenth verse seems to enforce, as Campegius Vitringa hath observed, lib. i. Observ. Sacr. cap. 11.

4 He shall put on the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and

ing before him: and this sense the thirteenth verse seems to enforce, as Campegius Vitringa hath observed, lib. i. Observ. Sacr. cap. 11.

Ver. 3. *Thus shall Aaron come into the holy place.* As he might come into it only once a year; so then with such preparation, and in such a manner, as is here prescribed. And the Jews say, that he was separated from his own house and family seven days before, and dwelt apart from them in a chamber of the temple; that he might the better prepare himself for the offices of this day, by sprinkling the blood of the daily sacrifice, burning incense, and such-like things. And lest he should be either ignorant of his duty (as some proved, in the latter end of their state, when the high-priesthood was bought for money), or forgetful, the Sanhedrim sent some to read before him the rites of this day; who adjured him also to perform every thing according to God's command. The night before also they let him eat but little, that no accident in the night might make him unfit to officiate the next day; and that he might awake the sooner, and begin the service of the day betimes, as they did upon all great solemnities. All this, and a great deal more, is related in Codex Joma, cap. 1. And Mr. Selden, likewise, hath observed, out of Sopher Schebat Jehuda, with what a magnificent pomp the high-priest was conducted from his own house when he went to the temple, seven days before this day of atonement, accompanied by the king and the whole Sanhedrim, the royal family, and the whole choir of priests, &c. (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11, n. 7). Something like this was the triumph wherein our blessed high-priest, Christ Jesus, was conducted to Jerusalem, five days before he offered himself there, for the sins of the whole world (John xii. 1, 12, 13).

With a young bullock for a sin offering. To be offered for himself and for his family, as appears from ver. 6. For no other sacrifice was allowed for the sin of the high-priest (though it were dubious), but only a young bullock (iv. 2, 3).

And a ram for a burnt offering. Which accompanied the sin-offering at his consecration (viii. 18). But first of all the morning sacrifice was offered, with the additionals usual on this day (as the Jews say), viz. a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, all for burnt-offerings.

Ver. 4. *He shall put on the holy linen coat, &c.* There were eight garments belonging to the attire of the high-priest: four of which are here mentioned, which the Jews call his *white garments*; and four more mentioned Exod. xxviii. 4, which they call the *golden garments*; because there was a mixture of gold in them; whereas these were all made of fine linen. Upon other days, when the high-priest officiated, he was bound to put them all on (not one of the eight being wanting); but on this day, when he went into the most holy place, he put on only those four, which were the habit of the ordinary priests as well as his. This, some conceive, was in token of humility, because this day was appointed for confession of sins, and repentance, &c. Upon which account they imagine, also, these linen garments were coarser than those which he wore every day with his golden garments. But all the Jews agree, that these garments, which he wore on the day of expiation, were made of the purest and most precious linen of all other: which they call (in Massechet Joma, cap.

shall be girded with a linen girdle, and with the linen mitre shall he be attired: these *are* holy garments: therefore shall he wash his flesh in water, and so put them on.

5 And he shall take of the congregation of

3) "fine linen of Pelusium," which was a city in Egypt, famous for the richest and whitest linen, as our Sheringham shows (in his notes on that treatise) out of Pliny and Silius Italicus. And if we may believe the Talmudists, as the high-priest put on fine linen of Pelusium in the morning of this day, so he put on fine linen of India (i. e. in their language, of Ethiopia or Arabia, as Braunius observes, lib. i. de Vest. Sacerd. cap. 7, n. 9) in the evening of it; which was not of much less value than the other. And this is not disagreeable to Moses, who saith, God commanded the priest's garments to be made "for glory and beauty," (Exod. xxviii. 2). And therefore the high-priest appeared, even upon this day, in a splendid and noble habit; which was not inconsistent with inward humility and lowliness of mind: whereby the comely and beautiful performance of God's service was not to be obstructed. For whereas, upon other days, the high-priest washed his hands and his feet in the brazen laver; on this day, if we may believe the Jews, he washed them in a vessel of gold, as the same Braunius observes out of Massechet Joma, cap. 4. There are those who fancy the high-priest went into the most holy place with the ephod and breastplate, whereon were the names of the children of Israel: but that is quite contrary to what Moses here delivers, who mentions no other garments but those of fine linen which he wore upon this day; no, not when he went into the holy place (ver. 23). And the Hebrew doctors all thus understand it, as Mr. Selden shows out of them and Josephus (lib. ii. de Succession. in Pontific. Hebræor. cap. 7, p. 250).

Yet the Roman church hath grounded a solemn practice upon the forementioned fancy; the priests, and bishops too, being wont on Good Friday to minister only in the habit of deacons, while they are reading or singing the office of the passion; but when they come to the sacrifice of the mass (as they call it) then they put on richer vestments, proper to their order. Which is a mistaken imitation of the ceremonies under the law, upon this great day of atonement; when the high-priest never put on any of his golden garments for the service of it.

Linen breeches upon his flesh.] To cover his secret parts. For the word *flesh* is to be understood here as in xv. 2.

Girded with a linen girdle, &c.] These two, with the two foregoing, make up the four *white garments*: which might possibly, as the Jews say, be made of the finest and richest linen that could be got, that the high-priest might appear splendid in the simplest habit wherein he ministered. But it is evident he was not allowed to appear in those garments which were wrought with gold, and scarlet, and blue, and purple (Exod. xxviii. 6, 8, &c.), because such very sumptuous apparel, it must be acknowledged, was not so suitable to the service of the day. On which the high-priest (as the Hebrew gloss notes upon this place) did not so much put on the person of a patron, as of an accuser; confessing their sins before God, and begging pardon for them.

Holy garments.] To be used only when he ministered in the sanctuary (Exod. xxviii. 2).

Shall he wash his flesh in water.] There was no need, upon other days, to wash more than once, in the beginning of Divine service; but on this great

the children of Israel two kids of the goats for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering.

6 And Aaron shall offer his bullock of the sin offering, which *is* for himself, and make an atonement for himself, and for his house.

day he washed five times, as oft as he shifted his garments and went from one ministry to another: as appears in part from ver. 23, 24, where see what I have observed. Here he seems to speak of his washing after he had offered the morning sacrifice, &c. in his golden garments: and then began the service of the day in these *white garments* alone.

Ver. 5. *He shall take of the congregation.*] The former sacrifices (ver. 3) were for himself: these for all the people.

Two kids of the goats for a sin offering.] These two goats made but one sin offering; which is described more largely and particularly, ver. 8—10. The former, perhaps, which was sacrificed to the Lord, was to procure those good things which they had forfeited by their sins; and the other (the *scape-goat*, as we translate it) to avert those evils which they had deserved: for the name that is commonly given it by the Greeks, signifies its power to turn away punishments. Or the simple reason of it might be, that the Israelites, by this double sacrifice (for both were presented before the Lord), might be the more fully satisfied of the expiation of their sins. There is the like example before us of two birds appointed by the cleansing of a leper's house; one of which only was killed, the other let fly away; but both of them are said to *cleanse* the house, and to be for *atonement* (xiv. 49, 52, 53). In which some of the ancient fathers thought they saw a notable type of our Lord Christ. Whose sacrifice, as it was prefigured by all the legal sacrifices (for the paschal lamb itself was a type of him sacrificed for us, 1 Cor. v. 7), so by this more especially on the day of expiation. Which was of greater and more universal efficacy than all the rest, and therefore represented him more fully than the other did. Inasmuch, that these *two goats* joined in one sacrifice, may be thought to represent one Christ, consisting of two natures. For since it was not possible, as Theodoret expresses it, to adumbrate both the "*τὸ θνητὸν, καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον*," "that which was mortal, and that which was immortal" in Christ; he commanded two to be brought, *ἵνα ὁ μὲν ζῶμενος, τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ παθητὸν προτυπῶσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀποθνήσκων ἐκλύσθαι τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῆς θείας ζωῆς*," "that the goat which was offered in sacrifice, might prefigure the passible nature of his flesh: and that which was let go, might show the impassible nature of his Divinity." Quæst. xxxii. in Levit. And St. Cyril discourses to the same purpose, in his ninth book against Julian.

One ram for a burnt offering.] Which was no more than was appointed for Aaron himself (ver. 3), who herein is equalled with all the princes of the people; in whose name this ram seems to have been offered.

Ver. 6. *Aaron shall offer his bullock—for himself.*] Not by killing it, which was done afterwards (ver. 11), but only by presenting it before God to be sacrificed; which was done with a solemn prayer, wherein he besought God to be propitious unto him and his. The form of it is set down in Massechet Joma, cap. 3, sect. 8. He laid his hand upon the head of the bullock, and said, "*I have done amiss, and been rebellious, and sinned before thee, I and my house. I beseech thee now, O Lord, remit my rebellion, and my sin which I have committed, and my house.*" &c.

For himself, and for his house.] For his family,

7 And he shall take the two goats, and present them before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

as I said (ver. 3), and for all the priests; who are called "the house of Aaron" (Ps. cxv. 10, 12, cxxxv. 9). And I do not see why all the house of Levi should not also be understood; for they are not comprehended under the name of "the congregation of the children of Israel" (mentioned in the verse before), and therefore must be contained here under the name of the house of Aaron (see Numb. i. 49).

Ver. 7. *He shall take the two goats.*] Mentioned ver. 5, which were to be of equal stature, of the same colour, and the same price (as the Hebrew doctors say in Joma, cap. 6), both designed to the same end, the expiation of their sins.

Present them before the Lord, &c.] All the sin offerings which were made for the congregation, were presented either by the high-priest, or by the elders (iv. 15), and by them devoted to God, to be sacrificed on his altar. For this *presenting* of the goat is the same with his *offering* of the bullock in the verse foregoing; which was nothing else but his solemn consecration of them, as I said, to be sacrificed. According to which pattern, our blessed Lord and Saviour, a little before he suffered upon the cross, and made himself a sacrifice for us, voluntarily offered himself to die for our sins. Which is the meaning of those words of his, John xvii. 19, where, praying for his apostles, he saith, "For their sakes I sanctify myself:" that is, *offer myself* to die as an expiatory sacrifice for them. For that ἀνάγειν sometimes signifies as much as προσφέρειν, Dr. Outram hath demonstrated, lib. ii. de Sacrificiis, cap. 3. And so St. Chrysostom here expounds these words, "I sanctify myself," by προσφέρειν τοι θυσίαν, "I offer thee a sacrifice;" or consecrate and devote myself to be sacrificed. And it is not an improbable conjecture of another very learned friend of mine, now also with God (Dr. Spencer), that the appointing of two goats to be both presented to God at the same time, and with the same rites, was to preserve the Jews in a belief that there is but one Principle of all things: who both bestows good things, and inflicts evil. Contrary to the opinion of the gentiles, who made two principles, one good and the other bad; which was the ancient belief of the Chaldeans, and other eastern people, and from them propagated to the Greeks and Romans. Most of whose sacrifices (as another very learned man of our own country hath observed) had respect to these two principles; to one of which they offered in the morning, and to the other at night. See Dr. Windet de Vita Functorum Statu, sect. 3, where he observes, that there are plain footsteps of this old error at this day, through all the east, as far as China: for there was an endeavour to infect Christianity with it, by Manes the Persian, in the reign of the Emperor Aurelian; nor was there any heresy that spread so far as this dotage did.

Ver. 8. *Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats.*] The manner of it is described in the same treatise, Massechet Joma (cap. 3, sect. 9). The high-priest went to the east part of the court, on the north side of the altar, having the *sagan* (his vicar) on his right hand, and the head of the house of the fathers on his left. There stood two goats with an urn or box, which they call *calpi* (the very same name which Lucian, and the scholiast upon Aristophanes, give to the same thing, as our learned Sheringham upon that book, and Bochart in his Hierozoicon, have observed). Into this urn the two lots were cast, which were made

8 And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for the scapegoat.

of box-wood (as the Misna here says), and in after-times came to be of gold. But Maimonides, in his treatise on this subject, saith, they might be made either of wood or stone, or any metal provided one of them was not bigger than the other (nor one of gold, the other of silver, &c.), but both every way equal, as the goats were to be. Upon one of these lots was written the name of the goat which was for the Lord; and on the other that which was for Azazel. And then the priest, shaking the urn, and putting in both his hands (as it there follows in Joma, cap. 4), took up a lot in each. And if he brought up God's lot in his right hand, the *sagan*, who stood there, said, "My lord, lift up thy right hand:" if in his left hand, the head of the fathers said, "Lift up thy left hand." And so the priest let the right hand lot fall upon the goat that stood on the right hand; and his left hand lot upon the other.

One lot for the Lord.] To be offered unto the Lord at the altar.

The other lot for the scapegoat.] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, for Azazel; as some have anciently translated it. Now, why a goat was offered in sacrifice, and another goat let go free, laden with their sins, rather than any other creature, may be understood, perhaps, from the inclination of the heathen world in those days, when they worshipped demons in the form of a goat. The Egyptians were famous for this, and the Israelites themselves (it appears from the seventeenth chapter of this book, ver. 7) were prone to offer sacrifices *leseirim*; which signifies *demons* in that form. And therefore, to take them off from such idolatrous practices, God ordained these creatures themselves to be sacrificed and slain, to whom they had offered sacrifice. And the young ones he appointed for this purpose (for so *seirim* signifies), which the Egyptians most of all honoured, and abhorred to offer or kill. So Juvenal:

— "Nefas illic fœtum jugulare capellæ." Sat. xv. ver. 11. ¶

Now from hence, perhaps, it was that some fancied Azazel signified the devil; as R. Menachem and R. Eliezer among the Jews; Julian among the heathen; and some great men lately among us. Who conceive, that as the other goat was offered to God at the altar, so this was sent among the demons, which delight to frequent desert places, and there appeared often in the shape of this creature. But this will not agree with the Hebrew text, which says, this goat was for *Azazel*, as the other was for the Lord. Now none, sure, will be so profane, as to imagine, that both these goats being set before the Lord, and presented to him, as equally consecrated to him, he would then order one of them to be for himself, and the other for the devil. We must therefore be content with our own translation, which derives the word *Azazel* from *ez*, a goat; and *azal*, to go away; and fitly calls it the *scape-goat*: so Paulus Fagius, and a great many others: against which I see nothing objected, but that *ez* signifies a *she-goat*, not a *he*. Which made Bochartus fetch this word from the Arabic: in which language *azala* signifies to *remove*, or to *separate*. And this agrees well enough with the name of this goat, according as the ancient translators understood it; some of which, as Symmachus, render it ἀπερχόμενον, "the goat going away;" others, as Aquila, ἀπολελυμένον, "the goat let loose;" and the LXX. ἀποτομπαῖον. In which they had no thought of the notion of this word among the Greeks, who called those de-

9 And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the Lord's lot fell, and offer him for a sin offering.

10 But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat, shall be presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scapegoat into the wilderness.

11 And Aaron shall bring the bullock of the

sin offering, which is for himself, and shall make an atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall kill the bullock of the sin offering which is for himself:

12 And he shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil:

mons by this name, who were esteemed ἀνέγκυτοι and ἀποτρόπαιοι (as J. Pollux speaks), "averters of evil things from them:" but simply meant, as Theodoret interprets it, ἀποτρεκόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, "the goat sent away into the wilderness." And so St. Jerome expounds it, *Hircus emissarius*, which agrees with the notion which Bochartus puts upon the word out of the Arabic tongue. This goat being sent away into remote places, there to remain separate from the flock to which he belonged; and that upon a mountain (as the Jews fancy) in the wilderness of Sinai, which from this goat was called *Azazel*: but I see no ground for this.

Ver. 9. *The goat upon which the Lord's lot fell.*] In the Hebrew the word is *went up*; for he first took it up out of the urn, and then let it fall upon the goat.

Offer him.] Devote him to God to be a sacrifice for their sins: beseech him to accept of this sacrifice for that end. So the word *offer*, I observe, signifies, ver. 6, order being given afterward for the killing of the goat (ver. 15).

Ver. 10. *Be presented alive.*] This shows that the scape-goat was equally consecrated and devoted to God, as the other was; though not to be killed, but sent away alive; after the other had been offered in sacrifice.

Make an atonement with him.] For this was a sin-offering, though not slain, no less than the other: as appears from verse 5, which shows these two goats made but one sin-offering; which was partly slain at the altar, and partly let go (as it here follows) to run whither he would; the more perfectly to represent the taking away of their sins, and "removing their iniquity" (as the prophet speaks, Zech. iii. 9), by virtue of this offering for them.

Some, indeed, have thought that this goat was not sacrificed, but only presented alive before God, and so let go; lest it should be thought God could not forgive their sins, unless he was appeased by some slain beast: which imagination was destroyed by letting this sin-offering be left alive, at full liberty to run quite away. But I can see no ground for such a construction; because these were not two, but one sin-offering, as I said before: which being slain in part, established that opinion in them, of the impossibility of obtaining reconciliation without a bloody sacrifice. Certain it is, that the whole law supposes this, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission," as the apostle observes (Heb. ix. 22). And therefore it will be more agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, if we think, as some do, that the first goat represented our Lord in his sufferings, and this other in his resurrection; whereby he was freed from the bands of death: both his death and his resurrection being for our deliverance, as the apostle shows, Rom. iv. ult.

Let him go.] Whither he pleased. For so the Hebrew word *shalac* (send him away, or dismiss him), signifies, in Scripture, *entire liberty*, such as God demanded for the Israelites from Pharaoh (Exod. iv. 23, v. 1).

For a scapegoat.] Into remote places. *Carried into the wilderness.*] In token their sins were quite carried away, to be found no more; for the goat was

not merely sent into the wilderness, but into the most desert places of it, as appears from ver. 22.

Ver. 11.] This former part of the verse is word for word the same with ver. 6, which shows that *offering* there (as we translate it) was nothing else but bringing it to be offered; or presenting it before the Lord, to be a sacrifice for himself, and for his family. But now his *bringing* it was, that it might be killed immediately, as it follows in the latter part of this verse.

Shall make an atonement.] By killing it, as the next words tell us.

Kill the bullock—for himself.] He was first to offer for himself, before he could acceptably offer for the people, as the apostle observes, Heb. v. 3, ix. 7. And as the Jews tell us (in Massechet Joma, cap. 4, sect. 2), he again put his hand upon the head of the bullock, and made the confession and supplication before mentioned upon ver. 6. And when he had done, then he killed the bullock with his own hands. For though all other sacrifices might be killed by any persons, yet the high-priest himself was bound to kill this; as they say in the same place of the Misna (sect. 3). And having received the blood of the bullock in a basin, he delivered it to another priest, to keep it in continual agitation, till he had offered incense in the holy place, that so it might not grow thick and be clotted; but be kept liquid and thin, fit to be sprinkled before the mercy-seat.

Ver. 12. *He shall take a censer.*] Which he held in his right hand.

From off the altar.] From the brazen altar where the bullock was slain: for coals were burning before God nowhere else but there.

His hands full of sweet incense.] With his left hand he took as much of the incense, mentioned Exod. xxx. 34, 36, as his hand would hold (besides the incense which he burnt every morning and evening, which was a whole pound), and put it into a cup.

Bring it within the veil.] With both these, the censer of coals, and the cup of incense (the former in his right hand, the other in his left), he went within the veil, which divided the holy place from the most holy, and set down the censer; and then (as it follows in the next verse, see there) threw the incense upon the burning coals. This the Hebrew doctors take to have been so difficult a work, that, in the Gemara upon Joma (cap. 1), they say some of the elder priests were sent to him beforehand, to show him how he should fill his hand with the incense. And the Misna there says, that they adjured him in these words: "We are the legates of the great Sanhedrin, and thou art our legate and theirs; we adjure thee, we adjure thee by Him whose name dwells in this house, that thou change not any one thing of all that we have said unto thee." And so they parted with tears on both sides. The reason of which solemn adjuration, they say, was, that the Sadducees affirmed, he might burn the incense *without* the veil, and so enter into the most holy place; directly contrary to this text, which required him to do it *within*; where nobody could see what the high-priest did, and consequently could not tell whether he performed the service there aright. Therefore they took this oath of

13 And he shall put the incense upon the fire before the LORD, that the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy seat that is upon the testimony, that he die not :

14 And he shall take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy seat eastward ; and before the mercy seat

him, in the latter ages of their state, when some of the faction of the Sadducees were thrust into the priesthood, as Mr. Selden probably conjectures (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11, n. 2). This was the first time of the high-priest's going into the holy of holies on this great day.

Ver. 13. *He shall put the incense upon the fire*] He entered (as the Misna saith in Joma, cap. 5) with his face towards the south; and so went sideways (for he might not look upon the ark, where the Divine glory was) till he came to the staves of the ark; where he set down the censer, and put on the incense. And having filled the house with a cloud of smoke, he went out backward (out of reverence to the Divine Majesty), into the holy place without the veil. Where, when he was come, he made this short prayer, "May it please thee, O Lord God, that this year may be hot and also wet; that the sceptre may not depart from the family of Judah, nor thy people Israel want food; and that the prayer of the wicked may not be heard." And then he presently went out of the sanctuary, and showed himself to the people; that they might not suspect he had done amiss, and miscarried in his office. For so they say it sometimes happened, that the high-priest, having violated these holy rites appointed by God, was struck dead in the holy place.

The incense which was burnt every day in the holy place, at the golden altar, representing the prayers of the saints, as St. John teaches us (Rev. viii. 3, 4), this incense, which was burnt in the holy of holies, may well be thought to represent the prayers of the high-priest himself, which he made upon this occasion; as our blessed Saviour did before he offered the great sacrifice of himself (John xvii., of which more hereafter), with the blood of which he now appears in the heavens before God for us.

That the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy seat] So that nothing of it might be seen: it being the place of the residence of the Divine Majesty (Exod. xxv. 21, 22), whose glory was inaccessible.

He die not :] By gazing on the Divine glory (see ver. 2, and Exod. xxxiii. 20).

Ver. 14. *He shall take of the blood of the bullock,*] Having done what is commanded in the foregoing verses, he came out of the sanctuary, and went to the priest whom he left at the altar of burnt-offering, stirring the blood in the basin, which he delivered to him (as I observed, ver. 11), and taking it from him, went with it (the second time) within the veil; and standing where he did before, when he burnt the incense, sprinkled it as is directed in the words following.

Sprinkle it] "The very root or essence of a sacrifice (as the maxim of the Jews is) lies in the sprinkling of the blood."

Upon the mercy seat] One would think, by this translation, that he sprinkled the mercy seat itself, with some of the blood. But all the Jews understand it quite otherwise: and indeed the Hebrew words are *al pene*, "over against the face," i. e. as they interpret it (in the Misna before mentioned, cap. 5), towards the mercy-seat. And so it follows in the next words, "and before the mercy-seat shall he sprinkle." Only this difference there was in the

shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger seven times.

15 ¶ Then shall he kill the goat of the sin offering, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the veil, and do with that blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the mercy seat, and before the mercy seat:

sprinkling: that this particle *al*, they think, imported that he was to make the first sprinkling, here mentioned, towards the top of the mercy-seat. The Vulgar Latin wholly omits this part of the verse, and only mentions the latter sprinkling, seven times, contra propitiatorium, "over against the mercy-seat eastward."

Eastward;] I should have thought the observation of our learned countryman (Mr. J. Gregory) very remarkable, if he had been commanded only to sprinkle the blood eastward. For then there might have been room for his conjecture, that though Aaron at all other times turned his face towards the west (where the most holy place was), and at the very killing of the goat and the bullock, not only looked that way himself, but turned their faces towards the west (as the Jews say in Joma), yet, when he came to perform the chief part of this mystery, "he turned his back upon the beggarly elements of the world," and sprinkled this blood eastward, to represent the man, whose name is the East, i. e. Christ. But I do not see how this agrees with the sprinkling the blood before the mercy-seat; which could not be done without looking towards the west. And therefore it must be confessed that he did not sprinkle it eastward: but standing eastward of the mercy-seat, with his face towards it, he performed this office, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 16, p. 426). Or it may be said to be done eastward, because that part of the ark before which he sprinkled looked eastward.

Before the mercy seat shall he sprinkle] This is a distinct sprinkling from the foregoing, which was done but once, and towards the upper part of the mercy-seat; but this was done seven times, towards the lower part of it, as the Jews understand it: who say he sprinkled eight times in all, but none of the blood touched the mercy-seat. So the Gemara on that place, and Maimonides in his Jom hakippurim, and Obadiah Bartenoea, whose words are these; "The drops of blood did not come upon the mercy-seat, but fell upon the ground;" as two of our very learned countrymen have observed, Mr. Sheringham upon Joma, and Dr. Outram, lib. i. De Sacrificiis, cap. 16, n. 4.

Seven times.] Concerning this number seven, see before, iv. 6. This was the second time of going into the holy of holies upon this day.

Ver. 15. *Kill the goat*] The blood of which was received in a basin, as that of the bullock was (see ver. 11), and he carried it within the veil (as here follows), and did just as he had done before, (ver. 14). But whether he first burnt incense, as he had done before he brought in the blood of the bullock, is uncertain: it is likely the fume that had been then made still remained; so that there was no need to renew it.

Sprinkle] For he stood in the same place (as the Misna observes), and there sprinkled once towards the top of the mercy-seat; and then seven times before the bottom of it. Which is not here expressly said, but is to be understood from what goes before; which orders him to do with this blood as he had done with the other.

This now was the third time of his going into the most holy place upon this day (see ver. 2).

16 And he shall make an atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins: and so shall he do for the tabernacle of the congregation, that remaineth among them in the midst of their uncleanness.

17 And there shall be no man in the tabernacle of the congregation when he goeth in to make an atonement in the holy place, until he

come out, and have made an atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel.

18 And he shall go out unto the altar that is before the Lord, and make an atonement for it; and shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of the blood of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about.

19 And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it

Ver. 16. *Make an atonement for the holy place.*] By the sprinkling before mentioned (both of the blood of the bullock and of the goat, as I gather from ver. 18), God's own dwelling-place was purified: the blood (which was sprinkled seven or eight times before the mercy-seat) being thrown, it is probable, towards both sides of it.

Because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel.] The many sins whereby they had transgressed God's holy laws, the whole year before, had made them so unclean, that it provoked God to leave them, and made this most holy place unfit for his habitation; unless he were reconciled to them: for it was seated among an unclean people, as the rest of the sanctuary was; and on that score might need an atonement (see Exod. xxix. 36, 37).

So shall he do for the tabernacle.] When he had done all this within the veil, he was to do the same without in the sanctuary: where he sprinkled first the blood of the bullock, and then the blood of the goat, against the veil which parted the sanctuary from the holy of holies. So the Misna in the place forementioned; and R. Solomon Jarchi upon these words; "As he sprinkled part of the blood of both sacrifices, once above, and seven times beneath, in the inward sanctuary; so he sprinkled towards the veil without, once above, and seven times below." For they all agree the blood was not sprinkled upon the veil, but before it: by which sprinkling the sanctuary was purified, as the apostle observes, when he saith, "Almost all things were by the law purged with blood," &c. (Heb. ix. 21—23).

That remaineth among them.] Surrounded by a sinful people, who are full of legal, as well as other impurities: and had been likewise defiled by many who had ignorantly come into it in their uncleanness. So Maimonides judiciously observes. It could scarce be avoided, but some or other would ignorantly, and some presumptuously offend, by going into the sanctuary, or eating holy things, when they ought not: and therefore God commanded this expiation to be made for the pollutions of the sanctuary and its utensils, by such means (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47).

Ver. 17. *There shall be no man in the tabernacle.*] During this action none of the priests, who used to attend in the tabernacle, were to come into it, till the high-priest had expiated its uncleanness; which it was supposed to have contracted by their coming into it all the year before.

Until he come out,] Of the holy place.

Made an atonement for himself, &c.] Finished all that he had to do there, for the expiation of his own sins, and his family's, and all the people's. That is, from the time of his going to offer incense, till he came out to purify the tabernacle. Some of which time he spent in prayer to God (as I observed ver. 13), for all the people; as he had done before when he presented the sin-offerings to him; with solemn supplication for himself and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel, the forms of which are extant in their books. In conformity to which,

when our blessed Saviour consecrated himself to be a sacrifice for us (as I noted upon ver. 7), he first commended himself to God, in that solemn prayer before his death, John xvii. ver. 1, 2, &c., and then his apostles, who were his household, ver. 9, 10, and so forward to the twentieth verse; and then prayed for all that should believe on him; i. e. the whole congregation of Christian people, from ver. 20 to the end. Immediately after which, he went to the place where he was apprehended, and led to be condemned and crucified, John xviii. 1 (see Dr. Outram, De Sacrificiis, lib. ii. cap. 3, n. 3).

Ver. 18. *And he shall go out unto the altar that is before the Lord.*] These words, *before the Lord*, seem to restrain this to the golden altar, where incense was offered in the sanctuary: and so I find it is generally interpreted, even by the Jews themselves (in Joma, cap. 5, sect. 5), as well as Christians. But the words, *he shall go out*, plainly signify his coming from the sanctuary, where the golden altar was (and had been cleansed, we may well suppose, together with it, ver. 16), in the outward court, to the altar of burnt-offering, which was also *before the Lord* (Exod. xxix. 11), though at a greater distance from him: and which, one would think, stood in need to be cleansed, as much as the altar of incense. Now, unless it was ordered to be cleansed in these words, I can see no care taken about it at all. In Exod. xxx. 10, there is express mention, indeed, made of making an atonement upon the altar of incense once a year; and nothing said of the other: and if we will so understand it here, then the words, *he shall go out*, must have respect to "his going into the holy place," mentioned in the verse before.

Made an atonement for it;] This is generally understood, as I said, of the golden altar, because such express mention is made of its purification yearly, in the place now mentioned (Exod. xxx. 10). And, no doubt, that which is here commanded was done there when he made atonement for the table, where it stood: but there being the same need, as I said, to expiate the other altar (where no fewer errors had been committed than here, and which stood nearer to an unclean people, who encompassed it), I cannot but think that it is here included.

Shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of—the goat.] He put the blood of the bullock and of the goat together; and then poured them into another vessel, that they might be well mingled. For here is no command in this place, that he should go round the altar twice; and tip the horns of it, first with the blood of the bullock, and then of the goat, separate one from the other; as the Misna in Joma observes, cap. 5, sect. 4.

Put it upon the horns of the altar, round about.] He began at the north-east corner, and so went to the north-west; and from thence to the south-west, and lastly to the south-east: and as he came near to each corner, he put the blood upon it. So the Jews describe this matter in the same place, sect. 5.

Ver. 19. *He shall sprinkle of the blood.*] Not upon the middle of the altar, but nigh the corners; viz. in

with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel.

20 ¶ And when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place, and the tabernacle of

the congregation, and the altar, he shall bring the live goat :

21 And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all

the place where he ended, when he put the blood upon the horns of the altar. So the Jews say in the place above mentioned (sect. 6). And I do not see why the particle *upon* should not be expounded here, as in ver. 15 (if their interpretation be true), to signify, that he sprinkled the blood *before* the altar; which he did not touch.

Cleanse it.] The Jews refer this cleansing to his taking the coals and the ashes from the altar, that he might sprinkle the blood in a clean place. And then the words are to be translated, "He shall sprinkle the blood, &c., having cleansed and hallowed it." But the conclusion of the verse determines us to another sense, which is, that by sprinkling the blood he cleansed and sanctified it, from the "uncleanness of the children of Israel," whereby it had been defiled : the priests having either come in their uncleanness thither, or not performed their service as they ought there ; and the people thereby remaining in their impurities.

Now, when the high-priest had done all this, the Jews say (in the Misna before named) he poured the rest of the blood of the bullock and goat at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offerings (where, I conceive, he concluded this atonement), for there was a conveyance to carry it away, as I observed upon iv. 17. And they make account, also, that if every thing was not done in this order it was ineffectual, and was to be done over again. For example ; if the blood of the goat was sprinkled before the blood of the bullock (contrary to the directions, ver. 14, 15), he returned, and sprinkled the blood of the goat after that of the bullock, &c.

Ver. 20. *Made an end of reconciling the holy place.*] Making it fit to continue God's dwelling-place (ver. 16).

Tabernacle of the congregation.] By this, I think, is meant the sanctuary, and every thing in it ; particularly the golden altar.

The altar.] Of burnt-offerings, where he ended his atonement for the whole house of God.

Bring the live goat :] Two had been presented to the Lord (ver. 7, 10), that is, solemnly consecrated and devoted to be expiatory sacrifices ; one of which having been slain, the other was now brought to be made an expiation for sin, after another manner. And he was brought, no doubt, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, where they were wont to lay their hands upon other sacrifices (i. 3, 4).

Ver. 21. *Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head*] Laying of the hand upon the head of the beast, was a rite used in all sorts of sacrifices, whether burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, or sin-offerings, see i. 4, iii. 2, iv. 4, 33. In which places, mention is made only of laying on his hand : but here the high-priest is commanded to lay on *both hands*, as he and his sons did in the sacrifice of the bullock and the ram at their consecration (viii. 14, 18). The meaning of which was, the more solemnly and entirely to devote the sacrifice to the use for which it was designed ; which, in this sacrifice, was to bear all their sins. For they were all laid upon this sacrifice, unto which the punishment of them was transferred ; this rite signifies as much as if they had said, Whatsoever we have done amiss, let not us, but this sacrifice be charged with it : that is, let it bear the punishment which we

deserve. Such phrases there are, 2 Sam. i. 16 ; Esther ix. 25 ; Ps. vii. 16, and other places.

Confess over him.] This must have been understood, if it had not been expressed ; for imposition of hands was always accompanied with prayer, of one sort or other, according to the occasion of it. Insomuch, that the Jews say, "where there is no confession of sin, there is no imposition of hands ; for imposition of hands belongs to confession" (see Dr. Outram, De Sacrif. lib. i. cap. 15, n. 8). And it is observable, that the high-priest made confession three times on this day. First for himself, and then for his brethren the priests, and now for the whole congregation ; saying this prayer (as they tell us in Joma, cap. 6, sect. 2). "I beseech thee, O Lord, this people, the house of Israel, have done wickedly, and been rebellious, and sinned before thee. I beseech thee now, O Lord, expiate the iniquities, the rebellions, and the sins which thy people the house of Israel have done wickedly, transgressed, and sinned before thee. According as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant (viz. in the thirteenth verse of this chapter), 'on that day he shall make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, that you may be clean from all your sins before the Lord.'" Which last word (Lord) as soon as all the priests and the people that were in the court heard pronounced by the high-priest, they bowed and fell down flat upon their faces, and worshipped, saying, "Blessed be the Lord ; let the glory of his kingdom be for ever."

All the iniquities—all their transgressions in all their sins.] These three words, *iniquities*, *transgressions*, and *sins*, are the very words used by the high-priest in his confession before mentioned ; which comprehend all manner of offences, whether committed deliberately or not against negative or affirmative precepts (as they call them). Grotius, in his notes on this place, hath thus distinguished them, but whether exactly or not cannot be determined. But it is probable that *sins* signify offences committed by error, not deliberately ; *iniquities*, such as were deliberately committed against the prohibiting precepts ; and *transgressions*, those that were deliberately committed against commanding precepts. All, except those to which *cutting off* was threatened, which were not expiated by any sacrifice.

Putting them upon the head of the goat.] By putting his hand on the head of the goat, and confessing their sins over him (with prayer to God to remit them), they were all charged upon the goat, and the punishment of them transferred from the Israelites unto it. Just as the sins of all mankind were afterwards laid upon our Saviour Christ (as the prophet speaks, Isa. liii. 6), "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body" (saith St. Peter, 1 Ep. ii. 24), the punishment passing from us to him, "who was made sin for us" (2 Cor. v. 21). Which expressions are manifest allusions unto this sacrifice on the great day of expiation : which was the most illustrious figure of the sacrifice of Christ, and shows, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that Christ suffered in our stead, and not merely for our benefit. For it is very evident, the sacrifice offered on this day was put in the place of the people ; and all their sins, that is, the punishment of them, laid upon its head. And it appears by the form of all other *sin-offerings*, which were occasionally offered at other times, that he who brought them put off the guilt

their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness:

which he had contracted, from himself, and laid it on the sacrifice which was to die for him. Which he did by laying his hand on the head of it at the door of the tabernacle while it was yet alive. Then with his hand so placed, he made a confession of his sins, for which he desired forgiveness by the offering of this sacrifice: that is, he prayed by these rites, that, the beast being offered and slain, he might be spared from punishment, which was a plain transferring the guilt from himself unto his sacrifice. Which being yet alive, and thus laden with his guilt, was then brought to the altar, and there slain for the guilty person: that is, died in his stead; for there was no other reason of its being put to death there in that manner.

I have insisted the longer on this, because nothing can better explain the true meaning of Christ's dying for us: which was by transferring the suffering due to our sins upon him; as the manner was in the legal sacrifices. Which was a thing, let me add, so notorious in the world, that other nations from hence derived the like custom to that here mentioned by Moses. Particularly the Egyptians, as David Chytraeus hath long ago observed, and since him many others out of Herodotus: who tells us (lib. ii. cap. 39), that they made this execration over the head of the beast which they sacrificed; *Εὐτε μὲντοι ἢ σφίσι τοῖς θύονσι, ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συνπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτὴν τραπέζαν* "that if any evil was to fall, either on themselves who sacrificed, or upon the whole country of Egypt, it might be turned upon the head of that beast." And this, he saith, was the custom over all the land of Egypt; and the reason why no Egyptian would taste of the head of any animal. Nor was this the notion of the Egyptians only, but of other countries also; who called those sacrifices which were offered for them *Ἀντίερα*, being sacrificed in their stead; and the life of the beast given for theirs. Thus the Greeks sometimes sacrificed men, when some very heavy calamity was fallen upon them, whom they called *Καθάρματα*, "expiations to purge them from their sins," by suffering in their room. For they prayed thus over him, who was devoted every year for the averting evils from them, *Περίφημα ἡμῶν γενού, ἥτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις* "be thou our cleansing; that is, our preservative and redemption, or ransom." And with these words they threw him into the sea as a sacrifice to Neptune. And thus the Massilienses did, as Servius tells us (upon the third Æneid), in time of a plague, praying, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, "that on him might fall the evils of the whole city."

Send him away] As soon as the confession was over, the goat was sent away.

By the hand of a fit man] By a man prepared beforehand (as the ancients interpret it), or that stood ready for this purpose. Jonathan saith, he was designed for it the year before: others say only the day before; and that the high-priest appointed him: who might appoint anybody whom he thought fit; but did not usually appoint an Israelite, as they say in Joma, cap. 6, n. 3.

Into the wilderness.] It is not certainly known what wilderness this was; but the Hebrews call it the wilderness of Tzuk, which they say, was ten miles from Jerusalem. And they say, that at the end of each mile there was a tabernacle erected, where men stood ready with meat and drink, which they offered to him that went with the goat, lest he should faint by the

22 And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness.

23 And Aaron shall come into the tabernacle

way. And the nobles of Jerusalem, they add, accompanied him the first mile; further than which they might not go, because this day was a Sabbath. After which, they that were in the first tabernacle accompanied him to the next; and they that were there to the third; and so forward to the last; that they might be sure to have this great work done of carrying their sins quite away from them. So we read in the treatise on this subject, called Joma, cap. 6, sect. 4, 5, which Maimonides hath explained, as I have now done.

Ver. 22. *The goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities*] This shows more fully still the nature of this sacrifice, in which *all their iniquities*, i. e. the punishment of them was laid, that he might carry them away. For this goat was not capable to bear their sins, but only their punishment; as Christ also did, who knew no sin, and yet was made sin; by having the punishment of our sins laid on him. For, that this *scape-goat*, which was loaded with their sins, was a *sin-offering*, is plainly said before in this chapter; and consequently represented Christ (who is our *sin-offering*), as well as the other part of this *sin-offering* did, whose blood was carried into the holy place. And in some regard this *scape-goat* was a very notable representation of him; if it be true, that our Saviour entered upon his office, of being the Mediator of our reconciliation with God, upon this great day of atonement, which was the day on which he was baptized, as our Dr. Jackson, together with some good chronologists think. For though the tradition of the western church be, that his baptism was on the sixth of January, yet, as Jansenius, and some others of the Roman communion, do not think fit to follow it, so he judges it more probable to have been on the tenth of September. In the beginning of which month, when the feast of blowing of trumpets was celebrated (as we read, xxiii. of this book, 24), John Baptist began to lift up his voice like a trumpet, and call the Jews to repentance. Who accordingly flocked to him, and, confessing their sins, were baptized by him in Jordan; where our Saviour also being baptized on the tenth day, which was the day of atonement, and being declared the Son of God by a voice from heaven, was "immediately driven by the Spirit into the wilderness," as St. Mark tells us, i. 12. Which was a manifest indication (he thinks) to John Baptist, that this was the Redeemer of the world prefigured by the *scape-goat*; who, going into the wilderness on the day of atonement, immediately after the people had made confession of their sins, gave him to understand (who was well acquainted with the meaning of their legal rites) that he was sent by God to take upon himself the sins of the world, and carry them away, by being in due season offered to God, and slain as a sacrifice to God for them. And this he did at that very time, when the paschal lamb was killed (as I have shown upon Exod. xii. 6), to the end that they might take notice he was the Lamb of God, whose sacrifice that lamb prefigured: as by being led into the wilderness on the same day as the *scape-goat* was carried thither, he showed that the mystery represented by that ceremony was exactly fulfilled in him.

This notion of his I thought good to mention (though, as far as I know, he is singular in it), because it carries some probability in it, if what the apostle saith (Col. ii. 17) be well considered, that the law contained "shadows of things to come, the body of

of the congregation, and shall put off the linen garments, which he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there :

24 And he shall wash his flesh with water in

the holy place, and put on his garments, and come forth, and offer his burnt offering, and the burnt offering of the people, and make an atonement for himself, and for the people.

which was Christ." Who was a body consisting of so many different parts, and so complete (as he observes), that no one, nor a few legal ceremonies, could perfectly foreshadow it: but as the ceremonies were many, and almost infinite, so every one did foreshadow some part or piece of this complete body: that is, no remarkable part of it, no special event or action, which concerned our Saviour Christ, but was foreshadowed by some or other legal ceremony; see Christ's Answer to John's question, numb. 62—64, and in his ninth book upon the Creed, concerning the Consecration of the Son of God (which was printed several years after), sect. 4, ch. 24, n. 5—8, where he resumes this argument, and endeavours to answer this question; Why, since Christ was to accomplish the legal priesthood and sacrifice, by his bloody sacrifice upon the cross, he did not offer himself, and die upon this very day of atonement. To which he gives full satisfaction: but it is too long here to be inserted.

Unto a land not inhabited:.] So the LXX. translate the Hebrew word *gezera*, גְּזֵרָה אֲדָמָה, "a land into which nobody came," or "desolate country." The Hebrew word properly imports a *land cut off* (as Bochart observes, lib. ii. Hierozoic. cap. 54, par. i.), that is, from habitable countries; not which *cuts off* what is sent into it, by its rugged and sharp stones, as the Jews expound it. This still sets out the design of this sacrifice, which was to free men so perfectly from the punishment of their sins, that they should not fear the return of them any more. For this goat was not merely sent into the wilderness, but into the most uninhabitable and inaccessible part of it (as the Greek word properly signifies), where none were likely ever to see it again.

He shall let go the goat in the wilderness.] When he came to the last stage, nobody accompanied him that led the goat any further; but he went the tenth mile alone, by himself; and the men in the tabernacle only stood looking to see what he did with it. And the Misna saith (in the place before named), that he threw it headlong down the rock Tzuk; where they say, it was broke in pieces before it came to the middle of it; or, as Jonathan said, God raised a storm which blew the goat down with a mighty force. But this is contrary to the very words of Moses, who saith, he was to *let the goat go*, or dismiss him, "in the wilderness," to run whither he would. And it seems contrary also to the intention of this law, which was, that only one of the goats should be killed, the other let go alive. Whereby was represented, that their sins, which were expiated by the blood of the sacrifice, should not return again to be charged upon them. Or, that they were as free from their sins as the leprous person was from his confinement, when the bird was let fly into the fields. Which perfect freedom from the punishment of their sins, was further signified by the burning of the flesh, the skin, and the dung of the sin-offering, without the camp: which denoted that all memory of the sins for which this expiation was appointed, was clean removed and abolished.

The Jews will have it, that a piece of scarlet cloth being tied upon the horns of this *scape-goat* (as another was about the neck of the goat which was sacrificed), when the man had brought it to the top of the rock Tzuk, he divided the cloth into two pieces, and let the goat go away with one, but tied the other to the rock, that he might see when it changed colour and became white, as they say it did when the goat

was thrown down headlong. Anciently, indeed, they say this scarlet cloth was tied to the gate of the temple, and if it turned white when the goat was sent away (as they pretend it usually did), there was great joy among the people, because it was a sign their sins were forgiven, according to that of the prophet, Isa. i. 18, "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow," &c. But if it did not change its colour into white, they hung down their heads, and were full of sorrow; they looking upon it as a token of God's anger. Which I relate only for this purpose, that I may take notice how the same authors, who tell this story, confess, that for *fourty* years before the destruction of the second temple, that is, from the time of our Saviour's death, this shred of cloth never changed its colour at all. Which, if it be true, was a notable token of the wrath of God coming upon them, for their crucifying the Lord Christ.

Ver. 23. Aaron shall come into the tabernacle] All that the high-priest did about the scape-goat was performed at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; where he laid his hands upon him, and confessed over him all their sins (see ver. 20, 21), which, being done, and he having sent the goat away, he is now ordered to come into the sanctuary itself.

Shall put off the linen garments.] See ver. 4. The Jews say there were two sorts of white garments which he wore on this day: one in the morning, which was made of fine linen of Pelusium, which was a third part of greater value than those he wore in the evening, which were of Indian linen. Now here he speaks only of the garments that he wore in the morning, wherein he had hitherto officiated; but is ordered, after he had done all this, to put them off; there being many other things to be still performed upon this day; yea, he was to go once more into the holy place, in order to which he put on other garments; as will appear in what follows.

Shall leave them there.] Never to be used mere, either by him, or by anybody else. But they were laid up where they were left; and new ones made against the next year, as the Gemara upon the third chapter of Joma relates. And the same is affirmed by Maimonides, R. S. Jarchi, and others, mentioned by Braunius, lib. ii. de Vest. Sacerd. cap. 25, n. 9. R. Levi Barzelonita also gives the same exposition of it, Præcept. 99, and see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. xi. p. 143.

Ver. 24. He shall wash his flesh] Either in the laver which stood in the outward court, or in a room in the tabernacle, which in aftertime was called *happarah*; where the priest, they say, washed himself upon this day every time he changed his garments. And this agrees well enough with the words of Moses, which here follow, that when he had put on his garments, he should *come forth*; that is, from this chamber, to perform such offices as are after mentioned. The end of this washing, in this place, seems to have been, that he might purify himself after he had touched the goat, which bare all their iniquities (ver. 21), as the man that carried him into the wilderness was to wash after he had done that business (ver. 26). Though others will have it, that it was in token he had now finished the expiation. Certain it is, here is another washing, distinct from that mentioned ver. 4, when he put on the white garments. Which in part justifies what the Misna saith in Joma, cap. iii. sect. 3.

25 And the fat of the sin offering shall he burn upon the altar.

26 And he that let go the goat for the scape-

goat shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward come into the camp.

27 And the bullock for the sin offering, and

that the high-priest washed *five times* upon this day; all in the house *kapparah*, except the first; which could not be in the court of the tabernacle, because he was to wash before he entered into it. For there were *five* ministries to be performed upon this day, at each of which he changed his garments; and between every ministry, when he changed his garments, he washed himself. There is a long discourse about this, and about washing his hands and his feet, in Torah Cohanim, quoted by our learned countryman, Mr. Sheringham, in his annotations upon Codex Joma, p. 57, &c., which they endeavoured to ground upon the very words of this verse.

Now as the leading of Christ into the wilderness, upon the day of atonement, was foreshadowed by the ceremony of the scape-goat; so his baptism on the same day was as expressly foreshadowed, or pre-figured, as any event concerning him, either was, or could be, by the legal ceremony here mentioned, of Aaron's washing his body in the holy place. They are the words of Dr. Jackson, in Christ's Answer to John's Question, sect. 64, where he endeavours to make out this.

Put on his garments,] viz. His other garments, wherein he officiated upon other days; which the Jews call his *golden garments*, to distinguish them from the *white garments*; which alone he wore when he went into the most holy place. And the Jews call by this name of *golden garments*, all the eight garments of the high-priest; four of which were common to him with the lower priests, and were made only of linen (yet they never call them by the name of *white garments*, which they appropriate to those in which he went to the most holy place); the other four, which gave the name to all the rest, were proper only to the high-priest himself; viz. the robe (which had bells of gold at the bottom), the ephod, the breast-plate, and the golden plate upon his forehead: which being put over the other four common garments, made him appear as if he were all clothed in gold. For they either consisted of solid gold, as the plate on his forehead; or had solid gold appendant, as the robe had; or had gold interwoven, as the ephod and the breastplate. Now he put on these, after he had put off the linen garments, mentioned ver. 4, 23, which were never used but when he ministered in the holy of holies; where he did not appear with the breast-plate of *urim* and *thummim*, and the rest of the golden garments, as some learned men have imagined; particularly Corn. Bertram, in his book de Republ. Hebr. cap. vii., where he saith, *Hujus sacerdotis erat semel in anno adytum sanctuarii adire, indutus ipso ephode*, "It belonged to the high-priest to go once in the year into the most secret place of the sanctuary clothed with the ephod." Which is directly contrary to ver. 4, of this chapter. But many other great men have fallen into the same mistake (see J. Brannius de Vestitu Sacerdot. Heb. lib. ii. cap. 20, n. 29, and cap. 25, n. 9, 10).

Come forth,] From the place where he put on his golden garments unto the altar of burnt-offerings.

Offer his burnt offering,] I take this for the daily evening sacrifice, which usually was one lamb; but on this day was two rams, one for himself, and another for the people; unto which there was an additional offering of seven lambs of the first year; as they tell us in Joma, cap. 7, sect. 3. But before this, they there say, he went and read to the people out of the book of the law, which was with great ceremony

delivered to him. And he might read either in his pontifical habit, or in his own robes (which he pleased), for reading was no ministry, as the Gemara there observes. This reading began at Numb. xxix. 7, &c., where the sacrifice of seven lambs is ordered upon this day.

Make an atonement] Rather, "having made an atonement;" which was already done by other sacrifices, not by these.

Ver. 25. *The fat of the sin offering shall he burn*] This also, I think, should be translated in the same manner, "having burnt the fat of the sin-offering;" which was done, I suppose, in the morning, when both the bullock and the goat were offered for sin (ver. 11, 14), but was not mentioned till now, to show that their sacrifices were not perfected till both Aaron and the people were reconciled to God; after which their burnt-sacrifices were acceptable to him. This burning of the fat was ordered in all *sin-offerings* (iv. 8, 10, 26), and therefore, was not now to be omitted. And, perhaps, it was reserved to be burnt, when the flesh of the bullock and the goat was burnt without the camp (ver. 27), which was in the conclusion of all the services of this day.

Ver. 26. *He that let go the goat for the scapegoat*] After the man had dismissed the goat, it was not lawful for him to return farther back than one mile to the last tabernacle, where he was permitted to rest himself after his labour, and not remain all night in the wilderness. So they tell us in Joma, cap. 6, sect. 6.

Shall wash his clothes,] This goat being a public *xáσappa*, or "purgation" (upon whom all their sins were thrown, was extremely impure; and therefore could not be touched, without rendering the person who led him away unclean in the highest degree: which was the reason that he was bound to wash both his clothes and also his whole body in water, before he could so much as come into the camp. Porphyry observes the same custom among the heathen, who *ἐν δυνάμει ὑποπταίους* (as his words are), "in such kind of sacrifices as those for the averting evils," permitted no man who had meddled with them to come into the city, or to go to his own house, *μη πρότερον ἰσθῆτα καὶ σώμα ποταμοῖς ἢ πηγῇ ἱποκαθάραι*, "who had not first washed his clothes and his body in some river, or in spring-water (lib. ii. περὶ Ἀποχῆς, sect. 44). For nothing is more known than that such a kind of purification for washing themselves, was a custom all the world over; and continues to this day in the eastern, or other hot countries, not only among the Mahometans, but the pagans, who plunge themselves three times, one after another, into their rivers, rising up with their faces to the east, as all travellers into those parts tell us.

Afterward come into the camp.] Have free conversation with his brethren, and, I suppose, without any farther ceremony, be admitted to the sanctuary.

Ver. 27. *Bullock*] Mentioned ver. 11, 15.

Whose blood was brought] Of which we read in the same place, ver. 14, 15.

Shall one carry forth] But first they were ripped up, and the *imurim*, as they call them (mentioned in iv. 8, 9), taken out, to be burnt upon the altar. And then the priest dissected them (as the Misna saith in Joma, cap. 6, sect. 7), not to pieces, as was wont to be done in *burnt-offerings*, but made only deep incisions, letting the parts hang still together; which being done, *four* men saith R. Solomon, carried them

the goat *for* the sin offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall *one* carry forth without the camp; and they shall burn in the fire their skins, and their flesh, and their dung.

28 And he that burneth them shall wash his

forth upon two staves or bars, *one* being not able to do it: and accordingly the LXX. translate these words ἐξέσονται, "they shall carry forth." But one person, it is likely, had the principal care to see them burnt; which is the reason he only is mentioned.

Without the camp;] Into a clean place, where the ashes were wont to be poured out (iv. 12). There were three camps (as I noted before, xiii. 46), "the camp of the people," unto which Jerusalem answered in aftertimes; "the camp of the Levites," unto which answered the "mountain of the house" (as they called it), the whole circuit about the temple: and the "camp of God," or the sanctuary with all its courts, unto which answered the temple and its courts. So Maimonides, in his treatise called Beth Habbechira, cap. vii. Now, as these sacrifices were carried to be burnt without the "camp of the people," when they were in the wilderness, so they were burnt without the city of Jerusalem, after the temple was built there.

Which illustrates the words of the apostle, Heb. xiii. 10, 11, &c., where he takes it for granted, as a thing they all knew, that Jerusalem answered to the "camp of Israel:" and from thence shows, that the mystery prefigured by this goat, "whose blood was brought into the holy place to make atonement" (as he speaks in this verse), was accomplished in our blessed Lord and Saviour, "who, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate," as the apostle there observes: that is, without the city, yet near the suburbs of Jerusalem; whose type or figure was the camp of the Israelites in the wilderness.

And the intent of the apostle in this, and other such-like observations, was to show, that our Saviour's sufferings on the cross, were a most true and proper sacrifice; a sacrifice fully satisfactory for the sins of the world; or rather, more satisfactory for all the sins of men against the moral law of God, than the sacrifices on the day of atonement, the passover, or other anniversary solemnities, were for sins merely against the law of ceremonies: as the apostle shows in the foregoing part of that epistle (Heb. ix. 13, 14).

Burn in the fire their skins, &c.] Here, it is plain, there was more than one who carried the bodies of these beasts without the camp; they being too heavy for any single person to bear. And they burnt them entirely (see iv. 11, 12): except what was offered upon the altar. Yet Josephus is pleased to except *αὐτὰς ἐξόχας*, by which he seems to mean their rumps (lib. iii. cap. 30). In which he forgot himself; for though these were comprehended under the *imurim* of some sacrifices (see viii. 3), yet neither here, nor in the fourth chapter, ver. 8, 9, is there any mention of this fat; nor is it comprehended under the fat mentioned above (ver. 25), which the Misna in Joma says, was the fat of the inwards only.

Ver. 28. *He that burneth them]* The Vulgar Latin, I think, rightly translates it, *Quicumque combusserit*, "whoever burneth them:" for there was more than one, as I said before, employed in this business.

Shall wash his clothes, &c.] Being defiled by touching the sacrifices, which were charged with so many sins; as he that carried away the scape-goat was, ver. 26, where there is the very same order in the same words. Now, when all this was done, the

clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp.

29 ¶ And this shall be a statute for ever unto you: that in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and do no work at all, *whether it be* one of your own

Misna saith (cap. vii. Joma, sect. 4), the high-priest washed himself again, and put on his white robes, which were proper to this day; and went into the most holy place, to fetch out the censer, with the dish, or cup, which he carried in when he went to burn incense (ver. 12, 13). And when he came out from thence, he washed, and put on his golden garments, and offered incense upon the golden altar, and trimmed the lamps. Which being done, they brought him his own garments, which he wore constantly; and when he had put them on, they accompanied him to his house, where he entertained his friends with a feast, being come out of the sanctuary in peace; that is, safe and in health. For by shifting his garments, and washing so often, he was in danger to catch cold (as we speak), and they did sometimes fall into various diseases upon this occasion, as P. Cunæus observes out of Maimonides, lib. ii. de Repub. Heb. cap. 14, and some died in the holy place, not having performed the service duly. Which made it very reasonable, that he and his friends should rejoice, when he returned in health and safety.

Ver. 29. *A statute for ever]* Till the coming of Christ, in whom all that these sacrifices signified was accomplished: who put an end therefore to this legal dispensation (see Exod. xii. 14).

In the seventh month,] When they had gathered in all the fruits of the earth, and thereby had the more liberty to attend such a solemn service. Which was the reason, perhaps, why there were more solemnities appointed in this month, than in any other month in the year; as appears from the twenty-third chapter of this book. It had been anciently also the first month in the year, being the month, it is likely, wherein the world was created: but upon the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, the month Abib, by God's special command, was ordered to be the first. Yet not absolutely, but only in respect of that which was most eminent, viz. for the ecclesiastical account: for as to their civil or temporal affairs, the seventh month (Tisri) still retained the precedence.

On the tenth day] The Arabians imitated this; calling the fast of the tenth day of the month Mohar-ran, by the name of *Ashura*; which is exactly the *Ashor* (tenth day) here mentioned by Moses; from whom these people derived it, before the appearance of Mahomet; who, finding the Jews, when he came to Medina, fasting upon this day *Ashura*, asked them the reason of it: who told him (as the Mahometan writers report) it was in remembrance of Pharaoh's being then drowned in the Red Sea: whereupon he said, I have more to do with Moses than you, and thereupon commanded his followers to fast on this day (see Dr. Pocock upon Abal-Farajius concerning the Manners of the Arabians, p. 309, 310). But this is plainly an idle tale, invented by him or his followers; for the Jews would rather have feasted than fasted upon the day of such a deliverance. But it shows that this day was remarkable among the Jews, and solemnly observed by them, whosoever they were; and was chosen by God, rather than any other day of the month (if we may believe Maimonides, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43), because it was the day on which Moses came down from the mount, with the second tables in his hand, and proclaimed to the

country, or a stranger that sojourneth among you:

people the remission of their great sin, in worshipping the golden calf; in memory of which it was ordered to be entirely a day of repentance and of Divine worship.

Ye shall afflict your souls.] By fasting and abstinence, not only from all meat and drink, but from all other pleasure whatsoever: inasmuch, that they might not wash their faces, much less anoint their heads, nor wear their shoes, nor use the marriage bed, nor read (if their doctors say true) any portion of the law, which would give them delight: for example, the story of their coming out of Egypt, and leading them through the Red Sea, &c., so far is the Mahometan story from having any colour of truth. It is likely, also, that to increase their grief they rent their clothes (as they did in other fasts in aftertimes), put on sackcloth, girded it close to their flesh, sprinkled ashes on their heads, &c., which were all intended, no doubt, to work in them an inward sorrow for all their sins, with a hearty abhorrence of them, and resolution to mortify and abstain from them. For though the word *soul* be generally expounded the *sensitive* part of us, which is *afflicted* by *fasting* (as the prophet Isaiah expounds this phrase, lvi. 3, 5), yet it is absurd to think that God was pleased with this alone, without that inward compunction of *mind*, which made them break off their sins by righteousness; which the prophet there declares was the only acceptable to the Lord.

The Hebrew doctors here observe, that they did not afflict little children on this day, by making them fast from all food, till they were of the age of eleven years; but only taught them what they were to do when they came of age, that they might be accustomed to the precept (see Joma, cap. 8, sect. 4).

Do no work at all.] Not only abstain from all pleasure, but from all labour whatsoever: nothing being to be done upon this day but confession of sins and repentance, as Maimonides expresses it in the place before mentioned.

One of your own country, or a stranger that sojourneth.] The Hebrew word *ezrach* is extant only here and xlii. 42, which signifies as much as one that had his *original* among them, being born an Israelite, as it is there expressed. The opposite to which is *gher* (a stranger, we translate it), one that was of another nation, but had embraced the Jewish religion, and lived among them; who in the New Testament is called a *proselyte*.

Ver. 30. *On that day shall the priest make an atonement.*] If upon this day they afflicted and humbled their souls (as Conr. Pellicanus glosses), with "fasting and prayer and anguish for their sins, with alms also, beseeching God's mercy with tears and sighs in sackcloth and ashes; resting from all servile works, and devoted wholly to the Lord."

To cleanse you.] From all the transgressions and sins mentioned ver. 16, from which both the high-priest, and his family, and all the people were to be purged on this day. For which reason the greatest care was to be used to see it rightly observed, because all their happiness depended upon it. For the land of Canaan was promised them, upon condition that they kept the law; offering all the sacrifices therein prescribed; especially this great sacrifice, which was to cleanse them from the guilt of all their neglects or breaches of this law. Which should teach us Christians to conclude, that as the inheritance of that good land was assigned the Jews in consideration of their sacrifices, as the condition of that covenant, by which they were prescribed; so the inheritance

30 For on that day shall *the priest* make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, *that ye*

of the kingdom of heaven is made over to us by the covenant of grace, in consideration of the obedience and sufferings of Christ Jesus, of which they were a figure. For it is his blood "that cleanseth us from all unrighteousness" (as St. John speaks), and secures our claim to the heavenly inheritance.

That ye may be clean.] If a man was bound to offer sacrifice for any sin that was certain, he was not excused from it by this sacrifice on the day of expiation; but was bound to make that other sacrifice also. But the day of expiation freed those who were bound to offer sacrifices for dubious offences. So Maimonides saith (in his treatise of Offences committed through Error, chap. 3, sect. 9), that those sins which were known to none but God, were taken away by this solemn day of expiation, without any other sacrifice. But the Misna, in the last section of Joma, acknowledges very honestly, that the day of expiation did not purge men from the guilt of the offences they had committed against their neighbour, unless they first gave him satisfaction.

Before the Lord.] Who dwelt among them, and would continue to do so, if they observed his laws, and took care to be thus cleansed from all their sins. But, lest any man should mistake this matter, it may be here fit to observe, that there were no sacrifices at all appointed by the law of Moses for capital offences; and therefore when he speaks here of making them clean from *all their sins* upon this day, such as these (for instance, murder, adultery, idolatry, &c.) are not included: for this great sacrifice could not obtain a pardon for them, but only for offences committed against the ritual laws contained in this book; and that also when they were committed through error or ignorance: for if they were done presumptuously, cutting off was threatened to them (see Numb. xv. from ver. 22 to 32). And this appears plainly from the sacrifices themselves that are here appointed; which had no virtue in them from their own worth and value, but only from God's institution, to make expiation for any sin. For the death of a bullock or a goat was not of such account with God, that it could prevail for the taking away of guilt, unless he had given it such a power. And that power which he was pleased to allow unto them, was neither infinite, nor could it be so. For the guilt that they were principally designed to abolish, was not of such a nature as to require such an expiation: it arising from things which were neither good nor evil in themselves; and therefore could not create such a guilt. Such were all the uncleannesses from certain natural fluxes, from touching a dead body, and innumerable other such-like impurities: which depending wholly upon the will of God, who by a positive law made such things to bring men under a guilt; by the same will he appointed a proportionable expiation of it by these sacrifices, whose power to cleanse depended also purely upon his pleasure. And if they had any virtue to purge men from the real guilt of sins committed against the eternal laws of God; this they had not of themselves, but from the most gracious will of God, who was pleased to apply to this purpose the future satisfaction of the immaculate Lamb of God, of which these sacrifices were a shadow and type. For a body being prepared for the Son of God, and he offering himself for us, that was a sacrifice of such infinite value in its own nature, that it expiated all manner of sins of all men. To this effect, that excellent person Joh. Wagenseil discourses, in his confutation of R. Lipman's *Carmen Memoriale*, p. 488.

may be clean from all your sins before the LORD.

31 *It shall be a sabbath of rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls, by a statute for ever.*

32 And the priest, whom he shall anoint, and whom he shall consecrate to minister in the priest's office in his father's stead, shall make the atonement, and shall put on the linen clothes, *even* the holy garments :

Ver. 31. *It shall be a sabbath of rest unto you,*] In the Hebrew the words are *a Sabbath of Sabbaths*, i. e. a great or perfect Sabbath, like that of the seventh day in every week; on which they might do no manner of work. And so the seventh day is called, just as this is, a Sabbath of rest, or Sabbath of Sabbaths (see Exod. xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2); which gave occasion to those jeers we meet withal in Martial and others, at the Jews' fasting on their *Sabbath-days*: for reading Moses's books carelessly, they fancied the Jews observed as strict a fast upon every *Sabbath-day*, as they did on this, which was but once a year.

Ye shall afflict your souls,] See ver. 29.

Ver. 32.] The high-priest, who should be anointed and consecrated in his father's stead (when he was dead), is here ordered to make this atonement yearly. That is, what was now done by Aaron, was to be done by every high-priest successively, when he was legally put into his office; by vesting him with the priestly garments, anointing him and offering the sacrifices of consecration (viii. 7, 10, 22).

This statute confined the sacred work of this day to the high-priest, who alone could perform it: but it shows withal, as the apostle observes, the great imperfection of this legal priesthood, which could not, *by reason of death*, continue always in one person: but there were *many priests*, succeeding one another in the office, which became often vacant. Whereas our great High-priest, "because he continued for ever," i. e. never dies, "hath an unchangeable priesthood" and therefore is able to save to the uttermost, or evermore, those that come to God by him" (Heb. vii. 23—25).

Put on the linen clothes,] He was to take a special care not to officiate on this day in any other garments

33 And he shall make an atonement for the holy sanctuary, and he shall make an atonement for the tabernacle of the congregation, and for the altar, and he shall make an atonement for the priests, and for all the people of the congregation.

34 And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make an atonement for the children of Israel for all their sins once a year. And he did as the LORD commanded Moses.

but those mentioned ver. 4, which were peculiarly appropriated to this service, and called the white garments; which were a figure, perhaps, of the perfect purity of our great High-priest, who, as it there immediately follows (Heb. vii. 26), "is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners."

Ver. 33.] In this verse he only sums up the whole duty of the day; in which a general atonement was made, for all things, and for all persons. The only thing to be observed is, that the expiation of the sanctuary, the tabernacle, and the altar, preceded the expiation of the priests and of the people, who were to be expiated by the sacrifices offered there. But the expiation of the high-priest himself, who was to make the expiation of the sanctuary, preceded all the rest; as is apparent from ver. 11.

Ver. 34. *An everlasting statute*] The repetition of this the third time (see ver. 29, 31), shows of how great importance it was, that this annual solemnity should be observed.

Unto you,] The high-priests (before mentioned), of whom he speaks in the plural number, because none of them could continue always (as I have observed, ver. 32), but enjoyed the office successively, upon the death of their predecessors.

To make an atonement] This is only a repetition of what was said, ver. 30, that it should be incumbent on the high-priest, by a perpetual obligation, to make an atonement for the people's sins on this day; as it was incumbent on the people (ver. 29) to afflict their souls upon this day.

He did as the LORD commanded Moses.] The service of this day was immediately performed by Aaron, according to the forenamed order.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *The blood of all slain beasts must be offered to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle.* 7 *They must not offer to devils.* 10 *All eating of blood is forbidden,* 15 *and all that dieth alone, or is torn.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto

them; *This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded, saying,*

3 What man soever *there be* of the house of

CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1.] After he had ordered the great anniversary sacrifice, in the foregoing chapter, he gives some directions about other sacrifices, for which there would be occasion every day.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto Aaron, &c.*] Who were all concerned in what follows; and therefore this command is directed to the whole "house of Israel" (ver. 3), to whom this was delivered, it is likely, by their elders: or else Moses himself went from tribe to tribe, and spake to their several families.

This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded,] Enjoined by a special law.

Ver. 3. *What man soever—killeth an ox, &c.*] viz. For a sacrifice or offering (as it follows, ver. 4), these being the only creatures of the herd and the flock that were permitted to be brought to God's altar. There are those, indeed, who think Moses speaks of killing these creatures for common use; which it was lawful for them to do anywhere, after they came to the land of Canaan (Deut. xii. 15), but now they were not to kill them for their food, unless they brought them to the door of the tabernacle, and there first sacrificed some part of them to the Lord, before they tasted of them themselves. By which their sacrificing to demons was prevented (to which they were prone, ver. 7), and they also constantly feasted with God

Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth *it out of the camp,*

4 And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the LORD before the tabernacle of the LORD; blood shall be imputed unto that man;

while they dwelt in the wilderness. But this is better founded upon Deut. xii. 20, 21, where it is supposed that they had thus done, while they remained in the wilderness; and were so near to the house of God, that they might easily bring thither every beast they killed for ordinary use. But they were dispensed withal as to this, when they came into Canaan, and could not possibly, when they had a mind to eat flesh, go so far as to the tabernacle or temple, which was many miles from some of them. Instead whereof, they were bound to come at the three great festivals, and appear before God at his house, wheresoever they dwelt.

In the camp,] This seems to show that he doth not speak of killing these beasts, ad usum vescendi, as St. Austin's words are, "for the use of eating" (for that they did not do out of the camp, but in their tents), but de sacrificiis, he speaks "concerning sacrifices." For he prohibits (as he goes on) private sacrifices, lest every man should take upon him to be a priest, &c.

Ver. 4. *Bringeth it not unto the door, &c.*] In ancient time every man had performed the office of a priest in his own family: but now that liberty is taken away, because they had abused it to idolatry: and every man was bound to bring his sacrifice to the house of God, where none but the sons of Aaron could officiate, and had the most sacred obligations on them to offer only to the Lord. The very heathens themselves, in future times, found it necessary to enact the very same; as appears by Plato in the latter end of his tenth book of Laws, where he hath these memorable words: "Ἐστὶ νόμος ὅδε τοῖς ξυμμάτοις κείμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μηδὲ εἰς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἐκτρέψωσι," "Let this be a law imposed absolutely upon all, that no man whatsoever have a sacred place in private houses;" but when he hath a mind to offer sacrifice, let him go to the public temples, and deliver his sacrifice to the priests, whether men or women, οἱ ἀγνῖα τοῦτων πριμάλις, "whose business it is to take care that these things be performed in a holy manner." By which it appears, that these were two established principles of religion in wise men's minds, to sacrifice publicly, and to bring their sacrifices to the priests, who were to take care to offer them purely. Unto which Moses adds one thing more, that their public sacrifices should be offered only at one place: which was a most efficacious preservative from all strange worship; nothing being done but under the eye of the ministers of religion, and the governors of the people. Insomuch that St. Chrysostom (as our learned Dr. Spencer observes, lib. i. de Rit. et Leg. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 4, sect. 1) calls Jerusalem, which was afterwards established to be this place, καθάπερ τινὰ σύνδεσμον λαρείας, "a kind of bond or knot, whereby the whole nation was tied to the Judaical religion."

Before the tabernacle] Before the Divine Majesty, which dwelt in the tabernacle; round about which they all inhabited, and were so near it while they travelled in the wilderness, that, as there was no trouble in bringing all their sacrifices thither, so they knew certainly whither to go. And thus the Hebrew doctors observe it was when they came into Canaan; where, while the tabernacle was fixed in Shiloh, none might sacrifice anywhere else: but when it wandered uncertainly (after Shiloh was destroyed), being some-

he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people:

5 To the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the LORD, unto the door of the tabernacle of the

times in Mispheh, sometimes at Gilgal, and at Nob, and Gibeon, and the house of Obed Edom, they fancy it was lawful to sacrifice in other places. For so we find Samuel did, 1 Sam. vii. 9, ix. 13 (where he sacrificed in a high place), xl. 15, xvi. 2, and David, 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, and Elias, 1 Kings xviii. 23. But these may be thought extraordinary acts, done by an immediate warrant from God; for none of these persons were priests, but prophets guided by Divine inspirations (see Dr. Outram, lib. i. De Sacrifice. cap. 2).

Blood shall be imputed unto that man;] He was to be punished as a murderer; that is, die for it. For to have blood imputed to a man, in the Hebrew phrase, or to be guilty of blood, is to be liable to have his blood shed, or to lose his life. Which, as of old it was the punishment of every one who killed another man (Gen. ix. 6), so here he is condemned to die who sacrificed anywhere but at the tabernacle.

And that man shall be cut off] This, not another punishment (unless we suppose it relates to his posterity), and therefore the first word should be translated, not *and*, but *for*. And the meaning either is, that the magistrate should pass the sentence of death upon him, or God would destroy him himself. The latter sense is most probable, because he threatens (ver. 10) to execute vengeance with his own hand, upon him that was guilty of eating blood. It is thought, indeed, by some, that *cutting off* doth not signify death; but, as in other places of this book, *cutting off* is so evidently joined with *death*, that so little cannot be meant by it, as depriving such persons of the privileges of God's people (for instance, when any offered his children to Moloch, xx. 2—5, or did not afflict his soul on the day of atonement, xxiii. 29, 30), so here in this place it most certainly signifies the putting him that was guilty of this crime to death; because he was to be punished as a murderer. Which severe penalty was enacted in this case, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry. For if they had been permitted to offer sacrifice where they pleased, they might easily have forsaken God by altering the rites which he had ordained; nay, by offering to strange gods: particularly to the demons, which, in those days, frequented the fields, and endeavoured to persuade the ignorant that they were gods, as seems to be intimated in the next verse and ver. 7.

Ver. 5. *To the end*] Or, *for this cause*; i. e. to avoid that heavy punishment before mentioned.

May bring their sacrifices,] Or, *shall bring*: as the Vulgar Latin translates it (regarding the sense more than the words), Ideo sacerdoti offerre debent, &c. "Therefore they ought to bring to the priest their sacrifices," &c.

Which they offer in the open field,] Where the pagans erected their altars, to procure fruitfulness to their fields. Insomuch that Libanius saith (in his oration ἐπὶ ἐρώων), that the temples, or holy places, were the *very soul or life of the fields*: ψυχή γάρ, ὡ βασιλεῦ, τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ ἐσθλά. And that "in them lay the hope of the husbandmen:" καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖσι ἐν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἐλπίδες. How old this idolatry was, we cannot certainly tell; but it continued a long time among the Israelites, as we learn from the prophet Jeremiah, xiii. 27, and Hosea xv. 11, where he saith, "Their

congregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace offerings unto the Lord.

6 And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the Lord at the door of the

altars were as heaps in the furrows of the field:" that is, there were abundance of them, notwithstanding this early prohibition given by Moses. And among the gentiles, Festus tells us they offered sacrifices to the *terrestrial gods, in terra*, "upon the very ground" (according to the Hebrew phrase here, "on the face of the field), but to the *infernal gods, in terra effossa*, "in holes or pits digged in the earth;" and to the *celestial, in ædificiis a terra exaltatis*, "in buildings exalted above the earth;" i. e. upon altars: which had their name from hence, *ab altitudine*, "from their height," as both he and Servius also tell us. And every one knows that they delighted to set them in high places, on the tops of mountains and hills: especially where there were groves and shady trees, under which they set them, even in valleys, and in the high-ways, and fields, and meadows. For they were so fond of them, that those who were against erecting of temples to their gods (as Zeno was), yet never sacrificed without altars, which they set in the open air, to signify they believed he whom they worshipped could not be circumscribed.

Even that they may bring them unto the Lord,] Or, "they shall bring them even unto the Lord;" who had settled his habitation at the tabernacle, and would be worshipped nowhere else with sacrifices.

Unto the door] Here seems to be another reason why they were not permitted to offer in the field; because God would have none but the priests (men appointed by himself to attend for this purpose at his house) to offer sacrifices to him, according to the rites he had prescribed.

Offer them for peace-offerings] Upon these words Nachmanides grounds the forenamed opinion, that whilst the Jews continued in the wilderness, they ate no meat at their own private tables, but what had been first offered to God at the tabernacle. "Behold," saith he, "God commanded that all which the Israelites did eat should be peace-offerings." Which was afterwards altered when they came to Canaan, and lived remote from the house of God. And such a custom prevailed among the gentiles, who would not sit down to eat at their tables till they had offered bread and wine unto their gods. Thus it was among the Chaldees, as appears from Dan. i. 8. But then they had many altars everywhere, even in their own private houses. Whereas here in the wilderness there was but one altar, which could not contain all the fat that was to be burnt on it every day, if we suppose the Israelites to have commonly killed beasts for their own eating. It seems to be the truer opinion, that they seldom or never did that while they were in the wilderness; but all the beasts they killed were for sacrifice, of which Moses here speaks. So R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. clxxxvii.), and other Jewish doctors; they are here forbidden "to offer a sacrifice to God anywhere without the tabernacle." He mentions indeed only *peace-offerings*: but the reason is, because they were most common; being offered not only for all the mercies they had received, but for all they desired to obtain from God; as Abarbinel observes upon the seventh chapter of this book, where the several sorts of them are mentioned. Men were more forward also to bring these offerings than any other, because they were to have their share of them, and feast upon them.

Ver. 6. *The priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar]* This depends upon the foregoing command of

tabernacle of the congregation, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto the Lord.

7 And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a

offering all their sacrifices at the tabernacle; that so the blood might be sprinkled upon the altar (and poured out at the bottom of it, as it is required in other places of this book), and not kept together in a vessel, or a hole in the ground, as the manner of the ancient idolatry was, when they offered their sacrifices in the field, and sat about this blood, and feasted upon the flesh of their sacrifice. So Maimonides saith the custom of the Zabii was (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46).

Burn the fat] So the manner was in all sacrifices: which is said also to be "for a sweet savour unto the Lord" (see i. 8, 9, iii. 3, 5, iv. 35, &c.).

Ver. 7. *They shall no more]* It seems by this they had been guilty of other idolatrous practices, besides that of worshipping the golden calf (Exod. xxxii.). And so much is expressed Deut. xxxii. 17. And it was a sin of which their fathers had been long guilty, especially in Egypt (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 7, xxiii. 2, 3), which they had not left, but continued in the wilderness (Amos v. 25).

Offer their sacrifices unto devils,] These words show the reason why God commands them, under such a heavy penalty, to offer only in one place at the tabernacle; because, while they sacrificed in the open fields, they had been in danger to be seduced by demons, who were wont to frequent those places (especially in deserts), and present themselves to ignorant people as if they were gods, and entice their devotion towards them. Which demons, or evil spirits, appeared, it is likely, in the form of goats; and therefore are here called *seirim*, which properly signifies goats. And hath made some imagine, that they really sacrificed to these creatures, as some of the Egyptians did, who held goats to be sacred animals. So Diodorus tells us (lib. ii.), *Τὸν δὲ τράγον ἀνεδίωσαν*, &c. "they deified a goat;" upon the same account that the Greeks worshipped Priapus. Herodotus, in his Euterpe, cap. 46, saith the same of the Mendesii, who, he saith, worshipped the males more than the females. And many other authors mentioned by Bochartus (in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 53), report the same. But I question whether the Egyptians were guilty of such idolatry in the days of Moses. Nor is there more truth in their opinion, who think the Israelites now worshipped images in this form of goats. Which the LXX. seem to have thought, when they translated it *τοῖς ματαίοις*, "to vain things," as idols are called in Scripture. And yet this very word, *seirim*, is by the Greek translators rendered *δαίμονια*, Isa. xlii. 21, which we here follow; only instead of *demons* translating it *devils*: whom the ancient Zabii worshipped, they appearing to them in the form of goats; and this custom was universally spread (as Maimonides thinks) in Moses's time, which was the cause of this precept (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46).

And, indeed, nothing is more common in the writings of the ancient heathen, than the mention of fauns and satyrs, and ægipanes, whose shape below was that of a goat. And to this day, in the solemn conventions of witches, the chief devil that presides in their assemblies, is said, by all that have examined such matters, to have the form of a goat. And our famous countryman, Alexander Hales, in his discourse upon the scape-goat (which is in his Summa, par. iii. q. 55), derives the reason of it from the frequent appearance of demons in this shape in the

whoring. This shall be a statute for ever unto them throughout their generations.

8 ¶ And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man *there be* of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice,

9 And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the LORD; even that man shall be cut off from among his people.

wilderness; as Mr. Selden observes in his *Prolegomena* to his book *De Diis Syris*. They that would see more of these *seirim*, may consult I. G. Vossius, lib. i. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 8, and Bochartus's *Hieroicoicon*, par. ii. lib. vi. cap. 7.

There is one, indeed (Anton. Van Dale), who hath lately endeavoured to explode all these fancies, as he esteems them, of demons: which he would have to be the mere invention of the ancient Chaldeans; and from them derived to other nations. But he will never be able to make any wise man believe, that the world was so sottish as to worship the images of goats (which he takes to be meant by *seirim*), if there had not been an appearance of something in that shape which they accounted Divine.

After whom they have gone a whoring.] i. e. With whom they have committed idolatry. For this sin was justly called by the name of *whoredom*, ever after they were solemnly contracted and espoused to God, to be his peculiar people (Exod. xix. 5). Which is the reason that he is said so often to be a *jealous God* (particularly Exod. xx. 5), highly incensed, that is, at their worshipping other gods besides him. For this and such-like words are never used but concerning idolatry; which Ezekiel describes as the foulest whoredom (xvi. 23), and particularly mentions this whoredom with the Egyptians, ver. 26, and the Assyrians, ver. 28, &c.

This shall be a statute for ever—throughout their generations.] These words seem to me to determine the sense of the foregoing precept, to which they relate (from ver. 2, &c.), not to be, that all the meat they killed for their own tables should be peace-offerings; for that, all confess, was not a statute for ever (if it were one at all) *throughout all generations*; but only while they were in the wilderness.

Ver. 8. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel.*] These words also show he speaks in the foregoing of bringing all sacrifices whatsoever to the tabernacle; the same law which was given before to the Israelites, being now extended to all strangers that sojourned among them. By whom he means all such as were proselytes to the Jewish religion. So the LXX. here translate it; and they add the very same words to ver. 3, where the *house of Israel* is only mentioned in the original Hebrew. The only question is, what sort of proselytes are here intended? And I take it he speaks of the proselytes of righteousness (as the Jews call them), who were circumcised, and thereby embraced the whole religion of Moses. And this, I find, is the general opinion: though some few learned men contend, that any stranger, who had renounced idolatry (whom they called a *proselyte of the gate*), might bring his sacrifices to the altar. Which one can hardly allow (though asserted by so great a man as Grotius, lib. i. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 16), because he speaks of the same strangers here, which are mentioned ver. 10, where all such strangers are forbidden to eat blood. Which plainly belongs to such strangers as were become Jews by circumcision: for other strangers might eat it, as appears from Deut. xiv. 21, where the

10 ¶ And whatsoever man *there be* of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood; I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people.

11 For the life of the flesh *is* in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it *is* the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.

Israelites are allowed to sell what died of itself to a stranger, that he might eat it if he pleased: and such creatures had their blood in them.

That offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice.] i. e. Any other sacrifice besides *burnt-offerings*, viz. *sin-offerings*, or *trespass-offerings*, or *peace-offerings*. None of which were accepted, but from such as were admitted into the Jewish religion: though the pious gentiles, the Jews say, might bring *burnt-offerings*.

Ver. 9. *Bringeth it not unto the door*] As he ordered their peace-offerings to be, ver. 4, 5.

Shall be cut off] This demonstrates, that the foregoing precept and this belong to the same matter; being enforced with the same penalty (ver. 4). And it also shows, that the *strangers* before mentioned, signify such gentiles as were circumcised: for otherwise they were not of the body of the people of Israel, from which they are threatened to be cut off, if they did not observe this law.

Ver. 10. *Whatsoever man, &c.*] See ver. 8.

That eateth any manner of blood.] This is forbidden before, iii. 17, and repeated again, vii. 26 (see both those places), where it is explained what blood he means; either of birds or beasts. Nothing is said of fishes, because they were not offered at the altar, and have little blood in them: nor is there any direction given anywhere how they should be killed. It is said, indeed, in this place, that they should not eat *any manner of blood*; but the meaning seems to be, neither of blood offered at the altar, nor of beasts killed for their own use: or else it is to be limited as before, to the blood of beasts and birds (ver. 13), for fishes were not at all considered. And here the reason is added why they should not eat blood (which was not mentioned in the forenamed places), because it was the life of the beast, and was therefore reserved to make atonement for their souls.

I will even set my face against that soul, &c.] That is, be extremely angry with him, and severely punish him, by cutting him off (as it here follows) from the body of the nation. Maimonides observes in the forenamed place (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46), that this is the same expression which is used against him that offered his children to Moloch, xx. 3, and that this phrase is never used in Scripture concerning any other sin, but only these two, *idolatry* and *eating blood*. For the eating of blood gave occasion (he shows) to one kind of idolatry, in the worshipping of demons: whose food the ancient idolaters imagined the blood was; by eating of which their worshippers had communion with them (see Psalm xvi. 4, and Grotius there).

Ver. 11.] Some think here are two distinct reasons against eating of blood: but the words, as they lie in the Hebrew, may well be translated, "Because the life of the flesh (of any beast, that is) is in the blood," therefore "I have given it to you (or, appointed it for you) upon the altar, to make an atonement," &c. Which is as much as to say, the life of the beast lying in the blood, I have ordained it to expiate your sins, that by its death, in your stead, your life may be pre-

12 Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.

13 And whatsoever man *there be* of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust.

served: and, therefore, I require you not to eat that which is appointed for so holy an end. For it would have been very unseemly if they had vulgarly used that to which they owed the favour of God and their very lives.

Nothing could be more rational than this precept, viz. that a thing so sacred as to be peculiarly appointed for them upon the altar, should not lose that honour and esteem that was due to it. As the blood would have done, if it had been allowed to be commonly eaten; for that is very contemptible which goes into the draught (as our Saviour speaks), and at last becomes ordure.

For it is the blood that maketh an atonement.] The blood, that is, of the sacrifices, which by God's appointment are offered to expiate your sins; that is, to preserve you from perishing. For to make an atonement, and to be a ransom, are the very same thing; as appears from Exod. xxx. 12, compared with ver. 15, 16. And to be a ransom, is to deliver from death, as appears from the words in that place—they shall every man give a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, "that there be no plague among them." For the sins of the sacrificer being laid upon the beast which he offered, by imposition of his hand on its head, and confessing them there, they were taken away by the blood of that beast, unto which they were translated. And that not merely by the obedience of him that offered the sacrifice (which the followers of Socinus say God accepted), but by the blood of the sacrifice itself, as these words expressly declare, which was offered in his stead. Thus Theodoret upon these words; "God commanded the soul of the irrational creature, with its blood, ἀντὶ τῆς αἵματος, &c. "to be offered, instead of thy rational and immortal soul." And thus the Jews themselves understand it; particularly Aben Ezra, upon these words, saith, the soul instead of the soul; i. e. the soul of the beast was offered instead of the soul of the man. And R. Solomon Jarchi to the same purpose; "one soul comes and makes expiation for another soul." And Maimonides more largely; "I have spared the soul of the man, and given this blood upon the altar; that the soul of the beast may make expiation for the soul of the man." And so Abarbinel, and many more, which may be seen in Dr. Outram's most learned book De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 22, n. 11.

Ver. 12.] What other reason soever there was before for not eating blood (see Gen. ix. 4), this is the reason why God forbade it to the children of Israel; and to all that joined themselves unto their religion.

Ver. 13.] Though no other beasts or fowls be mentioned but those that were taken in hunting (that being a very common thing in those days), yet the precept extends to all those that were bred at home, and were allowed by the law for their food. So a MS. author, mentioned by J. Wagenseil, in his annotations upon Sota, cap. 2, excerpt. Gemara, n. 6, where he puts abundance of cases upon this subject.

He shall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust.] Though it was not the blood of a sacri-

14 For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof: therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off.

15 And every soul that eateth that which died of itself, or that which was torn with beasts, whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger, he shall both wash his clothes, and

fice offered at the altar, but of a beast or bird killed for their own use, they might not eat it, but bury it in the ground; lest any beast should lick it up, as it is commonly interpreted. Maimonides hath found a deeper reason for this, which is, that nobody might meet and feast about it. By which means Moses broke their society and fellowship with demons; who, in those times, were thought to feed upon the blood, in a bowl or hole, whilst their worshippers sat about it eating of the flesh. So he writes in the place often before mentioned (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46). And this was the more necessary while they remained in the wilderness, because demons were wont to haunt such places, and there appear; but not in cities or habitable places (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4, p. 201). If a man, therefore, saw his neighbour kill a beast, and neglect to cover its blood with dust, he was bound to go and do it himself; because God speaks here unto the children of Israel, i. e. to all of them (ver. 12), as R. Levi Barzelonita glosses, Præcept. clxxxv. And the forenamed MS., mentioned by Wagenseil, saith, they covered the blood with this form of benediction; "blessed be the Lord our God, the King of the world, who hath sanctified us with his precepts, and commanded us to cover blood." Which shows they thought this a precept of great weight.

Ver. 14. For it is the life of all flesh, &c.] Whether of beasts or fowl before mentioned: and therefore prohibited to be eaten by them (as was before observed), because it was offered to God, and accepted by him for their life, when they had forfeited it by their sins.

Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh:] See ver. 12, where the same thing is said, but not so fully as here: for he only saith in that verse, "No soul of you shall eat blood;" but in this, "Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh."

For the life of all flesh is the blood thereof:] This is so often repeated (no less than three times in this verse), the more to deter them from eating blood: which was the life of the beast, and therefore offered to God, as the Lord and Giver of life; and consequently belonged to nobody else.

Ver. 15. Every soul that eateth that which died of itself,] And consequently had the blood remaining in it; as all things, also, which were not rightly killed had (the Hebrews think), and therefore here forbidden.

Or that which was torn with beasts,] Which was nothing else (as Maimonides speaks) but the beginning to be a dead carcase (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 48).

Whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger,] By a stranger is meant one that had embraced the Jewish religion: for other gentiles might eat such things. Nay, the Israelites themselves (as Maimonides observes), when they went to war, and entered the countries of the gentiles, and subdued them, might eat that "which died of itself," or "was torn of beasts;" nay, swine's flesh, and such-like

bathe *himself* in water, and be unclean until the even : then shall he be clean.

food, when they were hungry, and could find no other meat (see Schickardi Mishpat Hamelek, cap. 5, Theor. 18).

He shall both wash his clothes, and bathe, &c.] When he had eaten these things unwittingly, and came to know it, he was thus to purify himself. If he did it knowingly, it was a high crime against an express law, repeated more fully Deut. xiv. 21, and punished, as some think, with death. But I suppose they mean he was obnoxious to the Divine displeasure, and in danger to be cut off by him, if he did not offer a sacrifice to expiate his offence : which seems to be allowed in such cases, as it was for greater offences

16 But if he wash *them* not, nor bathe his flesh ; then he shall bear his iniquity.

(vi. 1, 2, &c.). And the Jewish doctors say, he who violated this law, was only to be beaten : for *cutting off*, either by the hand of God, or the court of judgment, was not threatened to sins of so light a nature as this. So Maimonides observes in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.

Ver. 16. *But if he wash them not,—he shall bear his iniquity.]* Be liable to be punished by God, for the neglect of the means of his purification. And if while he continued thus unclean, he adventured to eat of the peace-offerings, he was in danger to be “cut off from his people” (vii. 20).

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 Unlawful marriages. 19 Unlawful lusts.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, *I am the LORD your God.*

3 After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do : and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring

you, shall ye not do : neither shall ye walk in their ordinances.

4 Ye shall do my judgments, and keep mine ordinances, to walk therein : *I am the LORD your God.*

5 Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and

CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1.] It is not said, when the Lord delivered these laws to Moses ; but it is likely after the other, and before those that follow.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel,]* They were all concerned in these laws about marriage ; and therefore they are directed to the whole body of the people ; who received them, I suppose, by their elders and heads of the tribes, to whom Moses delivered them, and charged they should be communicated to every family and household (see xvii. 2).

I am the LORD your God.] I have a right to give you laws (being your sovereign upon more titles than one), to which all human customs must yield, though long practised, and spread everywhere in the world. This reason is mentioned *six* times in this chapter ; and oftener in the next (see ver. 4).

Ver. 3. *After the doings, &c.]* The manners of these two countries (of Egypt, wherein they had dwelt a long time ; and of Canaan, wherein they were going to settle) they were in the greatest danger to imitate : especially in taking the liberty of making such marriages as they saw practised among them, against which they are here severely cautioned. But though these words seem to have a particular respect to those marriages, yet Maimonides extends them to all their other practices, for which they could see no reason : *magic* being in much use among them, in dressing their trees, and ploughing their ground, and such-like common things ; in which they had a respect also to the disposition of the stars of heaven, which led them to the worship of them ; as he shows at large in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37. R. Levi Barzelonita also extends these words to the customs of all other nations (Præcept. cclxii.), which he that observed was to be beaten. But the *doings*, or customs, which Moses here speaks of, seem to be those that follow, ver. 6, 7, &c., as appears from ver. 24, &c. And the other customs of those nations, about their clothes, and cutting their hair (which the forenamed author mentions), are forbidden in other places.

Neither shall ye walk in their ordinances.] The Hebrew word *chukkoth*, which we commonly translate *statutes*, and here *ordinances*, seems to import that the incestuous marriages here mentioned were allowed by the laws and constitutions of those countries ; which made their wickedness the more intolerable (ver. 24).

Ver. 4. *Ye shall do my judgments, and keep mine ordinances,]* Frame your lives according to the laws and rules which I give you to observe ; and not according to their wicked practices, which were grown into customs and precedents. The Gemara Babyronica, mentioning these words, saith, it is a tradition of their doctors, that by *mishpatim* (which we translate *judgments*), are to be understood such natural laws as all mankind are bound to observe, though there were no written commands for them : such as those against idolatry, and those about uncovering the nakedness of such near relations as are here mentioned, and murder, &c. And by *chukkim* (*ordinances*, or *statutes*), such laws are meant as depended only on the pleasure of God ; and obliged none but those to whom they were given : such as those about meats, and garments, and leprosy, &c. Against which lest any one should object, it is here added, “*I am the LORD your God.*”

I am the LORD your God.] I, who am your sovereign Lord ; and, by redeeming you from the Egyptian bondage, am become, in a special manner *your God*, having ordained these things. Therefore let no man dispute them, or make a question of them, as the forenamed Gemara expounds these words. See Selden, lib. i. De Jure N. et G. cap. 10, p. 122, where he observes, that the laws called *statutes*, are in their language, such as depend only on the royal authority.

Ver. 5. *Keep my statutes,]* Observe the laws before mentioned. For the word we here translate *statutes*, is the same with that translated *ordinances* in the foregoing verse.

He shall live in them :] Not be cut off : but live long and happily, in the enjoyment of all the blessings which God promised in his covenant with them.

my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them: I *am* the LORD.

6 ¶ None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover *their* nakedness: I *am* the LORD.

I am the Lord.] Who will faithfully keep my covenant, and fulfil my promises (Exod. vi. 3).

Ver. 6. *None of you*] In the Hebrew the words being *ish, ish* (as much as to say, *man, man*), that is, no man; the Talmudists take it as if he had said, neither Jew nor gentile. For all mankind, they say, are comprehended under these laws about incest. Nay, the very Karaites (or those who adhere only to the Scripture, and reject a Talmudical exposition) are of this mind, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. i. De Uxore Heb. cap. 5. But the Talmudists themselves do not all understand this matter alike. For some of them think all the gentiles (at least those who were under the dominion of the Israelites) were bound to refrain from all incestuous marriages; to which death is threatened by the law. But others of them think they were concerned only in those six things which were unlawful before the law of Moses was given (see Selden, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1, and cap. 11, p. 596, &c.). But the ancient Hebrews give a good reason for all these laws, as Grotius observes, lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 5, sect. 13, n. 2.

Shall approach] Some of the Jews have been so rigorous, as to expound this word, as if it bound them not to have familiarity with the persons after named (R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxxxviii.), which is against all reason and natural affection. The plain sense is, they should not approach, or come near to them, for the end afterward mentioned, viz. "to uncover their nakedness." Nay, this very phrase is used for the same thing, Gen. xx. 4, without the addition "of uncovering their nakedness."

Any that is near of kin to him,] It must be confessed, that these words *near of kin* do not sufficiently express the full sense of the Hebrew phrase; nor are they of a determinate signification; for a man may be *near of kin* to a woman, who is not "the remainder of his flesh," as the Hebrew phrase is: that is, "so near of kin to him that nothing comes between them." This is properly the *nearness of flesh* here spoken of; she that is immediately born of the same flesh that a man is, or she out of whose flesh he is horn; or she that is born out of his flesh: that is, in plain words, a man's sister, mother, or daughter. These are a man's own immediate relations; which the Karaites call "the foundation and root of all that is here forbidden," as Selden notes, lib. i. Ux. Hebr. cap. 2. For the sake of whom the rest here mentioned are prohibited, having a *nearness of flesh* to them, viz. his father's or mother's sister; his granddaughter, and his niece. For the best explication of this phrase, is the express particulars mentioned by God himself in this place.

To uncover their nakedness.] To have carnal knowledge of her, as the Scripture modestly speaks in other places. For *nakedness* in the holy language signifies the secret parts, which natural modesty teaches all civilized people to cover; and not to reveal them to any but those whom they marry. Therefore "not to uncover the nakedness" of the persons here named, is properly, not to take them in marriage; and much less to have knowledge of them without marriage. Answerable to this is the name of a virgin, whom the Hebrews call *alma*, which is as much as *covered*, clothed, or veiled: because those parts were never

7 The nakedness of thy father, or the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.

8 The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt

exposed to any one, but those to whom they were espoused and joined in marriage.

I am the Lord.] By my authority, who am your sovereign, and the sovereign of the world, these laws are enacted: and I will punish those that break them.

Ver. 7.] It is commonly thought by interpreters, that the particle we translate *or*, is here as much as *that is* (for so it signifies in some places, particularly 1 Sam. xxviii. 23). So that the latter part of the verse is only an explication of the former, and makes them but one prohibition, against a man's marrying his mother. And this, indeed, the next words seem to imply, *she is thy mother*; who bare thee, and therefore not to be taken to be thy wife, much less to be otherwise known by thee. But we may as well think, that "the nakedness of the father and of the mother" are both here mentioned, to show neither the daughter might marry her father, nor the son his mother; and consequently, that in all the following particulars, women were concerned just as men were; though the men be only mentioned. And under the name of *father* and *mother* are comprehended grandfather or grandmother, or other progenitors before them.

She is thy mother.] This is the very first prohibition; being a going back in nature for a man to marry his mother. Which, though it was practised in those days by the Canaanites, and Egyptians, and by the Persians also, in aftertimes, and some other eastern countries, yet in the western part of the world (as Mr. Selden observes) such marriages were nunquam non exaceranda, "excecrable in all ages" (lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 11, p. 601, &c.). Such were the marriages of Œdipus with Jocasta, of Nero with Agrippina, Pelopeia and Thyestis her father, of whom Ægistus was born; which everybody detested (see Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 5, sect. 2). For the law of nature was against such marriages, notwithstanding the practice of persons, nay, whole nations, whom God gave up to *πάση ἀναιμίας* (as St. Paul shows), "dishonourable affections," for their other sins: especially for their forsaking him, and falling to idolatry.

Maimonides gives this as the general reason of prohibiting this, and all the following marriages: because the persons here forbidden to be so joined together, are all, in a manner, such as are wont to live together in the same house (for so fathers, mothers, children, brothers, and sisters do), who might easily be tempted to lewdness one with another, if even marrying together were not severely forbidden. And thus the LXX. translate the words of the foregoing verse; none of you shall approach to any *that is near of kin to him*, *πρὸς αἰκία σαρξός*, or, as other copies, *πρὸς αἰκρίων σαρξός*, "to those that are so near of kin, that they usually dwell in the same house:" as parents and children; brothers and sisters; and the brothers and sisters of our parents. Mahomet, as lewd and impudent as he was, had not the boldness to control these laws; but, in the fourth chapter of his Alcoran, expressly forbids his followers to marry their *mothers*, their *mothers in law*, &c., and a great many of the rest which here follow.

Ver. 8. *Thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover.*] That is, of a step-mother. Such was the incest of Reuben with Bilhah (Gen. xxxv. 22), and of Absalom with the wives of his father David (2 Sam. xvi.

thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness.

9 The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or daughter of thy mother, *whether she be born at home, or born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover.*

10 The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or

of thy daughter's daughter, *even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for their's is thine own nakedness.*

11 The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.

21, 22), and of Antiochus Soter with Stratonice; who, abhorring from such a conjunction, was taught that all things were honest that pleased the king. But the thing itself is so hateful, that the very naming it is a condemnation; and therefore it is all one with the prime natural law, which prohibits the conjunction of *parents and children*. "For she that is one flesh with my father (as a great man speaks), is as near to me as my father, and that is as near as my own mother. As near, I mean, in the estimation of law, though not in the accounts of nature; and, therefore, though it be a crime of a less turpitude, yet it is equally forbidden, and is against the law of nature, not directly, but by interpretation" (book ii. chap. 2, Ductor Dubitantium, rule iii. n. 29).

It is thy father's nakedness.] He having known her, it was not permitted the son to have her also. Nay, the Jews say, if the father had only espoused her, it was not lawful for the son to have her to wife; or if he had divorced her, it was not lawful for the son to have her, even after he was dead (see R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. exci. Buxtorf. De Sponsal. p. 16, 17).

Ver. 9. *Nakedness of thy sister.*] As the nearness of flesh (mentioned ver. 6) above a man, is his mother; and below him, is his daughter: so, on the side of him, is his sister.

Daughter of thy father.] Though she were begotten by his father of another wife, not of his mother; yet he might not marry her.

Or daughter of thy mother.] Born of her by another husband, not by his father.

Whether she be born at home, or born abroad.] Be legitimately born in wedlock; or illegitimately, out of wedlock; as the Talmudists expound it: see Selden, lib. v. De Jure N. et G. cap. 10, p. 591, where he observes, that though the Egyptians (as Philo and others report), with such like nations, thought the marriage of brothers and sisters to be lawful, and it was practised also in Greece; yet the greatest men in the western countries condemned such marriages; which some of the Greek philosophers also disallowed: and Euripides himself called barbarous, even when it was practised. Insomuch, that in after ages this wicked custom was quite abolished; and that before Christianity was well settled among them. For Sextus Empiricus saith, that in his time it was utterly unlawful: see there, cap. xi. p. 603, 605, &c., where he shows the Romans always abhorred such marriages; nay, it was late before the Persians took up this abominable custom, after the example of Cambyeses: who being in love with his own sister, as Herodotus relates (in his Thalia, cap. xxxi.), and having a mind to marry her, which was never practised before in that country; he commanded the royal judges (as he calls them), who were the interpreters of the laws, to advise whether he might lawfully do it, or not: who, to please him, and yet not seem to give an illegal opinion, answered, νόμον οὐδὲνα ἐξενεγκέναι ἐξ πελινε ἀδελφῆς συνοικίειν ἀδελφόν, &c., "That they could find no law which permitted a brother to marry a sister: but there was a law, that the Persian king might do even what he would" (see Grotius, lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 5, sect. 13).

Even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover.] It shall be unlawful to thee to marry any of the forenamed

sisters. For though the marriage of brother and sister was necessary in the beginning, when God created but one man and one woman, by whose children the world was peopled; yet, when it was so, there was great reason that it should be made utterly unlawful, as many have demonstrated; particularly Bishop Taylor, in his Ductor Dubitantium, book ii. chap. 2, rule iii. n. 24, 25, &c. "For now it is next to an unnatural mixture (as he speaks), it hath something of confusion in it, and blending the very first partings of nature, which makes it intolerably scandalous and universally forbidden; for if it were not, the mischief would be horrible and infinite."

Ver. 10. *Of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter.*] This law concerns a man's granddaughters, by his son or his daughter, whether legitimately or spuriously begotten, as R. Levi Barzelonita expounds it (Præcept. exciii.). Who adds, in the next precept but one, this is another prohibition, "thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter;" which (saith he) is not expressly mentioned in this law, because it was not necessary. For a man's grandchildren, either by sons or daughters, which are more remote, being forbidden, there was no need to say it was unlawful for him to marry his own daughter.

For their's is thine own nakedness.] They have their original from thy nakedness. For which reason some of the Jews extended this to those descendants which were still farther off, as a hedge to this law. So R. Levi calls it, in the place forenamed. The ancient Romans also (as our Mr. Selden shows) were very strict in restraining the marriage of men with their nieces, either by their brothers or sisters, and with others mentioned in the following laws of Moses, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gentium, &c., cap. 11, p. 605, &c.

Ver. 11. *Of thy father's wife's daughter.*] This prohibition seeming to be the same with that, ver. 9, some of the Hebrews have expounded this concerning the daughter of a mother-in-law begotten by another father. For the words may be thus translated, as Mr. Selden observes the order of them will bear (lib. i. De Uxore Heb. cap. 4), "The nakedness of the daughter of thy father's wife (for she that is born of thy father is thy sister) thou shalt not uncover." And with this the Greek and several other versions of the Bible agree, who make the prohibition of the wife's daughter to end before he speaks of his own sister. And it is the sense of the principal men among the Karaites, as he shows, cap. 6. But this is against the constant sense of the Hebrew doctors, who say it is lawful to marry the daughter of a mother-in-law which she had by another husband; for there is no *nearness of flesh* at all between these two. And therefore, as in the ninth verse, the marriages of all brothers and sisters, in general, are forbidden; so here, more particularly, the marriage with a sister by the same father, though not by the same mother: which was necessary to be expressly forbidden; because, before the law, the sons of Noah thought it lawful to marry a half-sister (as we speak) by the father's side, though not by the mother's (see Buxtorf. De Spons. et Divort. p. 15, 16). And this was the ancient law of Solon among the Athenians, that they might marry δημοτρίους, their sisters "by the same father," but

12 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's near kinswoman.

13 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's near kinswoman.

14 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine aunt.

15 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of

thy daughter in law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.

16 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness.

17 Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter, neither shalt thou take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; for they are her near kinswomen: it is wickedness.

not ὁμομητέρας, their sisters "by the same mother;" as Joh. Meursius shows in his Themis Attica, lib. i. cap. 18. And if the one of these had not been in so many words prohibited, as well as the other, the Jews might still have continued in that practice, which was usual before the law (see Sam. Petitus in Leges Atticas, p. 440).

Some are of the opinion, that, in the ninth verse, the son of a second venter is forbidden to marry the daughter of the first: and here, the son of the first venter, to marry the daughter of the second. And others fancy, that the sister here meant is one that was adopted by his father.

Ver. 12. *Of thy father's sister.*] And it made no difference whether she was his father's sister legitimately or illegitimately begotten by his grandfather; as R. Levi Barzelonita represents the opinion of the Hebrew doctors (Præcept. excvii.). Such marriages also were prohibited by the ancient Romans, as Mr. Selden observes in the place forenamed (lib. v. cap. 11, p. 605), though before the law of Moses they are supposed to be lawful; for it is commonly thought that his father Amram married his aunt Jochebed (Exod. vi. 20), and therefore no wonder it was practised in other countries, who were not acquainted with this prohibition: particularly at Sparta, where Herodotus saith (in his *Ætato*, cap. lxxi.), Archidamus their king married Lampito, who was sister to his father Zeuxidamus, δὸτος ἀντὶς Λευκιδῆα, Leutichydes (who was father both to her and to Zeuxidamus) giving her to him in marriage.

She is thy father's near kinswoman.] So near, that as he could not be permitted to marry her, so his son also, who was not but a little farther removed from her, was forbidden to touch her. And by the same reason that a man might not marry his aunt, an uncle might not marry his niece. Which, though practised among the Romans after Claudius married Agrippina, till the time of Constantine; yet it was a new thing, as Claudius himself acknowledges in Tacitus, (Nova nobis in fratrum filias conjugia, lib. xii. Annal, "marriages with our brother's daughters are new things with us"). And all he could say for it was, that it was common in other nations, nec lege ulla prohibita, "and not forbidden by any law." And indeed the newness of it so frightened Domitian, that he would not venture upon it; nor did many use it. Which shows that this law had some foundation in nature; which made those men cautious about such marriages, who had nothing else to guide them. Or, at least, there had been such a long custom against them, in the western part of the world, that men, who were otherwise very bad, would not help to alter it.

Ver. 13. *Of thy mother's sister.*] There is the same reason for this, as for the former prohibition: the aunt, by the mother's side, being as near to a man, as his aunt by the father's.

Ver. 14. *Of thy father's brother.*] This is explained in the next words, "thou shalt not approach to his wife:" that is, not marry thy uncle's wife. And therefore much less might an uncle marry his brother's

daughter: as Herodotus tells us Darius married Phragtaga, the daughter of his brother Atarnes, who gave him all his estate with her; and Leonidas, king of Sparta, married Gorgo the daughter of his brother Cleomenes. See lib. vii. (called Polymnia) cap. 224, and 239.

She is thine aunt.] By such near affinity, that marriage is forbidden with her, as well as with an aunt by consanguinity (v. 12, 13). In which the ancient Romans also were very strict, as our Selden observes in the place above named. And it made no difference, whether he were only espoused to her, or had after marriage divorced her, or was separated by death: or whether he was his father's brother legitimately, or spuriously, as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. excix. and cc. Where he notes, that though the father's brother's wife be only mentioned, yet the mother's brother's wife is also prohibited. This is repeated xx. 20.

Ver. 15. *Of thy daughter in law, &c.*] Though only espoused to him; and therefore much more when solemnly married; as the same R. Levi explains it, Præcept. cci., where he hath the same observation as before; that if she was afterward divorced, he might not marry her: and that it is probable the wife of a bastard son is prohibited: for he is his son; though a child by a slave, or a stranger, is never called a man's son.

Ver. 16. *Of thy brother's wife, &c.*] Unless he died childless; for in that case the next brother was bound to marry her (Deut. xxv. 5, see Buxtorf. De Spons., p. 25, and Grotius in Matt. xiv. 4). Much less might a man marry his brother's daughter (as was before noted), who was nearer to him, and of his own flesh. Which was so much abhorred by the ancient Romans, that Claudius Cæsar durst not celebrate his marriage with Agrippina, till he had got a decree of the senate for it, Quo justæ inter patruos fratrumque filias, nuptiæ etiam in posterum statuerentur: "which made the marriage of uncles with their brother's daughters to be lawful for the future: which hitherto had been without example." So Tacitus relates in the forenamed book of his Annals (cap. 5), where he saith, notwithstanding this decree, there were none found, but only one man, who desired such matrimony; and most thought he did it to gain Agrippina's favour: "Neque tamen repertus est, nisi unus, talis matrimonii cupitor," &c.

Ver. 17. *Of a woman and her daughter.*] If a man married a widow that had a daughter, it was a wicked thing to marry that daughter, either while her mother lived, or after she was dead.

Neither shalt thou take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter.] To preserve them from this, the Jews added, as a hedge to this law, a prohibition to marry the granddaughters of such daughters, as R. Levi Barzelonita tells us (Præcept. ccv.).

For they are her near kinswomen.] Of such consanguinity with her (from whom they directly come), as makes it very criminal in him that is one with her to marry them.

18 Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex *her*, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time.

19 Also thou shalt not approach unto a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she is put apart for her uncleanness.

It is wickedness.] The Hebrew word *zinmah* imports more than *wickedness*. The LXX. translate it *ἀσέβεια*, "impiety;" the Vulgar Latin, *incest*; others, *nefarious wickedness*, which is the word in the civil law for those marriages that are contrary to nature. Such were these in some measure, though not in the highest degree.

Ver. 18. *Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister.*] There are a great many eminent writers, who, following our marginal translation [one wife to another], imagine that here plurality of wives is expressly forbidden by God. And they think there is an example to justify this translation in Exod. xxvi. 3, where Moses is commanded to take care the five curtains of the tabernacle were coupled together, *one to its sister* (as the Hebrew phrase is), i. e. *one to another*. And so the Karaites interpret this place; that a man, having a wife, should not take another while she lived. Which, if it were true, would solve several difficulties: but there are such strong reasons against it, that I cannot think it to be the meaning. For as more wives than one were indulged before the law, so they were after. And Moses himself supposes as much, when he provides a man should not prefer a child he had by a beloved wife, before one by her whom he hated, if he was the eldest son. Which plainly intimates an allowance in his law, of more wives than one. And so we find expressly their kings might have, though not a multitude (Deut. xvii. 17). And their best king, who read God's law day and night, and could not but understand it, took many wives, without any reproof: nay, God gave him more than he had before, by delivering his master's wives to him (2 Sam. xii. 8). And, besides all this, Moses speaking all along in this chapter of consanguinity, it is reasonable (as Schindlerus observes) to conclude he doth so here: not of *one woman* to another: but of *one sister* to another. There being also the like reason to understand the word *sister* properly in this place, as the words *daughter* and *mother* in others (ver. 17, and xx. 14), where he forbids a man to take a "woman and her daughter," or a "woman and her mother," as Theodoric Hackspan judiciously notes, Disput. i., De Locutionibus Sacris, n. 29 (see Selden, lib. v., De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6, and Buxtorf. De Sponsal. p. 28, 29).

The meaning therefore is, that though two wives at a time, or more, were permitted in those days, no man should take two sisters (as Jacob had formerly done) begotten of the same father, or born of the same mother, whether legitimately or illegitimately, as the forenamed R. Levi expresses it (Præcept. cevii.). Which, though it may seem to be prohibited before, by consequence and analogy (because the marriage of a brother's wife is forbidden, ver. 16), yet it is here directly prohibited, as other marriages are; which were implicitly forbidden before. For, ver. 7, the marriage of a son with his mother is forbidden: and ver. 10 the marriage of a father with his daughter.

To vex her.] There were wont to be great emulations, and jealousies, and contentions, between wives (some of them being more beloved than others, and also superior to them), which between two sisters would have been more intolerable than between two other women: who not being a consanguinate, æquiore animore sub eodem marito, ætatem una

20 Moreover thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife, to defile thyself with her.

21 And thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through *the fire* to Molech, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I *am* the Lord.

agent (as Petrus Cunæus speaks, lib. ii., De Repub. Heb. cap. 23), "of the same consanguinity (as two sisters are), might live with more equal and quiet minds under the same husband." The Vulgar Latin understands this, as if Moses forbade them to make one sister their *wife*, and the other their *concubine*; which could not but beget the greatest discords between them.

In her life time.] From hence some infer, that a man was permitted to marry the sister of his former wife, when she was dead. So the Talmudists: but the Karaites thought it absolutely unlawful, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. i., De Uxore Heb. cap. 4). For it is directly against the scope of all these laws, which prohibited men to marry at all with such persons as are here mentioned, either in their wives' lifetime, or after. And there being a prohibition (ver. 16) to marry a brother's wife, it is unreasonable to think Moses gave them leave to marry their wife's sister. These words, therefore, *in her lifetime*, are to be referred, not to the first words, "neither shalt thou take her," but to the next, "to vex her," as long as she lives. Chas-kuni refers it to both the sisters, according to the Targum, and makes this the sense; "lest they should both be afflicted widows as long as they live:" for nobody would marry either of them, being defiled by such an incestuous conjunction, for which God cut off their husband.

In this the ancient Christians were so strict, that if a man, after his wife died, married her sister, he was, by the tenth canon of the council of Eliberis, to be kept from the communion five years.

Ver. 19. *Thou shalt not approach unto a woman*] No, not to his own wife, as the forenamed R. Levi expounds it (Præcept. cevii.), though all other women also are comprehended, even their Canaanitish slaves, as he observes.

As long as she is put apart] Which was seven days (xv. 19). All the laws about marriages unto this place, seem to have a special regard to the wicked customs among the Egyptians; who, above all other people, were then polluted with such incestuous mixtures. And now he proceeds to direct them to abhor the customs of the Canaanites; who were polluted more than other nations with adulteries, and offering their children to Moloch, and the rest of the foul crimes which follow. For against the practices of these two nations, the Egyptians and the Canaanites, Moses cautions them (ver. 3), and accordingly first mentions the doing of the Egyptians unto this place; and then those of the Canaanites in the following verses.

Ver. 20. *With thy neighbour's wife.*] While he lived with her: for this was to commit adultery.

To defile thyself with her.] This signifies the foul impurity, as appears from ver. 23, and was punished with death (xx. 10).

Ver. 21. *Thou shalt not let any of thy seed*] i. e. Of their children, as it is explained, Deut. xviii. 10. This was a spiritual adultery, and therefore here mentioned.

Pass through the fire to Molech.] It is certain that Moloch was particularly worshipped by the children of Ammon (at least in future ages, 1 Kings xi. 7), but seems to have been the name of many of the heathen gods, and the same with Baal: both of them signify-

22 Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination.

23 Neither shalt thou lie with any beast to

defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman stand before a beast to lie down thereto: it is confusion.

ing dominion. This appears by comparing Jer. xix. 5, with xxxii. 35. But more especially it signifies the sun, the prince of the heavenly bodies (see Vossius, De Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 5), as the queen of heaven was the moon (Jer. vii. 18). Now it is evident, by several passages in Scripture, that the ancient pagans (whom the Israelites were prone to imitate) not only made their children pass through the fire, but also offered them in sacrifice unto Moloch. The former I take to be forbidden in this law; the latter in xx. 3, where giving their children to Moloch is prohibited under a severe penalty, of being put to death for that crime: whereas there is no penalty annexed here to their making them pass through the fire. Which I take therefore to have been a less crime than the other; though an idolatrous rite, practised by those who abhorred the cruelty of offering the very life of their dear children to Moloch. Instead of which, this rite was devised, of making them pass through the fire (for though the word *fire* be not here in the Hebrew text, yet it is understood by all, and expressed Deut. xviii. 10) by way of purification, and *lustration*, as they called it; and by this means to dedicate them to the worship and service of Moloch. And therefore, being a rite of initiation, whereby parents consecrated their sons and daughters to their deities; we never find it mentioned in Scripture, but only concerning children (not concerning men and women), whom the Israelites are forbidden to dedicate in this manner; which was, in truth, to alienate them from the Lord God of Israel.

Now, that this was practised among the ancient pagans as a rite of initiation, appears particularly in the mysteries of Mithra (see Suidas upon that word); and continued long among the Persians, if we may believe Benjamin Tudelensis, in his Itinerarium, p. 214 (see G. Schickardi Tarich, p. 126, &c.). And this very phrase, *make to pass unto* (for the word *fire*, as I said, is not here mentioned), signifies as much as *ad partes ejus transire*, "to be addicted to any one;" like that phrase *προσέρχεται τῷ θεῷ*, "to come unto God" (Heb. xi. 6). And so this Hebrew phrase is used, Exod. xiii. 12, and may very well be thus understood here, for devoting, or making over their children unto Moloch. For the heathen thought their children unclean, and obnoxious to the anger of their gods, and consequently in danger to be taken away from them, if they were not thus expiated, as Maimonides tells us (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37). And on the contrary, they fancied (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. cenvii.), that if only one of their children were thus consecrated to Moloch, all the rest were blessed, and should be prosperous. For he very nicely takes notice that the Israelites are forbidden to make any of their seed to pass through the fire: it not being the manner, he saith, to make them all pass. But the idolatrous priests (to make the people more willing to this service) cunningly persuaded them, that if any one child was offered to Moloch, it procured a blessing upon all; and if there was only one child in a family, they laid no obligation on the parents to do this.

The manner of doing it, at this distance of time, cannot certainly be known. Some say their parents carried them through two fires upon their shoulders. Others, that they were led between them by their priests: and so R. Levi in the place before named; "The father delivered the child to the priest, in the name of the idol; just as it is said concerning legal

sacrifices (xv. 14, 'he shall give them to the priest.'). Others think that the priest, or somebody else, waved the child about in the very flame, while men and women danced round the fire; nay, leaped through the flame. And Joh. Coch. observes, upon the title Sanhedrin, cap. 7, n. 7, that some are of opinion, the children, thus dedicated, did not walk, but danced through the fire: which being an emblem and representative of the sun, plainly signified such children were consecrated to that deity. And this comes nearer to the Hebrew phrase, as we translate it, that they did not pass *between fires*, but *through the fire*. But which way soever it was done, whether they waved the child through the very fire, and presented it to Moloch, before whom the fire was kindled, or led it between two fires; when they had so done, the priest restored the child to the father again. And in some such way Ahaz made his son "to pass through the fire, according to the abomination of the heathen" (2 Kings xvi. 3), which cannot be meant of his burning him: for Hezekiah his son outlived him, and succeeded in his throne (see Theodoret in Kings iv. quæst. 47, Maimon. De Idol., cap. 6, sect. 14, n. 4—7, and Vossius's notes; with Simeon De Muis in Ps. cvi. 37).

Neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God:. By offering their children to Moloch, they in effect rejected and disowned (as I before observed) the Lord God of Israel: which was to *pollute his name*, by giving that honour, which was due to him alone, unto another god: for he gave them children; who were therefore to be devoted to none but him.

I am the Lord:. The only sovereign of the world; who will severely punish the transgressors of this law.

Ver. 23. *Thou shalt not lie with mankind:.* A detestable wickedness; condemned by all nations, though practised by some lewd persons among them. Inasmuch that the apostles of Christ make mention of it with the greatest abhorrence (Rom. i. 27; 1 Cor. vi. 9; 1 Tim. i. 10). For not only several of the Roman emperors were infamous upon this account, but some also of the Greek philosophers.

This prohibition is repeated, according to Maimonides, in Deut. xxiii. 17, whom our translation follows; there shall not be a "Sodomite of the sons of Israel." But Onkelos interprets that place otherwise.

Ver. 23. *Neither shalt thou lie with any beast, &c:.* i. e. Of any kind whatsoever. Some are apt to say, What need was there of such prohibitions? when it is so monstrously unnatural, to mix with creatures of a different species from us, as all beasts are. But such persons do not understand, that this was not only practised in Egypt (against whose doings he cautions them, ver. 3), but was also made a piece of religion: women devoted to the worship there used, most filthily submitting to the lust of their sacred goats. So Strabo tells us, lib. vii. p. 802, that at Mendes, where they worshipped Pan, *πράγος ἱεραῖα θηλαεὶ μίγνυνται*, "goats (which were there also worshipped) lay with women." For which he quotes Pindar; as do also Priscianus and Elian, lib. vii. De Animal. cap. 19, as Cassaubon there notes. And Herodotus vouches this upon his own knowledge, and saith they did it *openly* (so *ἀναφανδόν* signifies) when he was in Egypt. His words are these, in his second book called Euterpe, cap. 46, *Ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τὰντ' ἐν' ἑμὲ τοῦτο τίρας θηλαεὶ πράγος ἐμίγετο*

24 Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things : for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you :

25 And the land is defiled : therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants.

26 Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations ; neither any of your own nation, nor any stranger that sojourneth among you :

27 (For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled ;)

ἀσάβανδον, "This prodigy happened in this part of Egypt, i. e. among the Mendesians) when I was there, a goat had to do with a woman in the view of all." Τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐπιδεξὶν ἀσάβανδον ἀσάβαντο. How long this beastly custom had been among them, none can tell, but these words import that then it was notorious ; and so far from being kept secret, that they rather made an ostentation of it. Which I look upon as an argument that this had been a very old practice ; otherwise they would have blushed at it.

Ver. 24. *Defile not ye yourselves*] This seems to relate particularly to the sins before mentioned, ver. 20—23 (see ver. 26).

For in all these the nations are defiled] The seven nations that inhabited the land of Canaan (mentioned in many places, particularly Deut. vii. 1), were so overrun with these filthy vices, that God could not bear with them, but ordered them to be destroyed for this very reason. Which was a sufficient caution to the Israelites, who came in their room, to keep themselves from such impurities.

Ver. 25. *The land is defiled :*] To make the Israelites the more abominate such doings, he represents the very land, in which they dwelt, as sensible of the foul wickedness of the inhabitants ; who were a loathsome burden to it, which it could not digest.

Therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it,] I am about to punish them upon that account.

The land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants.] A most eloquent figure, expressing the excessive loathsomeness of their wickedness ; which made their own country nauseate them, and throw them out, as our stomach doth meat that offends it. The same expression is used, ver. 28, xx. 22 ; Rev. iii. 16. Theodoret expounds this word by βδελυσσεν, which signifies their expulsion, as an execrable people. And, indeed, the word vomit in Scripture is used for that which is most detestable and abominable (Isa. xxviii. 8 ; Jer. xlviii. 26 ; Hab. ii. 10).

Ver. 26. *Keep my statutes*] These laws I have given you (see ver. 4, 5).

Shall not commit any of these abominations ;] From this word *abominations*, which the nations God cast out to make room for them, are said to have committed, ver. 27, some conclude, that every one of the foregoing marriages, mentioned in this chapter, are in their own nature sinful ; the nations who had no positive law to forbid them, being cast out for such pollutions. But the mere force of this word will not warrant such a conclusion ; because several things are called in this book an *abomination*, which have no moral turpitude in them ; but were made so by God's positive laws, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent., cap. 11, p. 598), from Lev. xi. 10, 20, 41, 42, where several sorts of creatures are forbidden to be eaten, as *abominable* ; and the sacrifice of a bullock or a sheep that had a blemish, is said to be an *abomination* (Deut. xvii. 1), not from the very nature of the thing ; but

28 That the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you.

29 For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them shall be cut off from among their people.

30 Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinance, that ye commit not any one of these abominable customs, which were committed before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein : I am the LORD your God.

from the prohibition which God had made against such offerings.

It is most reasonable, therefore, to refer the *abominations* here spoken of to those foul things mentioned in the latter end of this list (ver. 20—23), and to those in the beginning (ver. 7—9, &c.). For lying with one's mother, or mother-in-law, or sister, was always an *abomination*. But we cannot say the same of every one of the rest (the law itself following, or rather requiring, in one case, the marriage of a brother's wife), which were made an abomination by the law now given to the Israelites.

Nor any stranger] That is, any proselyte who had embraced their religion (see xvii. 8).

Ver. 27.] He admonishes them to beware of these abominations, by the example of those who were utterly undone by them. For God is no respecter of persons ; but would punish them in the same manner, if they did the same things.

Ver. 28. *That the land spue not you out also,*] As it did at last (Jer. ix. 19 ; Ezek. xxxvi. 17).

Ver. 29.] The multitude of the offenders shall not keep off the punishment ; but they shall suffer by the hand of the judges, or by the hand of God, if they neglect their duty (see Gen. xvii. 14).

Ver. 30. *Keep mine ordinance,*] Live by all these rules which I have now given you.

That ye commit not any one of these abominable customs,] By observing every one of these laws they were kept at a distance from those greater abominations, mentioned in the beginning, and in the latter end of these prohibitions. The positive laws (or ordinances) now added, being in the nature of an *antemurale*, or an *outwork*, to stop their proceedings to the higher crimes, which were against the law of nature.

I am the Lord your God,] As their Lord, he had authority to make these laws : and as their God, they had particular obligations to observe them. Nay, it was a singular token of his love to them, that he prescribed these laws of chastity and modesty : that thereby he might preserve them a holy people to him, pure and free from those abominable filthinesses, and those indecent conjunctions, that were practised in the world. For, as the ancient rule was, semper in omnibus conjunctionibus, non solum quod liceat considerandum est, sed et quod honestum est : "in all marriages it is always to be considered, not only what is lawful, but what is honest and seemly." Which is more true in the Christian religion, than in any other : for thereby marriage is advanced, to represent the unity that is between Christ and his church. And besides, in contracting marriage, we are not only to have regard to our own conscience (as Joh. Brentius wisely observes, upon the forenamed rule of the ancient law), but to succession also, and to inheritances. And therefore, id agendum, quod et boni viri honestum judicant, et legitimum magistratu permittitur : "that is to be done, both which good men judge to be honest and is allowed by lawful governors."

CHAPTER XIX.

A repetition of sundry laws.

- 1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
 2 Speak unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy: for I the LORD your God *am* holy,
 3 ¶ Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his father, and keep my sabbaths: I *am* the LORD your God.
 4 ¶ Turn ye not unto idols, nor make to your-

selves molten gods: I *am* the LORD your God.

5 ¶ And if ye offer a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the LORD, ye shall offer it at your own will.

6 It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the morrow: and if ought remain until the third day, it shall be burnt in the fire.

7 And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is abominable; it shall not be accepted.

CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1.] The following precepts, which contain in a manner all their duty, seem to have been delivered to Moses immediately after the former; being in a great part a repetition of some principal things which had been already commanded.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto all the congregation*] It is uncertain whether he delivered these precepts only to their elders and heads of their tribes, to be communicated by them to the people; or at several times he called every family of every tribe, and spake these words to them himself.

Ye shall be holy.] This very thing was said to them before, with respect to several meats which are forbidden them, xi. 44 (see there). And now is repeated with a peculiar respect (as Maimonides thinks, More Nevoch, par. iii. cap. 47) to the filthy marriages and abominable idolatries mentioned in the foregoing chapter; as it is repeated again in the next chapter (xx. 7, 26), with respect to some other things. It being a general reason, why they should be separated from all other people, by the observation of peculiar laws (which is the meaning of being *holy*), because they were the worshippers of Him, whose most excellent nature transcended all other beings, not only in purity, but in all other perfections.

Ver. 3. *Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his father.*] This duty is called *honour* in the fifth commandment (Exod. xx. 12), and the father there put before the mother; which being here called *fear*, and the mother put before the father, it shows, saith Maimonides, that "honour and fear are equally due to both," without any difference. And the proper expressions of *fear* and *reverence* are (according to those doctors), not to sit in their seat, nor to contradict them in any thing they say; much less to cavil against them; nor to call them by their proper names, but to add the title of *Sir*, &c. (as we speak), or the like. And the expressions of *honour*, are not to sit down in their presence; and to provide them with necessities, if they fall into poverty, &c. (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedriis, cap. 13, p. 557, &c. and R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. xxvii.).

Keep my sabbaths:] Obedience, as well as reverence, is included in the word *fear*: but if parents commanded them to break the Sabbath-day, or to profane any other day consecrated to God's service, they were not to be obeyed.

I am the Lord your God.] I rested on the Sabbath-day; who am your sovereign, and therefore have power to require you to rest on any other days. Particularly on the great day of atonement (xvi. 31), when I am so gracious as to accept of an expiation for all your sins. This is repeated ver. 30, and xxiii. 3.

Ver. 4. *Turn ye not unto idols,*] Not so much as to look upon them; no, nor to think of them (as R. Levi

Barzelonita expounds it, Præcept. cccxv.), much less to inquire after what manner the gentiles worshipped them (which is expressly forbidden, Deut. xii. 30), for by this means they might be allured to idolatry. The word we here translate *idols* is a word of contempt, signifying a *thing of nought*. Or, as some of the Jews will have it, this word *elilim* is compounded of the particle *al*, signifying *not*; and *El*, i. e. God. As much as to say, *which are not gods*; and therefore called in Scripture *vanities*, which can do neither good nor hurt.

Nor make to yourselves molten gods.] This seems to have respect to the golden calf, which they made to worship, and is called a *molten calf* (Exod. xxxii. 4). But all graven images are no less forbidden; for if to look towards an idol was a sin, much more was it to make an image of any sort to worship it. The Jews are something curious in their observations upon this precept. For, in the book Siphra, they say that they might not make molten gods for others, much less for themselves. Whence that saying, "He that makes to himself an idol, violates a double precept: first in making it, and then in making it to himself" see R. Levi before mentioned, Præcept. cccxvi.).

I am the Lord your God.] The same reason is given in the foregoing verse for the observation of their Sabbaths: and that of the seventh day every week, was ordained in memory of the creation of the world; and consequently intended as a preservative from idolatry (as I observed upon Exod. xx. 8), which, perhaps, makes these two precepts be here put together. But it is evident Moses doth not observe the order wherein these precepts were first delivered; but rather inverts it, beginning with the fifth commandment, and so going back to the fourth; and here to the first two.

Ver. 5. *If ye offer a sacrifice of peace offerings*] As they were to avoid all idolatry, so they were to be careful to perform the service due to the true God in a right manner. *Peace-offerings* are only mentioned, because they were the most common sacrifices, being of three sorts (see ch. vii. 11, &c. and xvii. 5).

Ye shall offer it at your own will.] Either of the herd, or of the flock; male or female (ch. iii. 1, 6). Or rather (as the Vulgar Latin and the LXX. understand it) they were to offer it so, that it might be *acceptable to the Lord*; according to the rules prescribed in the seventh chapter.

Ver. 6. *It shall be eaten the same day—and on the morrow.*] This shows he speaks particularly of those peace-offerings which were a *vow*, or a voluntary offering (ch. vii. 16), for sacrifices of *thanksgiving* might not be kept till the morrow, but were to be eaten on the same day, ver. 15 of that chapter (see the reason of this, Exod. xxiii. 18, the latter end).

If ought remain] See ch. vii. 17.

Ver. 7. *On the third day.*] See ch. vii. 18.

It shall not be accepted.] See there. This seems to

8 Therefore *every one* that eateth it shall bear his iniquity, because he hath profaned the hallowed thing of the Lord: and that soul shall be cut off from among his people.

9 ¶ And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest.

10 And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard,

justify the sense which the Vulgar puts upon those words, ver. 5, which we translate, "according to thy will."

Ver. 8. *Bear his iniquity.*] See ch. vii. 18.

Because he hath profaned] By keeping them till they were in danger to stink, or to be corrupted.

That soul shall be cut off] By the judges, if the thing was known: otherwise by the hand of God.

Ver. 9. *When ye reap the harvest*] Which was a time of great joy, when they offered, it is likely, many peace-offerings of that sort before mentioned.

Thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field.] But leave a sixtieth part (as their wise men have determined it), and that in the extreme part of the field rather than in any other place, that the poor might know where to come for it; as R. Levi Barzelonita explains it, Præcept. cexiii. And this, whether they were in the land of Israel, or out of it; as Mr. Selden observes out of the Talmudist, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6, p. 692, where he shows it was the custom to add something to the sixtieth part, proportionable to the largeness of the field, or the multitude of the poor, or the greatness of the crop.

Neither shalt thou gather the gleanings] That is, if an ear or two of corn fell (as they cut it, or bound it up) out of the sheaves, or from under their sickle, they were not to gather them up from the ground, but leave them for the poor, as oft as they fell; but not if there fell three ears at a time, as the Talmudists determine (see Mr. Selden in the place above named; and the same R. Levi, Præcept. cexiv.).

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard.*] When they had cut off the great branches, they were not to examine the vine over again for the scattered grapes, or small clusters.

Neither shalt thou gather every grape] If any fell to the ground as they gathered them, they were not to take them up. That is, if one or two clusters fell; but not if three, much less if more: for they construe this as they do the precept about ears of corn (ver. 9). They also say, they were bound to leave the corners of the vineyard uncut, as well as the corners of the field. (R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cexxx. and cexxxi. and Mr. Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6, in the place before named). And these precepts obliged such strangers as sojourned among them (mentioned ch. xvii. 8, and xviii. 26), who, before they were admitted to embrace the Jewish religion, were examined whether they understood that they must observe such and such precepts, particularly these here mentioned, which were propounded to them plainly and distinctly: and after they had promised to keep them, they were circumcised, &c. As G. Schickard observes out of the Talmud, the custom was, after the destruction of Jerusalem, in Mishpat Hamelek, cap. 5, Theorem xvii.

Leave them for the poor and stranger.] Though by strangers the Jews think it understood a proselyte of righteousness (as they call him who had embraced their religion, by receiving circumcision), yet they did not hinder any poor gentile from partaking of this charity; as the same R. Levi says. And if any one

neither shalt thou gather *every* grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger: *I am the Lord your God.*

11 ¶ Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another.

12 ¶ And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: *I am the Lord.*

13 ¶ Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour,

transgressed any of the precepts contained in these two verses, he was beaten; as Mr. Selden shows, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13, n. 8.

I am the Lord your God.] I give you the country to which you go, with these reserves for the poor: and have been so bountiful to you, that I require you to be so to them.

Ver. 11. *Ye shall not steal.*] Here are several moral precepts put briefly together, for the maintaining justice and truth; without which societies cannot be preserved. And, first, he forbids theft; the coveting of other men's goods being the source of the other sins that follow. And whether they were the goods of an Israelite, or of a gentile idolater, that any man stole, he was bound to make restitution, as R. Levi observes, Præcept. cexxxii. (see Exod. xxii. 1).

Neither deal falsely.] This is a Divine caution (as the Hebrew doctors observe) against denying a thing that was deposited with them; or which they had found, &c., which they would never pretend they had not, if they were disposed to be sincere and upright in their dealing.

Neither lie one to another.] Words being intended to declare the mind, and for no other end; he that hears us speak hath a right in justice to be done him, that what we speak be true. For otherwise he doth not know our mind by our words; and then we had better be dumb. But though all kind of lying be contrary to the intention of God, in giving us speech; yet this relates particularly to such lies whereby a man's neighbour was injured; defrauded, for instance, of his goods which he had deposited with another; or of the just debts which were owing him, &c. But though the simple denying of such things was not punished with beating, as Mr. Selden represents the opinion of the Talmudists (lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 11), yet he that denied a thing deposited with him was not admitted to be a witness in any case, though he had not forsworn himself, unto which this lying disposed him. So R. Levi, Præcept. cexxxiii.

Ver. 12. *Ye shall not swear by my name falsely.*] Much less was it lawful for them to confirm the lies forementioned with an oath. So the Jewish doctors interpret it, as Mr. Selden observes in the same place. If any man did, and was found guilty, he was adjudged to restore the principal, and a fifth part more (ch. vi. 5). And whether he forswore himself knowingly, or ignorantly, he was to expiate his crime with a sacrifice. But if he was ignorant of that command concerning a sacrifice; or if, though he had the thing which he denied in his keeping, yet he had really forgot it, when he swore he had it not; he was freed both from the fifth part and from the sacrifice (see ch. v. 4).

Neither—profane the name of thy God.] By calling God to witness unto a frivolous thing, or to a rash resolution; as if a man swore in his anger he would not speak to such a person, but afterward did; or he would not eat of such meat, &c. In such cases, the Jews say, when a man's heart was touched with repentance for his rashness and incogitancy, he was to go to some wise man, or to three neighbours, and

neither rob him: the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.

14 ¶ Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put

desire them to absolve him from his oath, of which he truly repented. Which they did, when they found him truly penitent; saying, "Be thou loosed," or, "It is remitted to thee," or the like. So Mr. Selden observes out of Maimonides, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 11, n. 9.

Plato hath said some remarkable things concerning *forswearing*, and also of *lying*, and *deceit*: for which I refer the learned reader to his eleventh book of Laws, p. 216, 217, edit. Serrani.

I am the Lord.] And therefore expect the greatest reverence to my name; and that you should deal honestly one with another.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, &c.*] Here are several precepts, almost coincident in their sense, but have some peculiar negations belonging to them. For (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes), "in all things from which God would have them carefully abstain, he multiplies admonitions" (Præcept. cxxxvi.). Accordingly here to *defraud* is to keep in one's hand that which belongs to another; and such a person, he saith, is called an *oppressor* in Scripture. The Vulgar Latin refers it to that which men get from others by *calumny*; as the next words relate to that which is wrested from them by open violence.

Neither rob him.] The same R. Levi expounds this of that which is taken from another by manifest force, and doth not belong to him that takes it (Præcept. cxxxvii.). For so the Hebrew word *gazal* signifies, that which a man wrests out of the hand of another against his will (1 Chron. xi. 23).

The wages of him that is hired, &c.] For this was a kind of force and robbery, to detain what was owing to him against his will. In Deut. xxiv. 15, the words are, "Thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it." From whence the Hebrew doctors conclude there were two sorts of people that wrought for hire; one were *day-labourers*, whom Moses speaks of in this verse; another, *labourers by night*, of whom he speaks in Deuteronomy. Neither of which were to stay for their wages beyond the time appointed; but the one were to have it before sunset, the other before morning; for it was due as soon as the day or the night was done. So the Misna, "The day-labourer requires his wages all night, and the night-labourer all day." See the forenamed R. Levi (Præcept. cxxxviii.), who gives this reason for it, that "the merciful God would have his creatures subsist; which poor labourers cannot do if they want their wages to buy them victuals." Upon which account, the detaining of their wages is said to be a *criying sin*, in that Deut. xxiv. 14, and in St. James v. 4.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not curse the deaf.*] No Israelite, whether man or woman, was to be cursed, though he could not hear the curse, and so was insensible of the injury, as R. Levi explains it (Præcept. cxxxix.). For there was the addition of barbarous baseness in it, to curse or revile a person who was not capable to answer for himself, nor do himself right: and the ease of the sick, and the infirm, or the absent, was the same with the deaf. As for others, who were not deaf, it was forbidden to curse them, saith Maimonides, because it provoked to anger and rage, which stirred men up to take revenge.

Nor put a stumblingblock before the blind.] This is as inhuman as the former; proceeding from so great malice, that the Hebrew doctors seem to think men

a stumblingblock before the blind, but shalt fear thy God: I am the Lord.

15 ¶ Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment: thou shalt not respect the person of the

incapable of it; and therefore expound it of giving ill counsel to simple people, and advising them to their damage. So R. Levi (Præcept. cxli.); which is no less contrary to nature than laying a stumbling-block in the way of those that cannot see to avoid it; and a far greater sin, because it abused their minds, and might tend to the hurt of their souls.

But shalt fear thy God.] Believing he sees and hears, and will avenge the cause of those who cannot right themselves, because they know not who injured them. If any man was convicted of either of these crimes, he was beaten.

I am the Lord.] And am therefore to be feared and obeyed.

Ver. 15. *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment.*] The Jews take this to be an admonition to their judges, that they should have an equal regard to the plaintiff and defendant, and not prefer the one before the other. Whence these words are thus explained in Sipra: "Thou shalt judge thy neighbours justly; not letting one party stand, and bidding the other sit; nor suffering one to speak as much as he pleaseth, and bidding the other be short" (see Selden, De Synedr. lib. ii. cap. 13, n. 10). But none hath explained this so largely as Maimonides, in the whole twenty-first chapter of Sanhedrin, where he, in general, defines the just administration of justice to consist in an equal respect to both parties in the suit; so that one of them have not the liberty to say what he will, and the other be cut short: and then descends to many particulars, wherein equal respect to both parties is to be observed; some of which, it will be fit to mention, because they illustrate the words of St. James, in the second chapter of his Epistle, ver. 2—4, "If two parties appear in a cause, one of which is clothed in precious garments, the other is ragged, or in a poor habit, let it be said to him that is the more honourable, Either do you bestow upon your adversary as good apparel as you have on yourself, or else put on such as he wears, that you may be both alike, and then appear before the court of judgment. By no means let the one sit, and the other stand; but let them both be commanded to stand: or if it please the judges to give them both leave to sit, let not one of them sit in a high place, the other in a low, but both on the same bench, one by the side of the other." See R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. cxlvii.), who observes, that mankind are preserved by a righteous judgment; and therefore, if a judge was found to have given an unjust sentence, he was condemned to make restitution to him, whose cause he had perverted (Præcept. cxli.).

Thou shalt not respect] See Exod. xxiii. 3.

Nor honour the person of the mighty.] This R. Levi explains (Præcept. cxlvii.), as he did the first clause: "The judge shall not bid the great man sit down while the meaner stands; but both shall stand before the judge, as if they were in the presence of the Divine Majesty, who standeth in the midst of the judges" (Ps. lxxii. 1). If, by the favour of the judges, both were permitted to sit, yet, when sentence came to be pronounced, both rose up and stood; according to Exod. xviii. 13.

But in righteousness shall thou judge thy neighbour.] The observation of Maimonides seems to be too nice and curious, who from this place gathers, that though the lowest court of judgment ordinarily consisted of no less than three judges, yet, by the law, one of

poor, nor honour the person of the mighty : *but* in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour.

16 ¶ Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people : neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour : *I am the Lord.*

them might sit alone as judge in matters not capital ; because it is said here, in the singular number, " in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour : " for, at the same time, he acknowledges their wise men require that he should take some assessors to him, when they say, " Do not judge by thyself alone, for there is no sole judge, but one only, " viz. Gon (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 14, n. 2, and Guil. Scliecardi Mishpat Hamelek, cap. 4, Theor. xiv.).

Ver. 16. *Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer*] The Vulgar Latin takes the Hebrew word *rachil* to signify one that goes about with calumnies. But it may simply signify, as we translate it, a *talebearer* ; whom Aben Ezra compares to a *merchant or pedlar* (as the Hebrew word imports), who buys of one what he sells to another, and goes about the country as a talebearer does from house to house, carrying to one what he hath heard at another, saying, Such a one hath said so and so of you ; whereby peace and concord are destroyed among men. For commonly such men carry false stories to the neighbours, or add to the true, and secretly backbite others : which hath moved many to think a *detractor* is meant by this word, who hopes by his tales of others to get some advantage to himself, as every trader doth by his merchandise. Whence the Jews say, " An evil tongue kills three ; him that speaks ; him that hears ; and him of whom he speaks. " R. Levi, Præcept. cxliii.

Neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour :] Much less be a false witness against him, to the endangering of his life. So it is commonly interpreted, because the accusers and witnesses stood before judges who sat in the courts of judgment. But R. Levi Barzelonita, and the rest of the Hebrew doctors, generally understand it otherwise ; that no man should suffer his neighbour to perish in judgment, or other ways, when he could free him by his testimony or assistance (Præcept. cxlvi.). So it is said in Siphra, in so many words ; " Whence do we gather that he who can clear another by his testimony, must not suppress it in silence ? Because it is said, ' Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour. ' " Whence it follows, that if a man saw his neighbour any way in danger, he was bound, if he could, to deliver him ; not only when his life was in hazard, but that which is as dear as life, one's honour and chastity. Thus, if any one went about to force a woman espoused to another, &c., he that saw it was bound to rescue such a person, though with the death of him that made the attempt. For this was a piece of justice which they committed to private men, as Mr. Selden shows out of the Jewish authors (lib. iv. De Jure N. et G. cap. iii. p. 481, &c.). But then, they restrain this charity only to themselves ; and from the word *neighbour* argue, that they are bound to do thus only to an Israelite. Nay (which is strange), some of them are so selfish, and so ill-natured, that they fancy they are forbidden to do such kindness to a gentile (see there, p. 485.)

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not hate thy brother*] When thy brother hath done thee any wrong, do not conceal a secret hatred against him in thy breast, but tell him plainly of his fault ; as the next words seem to direct. It appears by this, they were ill interpreters of the

17 ¶ Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart : thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.

18 ¶ Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself : *I am the Lord.*

law, who thought it forbade only external acts of sin, but not evil affections which were not executed.

Rebuke thy neighbour.] Time after time (if he will not be sensible of it at first) argue the case with him, and reprove him for his fault. And if he will not amend, do it publicly (as the Vulgar Latin interprets it), and bring him before the judges. So R. Levi, Præcept. cxlviii. But he extends this to all sins, whether against God, or against themselves ; which, he thinks, they were bound to reprehend privately, and then publicly, if the offenders did not grow better.

Not suffer sin upon him.] He interprets it, " But not put him to confusion. " For nothing is more grievous to a man than that : and therefore reprehension ought to be mild and gentle, especially when the offence is against one's self ; but in those against God, greater sharpness is allowable. So he discourses, Præcept. cxlvi. the words in the original being, " Thou shalt not bear sin upon him ; " charge him with his guilt too severely ; or, as others take it, " Thou shalt not accuse him of any crime whereof he is not guilty. " Our translation, in the margin of our Bibles, takes it as if, by not reprovng their neighbour, they brought the guilt of his sin upon themselves ; for so the words there are, " That thou bear not sin for him ; " which is an excellent sense, if the Hebrew word *alau* did not signify *upon him*, not *for him*. And yet some of the Jews have thus understood it ; this saying of Rabbi Chanina being famous among them, " Jerusalem had not been destroyed, but because one neighbour did not reprove another. " see Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 9, p. 280. Where he observes, the doctrine of the ancient Jews was (drawn from this text), that when one man offended another in things concerning themselves, relating to their civil affairs, he was to be reprov'd by his neighbour, once, or twice, or thrice, if the matter required ; but without sharpness, and so that he was not exposed to public shame : but if the offence was against God, in matters of religion, they say private reproof was first to be given ; and if that did not work amendment, then public before all. And they admitted public reprehension upon no other score : but said, " He that publicly puts his brother to shame, shall have no part in the other world. "

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not avenge,*] Not deny to do their brethren a kindness, out of a remembrance of any injury received from them ; as R. Levi interprets it (Præcept. cxlvii.). By which means, as he observes, strife and contention were abolished, and peace and concord established among men. It may be thought, also, that as they are forbidden to take revenge themselves for the wrongs any one did them ; so likewise to seek for redress from the public, merely to satisfy their wrath and desire to have the injurious person suffer, and not to prevent the like or greater mischiefs for the time to come.

Nor bear any grudge] When thou dost thy neighbour a kindness, do not spoil it by upbraiding him with all his faults. For the Hebrew word *natar* signifies having something in reserve in one's mind, particularly *anger or wrath* ; which our translation frequently supplies to make out the sense (Jer. iii. 12 ; Ps. ciii. 9 ; Nahum i. 2). And so the LXX. under-

19 ¶ Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind : thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed :

stand it here, *καὶ οὐ μίγνῃς*, &c., "and thou shalt not be angry with the children of thy people."

But thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself:] In not doing to him what thou wouldst not have done to thyself; and taking such care of him, and what belongs to him, as thou wouldst have him to do of thee and thine. This, saith R. Aquiba (as R. Levi observes, *Præcept. cxcix.*), is the "great sum of the law;" i. e. many precepts depend upon this: for he that thus loves his neighbour, will neither steal any thing from him, nor violate his wife, nor murder so much as his good name, nor remove his land-mark, nor offend him any other way : the same, in a manner, with what St. Paul saith, *Rom. xiii. 8, 9*, &c.

The only question is, Who is to be understood here by their neighbour? which the Jews would restrain to themselves, and have the meaning to be, that one Israelite should love another; but he is not bound to love a stranger in the same manner: which is directly against Moses's command, *ver. 34*. And certain it is, the word neighbour comprehends more than Israelites, as appears by the last commandment, which forbids them "to covet their neighbour's wife," which did not give them leave, sure, to covet the wife of a gentile, provided they did not covet the wife of an Israelite. A neighbour, therefore, is every other man, as in *Deut. xxii. 26*, and more plainly in *Exod. xi. 2*, where the Egyptians are called their neighbour. And therefore D. Kimchi saith very honestly upon *Ps. xv. 3*, "A neighbour is every one with whom we have any dealing or conversation." Which justifies our blessed Saviour, in making this command, of "loving their neighbours as themselves," to reach all men with whom they had to do (*Luke x. 27, 28*).

I am the Lord.] Unto whom you are all equally subject; and upon that account ought to love one another (see *ver. 34*).

Ver. 19. Ye shall keep my statutes.] This may be thought to be premised to what follows; lest such commands as are contained in this verse, seeming small, should be neglected by them.

Thou shalt not let thy cattle (or rather make them) gender with a diverse kind:] As horses with asses, goats with sheep, &c., whose mixture one with another they were by no means to procure. But if they did of themselves come together, it was lawful to use such heterogeneous creatures as were so produced. For they did not abhor the use of mules, which were either begot by accident among them, or brought from other countries to them.

The reason the Jews commonly give for this precept is, because God having made all things perfect in their kind, it was a presumptuous attempt to go about to mend his creation, and add to his works. By this means also men were deterred from unnatural mixtures, which they saw to be abominable in brutes. So R. Levi Barzelonita (*Præcept. cclix.*) and Philo, whose words are very ingenious (*lib. de Creatione Princip.*), "Things of the same kind were made for society one with another;" but things heterogeneous (as we call them), were not intended to be mixed and associated; and therefore, he who attempts to mingle them, *ἀδίκως νόμον φύσεως ἀναίρει*, "wickedly destroys the law of nature." To the same purpose Josephus (see *Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. sec. Heb. cap. 3, p. 798*). Maimonides also himself gives this reason of this precept, *More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49*, where he saith, "No creature hath a desire commonly to mix with a creature of another kind; and

neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee.

20 ¶ And whosoever lieth carnally with a

therefore men ought not to promote such a desire." But after all, there might possibly be a respect in this precept to some idolatrous customs which Moses intended to prevent or abolish: for there is good ground to think the following precepts in this verse were so intended; and in aftertimes, some gentiles did procure such mixtures of creatures as are here forbidden (mules, for instance), in honour of their gods: see our learned Dr. Spencer, *lib. ii. de Leg. Heb. Ritualibus*, cap. 20, where he endeavours to prove, that by cattle in this place is peculiarly meant oxen and asses, which were used in husbandry; and are of such different natures, that none would ever have thought to procure their conjunction, unless he had been moved to it by the devil.

Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed:] The reasons of this, according to the Jews, are the same with the former: and R. Levi extends it to trees; which, he saith, they were not to engraft of different kinds one upon another. But it concerns, they say, only such seeds and plants as are for men's food; not those which are for medicine (*Præcept. ccl.*). But Maimonides found a particular reason for this precept, from the idolatrous customs of the old Zabii; who not only sowed different seeds, and grafted trees of a diverse kind one upon another, in such or such aspect of the plants, and with a certain form of words and fumigations; but also with abominable filthiness, at the very moment of the incision. Which he proves out of a book, concerning the incision of an olive into a citron: and doubts not, that God forbade his people to sow with mingled seed, that he might root out that detestable idolatry, and those preternatural lusts, which abounded in those days (*More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37*).

Neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee.] In the Hebrew the words are, "A garment of mixtures of schaatnez shall not come upon thee." But, that they might certainly know what schaatnez was, it is explained in *Deut. xxii. 11*, to signify (as we translate it) a garment of woollen and linen mixed together. The Jews have taken abundance of pains to find out the original of this word; which Bochartus derives from the Arabic word *saat*, which signifies to mingle, and *nez*, which signifies to weave (*Hieroicoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45*). But Joh. Brannius, I think, hath demonstrated, that it doth not import the weaving of any different things together, but only of linen and woollen; and that by woollen is to be understood only what is made of the wool of sheep, not of camels or goats, which they called by the same name (*lib. i. De Vestitu Sacerd. Heb. cap. 4. n. 2, 3, 6*). Where he observes out of Maimonides, in his Halack. Kelaim, that if a man saw an Israelite wear such a garment, it was lawful for him to fall upon him openly, and tear his garment in pieces; although he were his master, who taught him wisdom. And the reasons for this abhorrence are commonly such as are given of the former precepts; to preserve them from the horrid confusion which was among the gentiles, by incestuous and unnatural mixtures. But Maimonides takes it to have been principally intended as a preservative against idolatry; the priests of the gentiles in those times wearing such mixed garments, of the product of plants and animals, with a ring on their finger, made of some metal; as, he says, he found in their books (*More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37*). By which mixture, it is likely, they hoped to have the beneficial influence of some lucky conjunc-

woman, that is a bondmaid, betrothed to an husband, and not at all redeemed, nor freedom given her; she shall be scourged; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.

21 And he shall bring his trespass offering unto the LORD, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, *even a ram for a trespass offering.*

22 And the priest shall make an atonement for him with the ram of the trespass offering

before the LORD for his sin which he hath done: and the sin which he hath done shall be forgiven him.

23 ¶ And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, then ye shall count the fruit thereof as uncircumcised: three years shall it be as uncircumcised unto you: it shall not be eaten of.

24 But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy to praise the LORD *withal.*

tion of the planets or stars, to bring a blessing upon their sheep and their flax.

Ver. 20.] The Jews had some servants that were gentiles; who, if they embraced the Jewish religion, were baptized; sometimes with the reservation of their servitude, and sometimes with the full grant of liberty. But some there were in a middle condition, partly free and partly servile; viz. when part of their redemption-money had been paid, and part was still behind. Now, as, while a woman was a perfect slave, no Israelite might marry her; so, when she was partly free, though he might espouse her, and the espousals were valid, yet they could not be of full force till her liberty was perfected. And of such a maiden the Hebrew doctors understood Moses to speak in this place, that it was in part free, but not wholly, as the next words interpret it.

Not at all redeemed.] Not entirely, but in part redeemed; and, consequently, her freedom not absolutely granted to her.

She shall be scourged.] If she had been perfectly free, both he that lay with her, and she herself, should have been put to death (Deut. xxii. 23, 24). But being not fully free, and consequently not fully his wife who had espoused her, it was not reckoned adultery; and therefore punished only with scourging (see Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 12, p. 613). And Maimonides, I observe, thus expounds it, of a woman that was not a mere servant, and yet not completely free, but between both (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41). But whereas we mention here in the text the scourging only of the woman; in the margin it is rightly noted, that the Hebrew words are *there shall be scourging*; viz. of them both, as the Vulgar Latin with great reason understands it. And the Hebrew word *bikkoreth* properly signifies scourging with thongs made of a bull's or ox's hide; as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoicon (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 29, and cap. 33, n. 8).

They shall not be put to death.] Her master not having set her quite at liberty, her marriage was not complete; which freed her from suffering death, though some punishment she deserved, because it was begun.

Ver. 21. *He shall bring his trespass offering.]* Which was not enjoined her, because she had not wherewithal to offer for her expiation; all she had being her master's and not her own.

A ram.] Which was the proper sacrifice in such a case (ch. v. 17, 18).

Ver. 22.] She needed an atonement as well as he, being equally guilty in consenting to the fact; and being espoused to another, seems to have had a greater guilt upon her; and therefore was left in a lamentable condition, without any public assurance of God's pardon.

For his sin which he hath done.] Which had so much guilt in it, that besides the punishment he suffered in being scourged, this satisfaction was to be made to God.

The sin—shall be forgiven him.] By virtue of the

sacrifice, which would not have been accepted if she had been perfectly a free woman: but the sin would have cost his own life and hers also (Deut. xxii. 23, 24).

Ver. 23.] The precept is so general, that the boldness of R. Zerika is unaccountable, who would have it understood only of the vine, which, if it be not cut, its grapes are not so large, nor the wine so good, nor fit to be offered at the altar, &c., as his opinion is represented in Pirke Eliezer (cap. xxix.). But Moses expressly mentioning “all manner of trees for food,” there is no colour for this limitation; and a very good account may be given of this prohibition, if we have respect only to natural reason. For young trees grow better, if they be stripped of their fruit; the juice of which is waterish and uncooked, having neither pleasant smell nor taste, as Nachmanides observes; and therefore not fit for food; and upon that score not fit to be offered as the first-fruits to God.

But, besides all this, Maimonides affirms there was an idolatrous custom among the Zabii, to which this law of Moses may reasonably be thought to be opposed: for they imagined all trees would be blasted, or their fruit fall off, whose first-fruit was not part of it offered in their idol temples, and the other part eaten there: as their children, they thought, would not thrive unless some of them passed through the fire. And therefore God commanded his people to forbear to eat the fruit of any tree till the fourth year; and not doubt of the fruitfulness of their plantations, though they did not consecrate the fruit of the years foregoing, after the manner that the gentiles did: More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37, where he observes some trees brought forth fruit in one year, some not till the second, and others not till the third, according to the different ways wherein they were planted.

Count the fruit thereof as uncircumcised.] That is, as unclean, and therefore to be cast away as the fore-skin was.

Three years shall it be as uncircumcised.] And therefore they plucked off the buds when they put forth, that they might not grow into fruit; or, if any by chance did, they threw it away as unfit for food. But this is meant only of such fruit trees as they planted after they came into Canaan; not of such as they found already planted there. And it was the same thing, whether he planted them himself, or bought an orchard, or vineyard, &c., of another Israelite, or had it left him as an inheritance, or bestowed on him as a gift; the first three years the fruit was not to be used.

Ver. 24. *In the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy.]* It was to be offered as the first-fruit to God, and eaten by the priests; which, as Maimonides saith in the book forenamed (cap. 49), was to excite them to liberality, and give a check to their appetites as well as to covetousness. Yet there are those who say this fruit of the fourth year was to be eaten by the owners before the Lord at Jerusalem (when his dwelling was settled there), as they ate the second tithe. So R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. ccxx.) shows at large,

25 And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof: I am the Lord your God.

And they observe many benefits which the Israelites received by this means; not only in exciting their thankfulness to God, but their love to that holy place: unto which some of their family might conceive such an affection, as to settle there, and learn the law.

Ver. 25. *In the fifth year, &c.*] He would not have them think that they should lose any thing, by staying till the fifth year for the fruit of their trees; but promises them here, that, by forbearing so long, their trees should be the more exceeding fruitful.

I am the Lord] Who bestowed this land upon them to hold of him by what tenure he pleased; by whose blessing they might expect to receive the *increase thereof* abundantly; without the help of such wicked arts as Maimonides says the Zabii used: who, letting certain things lie till they were purified, and, when the sun was in such or such a degree, sprinkling them about the trees which they had planted, with certain magical ceremonies, they fancied flowers and fruits would be produced sooner than they could have been without these practices.

Ver. 26. *Ye shall not eat any thing with the blood.*] This is an admonition, as R. Levi Barzelonita fancies (Præcept. celi.), against gluttony and drunkenness; such as the rebellious son was guilty of (Deut. xxi. 18, &c.), which made men prone to shed blood: for so he understands this precept, "Thou shalt not eat upon blood;" i. e. eat till thou art excited to shed blood: unto which he applies Deut. xxxii. 15, "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked." But this is a very forced interpretation; and our translation is not exact: for he doth not say, "Ye shall not eat *any thing* with the blood;" but, "Ye shall not eat *upon the blood*, or *at the blood*;" which Oleaster very sagaciously suspected to be a piece of superstition unknown to him: and so did the LXX. when they translated it, "Ye shall not eat, ἐν τῷ αἵματι, upon the mountains," which was an idolatrous custom, mentioned in Hosea iv. 13, and here forbidden, as Procopius and Hesychius imagine: but the Hebrew word *kaddam* nowhere signifies a *mountain*, but *blood*, as the Vulgar here truly translates it. There is a Greek Scholion which renders these words, οὐ φάγεσθε ἐν τοῦ αἵματος, "ye shall not eat on the house-top;" which, in all likelihood, as some have conjectured, was a mistake of the transcriber for ἐν τοῦ αἵματος, "upon the blood," which is the literal translation of the Hebrew phrase, and imports something more than is prohibited, ch. xvii. 12, where he simply saith, *no soul of you shall eat blood*; but here warns them against an idolatrous practice of the Zabii, who, to enter into the society of demons, and obtain their favour, were wont to gather the blood of their sacrifices into a vessel, or a little hole digged in the earth; and then, sitting about it, to eat the flesh of the sacrifices; imagining, that by eating, as it were, of the same food (for they thought the demons fed upon the blood, as their worshippers did upon the flesh), they contracted a friendship and familiarity with them. So Maimonides relates in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46. For the prevention of which idolatrous custom, God ordered their sacrifices to be offered only at one place, where his own house was; and there the priests sprinkling the blood, and they eating the flesh of their peace-offerings, God and they feasted together upon them. Nachmanides is wont to oppose Maimonides in his notions; yet this was so plain, that he confesses (as Dr. Cudworth hath observed, in his treatise of the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper, ch. ult.) that blood itself was forbidden in the

26 ¶ Ye shall not eat *any thing* with the blood: neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times.

law, upon the account of the heathens' performing their superstitious worship in this manner, by gathering together blood for their demons, "and then coming themselves and eating of it with them, whereby they were their demons' guests; and by this kind of communion with them, were enabled to prophesy and foretell things to come." And this interpretation is the more probable, that they hoped, by eating of the blood of the sacrifices, or the flesh, or both, to have such familiarity with them, as to receive revelations from them, and be inspired with the knowledge of secret things; if we consider the two other prohibitions in this verse, that are joined with this of "not eating upon blood;" which shows that it was a rite of divination.

Neither shall ye use enchantment.] In the Hebrew the words are *lo tenachashu*: which, all agree, signify some superstitious observation or other, whereby they made omens, and guessed what should happen to them; either from men's sneezing, or the breaking of a shoe-latchet; or the name of a man they met withal; or some creatures' crossing their way, or passing upon their right hand, or their left. And most, following the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin, take it for divination by the flying, or crying, or pecking of birds. But the word *nachash*, signifying a *serpent*, and having no relation at all to birds, the famous Bochartus thinks *tenachashu* (which seems to be derived from thence) to relate rather to the ancient ἰσομαγεία, "divination by serpents," than to their ὀρνιθομαγεία, "divination by birds;" for it was very much in use among the gentiles in old time, as appears from Homer (in his seventh Iliad.), where Chalcas seeing a serpent devour eight sparrows with their dam, divined how long the Trojan war would last: and many such instances he heaps up together in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. i. cap. 3. R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. celi.) refers this to any kind of divination: by their staff falling out of their hand: by a serpent creeping on their right hand, or a fox going by their left, &c., which made them forbear any work they were about; but he thinks, withal, it may signify, as we translate it, *enchantment*: to cure wounds (for instance) by reading a verse of the law; or laying the book of the law or a phylactery upon a child's head, to procure sleep; which are such superstitions as are now in use among some Christians, who hang the first verse of St. John's Gospel about people's necks to cure an ague. But such things could not be meant by Moses, who had not yet delivered them a copy of his laws: nor can we certainly fix upon any other in particular which were then in use; see J. Coch upon the title Sanhedrin, cap. 7, n. 18, and Maimonides de Idolatria, cap. 11, sect. 4—6, &c., where he gives a great number of instances of such superstitious observations as were in use among the heathen: some of which are mentioned by Theophrastus in his characters of Superstition; and by Plutarch, in his book on the same subject; and are derided by Terence in his Phormio, act. iv. scen. 4, with which superstitions the greatest persons were anciently very much infected: and they were so settled in men's minds, that when they became Christians, they could not presently shake them off; as appears by the frequent reprehensions which St. Chrysostom (and others) gives to those who continued to be governed by them; particularly in his eighth homily upon the Colossians, he chides his people severely for contemning the cross of Christ, and calling in old drunken women, with their salt, their ashes, and soot, to free those that were bewitched. And more

27 Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.

especially in his sixth homily against the Jews, he sharply rebukes those that used *ἐγκοῦαι καὶ περισπᾶντα*, "charms, and things hung about the neck," to cure agues; whereby they got a worse disease in their souls, and wounded their consciences, &c. And in other places he reprehends their observing of omens, good and bad; some of which were very strange (see tom. vi. p. 610, 611, edit. Savil.).

Nor observe times.] Take no notice of days, according to the precepts of astrologers, who made some to be lucky, others unlucky. For the Jews generally think something of this nature is here forbidden, the Hebrew word *teonenu* being derived, they imagine, from *onah*, which signifies *time* (as R. Levi, before mentioned, saith, Præcept. ccliv.), such an hour being thought, by superstitious people, to be fit for business; but another very cross to it. Which opinion God seems to have intended to extinguish, by appointing the Sabbath as the only day of the week upon which they should rest from their labours, leaving all the other six days to be employed in their business, without any difference of days or hours. But there being no such signification, as many think, of that word in the Hebrew language, they rather derive *teonenu* from *anan*, a *cloud*, imagining Moses to forbid them to mark the flying of the clouds, or to make observations from their motions; which was a thing common among the gentiles. But Maimonides, who, in the eleventh chapter of *Avoda Zara*, interprets it, as we do, of observing times, by esteeming one day fortunate and another unfortunate, mentions another notion of this word from *ain*, an *eye*; and saith, in the same treatise, that jugglers, who delude men's sight, in playing their tricks, are comprehended under the name of *neonim*. And there are those also, who, deriving this word from *anah*, to *answer*, think it intends such as pretended to tell their fortunes.

I shall not determine which of these is most likely; but only observe that there was no superstition of this sort more ancient than that of astrology, which was in use among the old Chaldeans, who pretended to cast men's nativities (as we speak), and thence to tell their fortunes. But this sort of men were rejected, as Strabo tells us, lib. xv., by the astronomers of that country; and so they were by the best philosophers in other nations, as Tully tells us, who calls their pretences, *Chaldaeorum Monstra*, lib. ii. De Divin. And therefore, no wonder God cautions his own people against them, as he doth not only here, but by his prophets, especially Jeremiah x. 2, 3, "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the heathen are dismayed at them," &c. But then this caution was most necessary when they were going captives into that country, which at that time was undoubtedly infected with this error, but may be thought, perhaps, not to have been so in the days of Moses; and therefore I say no more of it, but this, that all those whom we call *jugglers* were sometimes comprehended under the name of *Chaldeans*; who seemed to perform wonderful things, as vomiting fire, and transforming straws into birds, &c., which relate to the other notion of *neonotu*, derived from *ἴψ*, which signifies an *eye*; which they deluded by the sleight of their hand, or other means.

Some of the Jews confess that their nation is at this day extremely addicted to these things. See Wagen-seil's Annot. on Sota, p. 529, &c., where he recites a long passage to this purpose, out of Fredericus Franciscus Ofigingensis, a converted Jew; whom one of

28 Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord.

his own nation undertaking to confute, he confirmed the charge.

Ver. 27. *Ye shall not round the corners of your heads.*] Or. "The ends of the hair of your head." For the Hebrew word *peak*, which we translate *corners*, signifies also the *ends* or *extremities* of any thing; and the meaning is, they were not to cut their hair equal, behind and before; as the worshippers of the stars and the planets, particularly the Arabians, did (as R. Levi Barzelonita interprets it, Præcept. cclv.). For this made their head have the form of a hemisphere.

The LXX. translate it, οὐ περισπᾶτε σφόδρην ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν. Where *sifoe* is the same with the Hebrew *sisth*, which signifies that lock which was left in the hinder part of the head, the rest of the hair being cut in a circle. And thus the ancient Arabians cut their hair, as Herodotus tells us, in imitation of Bacchus. Whence, as Bochartus notes (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 6), the Idumeans, Ammonites, Moabites, and the rest of the inhabitants of Arabia Deserta, are called "circumcised in the corners," i. e. of the head (Jer. ix. 26). And the Greek scholiast on that place saith, that in his time the Saracens were so cut.

But there are those who think this refers to a superstitious custom among the gentiles, in their mourning for the dead. For they cut off their hair, and that round about, and threw it into the sepulchre with the bodies of their relations and friends; and sometimes laid it upon the face or the breast of the dead, as an offering to the infernal gods, whereby they thought to appease them and make them kind to the deceased. For that this relates to the dead, is probable from the like law, repeated Deut. xiv. 1, and from the next verse to this (see Maimonides, De Idol. cap. 12. 1, 2, 5).

Neither—mar the corners of thy beard.] There were five corners (as the phrase is) of their beards; one on either cheek, and one on either lip, and one below the chin: none of which, much less all, they might shave off, as the manner of the idolatrous priests was; if we may believe Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 37. But if the former have respect to their mourning for the dead, I do not see why this should not also be so interpreted; the gentiles being wont (as Theodoret observes) to shave their beards and smite their cheeks, at the funerals of their friends.

Ver. 28. *Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh.*] Either with their nails, or with knives, or other sharp instruments; as the manner of the heathen was.

For the dead.] To pacify the infernal spirits, and make them propitious to the dead; which was the end at which the gentiles aimed in slashing themselves. Otherwise, simple tearing their flesh, out of great grief and anguish of spirit, doth not seem to be prohibited, no more than tearing off their hair; which were in use among the Jews, without any offence against this law, Jer. xvi. 6, 7, xli. 5, and other places (see Maimon. De Idol. cap. 13, sect. 10—13; I. Gerard Vossius, De Idol. p. 209, edit. 1; and Gierus, De luctu Hebræorum, cap. 10, sect. 2, 3). Huetius thinks that law of Solon's, which was transcribed by the Romans into the twelve tables, "that women in mourning should not scratch their cheeks," had its original from this law of Moses (Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 12. n. 2).

Nor print any marks upon you.] If this refer to the dead (as the foregoing prohibition doth), then

29 ¶ Do not prostitute thy daughter, to cause her to be a whore, lest the land fall to whoredom, and the land become full of wickedness.

these marks were made by the gentiles in their flesh, at the funeral of their friends; that, by the compunction and pain they felt in their bodies, they might appease the infernal powers. And so Aben Ezra understands it: though there be no footprints, that I can find, of this in any other author; but it is probable only from what goes before. There is far greater reason for another exposition, that these *prints* were made in the flesh, that they who had them might be known to belong to such or such a god. For it was the custom of idolaters, saith the often named R. Levi (Præcept. cclvii.), to devote themselves to their gods by notes or signs, "signifying they were their servants (for every one knows, in future times, slaves had marks set upon them to certify to whom they belonged), redeemed with their price, and stamped with their marks." And these marks were made with a hot iron, in their hands, foreheads, or necks; or they were pricked with a needle dipped in glastum, as he says, which made blue spots in their skin; as the manner was among the Arabians, especially the Scenitæ. And they expressed either the very name of the god to whose service they were consecrated, or else, by a proper character, denoted whom they honoured: as a thunderbolt signified they were devoted to Jupiter; a spear or helmet to Mars; a trident to Neptune, &c. And these were signs (or sacraments, as we may call them) whereby they were solemnly addicted to their worship.

It is possible there might be some nations then that made some marks in their flesh as an ornament to them: for at this day the women in Greenland do not paint their faces, which are very swarthy, but stigmatize them in several places, by drawing a needle and thread dipped in whale's grease through the skin, in what figure they please. Such Tho. Bartholinus saith he had seen; though he fancied they did not this as an ornament, but in token they were marriageable; for they that were not had no such marks (Anatom. Histor. Cent. iv. Hist. 90). But if any such thing were in use in ancient times, it easily might degenerate into the idolatrous custom before mentioned: for nothing more certain than that they made such marks in honour of Mars, the god of battle; and that he who devoted himself to Hercules, received *στίγματα ἱερὰ, ἑαυτὸν δίδως τῷ θεῷ*, "sacred marks, giving up himself to that god," as Herodotus speaks (lib. ii. cap. 13) of one that fled to his temple in Egypt. And Lucian saith of the priests of the Syrian goddess, *στίχονται δι' πάντας*, &c., "they were all marked; some in their wrists, others in their necks; from whence all the Assyrians *στίγματιφοροῦσι*, carry such brands or marks in their flesh." And so are the Jews, that were initiated in the Egyptian rites, said (by the author of the third book of Maccabees) to be stigmatized with the leaves of ivy, which were the insignia of Bacchus. From which ancient practice, it is probable, Christians have derived the custom of printing the Jerusalem cross upon the arms of those who go to visit our Saviour's sepulchre (see Tollius, in Carmina inedita Gregor. Nazianz. p. 160). I shall add no more, but that the Jews themselves were so inclined to receive such a badge as this, that they made no scruple to print the name of their own God in their flesh; as appears by that saying mentioned by Schickard out of the title Sopherim: "If any man write the name of God upon his flesh, let him neither wash nor anoint in that

30 ¶ Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the LORD.

31 ¶ Regard not them that have familiar spi-

place" (see his Mishpat Hamelek, cap. ii. Theor. 5, and Carpovius's Annotations upon it).

I am the Lord.] For this reason such marks were forbidden, because the Israelites were peculiarly devoted to him as their sovereign Lord and Benefactor (for the Syriac adds, *your God*); and therefore were not to own any other but him, whose mark they had received in circumcision; which made all other absolutely unlawful.

Ver. 29. *Do not prostitute thy daughter.*] It is scarce to be imagined that any man would prostitute his daughter to be a common strumpet; though he might possibly overlook the lewdness to which she had given up herself. Therefore here, in all probability, is prohibited the exposing their daughters, as a piece of religion, to the service of such filthy deities as were worshipped in those days, by acts of uncleanness in their temples. For which purpose both men and women were there kept as persons consecrated to such uses. Our great Selden hath observed something of this in his discourse upon Succoth-Benoth (see Synagoga De Diis Syris, ii. cap. 7).

Those are fanciful interpretations which R. Eliezer and R. Akiba make of these words; who say, a man prostitutes his daughter who did not get her a husband when she was marriageable; or married her to an old man (Gem. Sanhedrin, cap. 9, n. 1).

Let the land fall to whoredom.] Unto which nothing could contribute so much as to make whoredom a piece of religion.

The land become full of wickedness.] By such "abominable idolatries" (as St. Peter calls them), and many other foul sins, particularly murders, which flowed from hence; as Maimonides observes in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.

Ver. 30. *Ye shall keep my sabbaths.*] Not the days consecrated by the gentiles to the service of their gods; but the solemn days which I have appointed for the remembrance of my benefits (see ver. 2).

Reverence my sanctuary.] This reverence consisted principally in coming to it so prepared as the law required; in such purity and cleanness as was there prescribed; and then behaving themselves there with an awful humility. But the better to secure this reverence, the masters in Israel ordained, that no man should come into the mountain of the house with a staff, or a sword, or a girdle with a purse, or with shoes on his feet; and that no man should spit there, nor make it a thoroughfare; nor go out of it with his back towards the sanctuary, but go backward leisurely, with his face towards it till he was out of the gate, &c. So Maimonides, in his Beth Habbechira, cap. 7; R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cccxi.; and see Petrus Cunæus, lib. ii. cap. 12, De Republ. Hebr.

But the great thing which secured the reverence due to the sanctuary, was that which I mentioned at first—the strict purity from all legal defilements with which they were to be prepared; which made it very difficult to be in a condition to approach it. For when there were so many ways of being defiled, and so much time required to make men clean again, and so many things in many cases to be done for that purpose, it was not possible that they should be fit to come thither very often, without exceeding great care and diligence; as I observed before out of Maimonides (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 47), which very much tended to preserve their reverence to the sanctuary: for men led by sense, as they were, make

rits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them: *I am the Lord* your God.

32 ¶ Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God: *I am the Lord*.

nothing of those places to which they may go when they please; but those to which they cannot be admitted without much solemnity, and only at certain times, and after great pains to fit themselves for it, they are apt to have in great esteem.

I am the Lord] Whose majesty dwelt in that house; unto which therefore nobody might approach either for prayer or for sacrifice, without an awful sense of him. For so Maimonides explains it in the place now named: "the sanctuary itself was not to be revered, but He who commanded that reverence."

Nor did this reverence belong only to the tabernacle or temple, instituted by God's express command for that ceremonial service which was unlawful to be performed anywhere else (for then it might seem proper only to that ceremonial dispensation, and to be now vanished under the gospel); but the perpetual practice of the Jewish nation shows that they thought themselves obliged by this precept to use reverence in their synagogues, which were neither instituted by any written precept of the law, nor for any ceremonial service, which was confined to the temple, but for public assemblies, to hear the law read and expounded, and to offer the prayers of the people to God; for in the Psalms of Asaph (where there is the only mention we find of synagogues in the Old Testament), they are called, not only *houses* and *assemblies* of God, but also *sanctuaries* (as the word is here in Moses), Ps. lxxiii. 17, lxxiv. 4, 7, 8, lxxiii. 12. See Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 213.

Ver. 31. *Regard not them*] Do not go to consult them; nor follow their directions.

That have familiar spirits.] It is uncertain what is here meant by *oboth*, which we translate "familiar spirits." But the word *ob* signifying a *bottle*, or hollow vessel (Job xxxii. 19), the Jews think it probable that *oboth* here signifies such as the Greeks call *ἰγγραστῆρες*, "who had a spirit or demon speaking out of the belly," or chest, with a hollow voice, as if it came out of a bottle. So the woman whom Saul went to consult, is called *baalath ob*, "a mistress of such a spirit;" where it is plain, *ob* signifies the *spirit*, or *demon* (see ch. xx. 27), and he or she that had familiarity with such a spirit, was properly called *baal*, or *baalath ob*, the master or mistress who possessed it, and gave answers by it, with a voice that seemed to come out of the lower parts of the belly. In one place, indeed, the LXX. translate it, *οἱ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντες* (Isa. xix. 3), "They that speak out of the earth; because the voice coming from the lower parts of her that was possessed, seemed to come out of the earth; as Selden explains it in De Diis Syris.

R. Levi Barzelonita saith the manner of it was thus (Præcept. cclviii.). After certain fumes, and other ceremonies, a voice seemed to come from under the arm-holes (so he takes it, and so it is said in Sanhedrim, cap. 7, n. 7) of the person that had the familiar spirit, which answered to the questions which were asked. For this he quotes Siphra. But if it came from under the arm-holes, still it was so low and hollow, as if it had been out of the bottom of the belly, or the cavities of the earth. Others imagine such persons had the name of *oboth*, because they were swelled with the spirit, as a bladder is when it is blown. However it was, this continued till the

33 ¶ And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him.

34 *But* the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were stran-

times of the gospel, as appears from Acts xvi. 16, for she that had the spirit of Python was the same with an *ἰγγραστῆρας*, as Plutarch informs us (see Casaubon and L. de Dieu on that place). The famous Pythia, who delivered the oracles of Apollo, sat over a hole, and by her secret parts received the spirit which swelled her, and made her utter oracles; as Origen observes, lib. vii. contra Celsum; and St. Chrysostom, Hom. xxix. in I Epist. ad Corinth. (see Beyerus in his Annot. upon Selden De Diis Syris, p. 226, &c.).

There are those that look upon all that these authors say as old stories, to which no credit is to be given. But Aug. Euginus affirms, that he himself had seen such women, called *ventriologue* (which is the same with the Greek *ἰγγραστῆρας*, from whom, as they sat, a voice came out of their secret parts, and gave answers to inquiries. And Cælius Rhodoginus (lib. viii. Antiq. Lect. cap. 10) saith, this is not to be entertained with laughter; for not only he saw such a woman, and heard a very small voice coming out of her belly, but innumerable other people, not only at Rhodigium, but in a manner through all Italy; among whom there were many great persons (who had her stripped naked, that they might be sure there was no fraud), to whom a voice answered unto such things as they inquired. Hieron. Oleaster also, upon Isa. xxiv. 4, saith, he saw such a one at Lisbon, from under whose arm-holes, and other parts of her, a small voice was heard, which readily answered to whatever was asked.

Neither seek after wizards.] The Hebrew word *jideonim*, importing *knowledge*, as all confess, signifies such as we call *cunning men*; who pretended to tell what was lost, or what fortune people should have; and these were men (as far as I can judge), as the other were mostly women, who held intelligence with some demon; for this word seems to have the very same derivation in Hebrew which the other hath in Greek, for all say *δαίμονες* are as much as *δαίμονες*, *knowers*; and *jideonim* are as much as *joachim*, which is the very same, *futurorum conscii*, as Mr. Selden observes; and so the LXX. translate it, *γινώσκειν* (2 Kings xxi. 7), though here and chap. xx. ult. they render it *ἰατροδοί*, and elsewhere *επισκοπῶντες*. This knowledge they pretended to obtain (as some think) by looking into the entrails of their sacrifices; or, as Maimonides will have it, by putting the bone of a certain bird, called *jadua*, into their mouths, with certain fumes and adjurations, which made them fall into an ecstasy, and foretell things to come (R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. celix.). And there are those who think that these *jideonim* were such as pretended by charms to cure diseases, &c., of which we can have no certainty, and it seems to rely only on the LXX. in this place, who, as I observed, translate it by a more general word in another.

To be defiled by them.] With the foulest sins. For seeking to these was a forsaking of God, and one peculiar kind of idolatry; and therefore they that were guilty of it were to be stoned (as the same R. Levi observes) if they committed this sin knowingly, and there were witnesses of it. If there were no witnesses, then they were left to God to be cut off by his hand (ch. xx. 6).

I am the Lord.] Unto whom you are to seek for all that you desire.

Ver. 32. *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head,*]

gers in the land of Egypt: *I am the LORD your God.*

That they might accustom themselves to modesty and humility (as Maimonides glosses upon this law, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 36), for the maintenance of which the usage was, they say, to rise up to them, when they were at the distance of four cubits; and as soon as they were gone by, to sit down again; that it might appear they rose up purely in respect to them. To this nature directed all civilized people; who anciently, as Juvenal says (Sat. xiii.), believed this a great wickedness, to be punished with death, if a young man did not rise up to an old.

"Credebant hoc grande nefas, et morte piamdam,
Si juvenis velito non assurrexerat"

And such a law there was established among the Lacedæmonians, τοὺς γέροντας ἀσχυρίζεσθαι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ πατέρας, "that aged persons should be revered no less than if they were their fathers." And so Plato, πᾶς αἰδέσθαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ καὶ ἔπῳ, "let every one reverence him that is elder than himself, in deed and in word" (lib. ix. De Legibus, p. 875), where he requires that a youth should honour a stranger that was his ancient; and hath this memorable saying, καλωσίχεσθαι καὶ τῷ καλῶς δοκιμασῶναι, &c., "that youth should glory more in obeying well, than in ruling well: and first of all in obeying the laws; for this is all one with serving God; and next in giving honour to old men; and to those especially, who have passed their days honourably and with glory" (see more to this purpose in Hiericus Stephanus De Elder Civilis Font. et Rivis). And there was the greater reason for this reverence towards old men in this nation, there being nothing else among them but age and experience that could distinguish them; for they were all equally noble, and equally rich; of the same profession, and brought up in the same manner.

Honour the face of the old man.] Or, of the *elder*; that is, or those who are skillful in the law, as the Jews interpret it; and I see no reason to contradict it (as some have done), since he speaks of aged persons before. See Mr. Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 14, where he deduces this at large; and another excellent writer of our own, Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 214, &c. "For if such as taught the law had not been honoured before men, nobody would have minded their words, nor received what they propounded, about things to be known or to be done;" as Maimonides's words are, in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 36. And it made no difference of what age he was, whether an old man or a young (for some elders, it appears by Daniel, were not aged); but the same honour was given to him, even by wise men, as R. Levi Barzelonita shows (Præcept. cccxii).

Fear thy God.] This is the fountain of all virtue; particularly of the forementioned; God having imprinted a venerable character upon those who are grown aged, especially on such as are wise, and instruct others in virtue. But some of the Hebrews think that in this verse there are three degrees of honour enjoined to three ranks of men; one to the aged; and next to the wise and learned; and the third to the judges; who they imagine are here meant by *Elohim* (God) whom they are commanded to fear or reverence.

I am the Lord.] Most high above all; and therefore greatly to be feared.

Ver. 33. *If a stranger sojourn with thee—ye shall not vex him.*] Not so much as by upbraiding him with his being a stranger, or his having worshipped idols heretofore; for of such a stranger they under-

35 ¶ Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure.

stand this, as was become a proselyte to their religion (see ch. xvii. 8, 12, 13; and Exod. xxii. 21). But common humanity teaches everybody to be kind to all manner of strangers, and not merely to refrain from oppressing them, or giving them vexation. Plato hath most excellent discourses about this in several places; particularly lib. v. De Legibus, where he shows, that God is the avenger of all wrongs done to strangers, more than of those that are done to our fellow-citizens; ἰσχυμὸς γὰρ ὧν ὁ ξένος τεταράσσεται, &c. "for a stranger being destitute of friends and kindred, is the greater object of pity, both of men and of God; and therefore, he that can hurt most, should be most ready to help him," &c. (see p. 729, 730, edit. Seriani). Upon which account he makes it lawful for a stranger to pluck any of the best fruit, as he is upon his way, whether grapes, figs, or apples, &c. (lib. viii. p. 845). And the corn being divided, as he would have it, into twelve parts; and a twelfth part divided into three; he orders one of those third parts to be given to strangers, p. 847, 848. Τὸν γὰρ εἰς ἐπιδημίαν οὐκ ἀποφύγειν, &c. "for a stranger or sojourner ought to be comforted in a most friendly manner," &c. (see lib. xii. p. 952, 953).

Ver. 34. *As one born among you.*] They understand this only of such a stranger, who by circumcision was become a perfect proselyte; whom they were to be so far from oppressing, that they were to treat him as if he had been a native Jew, and love him as a brother.

Love him as thyself.] He had commanded them (ver. 18), "to love their neighbour," i. e. an Israelite (they expound it), *as themselves*; and now he commands them to love a stranger with the same affection; which demonstrates, they think, he was become an Israelite; and therefore was to have the same privileges with themselves, both in all civil and sacred things. And this, no doubt, was true, that they were bound to treat such a proselyte with a tender affection, and to make no difference between him and an Israelite. For he was to be admitted to eat of the paschal lamb, and of the peace-offering, and he might marry with an Israelite; inasmuch, that Moses saith, "one ordinance shall be for both" (Numb. xv. 15). All the difference I can find was, that they never admitted any stranger to be a member of the great Sanhedrim. But notwithstanding all this, I cannot think it reasonable to exclude all other strangers from their affection; but they were bound to love them, and to be kind to them, though not to embrace them with such a strict friendship as the other. And, to confirm this, it may be observed, that in the fourth commandment, "the stranger within their gate" signifies, as they confess, not him that was a perfect proselyte, but only one that had renounced idolatry; and so they understand the word *stranger* in the twenty-fifth chapter of this book (ver. 47), and I see no reason why such a *stranger* should not be admitted here to have a share in their affection, who was become a worshipper of the true God, though he had not taken upon him to observe the whole law.

Ye were strangers.] This reason is little less than a demonstration, that such *strangers* as I now mention are comprehended in the foregoing precept. For the remembrance of what their condition was in Egypt, is that whereby they are moved to have pity on those whom they found among themselves in the same; and they and the Egyptians were not of the same religion, but they found such kind entertainment there a long time, as they were to give to those who were of their religion.

36 Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have: *I am the Lord* your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt.

This argument indeed became stronger, when any persons were incorporated with them, and became more one with them, than they were with the Egyptians; but was of great force to procure kindness to those who did not live by their laws.

I am the Lord] Who have done so much for you when you were mere strangers, that you should not stick to be kind to those who are in the like condition.

Ver. 35. *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment.*] The Hebrews refer this word *judgment* to all the following particulars; and think that Moses uses it here to show of what moment this law is, which he calls *doing judgment*; so that he who measures or weighs hath the office of a judge: and if he commit any fraud in his measures or weights, he is a corrupter of judgment, and is called wicked, abominable, accursed. They are the words of R. Levi Barzelonita, *Præcept. cclx.*, where he adds, that such men are the cause of five mischiefs, which are imputed to unjust judges: "who defile the land; profane the name of God; remove the presence of the Divine Majesty; bring a sword upon the people; and at last carry their captive out of their own country." And therefore great punishments have been enacted in all countries against this crime, as destructive to human society; particularly Justinian ordained that such offenders should be beaten *ἀσχυρῶς ὡς ἀσβεστῆς*, "sorely, as impious people."

In meteyard.] By which they measured lands, cloths, and such like things; for *middah* (as Fosterus observes) is the measure of continued quantity, viz. in things dry.

In weight.] By which they paid and received money in those days; and sold brass and iron, and things of like nature.

In measure] The Hebrew word *mesurah* (from whence seems to come the Latin *mensura*, and our English word *measure*) denotes the measure of discrete quantity (as we speak), as of corn; and of all continued fluid quantity, as of wine and oil. And the forenamed R. Levi will have it to signify the very least of such measures; about which, saith he, the law concerns itself, that men should be exact in them, as well as in the greatest. And so Hesychius here notes, that Moses provides against all injustice in small things, as well as in great; for what the possession of a field or a house is to a wealthy man, that the measure of wine or corn, or the weight of bread, is to the poor, who have daily need of such things for the support of their life.

37 Therefore shall ye observe all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them: *I am the Lord*.

Ver. 36. *Just balances, just weights.*] This verse only positively requires strict justice in those things, wherein the former verse forbade all deceit. And these two words refer to things sold by weight.

Just ephah, and a just hin.] These two words, *ephah* and *hin*, comprehend all sorts of measures of things, whether wet or dry. And, that they might have such just weights and measures among them, the standard of them was kept in the sanctuary, by which all were to be governed; as appears from 1 Chron. xxiii. 29 (see Exod. xxx. 13). The Jewish doctors also say, that it was a constitution of their wise men, for the preventing all fraud in these matters, that no weights, balances, or measures should be made of any metal, as of iron, lead, tin, &c. (which were obnoxious to rust, or might be bent, or easily impaired), but of marble, stone, or glass, which were less liable to be abused.

For these constitutions Moses was so famous, that his name was celebrated on the account of them in other nations. Nay, Lucius Ampelius (a rude kind of writer, but who had collected much out of better authors), saith, that Mochus was the inventor of scales and weights; and that his memory is preserved in the constellation called *Libra*. Now if for Mochus we read Moshos, it is the very name of Moses in Hebrew (viz. *Mosheh*), who is called so by other authors, as the learned Huetius observes in his *Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 7, n. 16*.

I am the Lord, &c.] This is the general reason for their obedience; which is repeated in this chapter above a dozen times. Sometimes more briefly, "I am the Lord;" and sometimes a little larger, "I am the Lord your God;" and here with this addition, "which brought you out of the land of Egypt." Whereby he in a special manner demonstrates himself both to be their Lord (faithful to his promise, Exod. vi. 3) and their God, who obliged them to his service, by the most singular benefit.

Ver. 37. *My statutes, and all my judgments.*] These words, *statutes* and *judgments*, comprehend all the laws of God: some of which were prohibitions, which they were to mark and observe diligently, so as to abstain from such things; and other precepts, or commands, which they were to practise, and do according to them.

I am the Lord.] No more need be said to engage your obedience in every thing than this, that I am your sovereign, and the sovereign of the whole world.

CHAPTER XX.

1 Of him that giveth of his seed to Molech. 4 Of him that favoureth such an one. 6 Of going to wizards. 7 Of sanctification. 9 Of him that curseth his parents. 10 Of adultery. 11, 14, 17, 19 Of incest. 13 Of sodomy. 15 Of bestiality. 18 Of uncleanness. 22 Obedience is required with holiness. 27 Wizards must be put to death.

1 AND THE LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Again, thou shalt say to the children of

Israel, Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that

before (ch. xviii. 21), and add this which follows unto it.

Or of the strangers] The proselytes, who had embraced their religion, were no less concerned in this law than the native Israelites (see ch. xvii. 8, 10, &c.).

That giveth of his seed unto Molech;] This

CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1.] Some time after the delivery of the laws mentioned in the two foregoing chapters, the chief of them were enforced with the addition of penalties, which are set down in this chapter.

Ver. 2. *Again, thou shalt say*] Repeat what I said

gively *any* of his seed unto Molech; he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones.

3 And I will set my face against that man,

looks like the prohibition before given (ch. xviii. 21), and R. Levi gives this reason of its repetition—because it was a piece of idolatrous worship so usual in those days, when the law was delivered, that there needed great endeavours to preserve them from it (Præcept. cccviii). And Maimonides also observes (as I noted upon ch. xviii. 21), that idolaters used to fright people into this worship, by telling them their children would die, if they did not make them pass through the fire, and thereby devote them to their gods. But upon due consideration of these words, it may appear probable, that there is something more in them than in the former; importing a higher degree of this sin. For to “give their children to Molech,” seems to be no less than to offer them in sacrifices (so Christ *giving himself for us*, constantly signifies in the New Testament), which was a more horrid thing than merely making them *pass through the fire*, which did them no hurt. And therefore this crime is here forbidden under the penalty of death; whereas in the eighteenth chapter no punishment is threatened. Certain it is, children were really burnt upon the altars of the ancient pagans, especially in times of great distress, when they hoped to pacify the anger of their gods, by offering to them the dearest thing they had: see our great Selden, lib. ii. De Diis Syris Syntagm. l. cap. 6, where he shows the Phœnicians offered their children to Saturn (so Porphyrius expressly says, lib. i. De Abstin.), who is said by the poets to have devoured his own children; and by many is thought to be the same with Moloch. Though others take it for the sun, to whom it is certain human sacrifices were offered. Many authors make mention of it; and Aben Batrich thinks such sacrifices began in the days of Serug, and were first used among the Syrians. Which is a very probable opinion, as Johan. Geusius hath demonstrated (lib. De Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 4, 5). And it is easy to conceive how, from the Syrians, this abominable practice was derived to the Phœnicians, who worshipped the sun under the name of *Baal*, or *Bel*, as Herodian (lib. viii.) testifies. Which doth not contradict what others say, that they were devoted to the worship of Hercules: for by him is meant the sun also, as his very name imports, viz. *Or-col*, which in that language signifies as much as “him that illuminates all things.” From the Phœnicians this worship of offering human sacrifices was propagated to the Carthaginians, and other people of Africa, among whom this impious idolatry continued till the time of Hannibal; as Bochartus gathers out of Silius Italicus (lib. iv.):

“Nos fuit in populo quos condidit advena Dido,
Poscere cæde Deos veniam, ac flagrantibus aris,
Infandum dictu, parvos imponere natos.”

Who says, the Carthaginians were wont to appease their gods, by burning their children on their altars; and then follows (after the words now mentioned) the lamentation of Imilce the wife of Hannibal, whose son was, by lot, to be sacrificed (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 28). And this wicked custom continues still to this day, among some of the people in the southern parts of Africa, as good authors affirm; it having spread itself all over the world (as appears by the discoveries that have been made in America), even into the northern countries of Scythia. But I shall content myself with observing only what the Scripture saith concerning a people in the east, called Sepharvites,

and will cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile my sanctuary, and to profane my holy name.

who “burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech,” 2 Kings xvii. 31, which god seems to have been the same with Moloch, here mentioned by Moses; only with the addition of an epithet, signifying their opinion of him: for *adra* is as much as *potent*, or *mighty*; and therefore *Melech* signifying a *king*, *Adramelech* is in our language *mighty king*. Now, that the children of Israel, notwithstanding this severe prohibition against it, imitated this barbarous worship, is evident from 2 Kings xxiii. 10; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5; Ps. evi. 37, 38, and we may very well think the prophet Micah also alludes to it, ch. vi. 7, as Isaiah, lvii. 5, 6, and Ezekiel, xvi. 20, 21, 36, xxiii. 37, 39, likewise do.

The manner of sacrificing their children, and the figure of the idol to which they offered, are described by many, according to the Jewish notion; particularly by Paulus Fagius out of Jalkut: who makes it a hollow image, having seven apartments in it (according to the number, I suppose, of the seven planets), into one of which, viz. the lowest, the infant was thrown when it was red-hot; as flour, a turtle-dove, a sheep, &c. were into the rest. We can have no certainty of this; but such kind of statues were found in the West Indies when they were discovered, as Ludovicus Vives observes in lib. vi. cap. 19, De Civitate Dei. And Diodorus Siculus, in his Bibliotheca, lib. xx., describes the statue of Saturn among the Carthaginians, as stretching forth its hands down towards the earth; so that the child which was put into it might *roll and fall eis τὸ χάσμα πῦρος*, “into a gulf full of fire.” Benjamin Tudenensis in his travels (about five hundred years ago) affirms, that, in some islands in the east, the worshippers of fire were wont to leap into it, in performance of some solemn vow, and were counted by all to be happy men. Which I mention here, because he says these fires were kindled in a valley, as those among the Jews were in the valley of Hinnom (p. 108, 109).

He shall surely be put to death:] Sufficient proof being made of the fact (Deut. xvii. 6).

The people of the land shall stone him] Which was the proper punishment in this, and in some other cases; particularly adultery (ver. 10) and blasphemy (ch. xxiv. 14, &c.). The manner of it is described out of a Hebrew MS. (Ez Hechajim), by J. Wagenseil, upon Sota, cap. 3, to have been thus: he that was to be punished with stoning was stripped naked, having only a covering before, and set upon a high place, attended by the witnesses against him, his hands being bound: one of the witnesses giving him a strong push, threw him down headlong from thence. If this fall killed him, there was an end; but if life remained in him, the witnesses took up a stone, which was laid there on purpose, as big as two men could lift, and threw it upon him; and before he quite expired, all the people that stood by threw stones at him, according to the law (Deut. xvii. 7). A woman was only stripped to her shift.

Ver. 3. *I will set my face against that man, and will cut him off*] In case, that is, there was not sufficient proof against him, God threatens that he himself would take care to punish him, by cutting him off from the land of the living. R. Bechai, and others, observe, that this *cutting off* is threefold in the law: one is, the cutting off the body, i. e. shortening men's lives; which is threatened to six sins in Scripture.

4 And if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and kill him not:

5 Then I will set my face against that man, and against his family, and will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people.

6 ¶ And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face

against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people.

7 ¶ Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy: for I am the LORD your God.

8 And ye shall keep my statutes, and do them: I am the LORD which sanctify you.

9 ¶ For every one that curseth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death: he hath cursed his father or his mother; his blood shall be upon him.

The second is, the excision of the soul only; which is threatened by Moses six-and-twenty times, and particularly to incestuous marriages. The third is, excision both of soul and body; which is threatened to fifteen sins; among which they reckon this, of giving their children to Moloch (see Selden, lib. vii. De Jure N. et G. sec. Heb. cap. 9, p. 828, 829, &c.).

To defile my sanctuary,] By this sin God's sanctuary was defiled, as well as his holy name profaned, because they sacrificed to Moloch in other places, despising the tabernacle, which was the only place appointed by God where Divine service was to be performed. And therein consisted part of the honour and reverence which God required to his sanctuary (ch. xix. 30), that it should be looked upon as the only place where acceptable sacrifices could be offered to him. And therefore, then it was dishonoured and defiled, when they offered sacrifice in any other place, as they did, in aftertimes, to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, as I observed before, 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Where they built high places to Baal (which is another name for the sun), on purpose that they might offer their children upon them (Jer. xx. 5, 6, xxxii. 35). This was a plain contempt of God, and of his sanctuary, which they forsook, as if it had not been a holy, but a defiled place. Otherwise they would have kept to it, and offered nowhere else, nor after any other manner than according to the rites thereof.

To profane my holy name,] By giving the name of God and his honour to such an abominable idol.

Ver. 4. *If the people of the land]* In that part of the country where this crime was committed.

Do any ways hide their eyes] If they connived at what he did, and dissembled their knowledge of it: or would not speak the whole truth, and endeavour to convert him of this foul crime, that he might be stoned.

Ver. 5. *I will set my face against that man,]* As the idolater was liable to this punishment from the hand of Heaven (see ver. 3), so they that favoured him, and would not testify against him when they knew him guilty, fell under God's high displeasure (which is meant by "setting his face against them"), and so did all their children, whom God threatens to destroy. He speaks, indeed, in the singular number, because commonly, in such cases, there was some one person by whose authority others were persuaded to wink at such offences, and not to discover what they knew of them. But all such men are threatened with the Divine vengeance in the next words.

And will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him, &c.] That is, all others, who, following his example, favour such idolaters, and protect them from punishment. For every one knows that idolatry is called by the name of *whoredom* in Scripture; because God having espoused the Israelites to himself, as his peculiar people, their forsaking him, to serve other gods, was a spiritual adultery.

To commit whoredom with Molech,] i. e. To worship him as their god.

Ver. 6. *And the soul]* i. e. The person.

That turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards,] Who they were that pretended to have familiar spirits, or were wizards, see ch. xix. 31, where they are commanded "not to regard them;" and here, if any did consult them (which is called *turning after them*), cutting off is threatened to them; that is, shortening their days: for such persons are reckoned by the Jews as the chief of those six sorts of sinners, who were liable to the first kind of excision, which I mentioned, ver. 3. As for the man himself who had a familiar spirit, or was a wizard, he was to be stoned, if he was discovered and convicted (ver. 27). And so they observe in Sanhedrin, cap. 7, n. 7.

To go a whoring] It was a kind of idolatry to seek to such people for advice or relief; being a forsaking of God, and putting confidence in them. Though sometimes "to go a whoring," signifies the commission of any grievous sin, which idolatry usually led men into; as Mr. Selden hath noted, lib. iii. De Uxore Hebr. cap. 23.

There is some reason to think, there was something magical in the oblation of their children to Moloch; and that thereby they consulted with demons about things future or secret; because such superstitions are immediately forbidden, after the prohibition of giving their children to Moloch; and because they are frequently joined together in other places, as in Deut. xviii. 10, 11; 2 Kings xvii. 17, and xxi. 6. Certain it is, that in aftertimes they did sacrifice children, *ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ*, "that they might divine," by looking into their bowels; as Joh. Geusius hath shown out of Porphyrius, Philostratus, Herodotus, and others, lib. De Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 17.

I will even set my face, &c.] See ver. 3, 5.

Ver. 7. *Sanctify yourselves therefore,]* Worship therefore God alone; to whose service you are set apart.

Be ye holy:] Keep yourselves free from all idolatry (see ch. xi. 44).

I am the Lord] See ch. xix. 2, 3, 10, &c.

Ver. 8. *Ye shall keep my statutes and do them:]* Be governed by these laws, and not by the customs of other people.

I am the Lord which sanctify you,] Separated you to myself from all other people, by peculiar laws which I have given you.

Ver. 9. *For every one]* Or, if any one; the particle we translate for signifying frequently *with*, or *if*.

That curseth his father or his mother] Reproacheth them with imprecations.

Shall be surely put to death:] i. e. Be stoned. And it made no difference, whether he cursed them when they were alive, or after their death, as R. Levi Barzelonita says, the rule of their doctors was; yet they resolve, that, unless he cursed them by some proper name of God, he was not liable to be put to death, but only to be scourged (Præcept. cclxi.). See Exod. xxi. 17.

His blood shall be upon him,] When the law only

10 ¶ And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, *even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death.*

11 And the man that lieth with his father's wife hath uncovered his father's nakedness: both of them shall surely be put to death; their blood *shall be upon them.*

12 And if a man lie with his daughter in law, both of them shall surely be put to death: they

have wrought confusion; their blood *shall be upon them.*

13 If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood *shall be upon them.*

14 And if a man take a wife and her mother, it is wickedness: they shall be burnt with fire, both he and they; that there be no wickedness among you.

saith, a man shall *die the death*, the Jews understand it of *strangling*; which was the easiest punishment among them. For where there was not an express mention of the kind of death, they thought the most favourable was to be inflicted. But when the law adds, "his blood shall be upon him," they say, it is meant of stoning: and the meaning of this phrase is, "he shall perish by his own fault;" and therefore his blood, that is, his death, shall not be vindicated. The blood of one that was slain, being innocent, was upon the murderer, and therefore avenged; but he that was put to death for his crimes, had his blood upon himself, and nobody was to bear it, the executioner himself being not guilty of blood.

Ver. 10. *The man that committeth adultery, &c.*] By the ancient law of Draco and Solon, the husband of the adulteress, if he found them in the fact, might kill them both, or put out their eyes, or stigmatize them; or make the adulterer pay a fine, if he had a mind to spare his life. See Meursius in his *Themis Attica*, lib. i. cap. 4, 5, and the *Leges Atticæ*, set forth by Petitus, lib. vi. tit. 4, where it appears, that it was infamous for the husband to live with his wife after she had committed adultery; and that it was unlawful for her to enter into the public temples, or go dressed in the streets. If she did, anybody might tear off her clothes, and beat her, only not kill her (see S. Petiti Comment. p. 460, &c.).

Shall surely be put to death.] It is not left to the husband's liberty, by this law, whether he would spare their lives or not; but the fact being proved, they were both to die for it: only it is not said here what kind of death they should suffer; nor was the same kind of death inflicted upon all that were guilty of this crime; for, if the daughter of a priest played the adulteress, she was to be burnt (ch. xxi. 9), and the adulterer to be strangled, as the Jews understand it. If a man lay with a virgin espoused to another man, but not yet married, they were both to be stoned, by the express words of the law (Deut. xxii. 23). But adultery with a married woman, if we may credit the Jewish doctors, was punished with strangling (see Selden, lib. iii. *Uxor. Hebr.* cap. 2). For when we meet with this phrase, *they shall surely die*, it is always meant of death by the sentence of the house of judgment (as they speak), and if the law add no more, they resolved it to be by *strangling*. If these words be added, *their blood shall be upon them*, then, they say, they were to be stoned. This, I observed before; and shall add now, that *strangling*, as they describe it, was not such a punishment as our hanging men by the neck; but the criminal being stuck up to the knees in dung, they tied a napkin about his neck, and drawing it hard at both ends, choked him. There was such a thing as hanging men on a gallows (as we speak), but it was after they were dead, and only such as had been stoned; and not all of them neither, but such alone as had been stoned for blasphemy or idolatry (see Joh. Carpozovius upon Schieckard's *Jus Regium*, cap. 4, Theor. xiv.).

The greatest thing that can be objected against this

account of the punishment of adultery, is that which St. John tells us the Jews said concerning the woman taken in the very act of it, "Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned" (John viii. 5). But it may be answered, that this woman was espoused only, and not yet married; and so, by the law, as I observed before, was to be stoned (Deut. xxii. 23, 24). If this seem absurd, that the adultery of one espoused should be accounted a greater crime than of one married (for stoning was a heavier punishment than strangling), it ought to be considered, that the love of those who were newly espoused, was commonly more fervent than theirs who were married, especially among the Jews, who for light causes were wont to be divorced from their wives; and therefore no wonder if the adultery of the former was judged a greater crime than of the latter.

Ver. 11. *The man that lieth with his father's wife, &c.*] This was condemned before as a heinous sin (ch. xviii. 8), and now the penalty of death is inflicted upon the offenders.

Their blood shall be upon them.] All the Hebrew doctors agree, that whosoever we meet with this phrase, it is meant of stoning, as I before observed.

Ver. 12. *If a man lie with his daughter in law,*] This was forbidden, ch. xviii. 15, and the same penalty is here enacted as against the former crime.

They have wrought confusion;] By perverting the order which God hath appointed, and making great disturbance in the family, &c. It is the same word that is used for a more foul sin (ch. xviii. 23), and therefore shows this to be an abominable mixture.

Ver. 13. *If a man also lie with mankind,*] This also was condemned before (ch. xviii. 22), but the penalty not declared till now.

They shall surely be put to death.] By stoning; unless one of them was under a force, and then that law took place which we find, Deut. xxii. 25, 26.

Ver. 14. *If a man take a wife and her mother,*] See ch. xviii. 17.

They shall be burnt.] Which was a higher punishment than stoning, as that was higher than strangling. R. Levi Barzelonita (*Præcept.* ccxiv.) describes the manner of it to have been thus: they set the malefactor in dung up to the knees, and then tied a cloth about his neck, which was drawn by the two witnesses, till they made his mouth gape; into which they poured hot melted lead down his throat, which burnt his bowels. And thus the rest of the Talmudists expound it: but I see no good authority they have for it, the word for *burning* being the same that is used, when mention is made of burning with fire and fagots, as we speak. And R. Eliezer ben Zadoc saith, he saw a priest's daughter thus burnt for fornication. But the doctors commonly say, the judges were ignorant of the law; or, that they were Sadducees who then had got into the seat of judgment, who followed the very letter of the Scripture.

Both he and they.] That is, both the mother and daughter, if the mother were consenting to it. Otherwise, only the woman that offended. From whence

15 And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put to death: and ye shall slay the beast.

16 And if a woman approach unto any beast, and lie down thereto, thou shalt kill the woman and the beast: they shall surely be put to death; their blood *shall be upon them*.

17 And if a man shall take his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness; it is a wicked thing; and they shall be cut off in the sight of their people: he hath uncovered his sister's nakedness; he shall bear his iniquity.

the Karaites formed this rule, "after the same manner that men were obliged by a precept in Scripture, the women were obliged also" (Selden, lib. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 5).

That there be no wickedness among you.] That others may be deterred from the commission of such enormous crimes: for the Hebrew word imports more than ordinary wickedness (see ch. xviii. 17).

Ver. 15. *If a man lie with a beast,*] See ch. xviii. 23. This death was by stoning, as appears from the next verse.

Ye shall slay the beast.] Just as they were to destroy, not only the inhabitants of an apostate city, but their cattle also, &c. (Deut. xiii. 15, 16), to terrify others from committing the like sin; and, as the Talmudists observe, that there might be no memorial left of so foul a crime, by men's pointing at the beast, and saying, There goes the beast that such a man lay with. They might have added, to prevent monstrous births (see Selden, lib. i. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4). Maimonides gives a good reason, why a beast that killed a man should be slain; as a punishment to the owner, for looking no better after it; but his application of it to this matter seems impertinent (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40). Bochartus's gloss is far better; the beast was killed as an instrument in the crime, just as a forger of deeds is hanged with his pen and counterfeit seals; and a conjurer with his magical books and characters. And this also is useful for an example, though not to other beasts, yet to men: whose concern it is to consider, that if beasts were not spared, who were not capable of sinning, what would become of them who committed such crimes against the known law of God, and the impressions of nature itself? (Hierozeicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 16).

Ver. 16. *Their blood shall be upon them.*] This relates to the man and the woman (mentioned in these two verses), who committed this foul crime; for a beast is not capable of punishment. But, as the canon law speaks, *Pecora inde credendum est jussa interfici, quia tali flagitio contaminata refricant facti memoriam*; "it is to be believed, that the beasts which were polluted with such a flagitious wickedness, were therefore commanded to be slain, because they rubbed up the memory of the fact:" which is the very reason given of it in the Mishna, Tit. Sanhedrin, cap. 7, n. 4. And so R. Solomon: "the beast was killed, lest it should be said, There is the beast for which such a woman was put to death."

Ver. 17. *If a man shall take his sister, &c.*] Whether she was his sister by the whole blood (as we speak), or by half blood only, by the father's side or mother's, he was not permitted to marry her by the law mentioned, ch. xviii. 9.

See her nakedness.] It is the same with *uncovering her nakedness* to lie with her; as it is there expressed, and here in the end of the verse ("he hath uncovered

18 And if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness, and shall uncover her nakedness; he hath discovered her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood: and both of them shall be cut off from among their people.

19 And thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister, nor of thy father's sister: for he uncovereth his near kin: they shall bear their iniquity.

20 And if a man shall lie with his uncle's wife, he hath uncovered his uncle's nakedness: they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless.

his sister's nakedness"), the sense of *seeing* being put for that of touching, or any other, in this language.

It is a wicked thing;] A flagitious, or nefarious wickedness, as the Vulgar expresses it. But the Hebrew word *chessed* signifying sometimes in the prophetic language *mercy* and *indulgence*; the Talmudists take these words, as if they came in by a parenthesis, to obviate an objection which might be made, that Cain and Abel married their sisters. True, saith Moses, that was by an indulgence in the beginning, arising from the necessity of things, when there were none but brothers and sisters in the world. But now "they shall be cut off in the sight of their people," who marry such near relations. So the Gemara Hierosol. ad Tit. Sanhedrin (see Selden, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent., cap. 8, p. 581). And so the Chaldee paraphrase, ascribed to Jonathan, whose words are these: "It is a filthy thing; but I used an indulgence to the first men by whom the world was to be propagated, until mankind was sufficiently multiplied: after that, whosoever doth any such thing, let him be cut off," &c.

Cut off in the sight of their people:] Publicly put to death (see ver. 10).

He shall bear his iniquity.] i. e. The punishment of it (ch. v. 1).

Ver. 18. *If a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness, &c.*] Here the sentence of death is pronounced upon them; whereas in ch. xv. 24, it is only said, the man should be *unclean seven days*. Therefore many think in that place he speaks of doing this ignorantly, and here of doing it knowingly. But if the man might be ignorant of the condition she was in, the woman herself could scarce be so: and, therefore, others think, when the fact was altogether private, they only incurred a legal impurity for a certain season; but when it was publicly known, and proof made of it before a judge, it was a capital crime, because it was done in contempt and despite of the law; otherwise it could not have been so publicly known as to be legally proved. Whether this law oblige in the state of Christianity, is at large discussed by Bishop Taylor (not to mention other writers abroad), in his Ductor. Dubitant. book ii. ch. 2, rule iii. n. 8, and book iii. ch. 2, rule ii. n. 3, &c.

Ver. 19.] See ch. xviii. 12, 13.

They shall bear their iniquity.] It not being said, they shall die, or be cut off (as in the former cases), it hath made some conclude this sin, being not of so high a nature as the foregoing, was punished only as those that follow (ver. 20, 21), where they that committed them are threatened to *die childless*.

Ver. 20.] See ch. xviii. 14.

They shall die childless.] This is understood by some as if Moses meant they should be put to death, before they could have any fruit of such a conjunction. But most think he only means, that either they should

21 And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.

22 ¶ Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them: that the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, spue you not out.

23 And ye shall not walk in the manners of the nation, which I cast out before you: for they committed all these things, and therefore I abhorred them.

24 But I have said unto you, Ye shall inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess

have no children; or that their children should not live, but die before their parents; or be looked upon as a spurious issue, and not inherit their estate; which is the sense St. Austin puts upon these words. And Procopius Gazæus also mentions it; and says this was the Roman law about all incestuous marriages, *Semen eorum non recensebitur inter liberos*; "such issue shall not be reckoned among their children."

Ver. 21.] See ch. xviii. 16.

They shall be childless.] See ver. 20.

Ver. 22. *Keep all my statutes,*] Particularly these concerning the foregoing matters (see ch. xviii. 4, 5).

That the land—spue you not out.] As it did the former inhabitants (see ch. xviii. 25, 28).

Ver. 23. *Ye shall not walk in the manners of the nation,*] viz. Of the Amorites, as the Hebrews rightly expound it; for they were the principal nation in Canaan, and extremely given to idolatry. R. Levi Barzelonita extends this to all their customs, in cutting their hair, and such like (Præcept. cclxii.), but it seems here particularly to relate to their marriages and idolatry (see ch. xviii. 3).

For they committed all these things,] These words show that the foregoing have particular respect to their abominable marriages and idolatry.

Therefore I abhorred them.] So as to cast them out of their country (ch. xviii. 25). Onkelos translates it, "my Word [*Memri*] abominated them." Which is a plain intimation of a notion they had in ancient times of more persons than one in the Deity; and particularly here denotes him whom St. John calls the Word. For *Memri* (Word) plainly signifies a person in this place; and a person of the same essence with Jehovah.

Ver. 24. *I have said*] Made you a promise.

Ye shall inherit their land, &c.] For he promised to expel the former inhabitants of that country, to make room for them (see Exod. iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 27, 28, xxxiii. 3).

Which have separated you] This may refer either to what goes before, that they should not live like other nations, because he had, by peculiar laws, as well as by signal deliverances, distinguished them from all the people of the earth; or to what follows, that he had made such a difference between them, and other people, that in their very diet they should not agree with them, much less in the forenamed impurities. For, that the difference of meats was instituted, to keep them from familiar conversation with their idolatrous neighbours, is very evident (as I before observed), and the gentiles themselves took notice of it, and looked upon them as unsociable people upon this very account. Josephus often mentions this objection against them. And Euphrates complains (in Philostratus De Vita Apollon. Lib. cap. 2), "That of old they separated not only from the Romans, but

it, a land that floweth with milk and honey: I am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people.

25 Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean, and between unclean fowls and clean: and ye shall not make your souls abominable by beast, or by fowl, or by any manner of living thing that creepeth on the ground, which I have separated from you as unclean.

26 And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine.

from all mankind: for they had invented, *βιον ἀμικτον*, "a manner of living that would not let them mix with other people," either at a common table or in their prayers or sacrifices.

Ver. 25.] According to the prescriptions in the eleventh chapter, which are here briefly repeated, to enforce the observation of the foregoing precepts against such incestuous marriages as other nations allowed; their law not permitting them so much as to eat such meat as those nations did; but to account many things, which they freely used, unclean and abominable.

Abominable, &c.] See ch. xi. 43.

Which I have separated from you as unclean.] Forbidden you to eat; and thereby separated you from all other people. Which had this intention in it (among others already mentioned), that this nation, from whom the Messiah was to spring, might be kept pure and sincere; free from all mixture with strange people; unto which nothing contributed more efficaciously (as an excellent person hath observed) than the difference of meat, which made it not easy for them to contract acquaintance, much less friendship, with other nations. And truly, unless the people from whom the Messiah was to come, had been kept separate from all other nations, either all hope of him would have been lost, or many in every country, to the great hurt and destruction of mankind, would have pretended to be the person: whereas, by keeping them a people distinct by themselves, it came to pass that all countries thereabouts were filled with a report, that the Lord of the world should come out of Judea: see Joh. Wagenseil, Confut. Carm. Lipman., p. 554, &c.

Ver. 26. *Ye shall be holy unto me;*] See ch. xi. 44, xix. 2, and ver. 7 of this chapter.

And have severed you from other people,] The very difference of meats which they used, was a token that God had separated them from other people, to be subject to such rites and laws as he ordained: and hereby also they were so severed from others, as to be kept from the most familiar conversation with them (which is at meals), and thereby they were preserved from the danger of being seduced to the worship of strange gods.

Ver. 27. *A man also, or a woman, that hath a familiar spirit, &c.*] The consulting such persons is forbidden, ch. xix. 31, and the penalty added ver. 6 of this chapter: and here the persons themselves who were proved to have a *familiar spirit*, or to be a *wizard* (what they are, see there), are condemned to the heaviest punishment; which was by being stoned to death. For which severity Maimonides gives this reason: "because it is the very scope of the whole law to root out idolatry, and abolish the very name of it. And therefore God ordered magicians to be stoned, because, without doubt, they are idolaters; though in a manner peculiar and different from the

27 ¶ A man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be

vulgar. And the greater part of such evil arts being practised by women (which is the ground, he thinks, of that law, Exod. xii. 18), towards whom men are naturally pitiful: therefore Moses saith in this place, "A man also, or woman that hath a familiar spirit," &c., like to which we find in no precept, not about the profanation of the Sabbath; but in this case it was necessary expressly to mention *women* as well as *men*;

put to death: they shall stone them with stones: their blood *shall be* upon them.

because of men's natural tenderness and clemency towards women." Thus he, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37. Procopius Gazæus's gloss on these words is very pious, but something fanciful; "He that is hardened like a stone to virtue, deserves to be stoned. For magic commits murders, digs up sepulchres, disturbs the souls of men. For magicians are men who corrupt human nature."

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Of the priests' mourning.* 6 *Of their holiness.* 8 *Of their estimation.* 7, 13 *Of their marriages.* 16 *The priests that have blemishes must not minister in the sanctuary.*

1 AND the LORD said unto Moses, Speak unto the priests the sons of Aaron, and say unto them, There shall none be defiled for the dead among his people:

2 But for his kin, that is near unto him, *that is*, for his mother, and for his father, and for his

son, and for his daughter, and for his brother, 3 And for his sister a virgin, that is nigh unto him, which hath had no husband; for her may he be defiled.

4 *But* he shall not defile himself, *being* a chief man among his people, to profane himself.

CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *Speak unto the priests*] This law about the priests, perhaps, follows that last mentioned (ver. 27 of the foregoing chapter), to show unto whom they should resort, and of whom they should inquire, viz. of the priests; who should always be ready for any priestly office, and for common conversation.

Sons of Aaron,] His daughters were not concerned in the following prohibitions; because they had nothing to do in offering sacrifices; as Maimonides observes, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.

There shall none be defiled for the dead] By touching the dead body, or coming (as the Hebrews say) within four cubits of it, or entering into the house where it lay (though it were to take care of the funeral), or by following the corpse to the grave, or making any mourning for the dead; because by these things they were legally polluted for no less than seven days (Numb. xix. 11, 14), and, consequently unfit for the service of God, and for conversation with their neighbours; who had the greater reverence also for them, when they saw their dignity to be so great, that they were not permitted to perform such offices as others were obliged unto. For this, no doubt, was intended very much to put an honour upon the priesthood: as it was also in other nations, particularly among the Romans, who would not have their Pontifex to look upon a funeral, as Bochart observes out of Seneca (Hieroz. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 4), and the Flamen Dialis might not go into the place where the coffin was. For which reason, as Servius tells us (ad lib. iii. Æneid.), they ordered a bough of a cypress-tree to be stuck at the door of the house where a dead body lay, that the high-priest might not ignorantly go into it. It appears also by Plato, that it was thus likewise among the Greeks. For he would have the priests, of both sexes, to accompany one that had discharged the office of a censor well, unto his grave when he was buried, as unto a "pure funeral" (ὁ καθαρίωντι τῷ τάφῳ ἐκιδῶν); but for this, he says, they must ask leave of Apollo (lib. xii. de Legibus, p. 947). See Porphyrius De Abst. lib. ii. sect. 50.

Among his people:] The Jews are so critical, as from the word *beamo*, "among his people," to gather, that if a man did not die among his people, but in a strange country, where there was nobody to take

care of his funeral, and see him buried, a priest might do it himself, rather than his body should lie above ground.

Ver. 2. *But for his kin,*] Here is an exception to the general rule; because it would have been very hard to restrain natural affection from carrying them to their parents, and children, and brethren, and sisters, when they died. Which cases would not often happen, as Maimonides observes in the place before alleged; and they are particularly named, that there might be no mistake, nor any colour to extend this indulgence to relations more remote.

For his mother, and for his father, &c.] If any have a mind to know the rabbinical reasons, why the mother is here put before the father, and, ver. 11, the father before the mother, with such-like things, he may consult Simeon De Muis in his *Varia Sacra*, p. 356, &c.

Ver. 3. *For his sister a virgin,*] I see no reason why it should be restrained to his whole sister, both by father's and mother's side (as some of the Hebrew doctors would have it); for, that his half-sister, by either of them, *was nigh unto him* (as it here follows), it appears by the law about incestuous marriages (ch. xviii. 9).

Which hath had no husband;] To take care of her funeral, which her brother therefore, though a priest, might. It is commonly observed, that there is no mention here of *his wife*. But Maimonides, with great reason, thinks it was lawful for him to mourn for her; but it was needless to mention her, who, by the law of God, was dearer to him than father or mother. And there is this argument for it: that Ezekiel, who was a priest, is forbidden, by a special command, to mourn for his wife, which otherwise he would have done (ch. xxiv. 16, &c.).

Ver. 4. *He shall not defile himself, being a chief man*] But though he might defile himself for such very near relations, yet he might not for the greatest man in the nation, who was not so near of kin to him. This seems to me to be the easiest and the most natural sense of this verse, by adding the particle *lamed* (which in the two foregoing verses is put before *mother, father, son, daughter, brother, and sister*) to *baal*, i. e. *chief man* (as we translate it); nothing being more usual than to omit such a particle, which yet must be understood when it hath been often before mentioned. And thus the Vulgar Latin under-

5 They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh.

6 They shall be holy unto their God, and not profane the name of their God: for the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and the bread of their

God, they do offer: therefore they shall be holy.

7 They shall not take a wife *that is* a whore, or profane; neither shall they take a woman put away from her husband: for he is holy unto his God.

8 Thou shalt sanctify him therefore; for he

stands it; and the sense is the same, if we take it as our translation seems to intend it: "But he shall not defile himself (for any other, being a chief man," &c. As for the marginal translation, I can see no ground for it; and there must be a greater supplement, by adding for *his wife*; which one cannot well think is here forbidden, as I observed on the foregoing verse. They also who translate it, "a chief ruler shall not defile himself," &c., have still less reason, the whole discourse in this place being concerning the priests.

To *profane himself*.] He himself, in sacred offices, being the greatest person, would have been profaned, i. e. rendered a common man, if he had mourned for any but those whom nature had very closely linked him unto.

Ver. 5.] Though they were allowed to mourn for some persons, yet for none after this manner: that is, according to the custom of certain places in Chaldea, as Aben Ezra glosses upon these words. And he might have added also, of the Egyptians; among whose ceremonies we find this in aftertimes, and it is likely it had been very ancient. For Jul. Firmicus tells us, in the beginning of his book, that in their annual lamentations of Osiris, they were wont "to shave their heads, that they might bewail the miserable misfortune of their king, by depriving themselves of the ornament of hair," &c. And he adds, that they did tear their flesh, and cut open the scars of their old wounds, &c. where Johan. Wouwer observes the same out of several other authors. And Plutarch in his book of Superstition, saith, they generally used in mourning to be shaven; whereas the Hebrews let their hair grow (see ch. x. 6, xix. 27).

Ver. 6. *They shall be holy*.] Attend to their office, unto which they are peculiarly consecrated; and not, without great necessity, be at any time unfitted for it.

Not *profane*.] By doing as the common people did; or rendering themselves incapable to minister unto the Lord; as they were when they were any way defiled.

For the offerings.] They attend upon his altar, where the burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, and all the rest were offered.

And the bread of their God, they do offer:] The word and is not in the Hebrew, and the sense will be clearer if it be left out: "the offering of the Lord made by fire," being called "the bread of their God," i. e. his meat, or food. For the altar was his table; and what was burnt thereon was in the nature of his provision: which in the Scripture language is comprehended under the name of bread. So Solomon Jarchi saith, "whatsoever may be eaten is called bread" (see ch. iii. 11). Thus fruit is called bread, Jer. xi. 19, and milk, Prov. xxvii. 27, and honey, 1 Sam. xiv. 28. And therefore no wonder the sacrifices are here called by that name, and by Malachi his meat or food (ch. iii. 12). Which phrase is used, as the author of Sepher Cosri well observes, to keep up the notion that God dwelt gloriously, and kept house among them (par. ii. cap. 26).

Ver. 7. *Not take a wife that is a whore*.] All incestuous marriages were as much forbidden priests as any other men. But, besides, here are three sorts of persons whom it was unlawful for a common priest to marry, though there was no kindred between them.

The first is a *whore*; whereby the Hebrew doctors understand, not only one that was a common prostitute, but one that was not an Israelite, or an Israelitish woman, with whom a man had lain, whom it was unlawful for her to marry. Which comprehends not only all such as are forbidden in the eighteenth chapter of this book; but those also in Deut. xxiii. 2, 3 (see Selden, De Successionibus, lib. ii. cap. 2, et 3, and Uxor. Hebraica, lib. i. cap. 7, lib. iii. cap. 23).

Or *profane*.] A woman was accounted so (as he shows in the same place) who was either descended from such a person, as is before mentioned; or who was born of such a conjunction, as is here forbidden to a priest. And there are those who think it may be understood of one that had been consecrated to a false deity; whom she served with the use of her body, which she exposed to the worshippers of that deity: who, though she afterwards repented, and became good, yet a priest was not to marry her, no more than an ordinary whore. But the simplest meaning of these three seems to be, that they should not marry one that had prostituted her body, or that had been any way vitiated, though against her will; or was of suspected chastity; or (as it follows) was divorced from her husband.

Neither—a woman put away from her husband:] For commonly women were put away for some fault, as Abarbanel notes; and were presumed not to be such as a priest should desire. To the same purpose Procopius Gazæus. A priest, saith he, should not only fly from manifest evils, as fornication, but decline whatsoever may blemish his fame: now a woman that is put away by her husband lies under a suspicion of something that is bad. For which reason (as Mr. Selden observes in the place above named), a priest might not marry her, whom her husband's brother refused to marry after his death.

For he is holy.] Consecrated after a special manner, to the service of the Divine Majesty; and therefore was not to dishonour his priesthood by such marriages as were not of good reputation. If he did, he was not to be suffered to minister, until he had given such a wife a bill of divorce; as Maimonides saith in Biath Hamikdash, cap. 6. An example of which there was in Manasseh, the brother of Jadua the high-priest; who, marrying, contrary to the law, the daughter of Sanballat the Samaritan, was commanded either to put her away, or not to come to the altar (see Selden, lib. ii. De Successione in Pontificatum, cap. 6, p. 238).

Ver. 8. *Sanctify him*] This seems to be spoken to Moses, and to all that should succeed him in the supreme authority, that they should take care the priests should not marry with such persons; or if they did, not be suffered to minister in the priest's office till they had put them away. Accordingly we find, that to keep the priesthood pure, and to avoid all suspicion of any such pollution, the names of the priest's parents were carefully preserved in the genealogical tables, as we learn from Ezra ii. 62; Nehemiah vii. 64 (see Selden, De Successione in Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 3, Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 7).

He offereth.] Ministereth at the altar (see ver. 6).

He shall be holy.] Keep himself pure, that he may not be unfit to offer sacrifice for the people, as need shall require.

offereth the bread of thy God: he shall be holy unto thee: for I the LORD, which sanctify you, am holy.

9 ¶ And the daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father: she shall be burnt with fire.

10 And he that is the high priest among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil was poured, and that is consecrated to put on

the garments, shall not uncover his head, nor rend his clothes;

11 Neither shall he go in to any dead body, nor defile himself for his father, or for his mother;

12 Neither shall he go out of the sanctuary, nor profane the sanctuary of his God; for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: I am the LORD.

13 And he shall take a wife in her virginity.

[For I the Lord, which sanctify you, am holy.] I, who have taken you to be my peculiar people, excel in all perfections; and therefore require persons of extraordinary sanctity to minister unto me.

Ver. 9. *The daughter of any priest, if she profane herself*] The Hebrew doctors understand this of one married, at least espoused. So Aben Ezra and R. Sol. Jarchi say expressly, "Our rabbins confess with one mouth, that one not espoused is not concerned in this law" (see Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 6, and lib. iii. cap. 23, p. 488).

She profaneth her father:] She was doubly guilty; first, in profaning, i. e. dishonouring herself; who, being the daughter of such an eminent person, committed such a heinous crime; and secondly, in dishonouring her father, whose reputation hereby suffered.

She shall be burnt] Which was the sorest punishment among the Jews (see ch. xx. 14), and was not inflicted upon other persons, in this case (who were barely stoned, Deut. xxii. 14), but only upon the daughter of a priest, from whom greater virtue was expected. But if the witnesses of this fact were convicted of perjury by other credible witnesses, produced by the woman or her father, then both her husband who accused her, and those false witnesses, suffered the same punishment that she should have done (see Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Heb. cap. 1, p. 321).

Ver. 10. *He that is the high priest*] Hitherto the laws given in this case concern the common priest: now follow those by which the high-priest was to govern himself, who was under peculiar laws more strict than the rest.

Upon whose head the anointing oil was poured, &c.] Him having a peculiar consecration different from the rest, by pouring the holy oil upon his head, and clothing him with the most glorious robes (see ch. viii. 7, 8, &c.), was in all reason to distinguish himself, more than the rest of the priests, from common men.

And that is consecrated] In the Hebrew the words are, *whose hand is filled*; as it was with the fat and the right shoulder of the ram of consecration, &c., by which he was hallowed to minister in the priest's office (Exod. xxix. 22—24).

To put on the garments.] To be high-priest.

Shall not uncover his head,] Rather, shall not let his hair grow neglected without trimming; as the manner was, in token of mourning. So Onkelos and Jonathan, and a great many more (Selden, lib. ii. De Successione in Pontificatum, cap. 5, p. 235), and what I have noted upon the tenth chapter of this book, ver. 6.

Nor rend his clothes;] Another token of mourning which he was to forbear; though the Talmudists will have it, that he might rend his garments at the bottom, about his feet, but not at the top, down to his breast; as P. Cuneus observes out of Mass. Horajoth, lib. ii. de Rep. Hebr. cap. 3. Before his anointing and consecration, and putting on the holy garments, it was not unlawful for him to attend the funeral of his father; and therefore Eleazar was present when Aaron died (Numb. xx.), being as yet in a lower ministry, and not completely advanced to the office of

high-priest, but only declared Aaron's successor by putting on his garments (see ch. x. 6).

Ver. 11.] He might not go into the house, where the body of his father or mother lay dead (which was permitted to the inferior priests, ver. 2, 3), and, consequently, he was not to make any external signs of mourning for son or daughter, brother or sister.

Ver. 12. *Neither shall he go out of the sanctuary,*] If he was there when he heard of the death of his father or mother, he was not to stir out from thence till he had finished his ministry (see ch. x. 7). For he had a little house (after the temple was built) within the precincts of it, where he commonly remained all the day-time, which was called *lishcath cohen gadol*, "the parlour of the high-priest;" as Cuneus observes out of Mass. Middoth, lib. ii. De Repub. Hebr. cap. 3. At night he went to his own dwelling-house, which was in Jerusalem, and nowhere else; there he might perform all the offices of a mourner, except those which are here forbidden; and the people came to comfort him (as Maimonides relates in his treatise on this subject), and, sitting upon the ground, while he sat in his chair, at the funeral feast, they said, "Let us be thy expiation" (i. e. let all the grief that is on thee fall upon us); unto which he answered, "Blessed be ye from heaven;" as their words are reported in Sanhedrin, cap. 2, n. 1.

Nor profane the sanctuary] By preferring his affection to the dead, before the service of God in the sanctuary: or, by returning thither to his ministry, when he had been defiled by the dead; which had been a great profanation: for he that touched a dead body was unclean seven days (Numb. xix. 11, 12).

For the crown of the anointing oil—is upon him.] Some supply the word and between crown and anointing oil; and so make two reasons why he should distinguish himself from all other men: first, because the *holy crown*, as it is called (Exod. xxix. 6), which had holiness to the Lord engraven on it (Exod. xxviii. 36), was set upon his head; and his head also was anointed with the *holy oil* (Exod. xxx. 25, 30), whereby he was, in a special manner, consecrated to the service of the Most High. But there is no need of this; for the anointing oil itself was that which sanctified him to his office, and was poured on him after the holy crown was set on his head (Lev. viii. 9, 12); and so these words may be translated, "the consecration (for so the Hebrew word *nezer* signifies) of the anointing oil of his God is upon him." That is, he must remember he is solemnly devoted unto my ministry by that anointing; and therefore must not leave it to attend any other.

I am the Lord.] Whose servant he is by a peculiar obligation.

Ver. 13. *He shall take a wife*] From the word *wife*, in the singular number, the Talmudists generally conclude that polygamy was not allowed to the high-priest, who was to have but one wife at a time, though other men were permitted to have more (see Selden, lib. ii. De Successione in Pontif. cap. 2, p. 207, and Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 8). If he did take another, he was to give a bill of divorce to one of them before the great day of expiation; or else he was incapable

14 A widow, or a divorced woman, or profane, or an harlot, these shall he not take: but he shall take a virgin of his own people to wife.

15 Neither shall he profane his seed among his people: for I the Lord do sanctify him.

to perform the offices of it; as P. Cunaus observes in the place forenamed out of Joma. But if his wife died, it was not unlawful for him to marry again, as Tertullian fancied from this very place (lib. de Monogam. cap. 7, and Exhort. ad Cast. cap. 7).

In her virginity.] And not so much as espoused to any other person. Nor was any sort of virgin thought fit for his wife; but only one that was newly come out of her minority, and had not yet attained to her full puberty; as Maimonides explains the sense of their ancient doctors. See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. 7; where he observes also, that this is to be understood of the high-priest after he was in his office; for if he had married a widow before he was high-priest, he was to keep her, and not put her away when he was advanced to it. But there are those who imagine this law obliged all the common priests, who were to marry none but virgins; as they are persuaded from Ezek. xlv. 22. And no less a man than Hugo Grotius seems to be of this opinion, both here and in his book, De Jure Belli et Pacis (lib. ii. cap. 5, n. 9), in his Annotata to that section. But the Hebrew doctors are all of a contrary mind, and so are Josephus and Philo; as Mr. Selden observes, in his Addenda to the seventh chapter of his first book Uxor. Hebr.; and lib. ii. De Success. in Pontif. cap. 2, p. 208. And so Cunaus also in the place forenamed, speaking of this very law, "Non enim Sacerdotibus posita eadem lex fuit; quippe viduam illi rite duxerunt," &c. But above all, a later most learned writer, Joh. Wagenseil, hath largely confuted this opinion, in which he hath shown Grotius was singular; for, besides that Ezekiel there supposes they might marry the widow of a priest, it is evident both from Jewish and Christian interpreters, that the state of things under the law is not to be measured by what the prophet Ezekiel saith concerning the future temple and priests; but, as Kimchi himself saith upon this place, "if this verse must be expounded of every priest, it relates to the greater sanctity of the future temple:" for the law at first undoubtedly was, that none but the high-priest was confined to marry a virgin. What Grotius alleges out of Josephus to prove his assertion, he hath shown, with due respect to so great a man, doth him no service (see his Annotata ad Mishna Sota, cap. 4, p. 557, &c.).

Ver. 14. A widow.] This was peculiar to the high-priest, that, besides other women which no priest might marry, he alone is forbidden to marry a widow; as the same learned person there shows is the sense of all the Hebrew writers. And Moses Kotzenses observes, that by a widow is to be understood, not only a woman that had been married; but if she had been merely espoused, it was unlawful for the high-priest to take her for his wife: and by the high-priest, he saith, is to be understood, not only the successor of Aaron, but he also that was anointed to the war; which seems to be stretching of the word beyond its meaning; though the word widow may be allowed to comprehend one only espoused, whom he might not marry, though she had been espoused to his predecessor.

Or a divorced woman.] No, nor the wife of his brother that died without issue; which others were bound to marry, but he was not.

Or profane.] The word *chalalah* was explained before, ver. 7; which, according to the Jews, signifies

16 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 17 Speak unto Aaron, saying, Whosoever he be of thy seed in their generations that hath any blemish, let him not approach to offer the bread of his God.

a woman born of such a person as a priest is prohibited to marry; as, if the high-priest had taken a widow, and had a daughter by her, that child was profane, and might not be married, though a virgin, by a succeeding high-priest. And so of the rest (see Buxtorf. de Sponsal. et Divort. p. 37, 38).

Or an harlot.] See ver. 7.

He shall take a virgin of his own people.] He was commanded before to marry none but a virgin; and now he is further limited to a virgin of Israel; for he doth not mean one of his own tribe, there being instances to the contrary, of a high-priest marrying into the royal tribe (2 Chron. xxii. 11).

Ver. 15. Neither shall he profane his seed among his people.] Many think this refers to what goes before, that he should not debase his family by such mixtures as have been mentioned; but I rather think it to be a new precept (as the Vulgar Latin takes it), that as he might marry none but of his own people, i. e. an Israelite; so among his people he should not match with a vulgar person, but with one nobly born; for that was the way to preserve the dignity of the priestly office, at which all these precepts aim.

I the Lord do sanctify him.] I have separated him to myself, for a special and most holy service; for which reason he was to distinguish himself from other men, even in his marriage, to make them the more reverence the Lord whom he served. Upon this account it was that many constitutions were made by the elders, forbidding him what was allowed to other people; whereby they intended to advance his honour. For instance, he was forbidden to go into the public baths, or to feasts. If he would visit any that mourned, he was to be attended by other priests. He was obliged to cut his hair every week, but never to shave with a razor; to be in the sanctuary every day, and to go home not above twice in a day; to have but one wife at a time; and going into the temple to have three other priests with him, &c. So Maimonides in Cele Mikdash, cap. 8.

Ver. 16.] Upon this occasion God gave some other precepts concerning the priests who were to wait upon him in his house and at his table.

Ver. 17.] Having forbidden such marriages as would have been a dishonour to the priesthood, had they been permitted, he now forbids any to serve at his altar, who had the least blemish in his body; for that would have disparaged his divine service.

Whosoever he be of thy seed.] Whether high-priest or the common priests.

In their generations.] In future ages as well as the present.

That hath any blemish.] From these general words the Hebrew doctors conclude, that not only the particular blemishes afterwards mentioned made them incapable to minister, but all other whatsoever which appeared in the body; of which these here named are but a specimen or example. So Maimonides, in Biath Hamikdash, whose words are, "the blemishes expressed in the law are propounded for examples of the rest;" which they reckon to be in all one hundred and forty-two, accounting only those which openly appeared, and not those which were inward, in the kidneys, bladder, or bowels; because there are no examples of such in the particulars which here follow. They are divided by the doctors into three classes: such as made beasts unfit to be offered (ch.

18 For whatsoever man *he be* that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous,

19 Or a man that is brokenfooted, or broken-handed,

xxii. 20), as well as priests unfit to minister; of which sort they reckon *fifty*: and such as only made priests incapable to minister; of which sort they reckon *ninety*; and such as only made men look ill-favourably; which were but *two* (see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. De Successione in Pontifice. cap. 5).

Let him not approach] Unto the altar.

To offer the bread] i. e. To sacrifice (see ver. 6, and ch. iii. 2).

Ver. 18. *Whatsoever man*] Though never so wise or pious.

He shall not approach:] He makes it a standing law, that no man that had a blemish should come to minister unto him at his altar. And a reasonable law it was, approved by pagans themselves; for it is the very first qualification which Plato requires in him who was to be made a priest, that he should be *ὁλόκληρος καὶ γνήσιος*, &c., "perfect in all his parts, and not a bastard;" and that he should be born of honest parents, who had lived without the blemish of murder or any other impiety (lib. vi. De Legibus, p. 759). And such a law there was among the ancient Romans: sacerdos integer sit, "that a priest should be entire in all his parts." Which Seneca mentioning (Controv. iv. 2), explains it by the example of Metellus, who, losing his eyes by adventuring to snatch the Palladium out of the flames, when the temple of Vesta was burnt, was denied the priesthood; for, though he had done great service, which did him great honour, yet their opinion was, that, sacerdos non integri corporis, quasi mali omnino res, vitandus est: "a priest who wanted any part of his body to be avoided, as a thing that boded ill:" for thus it was in sacrifices; and therefore they thought, with much more reason, it should be so in the priests that offered them (see Dillherrus Disput. Academ. tom. ii. p. 187, &c.).

Blind man, or a lame.] Such natural defects which befall us without or against our will, as Procopius Gazæus observes, are not to be imputed to us as any fault: and therefore he thinks such vices in the mind as answer to these blemishes in the body, are here intended by Moses; yet he could not but acknowledge, that if we will follow the literal sense (which no doubt is meant by these words), it is not becoming to see a man perform priestly offices, who hath any visible blemish in his body; for instance, that *halts*, or *cannot walk unless he have one to lead him*. But Moses, he still thinks, had a respect to higher matters, viz., to all the good qualities that St. Paul requires in a bishop; and therefore by a *blind* man he understands one without knowledge; and by a *lame*, one that walks not uprightly in the ways of God's commandments. Such accommodations are so easy, that I need not take further notice of them.

Flat nose.] In the two first words, *blind* or *lame*, there was no difficulty; but the word *harum* (which we translate, *hath a flat nose*) is not so plain; yet the Hebrews generally agree it signifies one, the upper part of whose nose was so depressed, that the two eyebrows seemed to meet, and to be but one; as Bochartus observes out of R. Solomon, in his Canaan (lib. i. cap. 33, p. 655).

Any thing superfluous.] The Hebrew word *sarua* signifies any member disproportionate to the rest; but more especially (as their doctors take it) the

20 Or crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or be scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken;

21 No man that hath a blemish of the seed of Aaron the priest shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord made by fire: he hath a

inequality of those members that are pairs: as when one of a man's eyes, or ears, or legs, was bigger than the other.

Ver. 19. *Brokenfooted*.] Though a man did not halt, yet, if his foot was so broken that it looked deformed, he was incapable to minister to the Divine Majesty; because it rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the people; at least not so graceful as the servants of the Most High were to be.

Brokenhanded.] Any fracture in the hand made a man more remarkably unfit than the foregoing blemish; because by this part all the Divine offices were to be performed.

Ver. 20. *Crookbackt*.] The Hebrew word *gibben* properly signifies *bunch-backed*: whether the bunch came from the luxation of the back-bone, or from a swelling in the flesh.

A dwarf.] Who, besides that he looked despicably, was not able to reach up to the altar. The marginal translation may be justified from the Hebrew; for *dak* in that language signifies *lean*, or *slender*: but then the meaning must be, one whose flesh was wasted by a *consumption*. The Vulgar took it for one *blear-eyed*; and the LXX. also thought it signified some disease in the eyes, if the Complutensian edition be right, where this word is translated *ἄγχιος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς*. But other editions leave out the two last words; and then it is uncertain what *ἄγχιος* signifies; but most likely some ill-favoured spots or pustules in the face.

Blemish in his eye.] The Hebrew words *toballul beeno* signify one that hath a confused spot in the eye; which is called by the Chaldee paraphrasts, and by the Talmudists, *chillez* and *chaluzon*, which is the very same with the Greek word *χάλαζα*, importing a concretion of a white humour (like to a hailstone), κατὰ τὸ βλήφαρον, as Ægineta speaks, and Galen also (see Bochart, in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. v. cap. 9). But this spot did not make a priest incapable to minister (as Selden observes, in the place above mentioned), unless it was a little prominent, which made the blemish more apparent.

Scurvy, or scabbed.] One of these words signifies a dry *scurf* or *scab*, the other a purulent.

His stones broken:] Is bursten, or hath a rupture, as some expound it. The LXX. translate it *μόροντες*; which Procopius Gazæus understands an *hermaphrodite*.

Ver. 21. *No man that hath a blemish, &c.*] This seems to confirm what was observed before (Ver. 17), that any other blemish, besides these here particularly mentioned, made a man incapable to officiate at the altar. And, in the first place, the Hebrew doctors reckon five in the ears, besides the want of them: an example of which Josephus gives in the story of Hyrcanus the high-priest, whose ears Antigonus cut off, that, if he should return again, he might not resume his office (lib. i. De Bello Jud. cap. 11).

He hath a blemish:] This general repetition is a farther confirmation, that all apparent blemishes of the same kind with these here particularly named, excluded them from ministering at the altar. And there being some of them that were *permanent*, or perpetual (as they speak), and others that were *transient*, which remained but for a time; no man that had a

blemish; he shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God.

22 He shall eat the bread of his God, *both* of the most holy, and of the holy.

23 Only he shall not go in unto the vail, nor

blemish, though only of the latter sort, was to minister at the altar till it was gone.

He shall not come nigh] i. e. The offerings made by fire before mentioned, which are here plainly represented as the meat that was served up to his table (see ver. 6). If any of them did presume to offer at the altar, there were different effects of their contumacy, according to the different sorts of their blemishes, which the Hebrew doctors divide into three classes, as I observed ver. 17. If any man having a blemish of the first sort ministered, it profaned the very sacrifice which he offered, and he was to be scourged. The second sort did not vitiate the sacrifice, but the priest was to undergo the forenamed punishment. The third sort was so inconsiderable, that neither of these effects followed, upon his ministering who was blemished by them; as Mr. Selden observes (lib. ii. De Success. in Pontif. cap. v. p. 234).

Ver. 22. *He shall eat the bread*] But, though such a priest might not offer any sacrifice, yet he might eat with his brethren of that part of the sacrifices which was given to them for their portion, which no man in his uncleanness might do. Therefore these natural infirmities were not legal impurities, but only incapacities (as we speak) which disabled them from their office.

Here again the sacrifices are represented as the provision made for the Divine Majesty (see ver. 6, 21).

Both of the most holy,] Such were the meat-offerings (ch. ii. 3, vi. 17), the sin-offerings (ch. vi. 25, 26), and the trespass-offerings (ch. vii. 1), see ch. xiv. 13. The shew-bread also was a most holy thing; and all such were to be eaten only by the males of the priest's family, in the holy place (Numb. xviii. 9—11, &c.).

Of the holy,] Such were the wave-breast and the heave-shoulder of the peace-offerings (ch. vii. 35, and x. 14), and the first-fruits, and the tithes. But, though the peace-offerings of particular persons were among the *less holy* things, yet the peace-offerings of the whole congregation were *most holy* (see ch. xxiii. 20).

Ver. 23. *Only he shall not go in unto the vail,*] He was not to enter into the sanctuary to burn incense, or to trim the lamps, &c.

Nor come nigh unto the altar,] No, nor go to the altar of burnt-offering, which was in the court of the Lord's house; but he was to sit in the wood-room, where he was employed in picking out all the wood which had any worms in it, that it might be laid aside, and not carried to the altar, as Maimonides and others relate. He had also another employment (see

come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries: for I the Lord do sanctify them.

24 And Moses told it unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.

ch. xiii. 2). If any man were so presumptuous, or so forgetful, as to minister notwithstanding the manifest blemish which was upon him, he fell under censure, and was punished according to the degree of his fault, as I observed before (ver. 21), out of Mr. Selden, who hath, in the place there mentioned, handled this more accurately than I thought it needful for me to do.

That he profane not my sanctuaries:] That he might not make others think meanly of the service of God; and consequently of God himself; who would have men, in their greatest perfection, minister unto him, to preserve in people's minds a sense of his most excellent being, unto whom they ministered. For which reason all the foregoing prohibitions were given against marrying such persons as had been vitiated, &c., and against mourning for the dead, that they might not "profane the name of their God" (v. 6), by doing as vulgar people did, or making themselves incapable to minister unto God, as they were when they were defiled. And thus Maimonides discourses upon this subject (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45). "God commanded his ministers should wear precious apparel, and that none should be admitted to the ministry who had any defect in his body; nay, they who were deformed and ill-favoured were excluded; because the vulgar do not judge according to men's true worth or beauty (which lie in the soul), but according to their outward appearance, in the comeliness of their bodies, and the richness of their garments; and therefore the end of all these things was, that God's house might be had in due honour and reverence."

My sanctuaries:] This word, in the plural number, relates to the two parts of the sanctuary; the court where the altar of burnt-offering stood (which was a holy place) and that which was properly called the *sanctuary*, wherein the altar of incense was; into neither of which a priest that had any blemish might enter; as was said before.

I the Lord do sanctify them.] I have set apart both those places for my service; and therefore, no man with a blemish shall be admitted into them, to perform any holy office there; yet they might come into the court, to eat with their brethren of holy things, but not in their priestly garments, which it was not lawful for them to use.

Ver. 24. *Moses told it]* They were all acquainted with these laws, because they were all concerned the service of God should be administered acceptably unto him.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 The priests in their uncleanness must abstain from the holy things. 6 How they shall be cleansed. 10 Who of the priest's house may eat of the holy things. 17 The sacrifices must be without blemish. 26 The age of the sacrifice. 29 The law of eating the sacrifice of thanksgiving.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, that they

CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1.] These commands that follow were delivered at the same time with the foregoing; belonging to the same matter: for though the priests, who

separate themselves from the holy things of the children of Israel, and that they profane not my

had a blemish, might eat of the holy things, yet he would have them know, that neither they, nor such as were unblemished, should presume to do it in their uncleanness.

holy name in *those things* which they hallow unto me: I am the Lord.

3 Say unto them, Whosoever *he be* of all your seed among your generations, that goeth unto the holy things, which the children of Israel hallow unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from my presence: I am the Lord.

4 What man soever of the seed of Aaron is a leper, or hath a running issue; he shall not eat of the holy things, until he be clean. And whoso toucheth any thing *that is* unclean *by* the dead, or a man whose seed goeth from him;

5 Or whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean, or a man of whom he may take uncleanness, whatsoever uncleanness he hath;

Ver. 2. *Separate themselves*] viz. When they were in their uncleanness (ver. 3).

From the holy things] Abstain from eating (ver. 3, 4, 12) of that part of the sacrifices which belonged to the priests, but was to be eaten only by such of them as were free from legal impurities (ch. vii. 20, 21). Nor were they to eat of the first-fruits, which were also their portion (ch. xvii.; Numb. xii. 13), but they might eat of the tithes, which were allowed for their constant sustenance.

Profane not my holy name] This is the very ground of this prohibition; that they might preserve in their minds a due reverence to the Divine Majesty; unto whom, as they might not approach, so they might not meddle with any thing consecrated to him, in a state of legal impurity. All great persons are to be approached with a great deal of ceremony, especially when any are invited to their table; otherwise they might fall into contempt; and therefore, much more was this reverence to be shown to the Divine Majesty, that they might entertain high apprehensions of him, by abstaining from all things belonging to him, when they were under any pollution.

In those things which they hallow unto me] Which the children of Israel devoted unto God; for so the foregoing words and the next verse explain it.

I am the Lord.] The greatest regard is to be paid to my majesty.

Ver. 3. *Your seed*] Of the priests.

Among your generations.] In succeeding times.

That goeth unto the holy things.] To eat of them; as appears from ver. 4, 6, 12.

Hallow unto the Lord.] Offer to him at his altar.

Having his uncleanness upon him.] For which they were to separate themselves (ver. 2).

That soul shall be cut off] Thrust out of the priest's office, no more to minister at the altar; and then it was the act of a judge: or cut off from the land of the living; which was done by the hand of Heaven.

I am the Lord.] Who will vindicate my own honour.

Ver. 4. *Of the seed of Aaron*] These words, of the seed of Aaron, include his daughters as well as his sons, who might eat of some holy things (Numb. xviii. 11, 19), but not in their uncleanness.

Is a leper, or hath a running issue] There are eleven fountains of uncleanness (as the Hebrews speak), two of which are these here mentioned; as appears from ch. xiii. 3, xv. 2.

He shall not eat] See ch. xiv. 2, xv. 13.

Whoso toucheth, &c.] These were two other fountains of uncleanness (ch. xi. 31, 32, &c., xv. 16).

Ver. 5. *Creeping things.*] See ch. xi. 24, &c.

6 The soul which hath touched any such shall be unclean until even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he wash his flesh with water.

7 And when the sun is down, he shall be clean, and shall afterward eat of the holy things; because it is his food.

8 That which dieth of itself, or is torn *with beasts*, he shall not eat to defile himself therewith: I am the Lord.

9 They shall therefore keep mine ordinance, lest they bear sin for it, and die therefore, if they profane it: I the Lord do sanctify them.

10 There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing: a sojourner of the priest, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing.

May take uncleanness.] See ch. xv. 7.

Whosoever uncleanness he hath] Suppose the leprosy (ch. xiii. 45). These are two such fountains of uncleanness as the former.

Ver. 6. *Shall be unclean, &c.*] So the law was in the forenamed cases; as appears by the places above mentioned.

Ver. 7. *When the sun is down, he shall be clean.*] Having washed his flesh with water.

Shall afterward eat of the holy things.] God was so gracious, as not to keep a priest any longer in a state wherein he should want his necessary or comfortable sustenance.

Ver. 8. *That which dieth of itself, &c.*] This was forbidden before to all the Israelites (ch. xxii. 15), but made a priest no longer unclean than an ordinary man, because of the foregoing reason.

I am the Lord.] Who will have my ministers pure from all such pollutions. The remainder of which were, the uncleanness of the water of separation, as Maimonides speaks, ch. xix. 21, and of the great sacrifice of expiation, ch. xvi. 28, and of a menstruous woman, ch. xv. 9, and of a woman in child-bed, ch. xii. 2. But nothing made men so unclean as the dead body of a man; which defiled not only him that touched it for seven days, but all that came into the house, and every thing that was in the house where he died (Numb. xix. 11, 14), which was the reason of the foregoing law, that the high-priest should not go in to the dead body of his father or mother; nor any inferior priest be defiled for any, but their near relations (ch. xxi. 1, 2, 11).

• Ver. 9. *Keep mine ordinance.*] Observe this constitution, because I, who am their Lord, make it.

Let them bear sin] Be punished if they break it.

Die therefore.] As Nadab and Abihu did; who presumed to break another law about holy things.

If they profane it] By eating of the holy things in their uncleanness.

I the Lord do sanctify them.] Separate them to my service; and by such constitutions teach them carefully to avoid all pollutions.

Ver. 10. *There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing*] The *holy thing* here mentioned is that before named (ch. x. 14); and by a *stranger* he doth not mean one of another nation, but one that is not of the seed of Aaron, or is not one of his family; for the word in the Hebrew is not *nechar*, which properly signifies such a stranger as is not an Israelite, but *zar*, which signifies any one to whom a thing doth not belong; as holy things did not to those who were not at least part of the priest's family, though not of his race. For, that such might eat of them who were

11 But if the priest buy *any* soul with his money, he shall eat of it, and he that is born in his house: they shall eat of his meat.

12 If the priest's daughter also be *married* unto a stranger, she may not eat of an offering of the holy things.

13 But if the priest's daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child, and is returned unto her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's meat: but there shall no stranger eat thereof.

14 ¶ And if a man eat of the holy thing unwittingly, then he shall put the fifth *part* thereof unto it, and shall give it unto the priest with the holy thing.

not of their race, provided they belonged to them as a part of their family, appears from the next verse.

Sojourner of the priest.] Who boards with him (as we now speak), or dwells in a part of his house (as some understand it), but hath a distinct family.

Hired servant.] Such were those who served by the day (ch. xix. 13), or for a certain time, and after that might dispose of themselves as they pleased.

Shall not eat] None of these might eat of the priest's portion (ch. x. 14; Numb. xvii. 11), because they were not members of his family.

Ver. 11. *But if the priest buy any soul* (i. e. person *with his money.*) There were those of their own nation, who, by their poverty, were compelled to sell themselves, or their children (ch. xxv. 39), and others they bought of other nations (ver. 44, 45, &c.), who, becoming proselytes to the Jews' religion, were permitted to eat of the priest's meat, because they became part of his family.

He that is born in his house.] They that were born of such purchased servants were their master's goods, and such a part of their family, that they left them to their children who succeeded them; and therefore, they were also allowed to eat of the meat of the priest.

Ver. 12. *Married unto a stranger.*] Unto one that is not of the family of the priests.

She may not eat of an offering.] She lost her right to eat of those holy things, which she did partake of while she remained a part of her father's family; for that entitled persons to this privilege; inasmuch, that a priest taking a wife out of another family, she might eat of them, because she was one with him, and therefore had more right than a servant. But for the same reason, a priest's daughter, married to a stranger, might not eat of them, because she was gone out of his into another family.

Ver. 13. *Be a widow, or divorced, and have no child.*] If she had any children, they and she made another family; and they being begotten by a father who was not a priest, had no right to eat of the priest's meat. But if she was left without children, then she was accounted still one of her father's family, provided she returned (as it follows) to live with him.

And is returned unto her father's house.] To be a part of his family, as she was before she married (ch. x. 14).

She shall eat of her father's meat.] Have the same privilege she had when she was a virgin.

No stranger eat thereof.] This seems, as I said, particularly to relate unto her children, if she had any; who, being begotten by one of another family, were looked upon as *strangers* (see ver. 10).

Ver. 14. *If a man*] Who hath no right to them.

15 And they shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, which they offer unto the Lord;

16 Or suffer them to bear the iniquity of trespass, when they eat their holy things: for I the Lord do sanctify them.

17 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

18 Speak unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them, Whatsoever *he be* of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel, that will offer his oblation for all his vows, and for all his free-will offerings, which they will offer unto the Lord for a burnt offering;

Eat—unwittingly.] Not knowing it to be a holy thing.

He shall put the fifth part thereof unto it.] Besides his sacrifice which he was bound to offer for his trespass (see ver. 15).

Give it unto the priest with the holy thing.] He could not give the priest the holy thing which he had eaten; but the meaning is, that he should make satisfaction to the priest for the damage done to him, by paying him the true worth of the thing, and the fifth part more of its value (see ver. 16).

Ver. 15.] This seems to refer to the persons before named, none of which should presume to profane sacred things, by eating them when they did not belong to them. The priests seem also to be concerned in it, who were not to suffer them to eat such holy things; as it follows in the next verse. Or, if it entirely relate to the priests, the meaning is, they should not profane holy things, by eating them in their uncleanness (ver. 9). And one reason was, because the children of Israel, whose offerings these were, might be discouraged from bringing them to the Lord, when they saw them so profaned.

Ver. 16. *Or suffer them*] i. e. The people.

To bear the iniquity of trespass, &c.] To fall under the punishment which God will inflict for their trespass, in eating things which do not appertain to them. The marginal translation refers this also wholly to the priests, in this manner, "Or lade themselves with the iniquity of trespass in their eating holy things;" viz. in their uncleanness, and with such persons (it may be added) as ought not to eat of them.

I the Lord do sanctify them.] These words seem to justify this last interpretation (see ver. 9).

Ver. 17.] The following laws, no doubt, were delivered at the same time with the former: because they still concern the same matter.

Ver. 18. *Speak—unto all the children of Israel.*] For they were all concerned in the perfection of the sacrifices, as they were in the perfection of the priests that offered them (see ch. xxi. 24).

Whatsoever he be] The Hebrew doctors say, that the phrase *ish, ish* (man, man, i. e. any man), is here used as it was ch. xviii. 6, to show that gentiles are comprehended under this law as well as Jews; as Mr. Selden observes out of the Gemara Babylon, Tit. Cholin (see lib. iii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4, p. 289).

Strangers in Israel.] They understand by *strangers in Israel*, such as they called "proselytes of the gate;" who were not circumcised, but had renounced idolatry, and joined themselves to the God of Israel. R. Levi ben Gerson takes perfect proselytes to be here meant (whom they called "proselytes of righteousness"), yet not excluding the other.

19 *Ye shall offer at your own will a male without blemish, of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats.*

20 *But whatsoever hath a blemish, that shall ye not offer: for it shall not be acceptable for you.*

21 *And whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the Lord to accomplish*

His freewill offerings,] See ch. vii. 16.

Which they will offer] If a gentile brought a peace-offering to the Lord, it was offered as a burnt-offering; and no meat-offering was permitted to be offered with it, as Maimonides observes (see Selden in the place before named, and ver. 25 of this chapter). And Dr. Lightfoot gives a large account of it in his Temple Service, ch. 8, sect. 4.

Ver. 19. *Ye shall offer at your own will]* So these words are commonly understood; that the sacrifices both of the Jew and gentile, should be spontaneous, as well as without blemish: though they will bear another sense, as I observed, ch. i. ver. 3.

A male, &c.] See ch. i. ver. 3, 10. All burnt-offerings were to be males; though peace-offerings might be females (ch. iii. 1, 6), and so might sin-offerings also (ch. iv. 32), but all without blemish. For, as God accepted only some kind of creatures (viz. beeves, sheep, and goats, and no other of the herd), so he would have a choice to be made out of them, of the very best; as had been often before directed.

Ver. 20. *Whatsoever hath a blemish, that shall ye not offer:]* This general rule is here repeated, because he is going to specify what creatures they should account blemished.

It shall not be acceptable] This seems to justify the exposition which I said might be given of that phrase in the foregoing verse, *at your own will, or for your acceptance* (see upon ch. i. 3).

Ver. 21. *Whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings]* Which were either to obtain blessings, or to give thanks for them when they were obtained.

To accomplish his vow,] It was usual to make such vows, for procuring from God what they desired, when they undertook a journey, or went to sea, or were sick, or in any danger, &c., an example of which we have in Jonah i. 16, where we read, the mariners in a storm “offered a sacrifice to the Lord, and made vows;” i. e. they vowed a sacrifice to God (for they could not sacrifice on ship-board), when he had brought them to a safe port. And so Cicero speaks of certain mariners, who being tossed in a tempest, vowed, if they gained their haven, *Ei Deo, qui ibi esset, se vitulum immolatu*ros; “they would offer a calf to the god of that place.” And Homer, in like manner, brings in the mother of Telemachus, vowing perfect hecatombs unto all the gods, if she might obtain her desires (Odys. xvii. ver. 59).

Freewill offering] This also was a peace-offering for obtaining blessings; not when they were in distress, I suppose, but in general to procure God’s favour to them and theirs.

In beeves, or sheep,] And likewise goats; for all these were allowed in peace-offerings (ch. iii. 1, 6, 12).

It shall be perfect to be accepted;] That was accounted perfect which wanted none of its parts, nor had any defect in any of them. The heathen themselves did not think any other would be accepted, and therefore made a careful choice of their sacrifices: as appears by those words of Virgil, lib. iv. *Æneid.* ver. 57).

“Mactant lectas de more bidentes.”

his vow, or a freewill offering in beeves or sheep, it shall be perfect to be accepted; there shall be no blemish therein.

22 *Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto the Lord, nor make an offering by fire of them upon the altar unto the Lord.*

Which he calls elsewhere *eximii*, singled out as most excellent (lib. iv. Georg. ver. 550).

“Quatuor eximios præstanti corpore tauros.”

And, that they might be such, there was *probatio victimarum*, proof made of sacrifices, as Pliny speaks, lib. viii. cap. 45, where he saith, such as were lame, or had one leg shorter than the other, were rejected. Which *probation* was to be made by those that brought the sacrifices: but if they did not do their duty, the priest upon examination refused to admit them to be offered.

There shall be no blemish therein,] This is an explication of what he means by *perfect*, which Solon (who seems to have taken the rites of religion from Moses) called ἀπλή; in the explication of which word, Hesychius, after several other expressions, concludes with this, ὁ μὴτε παλαιῶν μὴτε δύναιτο σώματος, “which neither hath any part more or less than it should have.” Julius Pollux (who reports this of Solon) hath a great number of other words to express the perfection required in sacrifices, which were to be ἄρτια, ἀτομα, ἀλόκληρα, ἰγυῖ, ἄπηρα, παμμελῆ, ἀρτιμελῆ, μὴ χολοῖα μὴδὲ ἱμῆρα, μὴδὲ ἑκρωτηριασμένα, μὴδὲ διάστροφα (lib. i. cap. 1), some of which are of the same signification, and serve only to show how complete their sacrifices were to be.

Ver. 22. *Blind, or broken, &c.]* In this and the following verses he mentions twelve blemishes, which render any beast unfit for sacrifice; and the first is *blind*, under which the Hebrews comprehend that which the Latins call *cocles*, a beast that hath but one eye.

Broken,] In the bones of the thighs, or the legs.

Maimed,] Most take it for that which the Latins call *mutilum*, “that which lacketh any part.” The LXX. took it more particularly for that which had its tongue cut out: the Hebrew doctors for that whose eye-brows or lips were slit, or cut off; which is nearer to the Hebrew word *charuts* than the Vulgar, which translates it only a *scar*.

Having a wen,] The Hebrews generally understand by the word *jabbeth*, that which the Latins call *verruca*, a *wart*, or hard knob rising in the flesh; which is better than the Vulgar, who translates it *populas*, which properly signifies *pimples, pusles, or wheals*. But I think our translation cannot be mended; a *wen* being a more manifest deformity, and more common in beasts, than the other.

Scurvy,] This is that which the Greeks call ψώρα, the *itch*.

Scabbed,] Some take this word to signify the same with the Latin *impetigo*, i. e. “a ring-worm or tetter,” which spreads in the skin with a dry scab; though others take it for that which they call *porrigio*, for which I know no English word, unless it be the *mange*. The Hebrews take it for the *porrigo Ægyptiaca*, as Bochart observes, a scabby disease of this kind frequent among the Egyptians.

Ye shall not offer] Not so much as present them to be offered in sacrifice.

Nor make an offering by fire of them] Much less burn them upon the altar: for the Lord will not accept such sacrifices.

23 Either a bullock or a lamb that hath any thing superfluous or lacking in his parts, that mayest thou offer for a freewill offering; but for a vow it shall not be accepted.

24 Ye shall not offer unto the Lord that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut; neither shall ye make any offering thereof in your land.

25 Neither from a stranger's hand shall ye

offer the bread of your God of any of these; because their corruption is in them, and blemishes be in them: they shall not be accepted for you.

26 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

27 When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be seven days under

Ver. 23. *Any thing superfluous*] This word we had before (which we translate *superfluous*), ch. xxi. 18, but it properly signifies the inequality and disproportion that there is between those parts that are pairs, as the eyes or legs: and particularly when one of them exceeds its just bigness, e. g. when one leg is longer than it should be.

Lacking in his parts.] This word signifies just quite the contrary to the other; when one part is less, and more contracted than it should be; one leg supposed shorter than ordinary. So all the Hebrews understand these words, particularly Onkelos and Jonathan.

That mayest thou offer for a freewill offering.] A very learned person of our own takes these words for an exception to the foregoing general rule; that such defects as these two should not hinder the acceptance of a beast for a freewill offering, though not for a vow; and it must be acknowledged, that is the most plain and simple sense. But the Jews, as he observes, particularly R. Solomon Jarchi, expound them otherwise, and will not have this offering to signify the sacrifice of such things at the altar, but the giving them to the priest for some sacred use; to be sold, for instance, for the reparation of the temple, for which they were accepted (see Dr. Outram, lib. i. De Sacrificiis, cap. 9, n. 2).

But for a vow it shall not be accepted.] Freewill offerings were much different from vows, there being no obligation upon them to offer the former, as there was to offer the latter; and a less perfect creature would be accepted in the one case, though not in the other.

Ver. 24. *Bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut.*] That is, as the Hebrews interpret it (and so do the LXX. and the Vulgar), any beast whose testicles were compressed or bruised, &c. for these four ways they used to castrate a lamb (for instance) and make it wether; and so they did with kids and calves, as Bochart observes out of Aristotle and others, in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 46.

Neither shall ye make any offering thereof in your land.] The word *offering* is not in the Hebrew, and this passage may be thus exactly translated, "neither in your land shall ye make, or do." So the LXX.: the sense of which the Vulgar expresses by adding the word *this*, i. e. the forenamed castration, either by compression or contusion, or any way; for Josephus saith, it was unlawful among them to geld any creature; which was prohibited to keep them from doing so with men, which they were taught to be abominable. And these words suggested as much, being thus translated, "Neither in your land shall it be done" (see Selden, lib. vii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3, p. 799).

Ver. 25. *Neither from a stranger's hand*] By *ben-nechar*, "the son of a stranger" (as it is in the Hebrew), who is called (ch. xxv. 47) "a stranger and sojourner" (viz. a gentile that dwelt among them), is meant a pious man of another nation, who had renounced idolatry, and abstained from blood, and observed the rest of the precepts of the sons of Noah (as they called them), but was not circumcised, which would have obliged him to the whole law of Moses. Such persons, being worshippers of the true God, were permitted to bring him sacrifices to be offered at

his altar (see Grotius, lib. i. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 1, sect. 16, n. 3).

Shall ye offer—of any of these.] Some have taken these words, as if no sacrifice was to be accepted from a gentile, but only money, with which the priest might buy a sacrifice, and offer it for him. But this is confuted by ver. 18, and here it is evident, he only forbids them to accept of any sacrifice which had the forenamed blemishes from a gentile, who might think them not unacceptable, because the gentiles made no scruple to offer such as these last mentioned to their gods, though their laws, in some places, were against it. *The bread of your God.* the Hebrews understand hereby to be meant, only *burnt-offerings*; which Maimonides saith, were accepted from a gentile, even burnt-offerings of birds, though he had not yet renounced idolatry. But they were not to accept from him peace-offerings or meat-offerings, or sacrifices for sins of ignorance (ch. iv. 27), or trespass-offerings (mentioned ch. vi. 6), nor was a burnt-offering to be accepted, unless it was a freewill-offering, or a vow, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4. But if he brought such spontaneous offerings as had the forementioned blemishes, the priest was to reject them (though the gentile might say they were such as had been accepted by his gods), or else he was to be scourged. So this law is briefly expounded by the Jews, when they reckon it up among their precepts, that "a defective sacrifice is not to be accepted, no, not from the hand of a gentile;" as he observes in the same book, cap. 7, where he discourses at large on this subject. And it need not seem strange a gentile should bring any such sacrifices (when their laws, as I observed before, required a choice to be made), for they were not so curious in their choice as the Hebrews; but, as Tertullian upbraids them, sacrificed *enecta, tabidosa, et scabiosa* (Apolog. adv. Gentes, cap. 13), which the better sort of people, perhaps, did not offer, but the vulgar did: and the priests made no scruple to accept them.

Because their corruption is in them.] The word *corruption* seems particularly to relate unto the forementioned castration, for it signifies such a corruption as is the destruction of any member. See Bochart in his Hierozoicon (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 4). And *blemishes* relate to other defects, which made them unacceptable; twelve of which, as I said, are here mentioned; but the Hebrews look upon them only as examples and specimens of other the like defects, which they make in all to be fifty; as I observed before out of Selden (lib. ii. De Success. ad Pontific. cap. 5). Maimonides gives us a catalogue of them in his treatise of Entrance into the Sanctuary (cap. 7), but to make up that full number, he is constrained to add these three, which have no example among the twelve here mentioned, viz. such as tremble by age, or by some disease, or are torn by wild beasts.

Ver. 26.] These laws following being of the same nature, were in all likelihood delivered at the same time with the foregoing.

Ver. 27. *When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat is brought forth.*] These were the only beasts that were allowed to be sacrificed (ver. 19).

the dam; and from the eighth day and thenceforth it shall be accepted for an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

28 And *whether it be cow or ewe*, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day.

29 And when ye will offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto the LORD, offer it at your own will.

30 On the same day it shall be eaten up; ye

Then it shall be seven days under the dam, &c.] They were not fit for food when they were not seven days old, and therefore not for sacrifice; which was the bread or food of God, as it is called, ver. 25, but this hath been sufficiently explained before, Exod. xxii. 30. I shall only add, that I have since observed that P. Cunnus hath briefly expressed the sense of Maimonides, which I there represented (lib. iii. De Republ. Hebræor. cap. 5), and that the gentiles were so far from offering creatures so young, that they thought them fittest for sacrifice when they were two years old; as appears from the words of Virgil before mentioned,

—“Mactant lectas de more bidentes.”

Where Servius saith that *bidentes* were so called, because they were *biennes*, two years of age; for it was not lawful to sacrifice those that were younger, nor those that were older.

Ver. 28. *Whether it be cow or ewe, &c.]* Lest the young one, saith Maimonides, should happen to be killed before the dam; which would have given the greater grief to her (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 48). Any thing that looked like cruelty, therefore, was by this law banished from among them; for they might not so much as kill both the young and the dam on the same day, to offer them to God himself; of which he is here speaking.

Ver. 29.] He had mentioned *freewill-offerings* and *vows* before (ver. 21), and now briefly touches upon the third sort of *peace-offerings* (see ch. vii. 15, 16).

Offer it at your own will.] Male or female; of the herd, or of the flock (ch. iii. 1, 7, 12). Or the meaning may be (as hath been often said), “he shall offer it in such a manner as that it be accepted” (see ch. i. 3).

shall leave none of it until the morrow: I am the LORD.

31 Therefore shall ye keep my commandments, and do them: I am the LORD.

32 Neither shall ye profane my holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel: I am the LORD which hallow you,

33 That brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the LORD.

Ver. 30. *The same day, &c.]* See ch. vii. 15.

Ver. 31. *Therefore shall ye keep my commandments,]* Because he had said before (ver. 30), and now repeats it again in the conclusion of this verse, *I am the Lord:* to whom they owed obedience; especially when he required they should reverently use all holy things.

Ver. 32. *Neither shall ye profane my holy name;]* This may refer either to what goes before (that they should not make him and his service contemptible, by offering such things as were defective, &c.), or be taken as a precept by itself. And then the name of God was profaned three ways (as Mr. Selden observes), besides the most grievous of all, by blasphemy. Either when a man, for fear of death, violated the Divine law; or when he contemptuously and wantonly broke any precept; or when a man of great note, for knowledge and piety, gave a scandal to others by doing such things, as were not perhaps directly against the law, yet made him lose all his authority (see lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disc. Hebr. cap. 10).

But I will be hallowed.] Either by the observation of his laws, or by punishing those who transgressed them: for so this phrase is used, ch. x. 3.

I am the Lord which hallow you,] Have separated you to myself, as a special people from all others, by laws different from theirs, and more excellent.

Ver. 33. *That brought you out of the land of Egypt,]* And moreover distinguished you from all others, by singular benefits; particularly by delivering you from the most grievous slavery, that I might make you a happy people.

I am the Lord.] When you remember my benefits, remember I am your sovereign, who expect your obedience.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 *The feasts of the Lord.* 3 *The sabbath.* 4 *The passover.* 9 *The sheaf of first fruits.* 15 *The feast of Pentecost.* 22 *Gleanings to be left for the poor.* 23 *The feast of trumpets.* 26 *The day of atonement.* 33 *The feast of tabernacles.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say

unto them, *Concerning the feasts of the LORD, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations, even these are my feasts.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1.] All the laws in this chapter were delivered at one time, not long after the former.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel,]* Who were highly concerned to observe all the solemnities enjoined in this chapter, in such a manner as God required.

Concerning the feast of the Lord,] It hath been anciently observed, that φαῖστοροι οἱ Σύροι, “the Syrians were great lovers of feasts.” Which made it the more reasonable (if they were so in Moses’s days) that the Israelites, who were to be their neighbours

in the land of Canaan, should have so many feasts appointed them, weekly, monthly, and yearly; all in honour of their God. From whence they are called *feasts of the Lord*. But this word *moed*, which we translate a *feast*, properly signifies an *assembly*. And so Mr. Thorndike would have it here translated; because the name of *feasts* is proper to those solemnities which are to be celebrated with joy and cheerfulness; whereas under this general word *moed* is comprehended the day of atonement, which is one of the *assemblies* here named (ver. 27), but was no *feast*: being to be observed with the greatest humiliation and affliction that could be expressed. He therefore

3 Six days shall work be done: but the seventh day is the sabbath of rest, an holy convocation; ye shall do no work therein: it is the sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings.

4 ¶ These are the feasts of the Lord, even holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their seasons.

exactly translates these words in this manner; "The assemblies of the Lord (for the word *concerning* is not in the Hebrew) which ye shall proclaim for holy convocations, these are my assemblies" (see Religious Assemblies, ch. ii.). All that can be said for our translation is, that the day of atonement being a day of rest from all labour, it may go under the name of a *feast*, in opposition to working days.

Which ye shall proclaim] Or call by the sound of the trumpet, which the priests were to blow upon these days (Numb. x. 10).

Holy convocations,] The Hebrew word *mikra*, which here signifies a *convocation*, signifies also *reading* (Neh. viii. 8). For on these days they were called to assemble together to hear the law read to them, as well as to offer sacrifices, and make their prayers to God, with thanksgivings for his benefits.

Even these are my feasts.] Or *my assemblies*, as I said before; the first of which was the Sabbath, then the passover, Pentecost, the beginning of the new year, the day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles: which are all contained under the general word *moed*, and none besides.

Ver. 3. *Six days shall work be done.*] They were allowed all these for any sort of business, wherein they pleased to employ themselves.

Seventh day is the sabbath] See Exod. xx. 9, 10, xxxi. 15. This was the greatest of all solemnities appointed for assemblies, returning once every week; and therefore is set in the head of all the rest; from which it seems to be distinguished (ver. 37, 38). And accordingly in the next verse, having here mentioned this as a day by itself, he begins to reckon the *feasts or assemblies of the Lord*. And the reason why this day was made a *Sabbath of rest*, was, because God himself then rested from his works. In memory of which they were to keep this day free from all labour, that the belief of the creation of the world might be fixed in their minds; or, as Maimonides phrases it (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 113), "a belief that nothing is coævous with God." Whence that saying of theirs (mentioned by Aben Ezra), "whosoever doth any work upon the Sabbath-day, denies the work of the creation."

Ye shall do no work therein.] They were commanded so to rest on this day from all bodily labour, as not to kindle a fire, to dress the meat they ate upon it: which is not required upon any other day, but only the great day of expiation (ver. 28, 30). Concerning these two days alone it is said, "Thou shalt do no work upon it:" but of the days of other assemblies, no more is said but this, "Thou shalt do no servile work therein" (ch. v. 7, 8, &c.), that is, only such work as they were wont to put their slaves to do was prohibited. For though they might not bake nor boil their meat on the Sabbath-day (Exod. xvi. 23), nor on the day of expiation (ver. 28 of this chapter); yet on other solemn days they might make provision for their tables, Exod. xii. 16, where Aben Ezra notes, "of none of the solemn assemblies, besides the Sabbath and the day of atonement, it is said *no manner of work*: only of the passover he saith it, and addeth an exception of the meat of the soul;" that is, what was requisite for the sustenance of na-

5 In the fourteenth day of the first month at even is the Lord's passover.

6 And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord: seven days ye must eat unleavened bread.

7 In the first day ye shall have an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein.

ture: as our Mr. Thorndike observes, in the place before quoted.

It is the sabbath] To be kept holy in honour of the Lord, by every man, wherever he dwelt; for they had synagogues for worship in all their towns; though most of the other assemblies could be held only in the place where the sanctuary, and afterwards the temple was; whither all their males went up thrice a year at the great festivals. Aben Ezra therefore thus glosses upon these words: "*In all your dwellings*, in your land, and out of your land; at home, and upon the way;" to show that the command (Exod. xxxv. 3), "You shall kindle no fire throughout your habitation on the Sabbath-day," was to be observed, not only whilst they lived upon manna in the wilderness (when God gave them a double portion on the sixth day, that they might prepare it against the Sabbath, Exod. xvi. 5, 29), but in all places, wheresoever they dwelt afterwards.

Ver. 4. *Feasts of the Lord.*] Now follow the solemn assemblies which are to be kept by this ordinance of mine; besides that of the seventh day, which was celebrated from the beginning.

This looks like a title to all that ensues.

Even holy convocations.] Solemn meetings of the people, who were called together to celebrate the mercies of God with sacrifices of thanksgivings and public rejoicings. Such there were in all nations, who had their *πανηγυρεις* (as the Greeks called them), "general assemblies" of all the country, to do honour to their gods. As in Egypt, we are told by Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 59, they did once a year *πανηγυρίζειν* in honour of Isis, Mars, and Diana. The like was in other nations, as everybody knows. Dr. Hammond hath observed something concerning this phrase *holy convocations*, upon Matt. xx. not. c.

Proclaim in their seasons.] Or, in their appointed times: which here follow.

Ver. 5. *In the fourteenth day*] See Exod. xii. 18.

At even] See Exod. xii. 6.

Is the Lord's passover.] See Exod. xii. 27.

Ver. 6. *The fifteenth day—is the feast of unleavened bread, &c.*] That is, then the seven days of eating unleavened bread were to begin (Exod. xii. 15).

Seven days ye must eat] See Exod. xii. 19, 20.

Ver. 7. *In the first day*] Exod. xii. 16.

Ye shall do no servile work therein.] Such days as these were not observed so scrupulously as the seventh day of every week, on which (as I observed before) they might not boil nor bake, i. e. prepare their meat; which on this day was allowed, as appears from the place last named in Exodus. Nor might they stir out of their place, i. e. take a journey on the Sabbath (Exod. xvi. 29), but on this day they might: as appears from Deut. xvi. 7, where, having sacrificed the passover and eaten it on the fourteenth day at even, they have leave given them to go home the next morning, which was the first day of unleavened bread. For on this very day, betimes in the morning, they came out of Egypt, and travelled from Rameses to Succoth. By *servile work*, therefore, we are to understand their ordinary labours on other days, from which both they and their servants were to abstain on this day: which it was the custom of all

8 But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord seven days: in the seventh day is an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein.

9 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

10 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say

nations to forbear, upon such great solemnities, as Strabo informs us (lib. x.), where he saith, κοινὸν τοῦτο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἐστίν, τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιὰς μετ' ἀνίστασιν ἱορταστικῆς κοινῆσαι, "this is common both to Greeks and barbarians, to keep their holy days, with a festival remission of their labours."

Ver. 8. *Ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord seven days.*] These were not merely idle times, but days for divine service; about which there is a particular direction given afterward (Numb. xxviii., from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth verse), where the sacrifices for every one of the seven days are prescribed. And though there is no mention of any particular work of the moral service of God upon these days (no more than there is of that sanctification of the Sabbath day), yet the Jews were not so blind, but that they were able to perceive the spiritual service of God, by prayers, and praises, and hearing the law, and meditating upon God's works, was required on these days, especially on the Sabbath: which appears from Josephus and Philo, and divers others of their later writers.

Seventh day is an holy convocation.] Exod. xii. 16. *Ye shall do no servile work therein.*] It was to be observed as the first day of the seven, that the feast might conclude as it began.

Ver. 9.] Though the following could not be yet practised; yet he would have them take a particular notice of it, as no less solemnly enjoined than the foregoing.

Ver. 10. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] They being all concerned in this precept.

When ye be come into the land] In the wilderness they sowed no corn, and therefore could not be obliged by this precept till they came to Canaan: nay, till they had driven out the old inhabitants, and God had given them rest in the land of promise, as Moses himself seems to expound it, Deut. xii. 10, 11.

And shall reap] Begin to reap it, as it is explained, Deut. xvi. 9.

Then ye shall bring a sheaf] Or a handful, as it is translated in the margin of our Bibles. And there was the very same custom among the heathen, to bring δράγμα, "a handful of the new corn," to be offered to their gods; as Diodorus Siculus saith the practice was among the Egyptians.

Of the firstfruits] There were several things comprehended under the name of first-fruits, which are commanded to be offered unto God (Exod. xxiii. 19). The Greeks have accurately distinguished them by proper and peculiar names. Πρωτότοκα were the firstborn of men or of cattle, mentioned Exod. xiii. Then πρωτόγενήματα were the first corn that was ripe, or the first-fruits of trees, which they brought from the field, or from their plantations, before they ate any themselves. And then ἀρχαί (which the Hebrews call *terumoth*, or *trumoth*) were the first-fruits of their wine and oil (Numb. xviii. 12), and the first loaves or cakes made of their wheat, mentioned below, ver. 17 (see there).

Of your harvest] Of barley-harvest, which began at the Passover, when they offered the first-fruits here mentioned; as wheat-harvest began at Pentecost, when they offered the first-fruits, mentioned ver. 17, as at the feast of tabernacles those of the vine, and

unto them, When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest unto the priest:

11 And ye shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it.

other fruit-trees, were brought and offered. And so much weight was laid on this, and there were so many of them, and such care taken of their payment, because this was held by all mankind as a principal part of religion, to make this early acknowledgment to God for his goodness; insomuch, that they who offered no first-fruits were looked upon as atheists. So Porphyry, lib. iii. περὶ Ἀποχρῆς, sect. 78. And, indeed, this was a practice derived from the beginning of the world (Gen. iv. 3, 4). Aristotle himself testifies as much when he saith (lib. viii. ad Nicomachum), ἀρχαίαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνδοι, &c. "The ancient sacrifices and assemblies were after the carrying in the harvest, when they offered the first-fruits," μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχόλας τοῖς καιροῖς, "for they chiefly relaxed themselves at those seasons."

Unto the priest.] Who offered part of it to God, and had the rest himself. For thus the Jews describe the gathering and offering of them: on the evening of the first day of the passover-week, some were ordered by the Sanhedrin to take sickles and baskets, &c., and go out when it was dark (having a great company with them), and cut a sheaf of corn, which they brought into the court of God's house, and parched it (as may be gathered from the second chapter of this book, ver. 14—16), and having ground it, they sifted it often (no less than thirteen times), till it was very fine flour. After which they took out a tenth-deal (an omer, which was the tenth part of an ephah), and brought it to the priest, who took out a handful, and put it on the altar with oil and frankincense, and the remainder he had for himself (see Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, ch. xiv. sect. 2; Dr. Outram De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 8, n. 6, and J. Wagensell upon Sota, cap. 2, Annot. 11).

Ver. 11. *He shall wave the sheaf*] They did not offer the corn green in the ears (as I observed in the foregoing verse), but parched, dried, ground, and seared; and then they waved a tenth-deal of the flour, which came from the sheaf, as a present to the Lord of the whole earth.

To be accepted for you.] To procure God's blessing upon the rest of the harvest; and that they might have liberty to use the corn it produced: which it was not lawful for them to do, till the first-fruits were given to God.

On the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it.] We are not to understand by the Sabbath the seventh day's rest, which was the opinion of the Sadducees, as R. Levi ben Gersom tells (upon the fifth of Joshua), but the day here mentioned (ver. 7), which was a kind of Sabbath, because no servile work might be done therein. And therefore this morrow after the Sabbath was the sixteenth day of Nisan, on the next day to the first of unleavened bread. So the LXX. translate it, τῇ ἐκὰντον τῆς πρώτης, "the morrow after the first:" and Josephus more plainly, τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρα, &c. "on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month," &c. (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10). This was the first of the fifty days, which they reckoned till Pentecost (ch. v. 15), and was the day on which manna ceased when they came into Canaan, because then they ate of the fruits of that country (Josh. v. 10—12). And indeed it was not lawful for them (as

12 And ye shall offer that day when ye wave the sheaf an he lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt offering unto the LORD.

13 And the meat offering thereof *shall be* two tenth deals of fine flour mingled with oil, an offering made by fire unto the LORD for a sweet savour: and the drink offering thereof *shall be* of wine, the fourth *part* of an hin.

14 And ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor green ears, until the self-

same day that ye have brought an offering unto your God: *it shall be* a statute for ever throughout your generations in all your dwellings.

15 ¶ And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete:

16 Even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the LORD.

I said before) to eat of the fruits of the earth, till after the passover; because then the sheaf of the first-fruits was waved, which consecrated the rest of the corn. And so God continued manna to them till they had other food to eat.

Ver. 12. *Ye shall offer that day—an he lamb, &c.*] Though this day was not so holy as the first day of unleavened bread, yet it was a part of the festival, and was called *moed katon*, a lesser solemnity; as all the rest of the days were, between the first and the seventh. And therefore a special offering is here ordered upon this day, besides the daily burnt-sacrifice; and besides the sacrifice which was appointed (ver. 8) to be offered upon every one of the seven days.

Ver. 13. *The meat offering thereof shall be two tenth deals of fine flour, &c.*] I observed before (upon the second chapter, ver. 1), that all sorts of bread might be offered to God, as being a very ancient sacrifice, and commonly used at every table; for which reason *wine* also is here ordered; but it was to be simple wine, not mixed as was the heathenish custom. *Salt* also was added (ch. ii. 13), as common at all tables; but no *honey*, nor *leaven*, which men's superstition had introduced (and therefore expressly forbidden in that place, ver. 11), as it did also milk, and *herbs*, and *leaves of trees*; not a word of which is to be found in the law of Moses. But here it is observable, that he commands *two tenth-deals* of fine flour to be offered; whereas one tenth was the common *meal-offering* (Exod. xxix. 40). Because as one of them was a necessary attendant on the lamb (mentioned before, ver. 12), so the other was in honour of the day, which was a lesser kind of festival.

The drink offering thereof shall be of wine, the fourth part of an hin.] Here is not a double proportion of wine ordered, but the usual quantity; because, perhaps, this was a thanksgiving only for their corn, not for their vintage, which came afterward.

Ver. 14. *Ye shall eat neither bread, &c.*] It was not lawful for them to reap, and therefore not to eat any of the fruits of the earth, till the forenamed first-fruits were offered, as an acknowledgment to the Donor of them. For nothing was more just and equal, all men thought, than to give some part to him, who gave to them all they had; and, in the first place, to give him his due before they took any thing to themselves. The Romans in this expressed the sense of all mankind; who, as Pliny tells us, lib. xviii. cap. 2, *Ne gustabant quidem novas fruges, aut vina, antequam sacerdotibus primitias libassent*, “did not so much as taste of their corn or wine, till the priests had offered the first-fruits.”

A statute for ever] As long as their polity lasted.

In all your dwellings.] Throughout the whole land of Canaan.

Ver. 15. *Ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath.*] From the sixteenth day of Nisan, or the second day of unleavened bread; which was the morrow after the Sabbath (ver. 11).

From the day that ye brought the sheaf] This is

added only as a fuller description of the time from which they were to count.

Seven sabbaths shall be complete.] Seven whole weeks, reckoning that day from which the account begun, for the first day of the first of those weeks; which made forty-nine days in all. Maimonides thinks it was for the honour of this great day of Pentecost, that they were to count the days till it came; just as a man, saith he, who expects his best friend, is wont to tell the days and hours till he arrive (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43). And therefore the present Jews begin this supputation with a solemn prayer, saying, “Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, the Lord of the world, who hath sanctified us with thy precepts, and commandest us to number the days of harvest: and this is the first day.” And thus they go on to pray till the seventh day, when they add, “Now there is one week:” and so proceed in the same prayers to the evening of Pentecost. Which feast they not being able now to keep, as the law appoints, they pray to God every day, after they have done counting, that he would restore Jerusalem and the temple; and then they promise to do all that is here prescribed. And this counting in some places is performed publicly in their synagogues; yet so that every master of a family is bound every night to do it at home (see Buxtorf. Synag. Judaica, cap. 20).

Ver. 16. *Even unto the morrow, &c.*] The next day after the seventh Sabbath (or week) made just fifty days: from which this feast was called *Pentecost*. and in the Old Testament, “the feast of weeks;” because it began the next day after the seven weeks before mentioned, Exod. xxxiv. 22.

Ye shall offer a new meat offering] Viz. Of new corn made into loaves, as it follows in the next verse: which was the first-fruits of wheat-harvest, as the place before mentioned tells us, Exod. xxxiv. 22.

This day the Samaritans take to have been the first day of the week, after the very letter of this law; which is thus made out by the great primate of Ireland: our blessed Lord being slain at the feast of the passover, the whole Sabbath following (which was the first day of unleavened bread) he rested in his grave. The next day after that Sabbath, the *sheaf*, or *omer*, of the first-fruits of the barley-harvest was offered to the Lord; when Christ rose from the dead, and became the first-fruits of them that slept.” From this day was the account taken of the seven Sabbaths, or weeks: and upon the morrow after the seventh (that is, upon our Lord's-day) was celebrated the feast of weeks, which is called “the day of the first-fruits” (Numb. xxviii. 26), because then were offered the first-fruits of their second, or wheat-harvest; and therefore called the *feast of harvest* (Exod. xxxiii. 16), because then was the principal and the conclusion of the whole harvest of the year. Upon which day the apostles, having themselves received “the first-fruits of the Spirit,” begat three thousand souls, through the word of truth, and presented them as the “first-fruits of the Christian church” unto God and unto the Lamb. Now the matter being so ordered by God,

17 Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth deals: they shall be of fine flour; they shall be baked with leaven; *they are the firstfruits unto the LORD.*

18 And ye shall offer with the bread seven lambs without blemish of the first year, and one young bullock, and two rams: they shall be for a burnt offering unto the LORD, with their meat offering, and their drink offerings, *even an offering made by fire, of sweet savour unto the LORD.*

that in the observation of the feast of weeks, the seventh day of the week (the Jewish Sabbath) was purposely passed over, and that great solemnity kept upon the first day of the week, no wonder the Christian church hath appropriated that day, instead of the seventh, for the service of God.

Ver. 17. *Ye shall bring out of your habitations*] These oblations seem to have been offered at a common charge, in the name of the whole nation, which is the reason of this phrase, "out of your habitations." For to affirm, as some do, that *two loaves* were to be brought out of every house, or, at least, out of every town, is absurd; for they may as well say *seven lambs* (as it follows), which were offered with this bread, were to be furnished in like manner out of every family or town.

Two wave loaves of two tenth deals:] A double proportion, as before, ver. 13, which was presented to God, the Lord of the whole world, by waving them to all quarters. Each loaf did not contain two tenth-deals, but there was one in each loaf.

Of fine flour;] Of wheat.

Baken with leaven;] And therefore were not burnt upon the altar (for that was unlawful, Lev. ii. 11, 12), but wholly given to the priests. Whence it was, as the Jews observe, that the bread accompanying their peace-offerings of thanksgiving was leavened (ch. vii. 13), and not burnt on the altar, but entirely given to the priests, the servants of God, who attended at his altar, that they might feast together with him.

They are the firstfruits unto the Lord.] Other first-fruits are mentioned, ver. 10, but these were the principal, being the first-fruits of wheat-harvest, which, with all the rest, are exactly enumerated by Nehemiah, ch. x. 35—37. And that place of Pliny, mentioned ver. 14, seems to prove, that the heathen offered both the first of their fruits before they brought them out of their fields and vineyards, and also the first of what was made of them after they were brought home; which they did, partly out of gratitude to God, to thank him for making the year fruitful, and partly to pray him to grant fruitful seasons for the future.

Ver. 18. *Ye shall offer—seven lambs without blemish*] This being a great day, and burnt-offerings being the noblest sort of sacrifice, purely in honour of God, a greater number, both of lambs and other creatures, are required upon this solemnity.

One young bullock, and two rams:] In Numb. xxviii. 27, it is said, "two young bullocks and one ram," besides the seven lambs. Perhaps they were left to their liberty, either to hring one young bullock and two rams, or one ram and two young bullocks; or else those mentioned in Numbers were distinct sacrifices, besides those here mentioned: and so Josephus saith (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10), that there were offered upon this day *three young bullocks, two rams* (it should be *three rams*), and *fourteen lambs*; all which were offered, besides the morning and evening sacrifices of every day.

They shall be for a burnt offering, &c.] There being

19 Then ye shall sacrifice one kid of the goats for a sin offering, and two lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace offerings.

20 And the priest shall wave them with the bread of the first fruits for a wave offering before the LORD, with the two lambs: they shall be holy to the LORD for the priest.

21 And ye shall proclaim on the selfsame day, *that it may be an holy convocation unto you: ye shall do no servile work therein: it shall be a*

all sorts of sacrifices prescribed for the great solemnity of this day, he mentions the burnt-offering in the first place, because it was the principal, and offered next to the two loaves.

Ver. 19.] Next followed the *sin-offering*, which, for a particular sin of the congregation, was a *bullock* (ch. xviii. 14), but for the sins of the nation in general, only a *kid of the goats*: for, as Maimonides observes (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46), the more grievous the sin was, the viler the sacrifice, there being no greater sin than idolatry, nor viler sacrifice than a she-goat; and yet this was the expiation of that sin, as they interpret ch. iv. 27. Numb. xv. 27.

Two lambs—for a sacrifice of peace offerings.] Double the number to what was commonly offered; for this being a high day, all sorts of sacrifices (as I said before) were offered (burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, and peace-offerings) upon it, and in greater proportions (except the sin-offering) than on other days. And these were the only *peace-offerings* of the whole congregation of Israel, offered only at this one time of the year, and never else.

Ver. 20.] These sacrifices, with the *trespass-offering* for a leper (ch. xiv. 12, 24), were the only offerings that were waved about towards all the corners of the world. So Abarbinel upon this place: "The waving was performed by the priest, who reached them out, upward and downward, this way and that way, towards the six quarters of the world, to show that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" or, as R. Levi ben Gersom speaks, "that they might understand the providence of God is everywhere, above and beneath, in every corner of the world."

With the two lambs:] This seems to signify the forenamed burnt-offering and sin-offering were thus waved, as well as these peace-offerings; that is, some part of them all, in the name of the rest; for the priest could not wave the whole body of them, they were so heavy.

For the priest.] Who had not only the breast and the shoulder (as was usual); but all the flesh of these peace-offerings (their blood being sprinkled and their inwards burnt) was given unto him, to be eaten by the males among the priests, in the court of the sanctuary, even as the sin-offerings were: for these peace-offerings being (as I before noted) the only peace-offerings of the whole congregation, were reckoned among the *most holy* things; whereas the peace-offerings of private men were *less holy*, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, in his Temple Service, ch. viii. sect. 4. And the true reason why the priest had all the flesh of these sacrifices was, because they being for the whole congregation, the offerers were too many to have any portion of them distributed among them.

Ver. 21. *Proclaim on the selfsame day,*] Before the solemnities began.

That it may be an holy convocation] See ver. 4. The reason of this holy assembly was, partly to commemorate God's great goodness, in giving the law from Mount Sinai, on the fiftieth day after their coming out of Egypt (which was the chief end of God's bringing

statute for ever in all your dwellings throughout your generations.

22 ¶ And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of thy field when thou reapest, neither shalt thou gather any gleanings of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them unto the poor, and to the stranger: I am the Lord your God.

them from thence, as Maimonides speaks, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 43), and partly to thank him for giving them such fair hopes of completing their harvest, which had been begun at the passover.

Ye shall do no servile work] It was to be observed, as the first and the last days of unleavened bread (ver. 7, 8), with such a rest, as made it little different from a Sabbath. And that great vision (as Maimonides calls it), at the giving of the law, lasting but one day, was the reason the memory of it was celebrated only for one day in the year; whereas the feast of unleavened bread lasted seven days, for one day was not sufficient to make them sensible enough of the affliction they endured in Egypt. But, perhaps, one day only was appointed at Pentecost to be free from all servile work, because of the great business of wheat-harvest, which was then coming on, and could not permit them to be so much at leisure as they were when the fruits of the earth were all gathered. Then they kept a feast seven days (ver. 39), as they did at the beginning of barley-harvest, when the feast of unleavened bread was held: at which time harvest did not come on so fast as it did at Pentecost; for the first-fruits then were of green corn, parched, and dried, and offered to God, for the hope they had he would bring the rest to maturity.

Ver. 22.] This precept hath been sufficiently explained before (ch. xix. 9, 10), only the occasion of its repetition here ought to be observed, which is the mention of harvest and first-fruits, which in gratitude they then offered unto God, of whose goodness he would have them so sensible, as not to be unmindful of the poor; but to be such benefactors to them, that they might still receive more benefits from God.

Ver. 23. *The Lord spake unto Moses.*] These words are frequently prefixed to a new matter, though delivered at the same time with what went before.

Ver. 24. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Who (as I have often said) were all concerned to take notice of such precepts.

In the seventh month.] Such a Sabbath as those mentioned ver. 7, 8, 21, on which no servile work was to be done, as it follows in the next verse; for the seventh month was the first month of the year, according to the ancient computation, and continued so still to several purposes; particularly with respect to their jubilee, when they were to blow the trumpet, as they did on this day, which was the chief new moon in all the year, and the more illustrious, because it fell in the time when all the fruits of the earth were gathered.

A memorial of blowing of trumpets.] It is not easy to tell of what this blowing of trumpets was a memorial. Maimonides, in the place aforementioned (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43), will have it to be instituted to awaken the people out of sleep, and call them to repentance; being to put them in mind of the great day of expiation, which followed nine days after. This he explains more largely in his *Jad Chazakah*, in the treatise of Repentance (cap. 3), where he saith, "The sound of the trumpet, at this time, did in effect say, Shake off your drowsiness, ye that sleep; and, being awaked, watch to your duty. Search and try your ways; remember your Creator,

23 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

24 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a sabbath, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation.

and repent. You, whom the vanity of the times hath led into a forgetfulness of the truth; who spend your days wandering after empty things, which profit nothing; bethink yourselves, and take care of your souls. Let every one forsake his evil way, and his thoughts which are not good." And accordingly he saith in the same place, "the Israelites were wont to multiply alms and good works, and to apply themselves to the precepts (as his phrase is), from the beginning of the year, till the day of atonement, more diligently than at any other time; rising in the night to pray in their synagogues till break of day," &c. But, though this be very pious, I see no ground for it; no more than for what they say of commemorating the deliverance of Isaac: for why should not blowing of trumpets be ordered for a preparation to other solemn days, and in memory of other deliverances, as well as this of Isaac?

It seems more probable, that all nations making great shouting, rejoicing, and feasting in the beginning of the year, at the first new moon (as many have observed), hoping the rest of the year, by this means, would prove more prosperous; God was pleased to ordain this great rejoicing among his people, in honour of himself, upon the day of the first new moon (which was to be continued every first day of the month), that he might preserve them from the worship of the moon, and make them sensible that he alone gave the good years, and renewed his mercies daily, from month to month, upon them. Bonfrerius imagines, that God put an honour upon this month, because it was the seventh: that as every seventh day was a Sabbath, and every seventh year the land rested, &c., so every seventh month of every year should be a kind of sabbatical month; there being more feasts in this month than in any other month in the year.

But all this doth not explain what this blowing of trumpets was a memorial of, which I take to be the creation of the world, which was in autumn; upon which account it was, that they anciently began their year at this time, as the eastern people do at this day. They acknowledged also God's goodness in blessing all the year past, and bringing them to the beginning of a new year, which they prayed him to make happy to them.

They began to blow at sunrise, and continued it till sunset. He that sounded the trumpet began with the usual prayer, "Blessed be God, who hath sanctified us with his precepts," &c., subjoining these words, "Blessed be God, who hath hitherto preserved us in life, and brought us unto this time." When all was ended, the people said, with a loud voice, these words of the Psalmist (Ps. lxxxix. 15), "Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance" (see Buxtorf, Synag. Jud. cap. 24).

Such blowing with trumpets was used by the gentiles; particularly in the solemnities they observed in honour of the mother of the gods: one whole day (which was the second) being spent in blowing of trumpets, as Julian tells us, in his fifth oration upon this subject, *εἰς ἑξῆς περισσολυμῶς παραλαμβάνεται*, p. 168.

25 Ye shall do no servile work *therein* : but ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

26 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

27 Also on the tenth day of this seventh month *there shall be* a day of atonement : it shall be an holy convocation unto you ; and ye shall afflict your souls, and offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

28 And ye shall do no work in that same day : for it is a day of atonement, to make an atonement for you before the LORD your God.

29 For whatsoever soul *it be* that shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from among the people.

Ver. 25. *Ye shall do no servile work therein* :] It was a very solemn day, like the day of Pentecost (ver. 21), and others before noted, on which they might only make provision for their meals (Exod. xii. 16), which were wont to be very liberal upon this day. And, among other dishes, they serve up to the table a ram's head, in memory of that ram which was sacrificed in the room of Isaac, which they fancy was upon this day.

Ye shall offer an offering made by fire] About which directions are given afterward (Numb. xxix. 2, &c.). For it was not to be a day of rest merely, but of religion.

Ver. 26.] The following precept is of great moment, which makes this preface to be set before it.

Ver. 27. *On the tenth day*] This hath been explained, ch. xvi. 29—31.

It shall be an holy convocation] On which they were to assemble, to humble themselves before God ; as it here follows.

Ye shall afflict your souls,] See ch. xvi. I shall only add, that the Jews fancy this solemn day of fasting was appointed, partly to avert those diseases which were wont to be rife in the autumnal season ; and this day chosen rather than any other, that they might express their grief at that time, when the sin of the golden calf was committed.

Offer an offering made by fire] A burnt-offering, about which directions are given in Numb. xxix. 8.

Ver. 28. *Ye shall do no work in that same day*:] See ver. 3, and ch. xvi. 31.

It is a day of atonement,] Set apart wholly for this work ; which is at large described in ch. xvi.

To make an atonement for you] First the priest made an atonement for himself and his family (ch. xvi. 6, &c.), and then for the people, and for the holy place, &c. (ver. 15, 16, 33).

Ver. 29.] The affliction here spoken of consisted chiefly in abstaining from all manner of food (as the Jews make account) from one evening to the next : in which time, if any man ate to satisfy his appetite, that is, above the quantity of a date, he was in danger to be cut off ; by the hand of God, I suppose : so they say, in Joma, cap. 8, n. 2. Besides which, there were four other mortifications ; for no man was to put on his shoes, nor anoint himself, nor wash his face, nor enjoy his wife (see Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 26).

Ver. 30.] The two great things required on this day, being to afflict themselves, and to rest from labour ; they who transgressed either of these commands, are threatened to be cut off, and that by God himself, as this verse teaches us to expound the foregoing.

Ver. 31. *Ye shall do no manner of work*:] This is repeated again, because it was a thing of such high

importance, that they should wholly attend to the business of this great day, which was a day of humiliation and repentance, and making their peace with God. And, as the Jews themselves observe, there was no man so good but he had offended in something or other : and besides, they were to afflict themselves for the sins of the whole body of the nation.

Ver. 32. *Sabbath of rest*,] As the weekly Sabbath was (ver. 3), when they did not merely rest from labour, but employed themselves in the Divine service ; as (ver. 8) I observed they did on other Sabbaths of lesser strictness. And this the heathens themselves could discern, that the design of their festivals, which were days of ease and remission of labours, was τὸν νοῦν ἀπαγεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀσχολημάτων, “to withdraw the mind from human employments,” τὸν δὲ οὐτως τρέπτε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, “that so a man may have leisure to turn his mind towards God ;” which is a most divine saying of Strabo, which, I think, I have noted before, but cannot be too often repeated (lib. x. Geograph. p. 467).

In the ninth day of the month at even,] They kept the high-priest on the even of the day of expiation from eating much, because it would make him sleepy, as they tell us in Joma (cap. 1, n. 4). Where our learned Sheringham observes, that the evening before is called “the even of the day of expiation,” because they began the fast before the setting of the sun ; so that the whole evening belonged to the following Sabbath. By which these two places, ch. xvi. 29, where it is said they shall afflict their souls on the tenth day, and this verse, which saith on the ninth day, which seem to clash one with another, may be easily reconciled ; for they began to afflict themselves in the conclusion of the ninth day, and ended the fast in the conclusion of the tenth (see Manasseh ben Israel, Quest. 4, ad Lev.

33 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

34 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, The fifteenth day of this seventh month *shall be* the feast of tabernacles for seven days unto the LORD.

importance, that they should wholly attend to the business of this great day, which was a day of humiliation and repentance, and making their peace with God. And, as the Jews themselves observe, there was no man so good but he had offended in something or other : and besides, they were to afflict themselves for the sins of the whole body of the nation.

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From even unto even] This justifies what was just now said, that this day began in the even of the ninth day, and continued till the even of the tenth.

Your sabbath,] So this day was called, because no manner of work might be done on this day, no more than on the seventh or weekly Sabbath (ver. 31). And so it is called by the prophet, Isa. lviii. 13.

Ver. 33.] The same preface is prefixed to this, as to the rest, because it was one of the three greatest solemnities appointed by God in remembrance of his benefits (see ver. 39).

Ver. 34.] It was to begin on the fifteenth day, and continue seven days, as the feast of unleavened bread did. The design of this feast is thus expressed by Maimonides, who compares it with the passover ; which served, saith he (More Nevoch, par. iii. cap. 43), to preserve the memory of all the miracles which

35 On the first day *shall be* an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein.

36 Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD: on the eighth day shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD: it is a solemn assembly; and ye shall do no servile work therein.

37 These are the feasts of the LORD, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations, to offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD, a burnt

offering, and a meat offering, a sacrifice, and drink offerings, every thing upon his day:

38 Beside the sabbaths of the LORD, and beside your gifts, and beside all your vows, and beside all your freewill offerings, which ye give unto the LORD.

39 Also in the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the LORD seven days: on the first day *shall be* a sabbath, and on the eighth day *shall be* a sabbath.

God did in Egypt, out of which he brought them at that time; as the feast of tabernacles did to preserve the memory of the signs and wonders he did in the wilderness, where he afforded them his Divine protection under a glorious cloud, and preserved them without any houses, both in the cold of winter and heat of summer. In short, there are two ends mentioned in this chapter of the institution of this festival; one to give thanks for the fruits of the earth, which were then gathered (ver. 39), another, and the principal, in grateful remembrance that they dwelt in booths forty years, and were brought into better habitations when they came to Canaan (ver. 42, 43).

Ver. 35.] It was to be observed as the day of Pentecost (ver. 21). And they every one carried in their hands the bough of some goodly tree, as the Hebrews understand the first words of ver. 40. Josephus, describing this festivity (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10), mentions, in the first place, boughs of myrtle.

Ver. 36. Seven days.] The peculiar sacrifices, with their meat-offerings, which were to be offered on these seven days, are distinctly set down in Numb. xxix. from the thirteenth verse to the end, where it will be most proper to consider them.

Eighth day shall be an holy convocation.] See ver. 4. Ye shall offer an offering made by fire.] A burnt-offering, with a meat-offering attending upon it, according to the appointment in Numb. xxix. 36, 37.

It is a solemn assembly.] This is a new word, which is not used hitherto concerning any of the feasts here mentioned; signifying, as we translate it in the margin, "a day of restraint," or rather, "a closing, or concluding day," rather than the solemnity ended. And so Theodoret, τὸ τέλος τῶν ἑορτῶν, "the conclusion of the feasts;" whence the last day of the feast of unleavened bread is also called by this name of *atzareth* (Deut. xvi. 8). And so is the feast of Pentecost (which was kept in the end of seven weeks) called, by Josephus, by the same name of *asartha* (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10). This, therefore, as it was the last, so it was the great day of the feast, as St. John calls it, ch. vii. 37. On which day they read the last section of the law, and so concluded the reading of the whole five books of Moses. And thence any great solemnity is called by this name of *atzareth* (2 Kings x. 20; Joel i. 14). This seems to me to be a far better account of this word, than that which the Jews commonly give, who render it a day of detention; because, saith Abarbanel, they were bound to detain the feast to this day (whereas no other feast continued more than seven days), staying at Jerusalem till it was over; whence this day seems to him to be to the feast of tabernacles, as the day of Pentecost was to the passover; for as they were bound to count seven weeks from that time, and then made this fiftieth day a feast, so they are here commanded, after the seven days of the feast of tabernacles, to stay and feast one day more. Others of them, as R. Solomon Jarchi, say this was as if a man, having been entertained by his

friend seven days, should, to express greater kindness to him, be detained one day more.

Ye shall do no servile work.] But spend their time in feasting, mirth, and rejoicing, with thankful acknowledgments of God's benefits to them (see ver. 7, 8).

Ver. 37. These are the feasts (or assemblies) of the LORD.] This was the preface to them (ver. 4), and now is the conclusion, to make them the more observed.

To offer an offering, &c.] These offerings are particularly set down (as hath been noted all along) in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of Numbers; and, by a sacrifice, seems here to be meant a sin-offering; which is ordered, throughout these two chapters, together with burnt-offerings, upon all these festivals.

Ver. 38. Beside the sabbaths.] i.e. Besides the sacrifices appointed upon all the Sabbaths in the year, which were not to be omitted, if any of the feasts here mentioned fell upon the seventh day of the week.

Beside your gifts.] Most understand by gifts, such presents as men made to God, beyond their first-fruits and tenths; but it may be thought only a general word, including the two particulars which follow, *vows* and *freewill-offerings*.

Ver. 39. Also in the fifteenth day, &c.] Here is no new injunction in this verse, but only an enforcement of what was said before, the very same days being appointed to be observed with those named, ver. 24. Therefore the Hebrew particle *ak* should not have been translated *also*, but *surely*, or *certainly*, or *truly*, as we translate it in other places; particularly Gen. xxix. 14, "Surely thou art my home and my flesh." Ps. lxxiii. 1, "Truly God is good to Israel." Lam. ii. 16, "Certainly this is the day we looked for."

When ye have gathered in the fruit of the land.] These words give a reason of the repetition of the command, because there was something more designed in this festival than merely the remembrance of their condition in the wilderness; which was, to express their thankfulness to God for their desired harvest, which they had now gathered; for which cause, besides the seven days which were in commemoration of their dwelling in tents in the wilderness, there was an eighth added, to acknowledge the mercy of receiving the fruits of the earth.

Ye shall keep a feast—seven days.] This was the feast of tabernacles, which lasted all these seven days.

The first day shall be a sabbath.] See ver. 35.

On the eighth day shall be a sabbath.] In the institution of the feast of unleavened bread, it is said, "In the seventh day is a holy convocation, ye shall do no servile work therein;" i.e. it shall be a Sabbath (ver. 8), but here the eighth day hath that honour put upon it (not the seventh), being added to the festival for a peculiar reason, and therefore to be observed in a very solemn manner; for the feast of tabernacles fell in the time of vintage, when the fruits of the earth were, in a manner, all gathered (Deut. xvi. 13), from

40 And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of

the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days.

41 And ye shall keep it a feast unto the Lord

whence it is called by the name of the "feast of ingatherings" (Exod. xxiii. 16), not because the whole feast was celebrated on this account, but because a principal part of it was kept on this score; viz. the *eighth day*, as the other *seven days* were in memory of their dwelling in tents. But that the *eighth day* had no relation to this is apparent; for they did not dwell in tabernacles on the *eighth day* of this feast, but only on the *seven* preceding; which being ended, they returned to their houses, and kept this day there to another purpose, here named; for so it is expressly said, ver. 42, "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days;" which being over, a great solemnity continued to another purpose, and was kept after another manner, not in booths, but in their houses. So Maimonides, in his *More Nevoch*. (par. iii. cap. 43). "That we go from the feast of tabernacles to another solemnity, on the eighth day, it tends to make our joys perfect; which could not be done in tabernacles, but in large and spacious houses and palaces;" where they made still greater feasts, as well as sung the praises of God at the temple, with trumpets and instruments of music; in which service some say those three Psalms were used, which have the title of *Alhagittith* (viz. Ps. viii. lxxxi. and lxxxv.). For *gath* signifies a wine-press, and therefore they think these Psalms were sung in the time of the vintage. Certain it is, that the two last named were sung at some great solemnity, wherein they celebrated God's wonderful providence over them: and, that they used to sing and shout at their vintage, is clear from Judges ix. 27; Isa. xvi. 9, 10; Jer. xlviii. 33; Hosea ii. 15; which the gentiles imitated; who, when they pressed their grapes, sung a song to Bacchus, which was thence called *καὶνός*, "the song of the wine-press" (see Scaliger, lib. i. Poet. cap. 15).

Now this being a time of such great rejoicing, in both respects, it led Plutarch into a fancy, that the Jews celebrated two feasts unto Bacchus at this time; for he writes, in his *Symposiaca* (lib. i. prob. 3), that in the midst of the vintage the Jews spread tables furnished with all manner of fruit, and lived in tabernacles, made especially of palms and ivy wreathed together, and called the day which goes before the feast, "the day of tabernacles." And then, a few days after, saith he, they kept another festivity; which openly shows it was dedicated to Bacchus, for, they carried boughs of palms in their hands, &c., with which they went into the temple; the Levites (who he fancies were called so from *Εὐίος*, which was the name of Bacchus) going before with instruments of music, &c. All which may very well incline us to think, that the gentiles corrupted this holy festivity (as they did other sacred institutions), and turned it into the profane Bacchanalia; which is no improbable conjecture of Jo. Mich. Dilherrus, in his *Dissert. De Cacczel. Gentil. cap. 3*.

Ver. 40. *Ye shall take you on the first day*] Then they began to build their booths, that they might dwell in them the rest of the feast.

Boughs of goodly trees, &c.] Some fancy that this is not a direction for the building of booths with these branches, but for the carrying them in their hands, as Josephus tells us, lib. iii. *Antiq. cap. 10*. And they say these branches were called *hosannas*, because they sang those words of the Psalmist as they marched along with these boughs in their hands, "Save now [in the Hebrew the word is *hosan-na*], O Lord: O Lord, send now prosperity," Ps. cxviii. 25. And this is so riveted in the minds of the Jews, that Aben

Ezra makes it the opinion of the Sadducees to hold that they were not for any other use. But it is evident, from Nehemiah viii. 15, that they cut these branches to make booths, and not to carry in their hands; though it is likely that this might also be thought a fitting expression of joy in aftertimes, especially after they were expelled out of their own land. It is not unlikely also that they celebrated this festival by singing of *hosannas*, among other tokens of rejoicing, praying for a happy new year, whose feast went a little before on the first of this month; whence the rabbins call this feast of tabernacles by the name of *hosanna*, and the last day of it they call *hosanna rabba*. And they repeat this often in their prayers at that time, as they tell us in their *Minhagim* (or books of rituals), saying,

"For thy sake, O our Creator, hosanna.

For thy sake, O our Redeemer, hosanna.

For thy sake, O our Seeker, hosanna."

As if they besought the blessed Trinity to save them, and send help to them. In short, they call the prayers they say at this feast, by the name of *hosannas*, as Joh. Mich. Dilherrus hath observed, lib. ii. *Electorum*, cap. 20.

Boughs] The Hebrew word *pri* signifies fruit, as is noted in the margin of our Bibles; from whence some have gathered that they were to be the boughs of fruit-bearing trees; nay, the Jews fancy they were to be boughs with their fruit, as well as leaves on them. But Buxtorf made no doubt (in his sixteenth chapter of *Synag. Judaica*), that the word is rightly translated a *bough*, whether without fruit, or with it; though in later editions of that book this passage be left out.

Goodly trees.] The Hebrew word *hadar* doth not merely signify that which is *beautiful* and *goodly*, but that which is *large* and *well spread*; as is observed by Hottinger, in his *Smegma Orientale*, lib. i. cap. 7, where he thinks these words may be thus exactly translated, "Take to you the boughs of trees with bread leaves, such as the branches of palm-trees;" so that *hadar* is a general word, and "branches of palm-trees" a special instance of a tree with spacious leaves, which were the fittest to be used, because they were best able to defend them, either from heat, or cold, or rain. Maimonides takes this word to signify the boughs of a particular tree, which he will have to be a *citron*: and the Jews are so possessed with this opinion, that, at this day, they fancy the feast cannot be celebrated without such branches; and therefore the Jews now in Germany send into Spain, and endeavour to get one every year with the *pomecitrons* on it; and, after the feast, they offer the citrons to their friends as a great present. Hottinger saith he had one presented to him at Heidelberg, that very year he wrote his book now mentioned (see Dr. Lightfoot, in his *Temple Service*, chap. 6, sect. 3, and Buxtorf. *Synag. Jud. cap. 21*).

Branches of palm trees.] With which Judea abounded, and was so noted for them, that in the ancient coins a palm-tree represented that country.

Boughs of thick trees.] Which were shady, and afforded a good shelter. The Jews take these for myrtles, which have very thick leaves and boughs, close one to another, though the leaves be small.

Willows of the brook.] If this translation be right, it is likely they served only to twine about the rest, and bind them together: and therefore, in Nehemiah viii. 15, no mention is made of them; their tabernacles not

seven days in the year. *It shall be a statute for ever in your generations: ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month.*

42 Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths:

consisting of such boughs which were used only for the compacting and tying together the other.

Ye shall rejoice—seven days.] These were the seven days of the feast of tabernacles (as I noted before), which were spent in feasting, and other tokens of joy, with thanks to God for his great goodness, who had brought them out of the wilderness, where they had no fig-trees, vines, or pomegranates, into a country which abounded with fruitful trees of all sorts; which was the reason, Maimonides thinks, that Moses bids them take the boughs of the most *goodly trees* wherewith to build their booths (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43).

But of all the joys at this festival, none was comparable to that of “drawing and pouring out water;” concerning which the Talmudists have this noted saying, “He that never saw the rejoicing of drawing water, never saw rejoicing in all his life.” The manner of which is described out of the Jewish writers by Dr. Lightfoot, in his Temple Service, ch. 16, sect. 4. And our blessed Saviour is thought to allude to it, when, in the last, the great day of this feast, he cried, saying, “If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink, &c., out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.” John vii. 37, 38. But I have not met with any one that gives a tolerable reason of this custom at the feast of tabernacles; which I take to have been in memory of that water which followed them all the time they were in the wilderness, without which they had perished; and in thankfulness to God, that he had brought them into a “land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills,” as well as into “a land of vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates,” &c., as Moses speaks, Deut. viii. 7, 8.

Ver. 41.] He repeats it again, because it was of very great importance that they should keep in mind such a singular benefit as this, of their preservation in the wilderness.

It shall be a statute] For the end mentioned ver. 43. *Ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month.*] They came out of Egypt in the first month, and then began to dwell in tabernacles at Succoth (Exod. xii. 37), and, from that place, were conducted ever after under the cloud (Exod. xiii. 20, 21), which being in that month we call March, some may think it had been most proper to have kept this feast at that time of the year, and not in September. To which the Jews answer that in March summer began, when it was usual for people to dwell in booths, as more refreshing than houses: so that if they had kept this feast then, it would not have been known that they dwelt in booths by a singular command of God, and in memory of a Divine benefit; but men would have thought the season of the year led them to it. Therefore God appointed it in the *seventh month*, which is a time of cold or rain, when men commonly left their tabernacles, and betook themselves to their houses; that it might appear they did not go out of their houses into booths for their own pleasure, or from common custom, but by the Divine precept, in memory of a marvellous benefit: yet the fifteenth day of this month was appointed for the beginning of this feast, because it was upon

43 That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: *I am the Lord your God.*

44 And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the feasts of the Lord.

the fifteenth day of the first month that they marched out of Egypt to Succoth.

Ver. 42. *Ye shall dwell in booths seven days;*] They left their houses for seven days, and went into the fields, and pitched their tents there, or on their housetops, or in their court-yards; as we read in Neh. viii. 17.

All that are Israelites born] Sick people were expected; and the rabbins also freed women and little children from this obligation. If the rain likewise proved so great that they could not live there dry, and the cold so intense that it endangered their healths, they might all return to their houses.

Ver. 43. *That your generations may know*] This expresses the end and intention of this feast, which was to preserve a memory in future ages of the goodness of God to their forefathers, in affording them his Divine protection; which overshadowed them, and was a covering to them (when they had no houses), by that glorious cloud which went before them to conduct them. For all the forty years they were in the wilderness, it overspread them like a tabernacle, and defended them from the injury of the weather, and wild beasts, and all their enemies: they having no other shelter in that desolate place, but only this; and consequently, this feast was instituted to make them sensible how very happy they were in goodly cities and fine painted houses (as Maimonides speaks in the place above mentioned), when they came to the good land promised to their fathers, who wandered in a howling wilderness, without any certain dwelling-place.

And another feast was tacked to this, on the eighth day, on purpose to make them more sensible of the happy exchange of their condition from a wilderness into a land of corn, and wine, and oil, which they had plentifully gathered. Dr. Lightfoot, in his Harmony of the Evangelists, upon Luke iii. 21, hath another reason for the observation of this festival; for which I can see no ground, and therefore do not mention it, but refer the reader to the first volume of his works, p. 477.

When I brought them out of the land of Egypt:] For the very first place where they rested after their first day's march out of Egypt, was called *Succoth* (as I observed before), that is, *tabernacles*; because here they began to spread their tents, in which they lived ever after, for forty years. Nay, in the very land of Canaan, there were some who preferred tents before houses, as appears by that phrase we meet with so often, when any assembly or army was dissolved, “They went every man to his tent.” And indeed, it was the most ancient way of living, for shepherds, and such as feed cattle (as Moses observes, Gen. iv. 20), and therefore no wonder it lasted so long among the Israelites, who originally were such people.

I am the Lord your God.] Whose commands ought to be observed, and whose benefits ought to be remembered.

Ver. 44. *Moses declared—the feasts of the Lord.*] So he was commanded to do, ver. 2, they being concerned, as much as Aaron and the priests, in keeping these holy solemnities in honour of the Lord.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *The oil for the lamps.* 5 *The shewbread.* 10 *Shelomith's son blasphemeth.* 13 *The law of blasphemy.* 17 *Of murder.* 18 *Of damage.* 23 *The blasphemer is stoned.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure oil olive beaten for the light, to cause the lamps to burn continually.

3 Without the vail of the testimony, in the tabernacle of the congregation, shall Aaron order it from the evening unto the morning before the LORD continually: *it shall be a statute for ever in your generations.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1.] Directions having been given, after the setting up of the tabernacle, for the several sorts of sacrifices that were to be offered there (particularly upon the great day of atonement); and Aaron and his sons having been consecrated, and care taken that none of their posterity should minister before God, but such only as were without blemish; nor any other sacrifices be offered but such as were every way perfect; and only such feasts observed as are mentioned in the foregoing chapter: he proceeds now to give order for the daily service of God in the sanctuary, which was not yet settled, till the princes had all made their offerings, &c. (Numb. vii. 1, 2, &c., viii. 1).

Ver. 2. *Command—that they bring unto thee*] The daily sacrifices were to be maintained at the public charge, and so were the incense and the lamps; and therefore it was proper to speak to all the people, in whose name the priests performed all these things, to take care they should be furnished with them (see Exod. xxx. 13, &c.).

Pure oil olive beaten for the light,] All this hath been explained, Exod. xxvii. 20, where this order was first given, and now is commanded to be put in execution. It is not improbable that the oil, to make it more pure and free from all dregs, passed through two strainers into the lamps; as Fortunatus Scacchus endeavours to make it out (Myrothec. i. Elæochrys. Sacr. 10).

Ver. 3. *Without the vail of the testimony,* &c.] This is a short expression, which, in Exod. xxvii. 21, is delivered more fully, “without the vail, which is before the testimony,” that is, before the ark.

Shall Aaron order it?] He or his sons, as it is explained in Exod. xxvii. 21.

From the evening unto the morning] The Hebrew word *boker* properly signifies that part of the morning which is from break of day till sunrise; and the other word *arvain*, the evening, after sunset, till it be dark. Therefore, very early in the morning, and late at night, the priests were to look after the lamps.

Before the Lord continually.] For the lamps burnt on one side of the sanctuary, as the table stood on the other side with the shew-bread on it; and both of them “before the Lord,” i. e. before the ark of the testimony, where the Divine Majesty dwelt (Exod. xxv. 30, xxvi. 35).

It shall be a statute for ever] Exod. xxvii. 21.

Ver. 4. *Lumps upon the pure candlestick*] The candlestick was made of pure gold (Exod. xxv. 31, xxxvii. 17), and thence seems to be called the *pure candlestick* (Exod. xxxi. 8). But here it is possible Moses may have respect to the making it clean every day, before the lamps were lighted.

Before the Lord] See Exod. xxx. 7, 8.

4 He shall order the lamps upon the pure candlestick before the LORD continually.

5 ¶ And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve cakes thereof: two tenth deals shall be in one cake.

6 And thou shalt set them in two rows, six on a row, upon the pure table before the LORD.

7 And thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each row, that it may be on the bread for a me-

Ver. 5. *Take fine flour*] Of the best wheat.

Bake twelve cakes] These are called “the bread of the presence” (which we translate *shew-bread*), in the place now named, Exod. xxv. 30, where see what I have noted. They were prepared by the Levites (1 Chron. ix. 32, xxiii. 29), and were in number twelve, to represent the twelve tribes of Israel as continually before God, i. e. under the care of his gracious providence. Nor was this number diminished after the apostasy of ten tribes from the worship of God at the tabernacle; but still twelve cakes were set before the Lord, because there was a remnant of true Israelites among them (1 Kings xxx. 18), and this was a constant testimony against those apostates, and served to turn them back to the right worship of God at that place; where they were assured they and their sacrifices would be acceptable, and nowhere else: which made Abijah mention this to Jeroboam and the ten tribes, among other things that should induce them to repent of their forsaking God and his dwelling-place; where he tells them, “the priests, the sons of Aaron, minister; and the Levites wait on their business: and they burn unto the Lord, every morning and every evening, burnt-sacrifices and sweet incense: the shew-bread also set they in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold, with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening,” &c. (see 2 Chron. xiii. 9—11, &c.).

Two tenth deals,] That is, two *omers*; for an *omer* was the tenth part of an *ephah* (Exod. xvi. 36). Where we likewise read, ver. 22, that every Israelite, while they were in the wilderness, gathered just this quantity against every Sabbath. On which day these cakes being set upon God’s table (as it here follows, ver. 8), Dr. Lightfoot thinks, both the measure and the time were designed to put the Israelites in mind of their sustenance in the wilderness.

Ver. 6. *Set them in two rows,* &c.] One upon another, as the Hebrew writers expound it. Who say also, that they were set lengthwise cross over the breadth of the table; and that they were ten hand-breadths long, and five broad, and seven fingers thick (see Dr. Lightfoot’s Temple Service, chap. 14, sect. 5).

Upon the pure table,] It was called *pure*, because it was overlaid with pure gold (Exod. xxv. 24), and, we may be sure, was kept very clean and bright.

Before the Lord,] Who dwelt in the most holy place, before which the bread was set.

Ver. 7. *Put pure frankincense*] The best that could be got, unmixed with any thing else. And there was no better in the world than their neighbouring countries afforded.

Upon each row,] On the top of each row of cakes there was set a golden dish, with a handful of frankincense therein.

That it may be on the bread] Or, for the bread.

morial, *even* an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

8 Every sabbath he shall set it in order before the LORD continually, *being taken* from the children of Israel by an everlasting covenant.

9 And it shall be Aaron's and his sons'; and they shall eat it in the holy place: for it is most holy unto him of the offerings of the LORD made by fire by a perpetual statute.

That is, offered unto God, instead of the bread; which was to be given to the priests, who waited on him at his table, for their portion.

For a memorial.] For an acknowledgment of God, and of his sovereignty over them; and to beseech him to be always gracious to them (see ch. ii. ver. 2); and to represent also (as Conradus Pellicanus understands it, that God was ever mindful of his people, and had a great love to them; for "the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open to their prayers."

Offering made by fire.] The frankincense being set upon the bread, they seem to be considered as one thing; part of which was to be offered unto God, and the rest to be given to his ministers. Now, instead of the bread, which was the principal, the frankincense was burnt every week unto the Lord, when the bread was eaten by the priests. Which bread, it is evident, (ver. 9), is called "one of the offerings of the Lord made by fire;" because this frankincense, which stood upon it all the week, was burnt, as an oblation to him.

Ver. 8. *Every sabbath he shall set it in order.*] The shew-bread was prepared the evening before; and then, on the Sabbath, four priests went in to fetch away the old loaves and frankincense that had stood there all the week before; and other four followed after them to carry new ones and frankincense in their stead; for two of them carried the two rows of bread (six cakes apiece) and the other two carried each of them a golden dish, in which the frankincense was set upon the bread (see Dr. Lightfoot of the Temple Service, chap. 11, sect. 5).

Being taken from the children of Israel.] At whose charge they were provided, though prepared by the Levites (see Neh. x. 33, 33).

By an everlasting covenant.] By virtue of that command (which they had all agreed to observe) which required the shew-bread to be set before the Lord always (Exod. xxiv. 3, xxv. 30).

Ver. 9. *It shall be Aaron's and his sons'.*] Who, as God's servants, ate of the bread which came from his table.

Eat it in the holy place.] For the most holy things could be eaten nowhere else (see ch. iv. 26, 29).

It is most holy.] See ch. ii. 3, of this book.

Of the offerings—made by fire.] It need not seem strange that this bread, which was not burnt upon the altar as meat-offerings were, should be reckoned among the offerings made by fire; for as the altar (where those meat-offerings were burnt) is called God's table (Mal. i. 12), so this table, where the shew-bread stood, was really God's altar: inasmuch that the bread, which was set upon it before him, was looked upon as offered unto him; and the frankincense set upon the bread, as a part of it, being really burnt, it may be called an *offering made by fire*. Thus the gentiles also, as an excellent person of our own hath observed, thought tables, rightly dedicated unto their gods, to supply the place of altars. So Macrobius saith (lib. iii. Saturnal. cap. 11), it evidently appeared, by Papyrian's law, that are vicem

10 ¶ And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel: and this son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp;

11 And the Israelitish woman's son blasphemed the name of the LORD, and cursed. And they brought him unto Moses: (and his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan:)

præstare posse mensam dicatam, "a table consecrated might serve instead of an altar." Of which he gives an instance in the temple of Juno Populonia; and then proceeds to give a reason for it, because altars and tables, eodem die, quo ædes ipsæ, dedicari solent, "were wont to be dedicated on the same day with the temples themselves." From whence it was that a table, hoc ritu dedicata, "dedicated in this manner," was of the same use in the temple with an altar (see Dr. Outram, De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 8, n. 7).

Perpetual statute.] As long as these sacrifices lasted.

Ver. 10.] In the Hebrew the words run thus; "And there went out the son of an Israelitish woman, and he was the son of an Egyptian man, in the midst of (or, among) the children of Israel:" which last words signify, that, though his father was an Egyptian by birth, yet he was become a proselyte by religion: and was one of those (as it is probable) who went along with the Israelites when God brought them out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 38). So R. Solomon Jarchi interprets this phrase, "among the children of Israel:" hence, saith he, we learn, that he "was a proselyte of righteousness." And Aben Ezra to the same purpose, "he was received into the number of the Jews." See a great many more in Mr. Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1, numb. 2, where he observes, that it is the common opinion of the Jews, this man was the son of him whom Moses killed in Egypt (Exod. ii. 12).

This son of the Israelitish woman—and a man of Israel strove together.] When God was delivering the foregoing laws unto Moses, this case seems to have happened. And the Jews say the controversy between these two was this: the former, looking upon himself as having a good right to it by his mother, came and endeavoured to set up a tent among the children of Dan, in that place where their tribe had pitched their tents; which was opposed by one of that tribe, who told him, the right of his mother would do him no service, unless his father had been an Israelite: for the law was (Numb. ii. 2), that every man of the children of Israel should pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house: which law, though given afterward, yet they suppose was the rule before; by which this man was condemned, by those that heard the cause, to be in the wrong.

Ver. 11. *Blasphemed—and cursed.*] Sentence being given against him, he uttered blasphemous words against God himself (perhaps renounced the Lord), and also cursed those judges that had condemned him.

The Jews commonly think, that this blasphemy was his pronouncing the peculiar name of God, which he heard at Mount Sinai when the law was given. But this is a mere fancy; for there were some reproachful words uttered against God, as well as against the judges, as appears from ver. 15. And they themselves acknowledge, that a proselyte was guilty of death, whether he cursed by the proper name of God, or any other, as Mr. Selden shows (lib. ii. De

12 And they put him in ward, that the mind of the LORD might be shewed them.

13 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

14 Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp; and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the congregation stone him.

15 And thou shalt speak unto the children

of Israel, saying, Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin.

16 And he that blasphemeth the name of the LORD, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the LORD, shall be put to death.

Jure N. et G. cap. 12). Pellicanus thinks it probable that this man mocked at the foregoing laws, which were delivered about the worship of God; and contemned God himself, when he was told by whose authority they were enacted.

They brought him unto Moses.] If the occasion of their strife was such as the Jews imagine, then Mr. Selden thinks it highly probable that the cause had been heard and judged by some of the lesser courts established by Jethro's advice (Exod. xviii. 21, 22), where the blasphemy had been so plainly proved, that he was convicted of it: but they, doubting about the punishment of so high a crime, referred the consideration of that to Moses, as the supreme judge.

His mother's name was Shelomith.] I see no reason of mentioning the name of the woman from whom he was descended, but that all might be satisfied of the truth of this history.

Ver. 12. *Put him in ward.*] Committed him to prison, that he might be secured till his punishment was declared.

That the mind of the Lord might be shewed them.] In the Hebrew the words are, "That it might be expounded to them (viz. by Moses), according to the mouth of the Lord;" that is, as the Lord should declare to him. And so Onkelos renders them, "Till the matter was expounded to them, according to the sentence of the word of the Lord." For it is noted here, by a famous commentator among the Jews (as Mr. Selden observes in the place before mentioned, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1), that God was consulted about this matter, "Because they did not know whether he was to die for this crime; or whether his judgment was to be expected from the hand of Heaven, or otherwise:" whence Jarchi says, "They did not know whether he was guilty of death or not." And so Theodoret, Q. xxxiii. in Lev. There was no law, as yet, about this matter: but there was a plain law, that whosoever cursed his father or mother should die (Exod. xxi. 17), from whence they might justly infer he was to be so punished, who cursed his heavenly Father: there being also another law against those that reviled the judges and rulers (Exod. xxii. 28). And therefore I take it, they only doubted what kind of death he should die, about which Moses consulted the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 13.] It is likely Moses went into the sanctuary to inquire of God, who, from the mercy-seat, pronounced the following sentence against him; and also made a perpetual law about this case, with some others.

Ver. 14. *Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp.*] This is the sentence pronounced by the mouth of God, from whom they expected it. And, first, he orders the criminal to be carried forth out of the camp, as an *unclean* (Numb. v. 2, 3), nay, an *accursed* thing (Josh. vii. 21).

Let all that heard him] Next, he orders the witnesses to be produced, who heard him speak the blasphemous words.

Lay their hands upon his head.] This was a peculiar thing in this case, hands being laid upon no man's head condemned by the Sanhedrin, but only upon a blasphemer. By which ceremony they so-

lemnly declared, that they had given a true testimony against him, and thought him worthy of the death he was condemned to suffer; and, perhaps, prayed God, that all the punishment of this sin might fall upon this man, and not upon them, nor the rest of the people. And so the Jews tell us their manner was to say, "Let thy blood be upon thy own head, which thou hast brought on thyself by thy own guilt."

Let all the congregation stone him.] This was the last part of the sentence, that, when they that heard him curse had taken off their hands, all the congregation should stone him; which is the same punishment the law inflicted on him that cursed his father or his mother (ch. xx. 9, see there).

Ver. 15.] Upon this occasion a new law is made, in express terms, against blasphemy.

Whosoever curseth his God] Some of the Hebrews understand this of a gentile, who lived among them, and was not yet solemnly made a proselyte of the gate, that, if he cursed the god which was worshipped in his country, he should die for it (see Selden, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. ult.). And Procopius Gazaeus extends the words to such persons as cursed the god they worshipped, though he were a false god: which is according to the common rule of the Talmudists, that where we find these words, *ish, ish* (man, man, which we well translate *whosoever*), they comprehend gentiles as well as Jews. But no doubt, this law particularly concerned the people of Israel; whom God intended by this law to preserve from such horrid impiety as is here mentioned.

Shall bear his sin.] Be stoned (see ch. xx. 9). If the word *curseth* be understood in the proper sense, Procopius well observes, that nothing could be more senseless than this sin, and upon that account deserved stoning; "for he that curseth his God, upon what God will he call to confirm his curse?" But the Hebrew word seems to import only speaking contemptuously of God.

Ver. 16. *He that blasphemeth—shall surely be put to death, &c.*] It is uncertain, whether this be a higher degree of the sin mentioned in the foregoing verse, or only a repetition of the same law, with a more express declaration of the punishment he should bear for his sin. The Jews unreasonably understand it of him alone that *expressed the name*, i. e. the most holy name of God, as they say in Sanhedrin, cap. 7. numb. 5, where Joh. a Coeh observes out of the Jerusalem Targum on Deut. xxxii. that it is thus explained, "Wo unto those that in their execrations use the holy name: which it is not lawful for the highest angel to express." But this is a piece of their superstition: the meaning undoubtedly is, that if any man reproached the Most High, he should die for it; but the mere pronouncing his holy name could be no crime, when men might swear by it, though not take it in vain (Deut. vi. 13; Exod. xx. 7).

The congregation shall—stone him.] As they were ordered to do with the present offender (ver. 14).

As well the stranger, &c.] By *stranger* may be meant a proselyte, like the Egyptian, whose offence was the occasion of this law: but the Jews extend it to Samaritans and gentiles; only they say, such were to be punished by the sword, and not by stoning.

17 ¶ And he that killeth any man shall surely be put to death.

18 And he that killeth a beast shall make it good; beast for beast.

19 And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him;

20 Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him *again*.

21 And he that killeth a beast, he shall

Ver. 17. *He that killeth any man shall surely be put to death.*] This law was given before, Exod. xxi. 12. And it is not easy to give an account why it is here repeated after the case of a blasphemer. Perhaps it was upon the occasion of the last words in the foregoing verse, "as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death." For, after the following laws, they are repeated again as a general rule (ver. 22), that no man might think it hard a stranger should be punished for blasphemy, as much as an Israelite, when in other cases the same judgment passed upon them both. Procopius Gazæus thinks a murderer is joined with a blasphemer, because they have the same mind and intention; the one desiring to destroy God, if it were possible, as the other doth his neighbour. "Therefore the law puts them together; just as, on the contrary, when it commands the love of God, it couples with it the love of our neighbour." So he.

Ver. 18.] It was incongruous, as the same Procopius speaks, to annex unto the law against murder a law against other injuries. And concerning this, see Exod. xxi. 33, 34. For the Hebrew word *behemah*, here used, signifies such domestic tame *beasts* as are there mentioned.

restore it: and he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death.

22 Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God.

23 ¶ And Moses spake to the children of Israel, that they should bring forth him that had cursed out of the camp, and stone him with stones. And the children of Israel did as the Lord commanded Moses.

Ver. 19, 20.] This law concerns only free persons, not their slaves, and hath been explained Exod. xxi. 24, 25.

Ver. 21.] This is a short repetition of the first two laws here mentioned (ver. 17, 18), to make them the more regarded.

Ver. 22. *Ye shall have one manner of law.*] In these, and in all other cases, as well as blasphemy (ver. 16), you and the stranger shall be judged by one and the same law.

For I am the Lord your God.] Who will neither favour your wickedness, nor suffer *theirs* to go unpunished; but do equal justice unto *all*. Yet the Jews, by a *stranger* here, will understand only a "proselyte of righteousness," as they call him; that is, one who had entirely embraced their religion; for such alone, they imagine, were equalled with them (see Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1, p. 468).

Ver. 23.] It appears, by this, that all the foregoing admonitions were repeated to Moses, upon the occasion of the law against blasphemy, before he proceeded to put it in execution.

Did as the Lord commanded Moses.] Executed the whole sentence pronounced by God, against the blasphemous person (ver. 14).

CHAPTER XXV.

1 The sabbath of the seventh year. 8 The jubile in the fiftieth year. 14 Of oppression. 18 A blessing of obedience. 23 The redemption of land. 29 Of houses. 35 Compassion of the poor. 39 The usage of bondmen. 47 The redemption of servants.

1 AND THE LORD spake unto Moses in mount Sinai, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say

unto them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord.

CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai.*] That is, in the wilderness of Sinai (Numb. i. 1). For they stayed almost a whole year not far from this mountain, from whence they did not remove till the twentieth day of the second month of the second year after their coming out of Egypt (see Numb. x. 11, 12). And thus the Hebrew particle *beth* is often used for *by* or *near*, as in Gen. xxxvii. 13; Josh. v. 13; and we find this expression again in the end of the next chapter, and in the conclusion of this book. Which shows that all here related was delivered to Moses in the first month of the second year after their coming out of Egypt, immediately after the tabernacle was set up (Exod. xl. 17).

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] For what follows was of universal concernment.

When ye come into the land] This law, though delivered before they left Mount Sinai, could not take place till they came into Canaan.

Then shall the land keep a sabbath] Rest from being tilled, or sown, &c. (see Exod. xxiii. 11).

Unto the Lord.] In obedience to him, and in honour of him. Some have understood the foregoing words, *When ye shall come into the land which I give you*, as if they were to begin the sabbatical year as soon as they entered into Canaan: which is very absurd; for so, not the seventh, but the first, would have been the year of rest. And that had been very inconvenient, if not destructive; the war making such great waste, no doubt, that provision would have been very scarce, if no care had been taken for the ensuing year. It is to be considered also, that the old store upon which they lived when they entered into the land of promise, was the fruit of the labour of the Canaanites, and not of the children of Israel. The meaning therefore is, that the seventh year after their entrance into Canaan, or rather, after they were settled, and had rest in it, they should let the land rest.

The only question is, when this year was to begin?

3 Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof;

4 But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard.

5 That which groweth of its own accord of

thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land.

6 And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee,

7 And for thy cattle, and for the beast that

whether in the month of Tisri (which answers to our September), which was the ancient beginning of the year; or in Nisan (answering to our March), which was made a new beginning of it, by an express law, Exod. xii. 2, the former still continuing the beginning of the year for civil things as this for sacred. Now there is great reason to think that this sabbatical year was to commence from September, when all their harvest was over, which began in March. Then they were not to sow, as they were wont to do in October, and the following months; but to stay till the return of this season the next year: for, if this year had been to begin in March, they could not have reaped the harvest of the sixth year.

Ver. 3.] Exod. xxiii. 10. But what was allowed in other years, is forbidden in this.

Ver. 4. *In the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land.*] Or, *unto the Lord*, (as we translate it before, ver. 2), who, though he gave this land to them, continued the proprietor of it (as he declares, ver. 23), and the Lord in chief, himself; of whom they held it by this tenure, that they should till it, &c. only six years together, for their own use; and in the seventh, let it lie in common, for such uses as he appointed. And it was for the honour of the Lord that they observed this law; for as the weekly Sabbath was an acknowledgment that they were his, so this sabbatical year was an acknowledgment that their land was his.

Neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard.] By this he explains what he means by letting it rest. And these two words, *sow* and *prune*, comprehend all other things that were usually done about their fields or trees, as ploughing, digging, dunging, &c. And though a *vineyard* be only mentioned, yet it is plain, by Exod. xxiii. 10, that *oliveyards* are comprehended under the same law; and these are mentioned only as examples of all other fruit-trees, which were to be left in common as these were.

Maimonides seems to be something too curious in what he saith upon this subject; for, inquiring why Moses mentions only these two things, *sowing* and *pruning*, his resolution is, that for these two, if men offended in them this year, they were punished with that scourging called *malkut*; but if they offended in any other sort of labours belonging to the culture of the fields, or of trees, they were not punished with the scourging of *malkut* (which was by a certain measure, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes), but with the scourging called *mardut*, i. e. of contumacy and rebellion, which was without number or measure. As, if a man digged or ploughed his ground; if he gathered out the stones, or dunged it, &c.; if he planted trees, or grafted, &c.; he suffered the scourging of rebellion. And more than this, he saith, it was not lawful in the seventh year to plant any tree, though it was not a fruit-tree; nor to cut off the dead branches; nor to make a smoke under them to kill the worms; nor to anoint young plants to preserve them from the bitings of birds, &c. If they did, they were liable to the scourging of *mardut*. Nay, he is so nice, as to say it was unlawful to sell to any man any instrument of husbandry in this year, as a plough, a yoke, a sieve, &c.; yet he allows them, when they

were under the oppression of the gentiles, and bound to find provision for their armies, to sow so much as would maintain them. Of which things he discourses at large, in his treatise called *Schemitta ve Jobel*, cap. 1, and cap. 7.

Ver. 5. *That which groweth of its own accord*] Either from seed which fell casually the year before, or from the old root which sprouted out again, as Maimonides expounds it in the same treatise, cap. 4, which is wholly about such things.

Of thy harvest] Of the corn scattered last harvest. He saith nothing of their gardens; which, it is probable, every man had to his own private use, and was not bound to lay them open to all.

Thou shalt not reap.] That is, saith he, not the whole field, so as to gather it into cocks, and to tread out the corn with his oxen (if any did, they were scourged with thirty-nine stripes), but they might cut down a little, in common with other persons, and shake it out, and eat it, as he there determines (sect. 2).

Neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed.] In the Hebrew the words are, “the vine of thy separation;” for it was separated this year from his dressing: and what he gathered in common with others, was not to be pressed in a wine-press, but with another instrument. The like he saith of olives, and of figs, and other things, which were to be ordered after another manner in this year than in the foregoing (sect. 23).

For it is a year of rest] This general reason is so oft repeated, to make them sensible they were no more to do any thing about their land this *seventh year*, than they were to labour upon the seventh day. But he acknowledges, that if a gentile hired land in their country, he was not bound to let it rest (sect. 29, of that chapter).

Ver. 6. *Sabbath of the land*] Here the word *Sabbath* signifies the fruit that grew in the sabbatical year; as the word *Sabbaths* is used before (ch. xxiii. 38) for the sacrifices upon the Sabbaths.

Shall be meat for you.] This explains the prohibition of reaping any corn this year, or gathering any fruit, not to be meant absolutely; but only that they should not look upon any thing that grew this year as peculiarly theirs, because it grew in their ground, but let all be common to others as well as themselves.

For thee, and for thy servant, &c.] This, and the next verse, show that all the fruits of the earth were perfectly in common this year: for the very beasts were not excluded; and therefore, much less any man that dwelt among them, though he was uncircumcised. But it is very plain, likewise, that the owner of the land and his family were not forbidden to take their share, but might gather for their daily use as well as others, only not lay up any thing separate for themselves.

Ver. 7. *For thy cattle, &c.*] For his own cattle, and for other men's: which were not to be fed with the fruits which are proper to men (as Maimonides observes in the same book, cap. 5, sect. 5); but if they came of themselves, and ate figs, for instance, they were not to be hindered. But it seems probable that

are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat.

8 ¶ And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years.

9 Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubile to sound on the tenth day of the seventh

wild beasts might be driven out of their vineyards, &c. in this year as well as others, because they made such waste as would have very much damaged the owner for the future. As for all other tame creatures, the Jews (if we may believe Maimonides, cap. 7), were so superstitiously careful they should have an equal share with themselves, that when there was no fruit any longer for the beasts in the field, they ceased to eat what they had gathered for themselves; and, if they had any thing of it left, threw it out of their houses.

Ver. 8. *Number seven sabbaths of years, &c.*] Which, put together, made forty-nine years; as it follows in the rest of this verse. They began their first account (as Maimonides there observes) from the fourteenth year after their entrance into Canaan; for they were seven years in conquering the land, and seven more in dividing to every one their portion: so that the first sabbatical year was in the one-and-twentieth, and the first jubilee in the sixty-fourth year, after they came to the land of promise; so he, cap. 10, where he observes, they numbered seventeen jubilees from that time to their captivity in Babylon, which fell out in the end of a sabbatical year, and the thirty-sixth of the jubilee.

Ver. 9. *Trumpet of the jubile*] The word *jobel* (which we translate *jubilee* in the next verse) is not in the Hebrew, but *teruah*, which, in the margin, we translate *loud of sound*: for the trumpet was blown after a different manner at this time, than upon other occasions, that every one might understand the meaning of it.

To sound] In the Hebrew the word is, *cause it to pass*, that it might be heard everywhere throughout the land. So these words may be most literally translated, *thou shalt cause to pass the trumpet loud of sound*.

Tenth day of the seventh month.] This day was very fitly chosen, that this year might begin at the same time that a general atonement was made for the sins of the whole nation: for they would be the better disposed to forgive their brethren their debts, when they craved pardon for their own.

Shall ye make the trumpet sound (or pass) throughout all your land.] This is repeated, to make them careful to awaken every one to this duty, by the sound of the trumpet at every door; there being an unwillingness in most people to part with their servants, and their lands, &c., which they had long enjoyed. And therefore, every private man, as Maimonides saith, was bound to blow with a trumpet, and make this sound nine times, that they might fulfil these words of this precept, *throughout all your land*. By this means, as R. Levi Barzelonita notes, every one was the better inclined to hearken, when he saw it was a duty incumbent on the whole country, which all were to perform.

Ver. 10. *Hallow the fiftieth year.*] Distinguish it from all other years, by doing what follows. Maimonides fancies, that these two precepts of *numbering seven sabbaths of years* (ver. 8), and of *sanctifying the fiftieth year*, were delivered only to the house of judgment; whose business, no doubt, it peculiarly was, to give notice of this year, and to cause the

month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land.

10 And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.

trumpet to be sounded, and all the following precepts to be observed (Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 10, numb. 1).

Proclaim liberty] Unto all servants, who were this year made free.

Throughout all the land] Even in all the highways, as Aben Ezra glosses, that every one might have notice.

Unto all the inhabitants] That is, to all the children of Israel who were servants; or so poor, that they had sold their estates, as it here follows. From these words the Jews gather, that after the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half-tribe of Manasseh were carried captive, jubilees ceased. They are the words of Maimonides in the forenamed treatise; for then "all the inhabitants of the land" were not in it. And therefore much more when they were all carried captive, they only numbered the rest of every seventh year without any jubilee.

It shall be a jubile] Whence this year hath the name of *jobel*, there are so many opinions, that Bochartus himself scarce knew which to follow. Josephus saith it signifies *ἐλευθερία*, "liberty;" and the LXX. and Aquila translate it *ἀφεση*, "remission," having a regard to the thing, rather than the import of the word *jobel*, which never signifies any thing of that nature. D. Kimchi tells us, that R. Akiba, when he was in Arabia, heard them call a ram by this name of *jobel*; and thence some fancy this year was so called, because it was proclaimed with trumpets of rams' horns. But what if there were no such trumpets? as Bochartus thinks there were not, these horns being not hollow. See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 43, p. 425, &c., where several other opinions are confuted. The most probable that I meet withal, is, that it was called *jobel*, from the peculiar sound which was made with the trumpet when this year was proclaimed. For the trumpet blowing for several purposes, viz., to call their assemblies together, to give notice of the moving of their camps, to excite soldiers to fight, and to proclaim this year; there was a distinct sound for all these ends, that people might not be confounded, but have a certain notice what the trumpet sounded for. And this sound mentioned before (ver. 9) was peculiarly called *jobel*, as Hottinger thinks, who considers a great many other opinions in his *Analecta*, Diss. iii. wherein he follows Joh. Forsterus, who, near a hundred years before, observed that *jobel*, which we commonly translate *trumpet* (Exod. xix. 13, and other places), doth not signify the instrument itself, but the sound that it made. And when it is used absolutely alone, it signifies this year, which was called *jobel*, from that sound which was then made; as the feast of unleavened bread was called *pesach*, from the angel passing over them when he slew the Egyptians. The opinions of the Hebrew writers about it are collected and largely represented by Josephus de Voisin (lib. i. De Jubilæo, cap. 1).

Return every man unto his possession.] Unto his field, or his house, which his poverty had forced him to sell: but now was restored to him without any price, because they were not sold absolutely, but only till this year. By which means the estates of the Israelites were so fixed, that no family could ruin

11 A jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed.

12 For it is the jubile; it shall be holy unto

you: ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field.

13 In the year of this jubile ye shall return every man unto his possession.

14 And if thou sell ought unto thy neigh-

itself or grow too rich. For this law provided against such changes, revoking once in fifty years all alienations, and setting every one in the same condition wherein he was at the first. By which means ambition was retrenched, and every man applied himself with affection to the improvement of his inheritance, knowing it could never go out of his family. And this application was the more diligent, because it was a religious duty, founded upon this law of God.

Return every man unto his family.] From which he had been estranged by being sold to another family, either by himself, or by his father, or by the court of judgment. So here are two parts of the liberty forenamed more expressly declared: their land, which was alienated, returned to the first owner; and such as were sold for servants into another family came home again to their own family, being freed from their servitude. Which was a figure of that "acceptable year of the Lord," as St. Luke calls it (ch. iv. 19), in the prophet Isaiah's language, wherein our blessed Saviour preached deliverance to all mankind. The Jews themselves are not so stupid as to think nothing further was intended, but only freedom from bodily servitude in this year of jubilee; for Abarbanel himself, in this very verse, endeavours to discover something of a spiritual happiness. For the former part of the words now mentioned, "ye shall return every man to his possession," he saith, belongs to the body; but the latter part, "and every man unto his family," belongs unto the soul, and its return to God: so several others, whom J. de Voisin produces in the forenamed book (cap. 2). And, if our Dr. Lightfoot hath made a right computation, the last year of the life of our Saviour, who, by his death, wrought an eternal redemption, and restored us to our heavenly inheritance, fell in the year of jubilee, the very last that was ever kept. For, if we count from the end of the wars of Canaan, which was seven years after they came into it (and I do not know why we should not think they began to number then, and not seven years after, as Maimonides would have it), there were just fourteen hundred years to the thirty-third of Jesus Christ, that is, just twenty-eight jubilees. And it is the confession of the old book called Zohar, as he observes, that "the Divine glory should be freedom and redemption in a year of jubilee" (see Harmony of the New Testament, sect. 59, and Usserii Chronologia Sacra, cap. 13).

Ver. 11. *A jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you.*] It is a question, whether the year of jubilee was the year following the forty-ninth year; or, the forty-ninth was the jubilee; which, reckoning the foregoing jubilee for one, was the fiftieth year. Josephus Scaliger, in his fifth book de Emend. Temporum, and several other great men, are of this last opinion, to avoid a great inconvenience, which otherwise would ensue, viz. that the forty-ninth year being the sabbatical year, in which the land was to rest, if the next year to that had been the jubilee, two sabbatical years would have come immediately one after another; for the land was to rest in the year of jubilee, as it here follows. One would have expected, therefore, that in the forty-eighth year there should have been a special promise, that the land should bring forth fruit for four years, and not for three only, as the blessing is promised every sixth year (ver. 21). Thus Jacobus Capellus reasons, in his Historia

Sacra et Exotica ad A.M. 2549. But others think this objection not to be so great as to make them depart from the letter of this law, which saith (ver. 10), "ye shall hallow the fiftieth year;" and here in this verse, "a jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you." Though a very learned man, P. Cuneus, thinks this of no great moment either way; for it is usual, in common speech, septimanam octiduum appellare (and Hospinian, in like manner, We call a week octiduum, "eight days," because we reckon utramq. Dominicam, "both the Lord's days"). And the greatest writers anciently called an *olympiad*, which contained but the space of four complete years, by the name of *Quinquennium* (see lib. i. de Republ. Judeorum, cap. 6). Yet, besides the express words of the law, the consent of the Jews sways very much the other way; for they accurately distinguish between the *shemitta*, or year of remission, and *jobel*, the year of jubilee, even then when these two solemnities succeeded each other; as I shall have occasion to observe on the next verse.

Ye shall not sow, neither reap] Because it was the sabbatical year (ver. 4, 5), as some will have it; from the observance of which they were not absolved, by its being the jubilee. But others think, as I observed, that the jubilee itself was a new sabbatical year.

Ver. 12. *For it is the jubile.*] He doth not say it is "the sabbath of the land," as he doth of the seventh year (ver. 6). Which makes for their opinion who think the jubilee was not the same with that, but a new sabbatical year; so that two years together they neither sowed nor reaped. But they that maintain the other opinion, look upon this only as a new reason why they should forbear such labour this year; because, besides that it was the sabbatical year, it was also the jubilee; a time of great joy, in regard of the liberty to which every one was restored; which made it more necessary every one should enjoy what the earth brought forth of itself, and none appropriate any thing to themselves.

It shall be holy] Because it was the Lord's sabbath (ver. 3), separate from the common employments of other years; being dedicated to the uses expressed in this law (ver. 10), which are two; manumission of servants, and restitution of men to their ancient possessions: unto which some add a third, viz. remission of debts. But the Jews are of a quite contrary opinion; that in this the year of jubilee differed from the sabbatical year—that debts were remitted in the one, but not in the other. Whence those words of Maimonides, in the treatise I have so often mentioned (cap. 10, sect. 16). "In this the sabbatical year excels the jubilee, that it remits debts, which the jubilee doth not: but the jubilee in this excels the sabbatical year, that it sets servants free, and restores possessions, which the other doth not. And the jubilee likewise restores possessions in the very beginning of the year; but the sabbatical year doth not release debts till it be ended."

Ye shall eat the increase thereof] By plucking what they needed for every day's use; but not by reaping, and gathering, and laying up in barns.

Ver. 13. *In the year of this jubile ye shall return every man unto his possession.*] This being the most remarkable thing belonging to the liberty of this year, it is therefore here again repeated. For it was so

bour, or buyest *ought* of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another:

15 According to the number of years after the jubile thou shalt buy of thy neighbour, and according unto the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee:

16 According to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price of it: for according to the number of the years of the fruits doth he sell unto thee.

famous, that the heathens themselves took notice of it; inso much, that Diodorus Siculus saith (lib. xi.), it was not lawful for the Jews τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγροῦς πωλεῖν, "to sell their own inheritances;" meaning, as Mr. Selden expounds it (Lib. De Success. ad Leges Hebr. cap. 14), to sell them quite, so as to alienate them for ever from their families; which is expressly forbidden (ver. 23). And so the Locrians, as is observed by Aristotle in his Politics, were prohibited by their laws to sell their ancient possessions (see P. Cumanus, lib. i. de Repub. Jud. cap. 4).

Many reasons are given, by learned men, for this law among the Jews (see Menochius, lib. iii. De Repub. Hebræor. Quest. 3). The most obvious is, that by this law God fixed the Jews to the land of Canaan; since all their possessions were so entailed, that the right heir of any of them could never be wholly excluded from his estate; but it would entirely return to him after a certain number of years. And, by this means also, they preserved a distinct knowledge of their several tribes and families to which they belonged; for which end their genealogies were of necessity to be carefully kept, that they might be able to prove their right to the inheritance of their ancestors. By which means, as Menochius notes, it was certainly known of what tribe and family the Messiah was when he was born. And M. Alix hath taken notice (which is worth observing), that God ordered things so, that they should have the means of preserving their genealogies, by not suffering them to continue in captivity out of their own land for the space of two whole jubilees. For they were but seventy years in Babylon; in which short time their genealogies could not be easily confounded, especially since several who saw the first temple burnt, lived to see the second begin to be rebuilt. Two other reasons are most judiciously managed by Petrus Cumanus, lib. i. De Repub. Hebr. cap. 3, to which I refer the learned reader.

Ver. 14.] As Moses took care that the wealth of some should not oppress the poverty of others, by making the foregoing law, that a poor man should not lose his land for ever; so, in buying of a poor man's land, he would not have the rich man give less for it than it was worth; no more than the poor man require more for it than its just value till the year of jubilee. The Hebrew doctors have formed a rule about this: that if a man bought any thing for a sixth part less than it was worth, or sold it for a sixth part more than it was worth, he was bound to restore that sixth part; but nothing at all if it were short of a sixth part, wherein he had damaged his neighbour. But if the difference was more than a sixth part, the buyer might rescind his contract, if the bargain was not quite finished, and require his money again. And the seller (if the damage was on his side) might at any time require the thing to be returned to him at the price for which he sold it (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 5).

17 Ye shall not therefore oppress one another: but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am the Lord your God.

18 ¶ Wherefore ye shall do my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them; and ye shall dwell in the land in safety.

19 And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety.

20 And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase:

21 Then I will command my blessing upon

Ver. 15. *According to the number of years—thou shalt buy*] They were to consider how many years were gone since the last jubilee, and consequently to purchase the profits of the remaining years till the next; for they could not, either by sale or any other contract, transfer plenum fundi dominium (as Cumanus speaks), "their full interest in the land" to any other man.

He shall sell unto thee.] He that sold the remaining term of years till the jubilee was to consider, that every sixth year there was no fruit, and therefore he should demand nothing for them; but set his price only according to the number of the other years, not reckoning those.

Ver. 16.] This is added only to make what was said before plainer, that the price should rise or fall, according as there were more or fewer years to come before the next jubilee. For example, Maimonides puts this case: if there be ten years to the jubilee, and a man buy another's field for a hundred pence; after which, the buyer having enjoyed it three years, the seller hath a mind to redeem it; he must then give to him that bought it of him seventy pence. In like manner, if the buyer have enjoyed it six years, the seller must give him forty pence.

For according to the number of the years of the fruits doth he sell unto thee.] Therefore, if a man, saith the same Maimonides (cap. 11, num. 6), sell another a field full of fruit, and after two years would redeem it, he must not demand him to restore the field as he sold it, full of fruit, because it is said here, "according to the multitude of years," or "fewness of years" (and in the foregoing verse, "according to the number of years after the jubilee"), which shows the years only were to be considered in the redemption, and not the fruits.

Ver. 17. *Ye shall not therefore oppress one another.*] The seller by demanding too much, nor the buyer by giving too little.

But thou shalt fear thy God.] For nothing could be so powerful as the fear of God to restrain them from oppression, and to preserve an equality between the land to be sold and the price to be paid.

For I am the Lord your God.] Whose land this is, and by whose favour you enjoy it.

Ver. 18. *Ye shall do my statutes.*] Which is the tenure whereby you hold this land of me.

Ye shall dwell in the land in safety.] And if you obey them, you shall not be disturbed in it by your enemies.

Ver. 19.] He encourages them in their obedience by a promise of plenty and abundance, as well as of safety and security in their possessions.

Ver. 20.] To take away all distrust of his promise, he removes an obvious objection which might arise in their minds; that they might want food, if they neither sowed nor gathered in their increase in the seventh year, as he required.

Ver. 21.] This is the answer to the doubt they

you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years.

22 And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year; until her fruits come in ye shall eat of the old store.

23 ¶ The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

24 And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

might have of wanting sustenance, that he would bless them with such a plentiful crop in the sixth year, as should be sufficient for that and for the two following years. From which Petrus Cunæus thinks the argument very strong, that there were not two sabbatical years together, one in the forty-ninth, and another in the fiftieth year; for then the earth in the sixth year should have brought forth not for three years, but for four; which was never heard of in any country. Palestine, indeed, was a country, to which God afforded an extraordinary blessing, beyond the common laws of nature; yet, since there are no testimonies of so great and frequent a miracle in the book of God, we ought not easily to believe this. Thus he, lib. i. De Repub. Heb. cap. 6. To which it may be replied, that this was not so frequent as he makes it, but only once in fifty years; and the reason why Moses here saith, *the land should bring forth fruit for three years*, and not for four, is, because he speaks only with respect to the common sabbatical years (every seventh year), not to the great sabbatical year, as they call the forty-ninth; before which, God may very well be supposed to have blessed the earth with a larger crop than in any other preceding sixth year. Besides, though it is said they should not sow in the jubilee (ver. 11), yet it is not said they might not prune their trees, as it is of other sabbatical years (ver. 4), so that they might be dressed as in other common years, to yield a plentiful increase for their support in the succeeding year.

Ver. 22. *Ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth*] Some have interpreted these words, as if they were to eat the old store till the fruits of the ninth year came in; and bring it as an argument, that the sabbatical year began in March; whereas the plain sense is, that the fruits of the eighth could not be thrashed out for food till the ninth year. And then the next words,

Until her fruits come in, ye shall eat of the old store,] Are not to be understood of the fruits of the ninth year, but of the fruits of the eighth, which were to be eaten in the ninth. Till then they were to live upon the old store; which served for two years, besides the sixth.

Ver. 23. *The land shall not be sold for ever*] Having mentioned the selling of their land (ver. 14—16), he here again enacts it should not be sold for ever: which may be called the *lex agraria* of the Jews, whereby estates were preserved in the family to which they belonged at the division of the land by Joshua: for they could not be quite cut off, as the words are in the Hebrew, which we translate *for ever*; or, as it is in the margin, *for cutting off*; so that the seller and his heirs should be cut off from it, as Mr. Selden interprets it; or, as the LXX. *ὡς βεβαίωσιν*, “by an alienation never to be rescinded;” but all estates were at the jubilee to return to their first owners, or their heirs, though they had changed possessors a hundred times, by being sold so oft. And the same law held in donations, as much as in sales; as Maimonides observes. Yet this is to be understood only

25 ¶ If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.

26 And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it;

27 Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; that he may return unto his possession.

of absolute alienation, without any mention of time; for if any man sold, without fraud, an estate to his neighbour for sixty years, it was not to return to him, or his heirs, in the year of jubilee, which came before the expiration of that term; for in the jubilee, saith he, nothing returns but that which was sold for ever (Halicot Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 11, sect. 2, and see Selden De Successionibus ad Leges Hebr. cap. 24).

For the land is mine] I reserve to myself the supreme dominion in it, and propriety of it; and have disposed of it to you on such terms as I thought fit.

For ye are strangers and sojourners] These words suggest another sense of the foregoing; that their land was God's, as he dwelt in a special manner there in the sanctuary, which was his royal palace: and they were all his tenants, who held the land of him as long as he pleased; but were no more to him than the proselytes were to them. The land was his, and not theirs; and they did but enjoy the use and the fruits of it, but had not the property (see Mr. Mede, p. 157).

Ver. 24.] If any man whose poverty had forced him to sell his land, grew afterward so rich that he was able to redeem it before the year of jubilee, this law provides he should be permitted to do it, and the buyer could not refuse it. But then this was to be done honestly and truly; he was not to borrow money of another man to redeem it; no, nor sell other land to redeem that which he had sold before, which they looked upon as a fraud to the buyer. Therefore he had this right only in case he had grown rich since the sale; otherwise he was to stay till the year of jubilee, when it returned to him for nothing. So Cunæus out of the same Maimonides (lib. i. cap. 2).

Ver. 25. *If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession,*] No man, if we may rely upon the same Maimonides, might sell his house or his field till the time of jubilee, unless poverty compelled him to do it. For it was not lawful to sell it, that he might lay up the price of it in his coffer; or exercise merchandise; or buy goods, servants, or cattle; but only buy necessary provision with it. But if any man did transgress, and employ the money otherwise, the sale notwithstanding was held to be good.

Then shall he redeem that which his brother sold,] Here is a further enlargement of this liberty; that if any of his near relations would redeem the land he had sold (though he was not able to do it himself), it should be allowed: for the design of Moses in this law was Ne paucorum opulentia quandoque ceteros opprimeret, “lest the wealth of a few should at any time oppress the rest.”

Ver. 26.] In the Hebrew it is, “his hand hath attained and found sufficiency:” which justifies the limitation the Jews put upon this (as I observed, ver. 24), that he should not have the right of redemption, unless he was grown able to repurchase it since the sale of it.

Ver. 27.] This was the manner of the redemption: they counted how many years were gone since the sale; and if there remained just so many more to the

28 But if he be not able to restore *it* to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee: and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

29 And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; *within* a full year may he redeem it.

30 And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that *is* in the walled city shall be established for ever to

him that bought it throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubilee.

31 But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee.

32 Notwithstanding the cities of the Levites, and the houses of the cities of their possession, may the Levites redeem at any time.

33 And if a man purchase of the Levites, then the house that was sold, and the city of his possession, shall go out in *the year of jubilee*: for

jubilee, then he paid the buyer half the price at which he purchased it, for its redemption. But if the number of years from the sale to the jubilee were not equal, then he deducted proportionably to the years he had enjoyed it since the purchase, and gave him as much as the years remaining till the jubilee were worth. And if he sold a field at first for a hundred pounds, suppose, and he that bought it sold it to another for two hundred, he was to redeem it, as Maimonides saith, according to what was first given for it, because it is said here, he shall restore the overplus "unto the man to whom he sold it." In like manner, if a man sold a field for a hundred pounds, which in the hands of the buyer so improved, that it might be sold for two hundred, the redemption was to be according to what was first paid for it. But if he sold it for two hundred pounds, and it was grown so much worse that it was worth but a hundred, it was to be esteemed in the redemption according to the present value. His reason is, because "the condition of him that sold his inheritance was always to be bettered; and the condition of him that bought it to be made worse."

Ver. 28.] If he could not pay him the money it cost him, according to the forementioned proportion, nor any of his kindred redeem it for him, then he that bought it was to enjoy all the profits of it till the jubilee.

In *the jubilee it shall go out*,] The purchaser was to quit his possession of the land: and he that sold it enjoy it again for nothing. And whosoever he was that possessed the land at the jubilee, though it had been sold never so often before it came to him, the jubilee ejected him, and restored the land to the first owner, or his posterity. For no man, as was before observed, could, either by sale or any other contract, transfer the full dominion of his land to another man; so that it should be his for ever.

Ver. 29. This verse and the next make a great difference between houses in walled cities, and lands in the country. If such houses were sold, men could not redeem them from the purchaser when they pleased, but must do it within the compass of a year, or else they were barred for ever; and the year of jubilee would not relieve them.

Within a full year may he redeem it,] He might redeem it the next day after he had sold it, if he pleased, paying the full price that was given for it; and if he that sold it was dead, his son might redeem it: or if he that bought it was dead, it might be redeemed from his son, if done within the year; but his kindred could not redeem it, nor might he borrow money to redeem it, nor redeem it by parcels: but he might sell some of his goods to redeem it. So Maimonides, in the forementioned treatise (cap. 12), where he saith, If a man sold a house in such a city, and the jubilee fell out in the year of sale, it did not restore the house to the seller: but continued his that bought it; unless within a year from the day it was sold it was redeemed.

Ver. 30.] The reasons for this law seem to be such

as these; that by this means (as Menochius observes, lib. iii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 11), cities might be better filled with inhabitants; who were invited thither, when they had hope of a settlement there. And secondly, that men might not rashly and easily part with their houses, which they could never recover after they had let one year slip, which was allowed for their redemption. And thirdly, tribes and families were not distinguished by houses they had in cities; from whence it was that the Levites might possess them, who otherwise are said to have no possession in the land of Canaan. And lastly, perhaps it was intended by this law, that proselytes who were not of the Hebrew nation, and could have no fields or vineyards, might yet have something of their own stable and certain: and not be forced always to want a perpetual possession.

It shall not go out in the jubilee,] They say in the Gemara of Bava kama, that the houses in Jerusalem were not subject to this law; because that city, as they pretend, did not belong to any certain tribe (see L'Empereur upon that book, cap. 7, p. 172).

Ver. 31.] The quite contrary law is made for country houses, which might be redeemed at any time; and if they were not, returned to their first owners at the jubilee. The reason of this difference is very plain; for the houses in walled cities were their own proper goods; but in the country they were accounted part of the land, which was God's. And so these words are to be understood, they "shall be counted as the fields in the country," that is, fall under the same law with the lands (ver. 23).

Ver. 32. *Notwithstanding the cities of the Levites*,] Of which we have an account, Numb. xxxv. 2. These are excepted from the foregoing law concerning houses in walled cities; as it here follows.

The houses of the cities of their possession, may the Levites redeem] Not any of their houses; but only those which they possessed in the forty-eight cities assigned to them for their habitations. If they purchased houses in any other places, they were subject to the same law with other men (ver. 29). Inasmuch, that a Levite, who was heir to his mother, who was an Israelite, was to redeem as other Israelites did, and not after the manner of the Levites; for the Levites had a right different from other men only in the "cities of their possessions;" as Maimonides observes in the forecited book (cap. 13). But if an Israelite was heir to his mother, a Levite, he redeemed as the Levites did, though he were not of that tribe; because the right of their redemption "was tied to the places, and not to the persons;" as he there speaks.

Ver. 33.] If he did not redeem it before, it was to come back to him for nothing in this year. But there is another translation in the margin, which the first words will bear, viz. "If one of the Levites redeem them." Though he was not near of kin (ver. 25), yet any Levite might redeem any of these houses:

the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the children of Israel.

34 But the field of the suburbs of their cities may not be sold; for it is their perpetual possession.

35 ¶ And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: *yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner*; that he may live with thee.

36 Take thou no usury of him, or increase:

but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee.

37 Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.

38 I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God.

39 ¶ And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant:

however, they were to be restored to that tribe at the jubilee.

For the houses of the cities] It is plain by this, that in the foregoing words he speaks of the *houses*, and not of the *cities* themselves.

Are their possession] They were of the same nature with the land that other tribes had; which could not be alienated for ever. For they having no other possessions that could be sold, but houses, it was reason these houses should return to their owners at the jubilee, as other men's possessions did (ver. 10).

Ver. 34. *But the field*] See Numb. xxxv. 4, 5.

May not be sold] As their houses might be; but if any man bought them, the bargain was immediately void. The tradition among the Jews (as Maimonides says in the same place), was, that *not be sold* in this place, signifies *not be changed*; so as to turn a suburb into a field, or a field into a suburb; but fields, suburbs, and cities, were to continue perpetually in the same state.

For it is their perpetual possession.] Their fields were to be always in their own hands. And the reason why houses might be sold, when the fields could not, seems to be this: because the houses belonged to particular Levites, who might alienate them for a time, and not suffer much by it; but the fields of the suburbs were common to the whole body of the Levites, who would have been undone if they had wanted pasture for their flocks, which were all their subsistence. Some indeed fancy that these suburbs were enclosed, and every family of them had its several portion; but as there is no proof of this, so, had it been thus, such families could not, without great inconvenience, have wanted their lands for the feeding of their flocks.

Ver. 35. *If thy brother be waxen poor,*] In the Hebrew it is, "When his hand faileth;" so that he is not able by his labour to support himself and his family.

Then thou shalt relieve him:] By bestowing alms upon him (as the Jews interpret it), not by lending him money; though the following words seem to incline this way (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6).

Yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner;] By a *stranger* they understand a proselyte of righteousness, and by a *sojourner* a proselyte of the gate; as Mr. Selden there observes, out of Jarchi and Abarinel, p. 694. They say Hyrcanus was the first that began *ἐνοσιτροφείν*, "to entertain strangers of other countries," by building hospitals for their reception.

That he may live with thee.] Have a comfortable subsistence by the relief of charitable people; for every Jew, they say, was bound to contribute something towards it; and this was to prevent their selling themselves, as some did, through extreme poverty (ver. 39).

Ver. 36. *Take thou no usury of him, or increase.*] Though these are promiscuously used, yet the next verse seems here to expound *usury* to signify that which is taken for money; and *increase* that which is

taken for corn, fruits, or goods. They that would see more of these two words, *nesek* and *tarbith*, may consult Salmasius De Usuris, where he hath largely discoursed of them. I shall only further observe, that this precept follows the other of relieving poor people by alms very fitly; because it is as great a charity unto some to lend them money without usury, as it is to give freely unto others (see notes on Exod. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 19).

But fear thy God:] Lest he that is so good to thee shall punish thee for thy inhumanity towards the poor; of whom he hath a care as well as thee.

That thy brother may live with thee.] This is repeated, to show that by these laws God intended to provide for the poor such a comfortable subsistence in their own country, that they might not be tempted to forsake it, and therewith perhaps forsake their religion.

Ver. 37.] Some thought, if they lent money freely they might receive more than they lent of other things; therefore, the latter clause of this verse was added, to prevent such oppressions as St. Jerome mentions; who says, some would lend a neighbour ten bushels of corn, suppose, in winter, to receive fifteen bushels for it the next harvest.

Ver. 38. *I am the Lord your God, &c.*] Who have obliged you with far greater blessings than I command you to bestow upon others.

To give you the land of Canaan,] Under such covenants as have been mentioned.

To be your God.] To preserve you in the possession of it in peace and plenty, if you keep these covenants (ver. 18, 19).

Ver. 39. *If thy brother—be sold unto thee;*] Some were sold by the court of judgment, when they had committed theft, and were not able to make satisfaction; of whom the Hebrews interpret that place, Exod. xxi. 2, &c. Others were sold by their parents (ver. 7, 8, of that chapter). But others sold themselves, being reduced to great poverty, notwithstanding the alms that had been bestowed upon them, and the money or goods that had been freely lent them. And of such the Hebrew doctors understand these words; and say, it was not lawful for a man to sell himself till his poverty was extreme, and he had nothing at all left, but must preserve his life by the price which was given for him. Thus Maimonides, in these words: "A man might not sell himself to lay up the money which was given for him; nor to buy goods; nor to pay his debts; but merely that he might get bread to eat. Neither was it lawful for him to sell himself, as long as he had so much as a garment left." See Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7, where he observes, that the court of judgment might not sell a thief of their nation to any but to a Hebrew; not to a proselyte of either sort; much less to a mere gentile. But if a Hebrew sold him to a proselyte, or to a gentile (which he was admonished not to do), the bargain was good, but he was to be redeemed by his kindred, or by the people; as it here follows, ver. 48, 49. Which other

40 *But as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee :*

41 *And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return,*

42 *For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen.*

43 *Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour; but shalt fear thy God.*

44 *Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.*

45 *Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession.*

46 *And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever:*

people imitated, who derived their laws from Moses; particularly the ancient Indians (as Huetius observes out of Diodorus) whose philosophers commanded that none of their nation should submit themselves to servitude (Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 6).

Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant:] As a slave which they bought of other nations, or took in their wars; over whom they had an absolute dominion (as they had over their goods, or cattle), and might bequeath them and their children to their sons and posterity for ever (ver. 45, 46), or sell them and their children at their pleasure.

Ver. 40. *But as an hired servant,]* They were to treat him gently; as they did those who let out their service for wages, for a certain time, and then were at their own disposal again.

He shall be with thee,] Some of the Jews have carried this very far in speculation. For thus they gloss upon this place in Jalkut: "Let him be with thee in meat and drink; so that thou do not eat bread of fine flour, and he of bran; nor thou drink old wine, and he new; nor thou lie on a soft bed, and he upon straw." But it is not likely that this was their practice.

Shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee:] Beyond which time it was not lawful to keep him in service: for in the very beginning of this year, all such servants were immediately dismissed. Which made the year of jubilee such a time of joy, that for nine days together, before it began, these servants kept a kind of Saturnalia, in prospect of their approaching happiness. For, as Maimonides saith in the latter end of the tenth chapter of Schemitta ve Jobel, from the beginning of the year until the day of atonement, "Servants were neither dismissed, nor yet served their masters, but they did eat, and drink, and made merry; wearing garlands on their heads. And when the day of atonement came, the Sanhedrin commanding the trumpet to be sounded, all servants immediately went whither they pleased; as lands were restored to their first owners."

Ver. 41. *Then shall he depart from thee,]* His master to whom he was sold might keep him till the jubilee: whereas he that was sold by the court of judgment might go free, if he pleased, in the seventh year of release (Exod. xxi. 2).

Both he and his children:] He that bought a servant of the court of judgment, was bound to maintain his wife and children, if he had any, with meat, drink, and clothes; and yet they were not bound to serve him: much less did they remain servants, when their father's and mother's servitude was at an end; as Mr. Selden observes in the forenamed place: and therefore it was much more reasonable in this case that he and his children should go out together.

Shall return unto his own family,] From which he was gone, while he remained a servant.

Unto the possession of his fathers] If any was befallen him since his servitude.

Ver. 42. *For they are my servants, &c.]* A good reason why they should not be treated like slaves: because they were all redeemed by God out of the slavery of Egypt into a state of perfect liberty.

They shall not be sold] Not publicly, and in the common place of sale, or in the street, but privately, and in a way of honour (as the Jewish phrase is). So Maimonides, alleged by Mr. Selden, in the forenamed place, p. 705. But the plainest sense is, they should not be used like slaves, while they continued in servitude; for though they had the use of them in all bodily employments, yet their bodies or persons were not theirs, and therefore they might not use them as they pleased. So it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 43. *Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour,]* As Pharaoh did over all the Israelites (Exod. i. 13, 14), or as the Israelites were wont to do over their servants of other nations; but gently use their service in such employments as would not be unworthy of them if they were freemen.

But shalt fear thy God,] Remembering that they were all slaves in Egypt, and delivered by his wonderful goodness; which was thankfully and reverently to be acknowledged.

Ver. 44. *Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids—shall be of the heathen]* If they would have any slaves, they were to be such of other nations, as were sold to them, or were taken by them in their wars. Whence the very name of *mancipia* came, as the Roman lawyers tell us, *quasi manu capti*: and the name of *servus* also, which signifies one who was saved, when he might have been killed.

Round about you:] He doth not say in the midst of thee: for they were bound to destroy the people of Canaan.

Of them shall ye buy bondmen] If they had need of their service. But it does not appear that they had any great number of them; nor had they any great occasion for them, being themselves so laborious, and breeding their children to look after their land and their cattle (in which their estates chiefly consisted), and being also so very numerous in a small country.

Ver. 45. *Of the children of the strangers—of them shall ye buy,]* Whether they were perfect proselytes by circumcision, or only proselytes of the gate (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 8), their children were not exempted from being made slaves, if they sold them to the Hebrews.

Of their families] If any of their family or kindred, as the LXX. translate it, had begat children in Judea, and would sell them, the Jews might make a purchase of them.

They shall be your possession,] Become your proper goods, and continue with you as your lands do, unless they have their liberty granted to them. And the first sort of proselytes obtained it three ways; either by purchasing it themselves, or by their friends;

but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour.

47 ¶ And if a sojourner or stranger wax rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of the stranger's family :

48 After that he is sold he may be redeemed again ; one of his brethren may redeem him :

49 Either his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or any that is nigh of kin unto him of his family may redeem him ; or if he be able, he may redeem himself.

50 And he shall reckon with him that bought

or by being dismissed by their master, by a writing under his hand ; or in the case mentioned in Exod. xxi. 26, where the loss of an eye, or a tooth, by the master's severity, serve only for examples of other maims, which procured such a servant his liberty. But the second sort of proselytes did not obtain their liberty, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors, by this last means, but only by the first two. And the year of jubilee gave no servants of either sort their liberty.

Ver. 46. *Ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children*] To whom they might bequeath the very bodies of them and their children.

To inherit them for a possession] That they might have the same power and dominion over them, that they had over their lands, goods, or cattle.

They shall be your bondmen] Not have the benefit of the year of jubilee, but be your slaves as long as they live ; unless they, by any of the means before mentioned, obtained their liberty.

Ye shall not rule one over another with rigour] As they did over the slaves before named ; whose masters (as the Hebrew doctors say) were not bound to find them food and raiment ; and besides, might treat them with the greatest severity, provided they did not strike out an eye, &c.

Ver. 47. *If a sojourner or stranger*] The Chaldee interprets these words, "an uncircumcised proselyte." And so Maimonides says, they signify one who hath undertaken the precepts of the sons of Noah ; whom they also call, in their books, *the pious among the gentiles* (see Selden, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3, p. 153).

Wax rich by thee] As many of them did by trading, though they could not purchase land.

Thy brother that dwelleth by him wax poor] Which was a case, Moses supposes before (ver. 35), might happen.

Sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner] So, I observed before (ver. 39), they might do, though they were admonished not to do it ; and the bargain held good, though they sold themselves to a gentile. So Onkelos here translates it, "If thy brother sell himself to an Aramite," i. e. to an idolater ; for idolatry was thought to have sprung first from them ; Terah and Nahor being Aramites, who were the first idolaters mentioned in the holy Scripture.

Or to the stock of the stranger's family] To one that sprung out of the family of a proselyte ; who, though now incorporated into the Jewish nation, yet, being originally of a stranger's stock, was not to have the privilege to keep a Hebrew sold to him from the benefit of redemption.

Ver. 48. *After that he is sold*] And actually in the possession of a stranger.

He may be redeemed] The Hebrews understand this, as if some of his kindred were bound to redeem

him from the year that he was sold to him unto the year of jubilee : and the price of his sale shall be according unto the number of years, according to the time of an hired servant shall it be with him.

51 *If there be yet many years behind*, according unto them he shall give again the price of his redemption out of the money that he was bought for.

52 And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubilee, then he shall count with him, and according unto his years shall he give him again the price of his redemption.

53 *And as a yearly hired servant shall he be*

him ; or, if they did not, he was to be redeemed at the charge of the country ; and that, though he sold himself a second time, after he had been redeemed. But if he sold himself a third time, they looked upon him as unworthy of redemption, unless it were merely to save his life (see Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7). But the fifty-fourth verse seems to suggest, that they were not bound to redeem him ; though they might, if they pleased, and his master could not refuse it.

One of his brethren may redeem him] This Redeemer (saith R. Bechai) is the Messiah, the Son of David, of the tribe of Judah : which I mention to show, that the Jews thought there was something more Divine couched under this law of the jubilee (as I observed, ver. 10), than the very letter of it imported. Though the truth is, they wretchedly mistook the business of the Messiah : for the same R. Bechai (speaking of this section of the law) saith, "It contains a sign and a hope to Israel of redemption from the captivity of the four monarchies ;" as if the Messiah should have nothing to do, but to put them in possession of their own country, and to make them lords of the world.

Ver. 49.] Here the persons are named by whom his redemption might be made ; which, in short, was by any man of his family.

He may redeem himself] If, after his sale, an estate fell to him, whereby he became able to redeem his liberty.

Ver. 50.] That no injury might be done to his master, they were to compute how long he had served him, and how long he had still to serve, and what price was paid for him ; and then, according to the number of years gone and to come, he was to make his demands : which is the meaning of the following words, "And the price of his sale shall be according to the number of years."

According to the time of an hired servant] The labour and service that he had done him was to be valued, as they would do that of a hireling (who wrought for so much by the day or the year), and deducting that from the price which was given for him, the remainder was the price of this redemption.

Ver. 51.] If he had served but a few years, and there were many to come before the jubilee ; then there was less to be deducted from what his master gave for him, and the price of his redemption was higher. But if there remained "but few years unto the year of jubilee" (as it follows in the next verse), then less was to be given for his redemption, because he had had his service a long time.

Ver. 53. *As a yearly hired servant*] His master was to treat him as a hired servant, who let out his service for wages by the year ; and that both with respect to the price of his redemption, and to his usage

with him: *and the other* shall not rule with rigour over him in thy sight.

54 And if he be not redeemed in these years, then he shall go out in the year of jubilee, both he, and his children with him.

while he remained in his service: as appears by the next words.

The other shall not rule with rigour over him] Use him harshly and severely: for one Israelite was not permitted to use another in that manner (ver. 43), and therefore much less was it to be suffered from a stranger.

In thy sight.] If they observed any such rigorous usage, they were to endeavour to get it remedied by the authority of the magistrate.

Ver. 54. *He be not redeemed in these years, &c.*] If neither his kindred nor country redeemed him, nor he was able to redeem himself (ver. 49), from the time he was sold to the year of jubilee, he was to stay till then; when he went out, as others did, without paying any thing for his liberty. By which it is evident that he had not the benefit of the seventh year of release, as Hebrew servants had who served Hebrew masters. For it had been unequal, if Hebrews sold to proselytes had been discharged from their service so soon,

55 For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.

when the children of proselytes sold to Hebrews (ver. 45) were to be their inheritance for ever. It was more reasonable (and therefore so here enacted), that the Hebrews sold to proselytes should not be free till the year of jubilee, unless they were redeemed by themselves or their friends. By which law also they were made more careful not to sell themselves to strangers.

He, and his children with him.] It seems a proselyte was bound, when he bought a Hebrew servant, to maintain his family while he served him; as the Hebrews were bound to do, when they bought one of their own nation (ver. 31).

Ver. 55.] He would not have them serve with rigour nor beyond the year of jubilee, because they were his servants by a peculiar title, being redeemed by him from the Egyptian bondage, where they were held a long time in cruel servitude (ver. 38).

I am the Lord your God.] Your sovereign, who will be ever kind to you, while you serve and obey me.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 Of idolatry. 2 Religiousness. 3 A blessing to them that keep the commandments. 14 A curse to those that break them. 40 God promiseth to remember them that repent.

I YE shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image, neither

shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it: for I am the LORD your God.

CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *Ye shall make you no idols*] This precept hath been often mentioned: but being now to enforce all his precepts by the most solemn promises and threatenings, he repeats the principal thing upon which all depended, which was, that they should keep close to the worship of him, the only God, and abhor all idolatry, which he knew would corrupt their manners.

The Hebrew word *elilim* hath been observed before (ch. xix. 4), to express contempt; signifying the *idols* (as we translate it) which the heathen worshipped, to be mere empty vanities, things of naught, as we speak; and therefore to be rejected with disdain, rather than any way regarded.

Nor graven image.] The Hebrew word *pesel* signifies the image of any thing hewn out of wood or stone (see Exod. xx. 4). These images the gentiles did not worship, till they were dedicated and consecrated with certain rites and ceremonies (which were very various, according to the difference of the deities, and the superstitions of several countries), by which consecration they imagined their gods were invited to be present in these images and statues; otherwise they were not so stupid as to worship wood and stone.

Neither rear you up a standing image.] The Hebrew word *matseboth*, is translated by the LXX. *στύβη*, "a pillar," as we also translate it in the margin. And if we translate it *statue* or *standing image*, we are not to understand by it the figure of a man, or of any other creature; but, as the Hebrews seem rightly to take it for any work, an altar, for instance, which is erected and set up for sacred assemblies to be held thereat, though they be to the true God. So Maimonides (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et

Gent. cap. 6), who saith, this was the custom among idolaters, to erect such statues to their gods. And so Pausanias saith (in his Achaica), that in ancient time among the Greeks universally, *ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ ἰδοὶ τιμὰς θεῶν*, "rude stones, instead of images, had Divine honours paid to them" (see Maimonides De Cultu Stell. et Plan. cap. 6, sect. 8). These were the most ancient monuments of all other: and being plain and simple, might be thought to be less tempting and inviting, than those images which had the figure of men, or other creatures; yet, even these God forbids to his people, because he would have no representation of him whatsoever, though it might seem to have no danger in it. These were they which the Greeks called *βατεῖλια* (see upon Gen. xxviii. 19, and Selden De Diis Syris, Syntag. 2, cap. 1).

Neither—any image of stone] There was greater reason they should not set up *Eben Meshkith*, which signifies *carved* or *figured* stones that had pictures cut in it, as the Hebrews understand it (see Maimonides in the place before named, and Dionys. Vossius's notes upon him). And Mr. Selden observes, also, it was unlawful to set up these in *their land* (as Moses here speaks), though it were without the temple; and it was no more permitted to a proselyte than to an Israelite. If any man did make such statues, he was beaten.

Possibly this may signify such images as were common among the Egyptians in aftertimes; which were not representations of their gods, but were full of symbols and hieroglyphics, expressing some of the perfections of their gods. These God would as little allow among his people as any of the former; such caution he used to prevent this sort of idolatry, by *image-worship*.

2 ¶ Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord.

3 ¶ If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments, and do them;

4 Then I will give you rain in due season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit.

5 And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time: and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely.

6 And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid: and I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land.

To bow down unto it:] Though they did not worship it, but only worship God before it.

I am the Lord your God:] Who admit of no such things where I am worshipped (Exod. xx. 4).

Ver. 2.] See ch. xix. 30, where there is the same precept: which seems to be here repeated, because, if they kept his Sabbaths, they would preserve them from idolatry, being appointed for the worship of the Creator of all things; especially if they had such a sense of his Divine majesty as wrought reverence in them, even to his sanctuary.

Ver. 3. *If ye walk in my statutes,]* If the regard you have to my majesty make you obedient to my laws.

Ver. 4. *Rain in due season,]* Here follow the promises of all things that men naturally most desire for their happy living here in this world. And first he assures them they should have fruitful seasons, which depended upon rain in due time (Jer. v. 24). For Canaan was not a country like Egypt, which was watered and made fertile by the overflowing of their river; but without rain was quite barren.

The land shall yield her increase,] Corn for the use of men; and grass for the cattle.

The trees of the field shall yield their fruit,] Which was very various, every one knows, such as figs, pomegranates, dates, apples, &c. which he promises they should never want.

Ver. 5. *Your threshing shall reach unto the vintage,]* This is a promise of such plenty of corn, that before they could have reaped it all, and thrashed it out, the vintage would be ready, and call for their labour about it; and before they could have pressed out their wine, it would be time to sow again: as much as to say, they should have such abundance, that they should have scarce time enough to receive and lay up one blessing before another came upon them.

Ye shall eat your bread to the full,] Have no want of any sort of provision (which is comprehended under the name of bread), but as much as you can desire: which promise may seem to have a peculiar regard to the command lately given, ch. xxv. 4, 11, though there he took care to secure them by a special promise, that they should not want in those years (ver. 20, 21), and therefore much less in any other.

Dwell in your land safely,] Plenty would have been little satisfaction to them, if they had been in danger to lose it, or to be disturbed in it; and therefore he promises to defend and protect them in the secure enjoyment of it (see ch. xxv. 18, 19).

Ver. 6. *I will give peace in the land,]* There shall be no insurrections or seditions in your country, which are wont to arise from poverty and discontent: for this seems to relate to peace among themselves; as

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7 And ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword.

8 And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight: and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword.

9 For I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you, and establish my covenant with you.

10 And ye shall eat old store, and bring forth the old because of the new.

11 And I will set my tabernacle among you: and my soul shall not abhor you.

12 And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people.

the latter end of the verse, to freedom from the desolations their enemies might make among them.

None shall make you afraid:] It is a promise to preserve them from housebreakers and robbers.

I will rid evil beasts out of the land,] Which (as it will appear from ver. 22) made lamentable havoc when they increased, and were let loose upon them: but these God promises to extirpate, if they would be obedient, either by hindering their breed, or making them devour one another, or driving them out of their own country.

Neither shall the sword go through your land,] Their enemies should not be able to penetrate their country, to make any ravage there.

Ver. 7.] This supposes their neighbours might invade their country, but should fail in their attempt, and be driven away with shame.

Ver. 8. *Five of you shall chase an hundred, &c.]* That is, a few shall be too hard for a great multitude; as it proved in the conquest of Canaan: insomuch that Joshua saith (ch. xxiii. 10), "One man of you shall chase a thousand." Which was fulfilled in the days of Gideon, who, with three hundred men, put to flight a vast army (Judg. vii. 22).

Your enemies shall fall before you,] Which commonly made a greater slaughter in their flight than was made in the battle.

Ver. 9. *I will have respect unto you,]* The reason of which great success (as well as of the plenty before mentioned), he would make them sensible, was God's great kindness and favour towards them, as the reward of their obedience. This Joshua most thankfully acknowledges, ch. xxiii. 9.

Multiply you,] Make you a populous, and consequently a powerful nation.

Establish my covenant with you,] Keep it inviolably, and most certainly perform it (see Gen. vi. 18).

Ver. 10. *Ye shall eat old store,]* Have a great deal of old corn left when the new is come in.

Bring forth the old,] Have so much of it left, as to want room for it when the new is to be laid up.

Ver. 11. *I will set my tabernacle among you:]* This is the great promise of all, that his tabernacle, wherein he dwelt among them, should remain and abide with them: for it was set already among them; but now he promises it should be fixed: that is, his Divine presence should continue with them.

My soul shall not abhor you,] I will not cast you off, because of your offences; for which I have appointed an expiation.

Ver. 12. *I will walk among you,]* Conduct you from place to place, all the time you are in this wilderness. For he dwelling in the tabernacle, in the cloud of glory which covered it; when that cloud was taken

13 *I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the bands of your yoke, and made you to go upright.*

14 ¶ But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments;

15 And if ye shall despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgments, so that ye will not do all my commandments, *but that ye break my covenant:*

16 I also will do this unto you; I will even appoint over you terror, consumption, and the

burning ague, that shall consume the eyes, and cause sorrow of heart: and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it.

17 And I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slain before your enemies: they that hate you shall reign over you; and ye shall flee when none pursueth you.

18 And if ye will not yet for all this hearken unto me, then I will punish you seven times more for your sins.

19 And I will break the pride of your power; and I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass:

up, the ark presently moved to go before them, and led them to the next station, where they should pitch their tents, Numb. x. 11, 12 (see Exod. xxv. 8). This is given as the reason why they should keep their camp from all impurities (see Deut. xxiii. 12—14).

Will be your God.] Bring you to the land of Canaan; and there continue with you, and bless you as my peculiar people.

Ver. 13. *I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth]* I will not leave my own work imperfect; but as I delivered you from the Egyptian slavery, so I will continue to preserve your liberty and happiness.

That ye should not be their bondmen;] Remain any longer their slaves, as they intended to make you for ever.

I have broken the bands of your yoke,] When you could not deliver yourselves, I set you free from the heavy burdens which oppressed you.

Made you go upright.]) They were so loaded with insupportable burdens in Egypt, that they could not look up, but hung down their heads with heaviness: till God, by setting them free, made them go out from thence, not with dejected, but with cheerful countenances. For that is the meaning of making them *go upright*: as freemen, not bowed down with oppression, but lifting up their heads for joy at their deliverance (see Exod. xiv. 8).

Ver. 14.] After the promise of these extraordinary blessings, as the reward of their obedience, he threatens them with as extraordinary plagues and calamities, if they were disobedient. And as nothing moves us more powerfully than hope of some good, or fear of some evil; so there are no greater blessings in this world than those which God's promises gave them hope to enjoy, nor greater evils than those of which his threatenings put them in fear. But such is the Divine goodness, he always offers mercy before he proceeds to judgment, and mingles judgment with mercy, before he proceeds in rigour of justice. Which will appear in the following threatenings.

Ver. 15. *If ye shall despise my statutes,]* They were not thus wicked at the first; but disobedience to God's commands (mentioned in the foregoing verse) proceeded to a contemptuous neglect of them; and that in time to an abhorrence of them.

So that ye will not do all my commandments,] Though often admonished by his prophets; whose messages they not only rejected, but slighted and despised.

But that ye break my covenant:] By forsaking him, and falling to idolatry. For that was the principal thing in the covenant, that they should have no other God, but him alone.

Ver. 16. *I also will do this unto you:]* I will alter the method of my providence towards you.

I will even appoint over you] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, *upon you*; causing the following diseases to seize upon them (as the phrase signifies) and arrest

them; that they might feel the heavy displeasure of Him, whose laws they set at naught.

Terror, consumption, and the burning ague,] It is not certain what diseases are comprehended under these words; especially the first, *bebalah*, which we translate *terror*. But, coming from a word importing *haste* and precipitancy, I take it to signify the *falling sickness*; whereby people are so suddenly surprised, that they sometimes fall into the fire by which they sit. The other two words, probably, are rightly translated. For the next *sachepheth* is by Kimchi and a great many others understood to signify a *consumption*, or a *hectic fever*; though R. Solomon and some others seem to take it for a *dropsy*; for he says it is a disease that puffs up the flesh, or (as David de Pomis makes it to break out in blotches (see Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 18). As for the last word, *chaddachal*, it coming from a word denoting *great heat*, may well be translated a *burning fever*.

Consume the eyes:] Make you look ghastly.

Cause sorrow of heart:] Take away all the comfort of life.

Ye shall sow your seed in vain,] Next to bodily sickness, he threatens them with the incursions of their enemies; which was a higher punishment than the former, according to that of David, it is better to fall into the hands of the Lord, than into the hands of men.

Here also it is observable, he doth not threaten the worst that their enemies might do to them; but first, that they should carry away their harvest, and make a scarcity among them; and in the next verse, speaks of delivering them to be slain by them.

Ver. 17. *I will set my face against you,]* Be extremely angry with you (see ch. xvii. 10).

Ye shall be slain before your enemies:] The neighbouring nations oftentimes made great slaughter of them, and conquered them; as we find in the book of Judges, and in the beginning of the first book of Samuel.

They that hate you shall reign over you:] And grievously oppressed them (Judges iv. 3, vi. 2, &c.). This made them very contemptible; and was a just punishment of their contempt of God's laws.

Ye shall flee when none pursueth you.]) Lose all your courage; directly opposite to the promise, ver. 7, 8.

Ver. 18. *If ye will not yet for all this hearken]* If by these sore punishments they were not reclaimed from their idolatrous practices, he threatens to send greater.

Then I will punish you seven times more] The number *seven* is used for an indefinite multitude, and therefore here signifies a great increase of their plagues; which, by their continued provocations, became more and more grievous than in former ages.

Ver. 19. *I will break the pride of your power:]* That power wherein you glory. Which some understand of the *sanctuary*; which in the days of Eli was for-

20 And your strength shall be spent in vain : for your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruits.

21 ¶ And if ye walk contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me ; I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins.

22 I will also send wild beasts among you, which shall rob you of your children, and de-

stroy your cattle, and make you few in number ; and your *high ways* shall be desolate.

23 And if ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary unto me ;

24 Then will I also walk contrary unto you, and will punish you yet seven times for your sins.

25 And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of *my covenant* : and

saken of the *ark of God's strength* (as the Psalmist calls it). 1 Sam. iv. 10, 11. But it seems rather to relate to their numerous forces, which at the first were everywhere victorious ; but, after sundry defeats in foregoing times, were in the days of Saul reduced to such straits, that they hid themselves in caves, and pits, and thickets, &c. and there was not a sword or a spear to be found in any of their hands (save Saul's and Jonathan's) when they should have fought with their enemies (1 Sam. xiii. 6, 7, 22).

I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass : The one, he means, should afford no rain, and the other, for want of moisture, bring forth no fruit ; which must needs make a sore famine among them.

Ver. 20.] This is a further description of that calamity ; when, after all their labour in ploughing and sowing their land, or digging and dunging their trees, they brought forth nothing for their sustenance. We read in Scripture of such famines, wherein man and beast were ready to perish ; particularly 1 Kings xvii. 1, 12, xviii. 15 ; 2 Kings viii. 1.

Ver. 21. *If ye walk contrary unto me,*] Go on in your idolatrous courses, directly contrary to my commands (ver. 1).

Will not hearken unto me ;] Be obedient to the admonitions of his prophets, whom he sent to call them to repentance.

I will bring seven times more plagues upon you] As their sins increased, so did their plagues : for these that follow are more dreadful than the foregoing. And it was a high aggravation of their sins, that they would take no warning by the severe punishments which God inflicted upon their forefathers. This augmented his plagues upon succeeding generations ; which, as Dr. Jackson speaks, usually run by the *scale of sevens* ; so that if we call the literal meaning to a strict arithmetical account, these later plagues were *nine-and-forty times* heavier than the former. But it is most likely, a certain number is put for an uncertain ; yet denoting a very great increase of their punishments, beyond what had been in preceding times.

It ought to be observed, that there is in the margin another rendering of the first words of this verse ("If ye walk contrary to me"), which some follow ; "If ye walk at all adventures with me ;" that is, live carelessly, as if you had no regard at all to me ; I will have as little regard to you, or concern for you. But the ancient translations go the other way.

Ver. 22. *I will also send wild beasts, &c.*] If the terrible *famine* would not work upon their stubborn hearts, no more than the forenamed *sicknesses and wars* (ver. 16, 17, 19, 20), then he threatens they and their cattle should be devoured by wild beasts ; the principal of which were lions, unto which the depopulation and devastation of countries are ascribed in Scripture : particularly in the prophet Jeremiah (ch. ii. 15, iv. 7), where the Assyrians and Nebuchadnezzar are therefore compared to lions, because by those fierce beasts countries were sometimes laid desolate ; man and beasts being destroyed by them. We read of no other that killed the people planted in Samaria by the king of Assyria, instead

of the Israelites, whom they carried away captive (2 Kings xvii. 25). And God threatened to destroy the remnant of Moab by the same means (Isa. xv. 9). But there were other wild beasts also to do this execution (Jer. v. 6). As bears, who killed two-and-forty children at one time (2 Kings ii. 24). Serpents and cockatrices (Jer. viii. 17). And in general, that prophet threatens the destruction of Judea by such creatures (Jer. xv. 3). Nor are examples wanting in other histories of such calamities ; one monument of which continues still in the church. For the solemn prayers in Rogation week were first instituted (as Sidenius relates) by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, in France, for this reason among others, that wolves and other wild beasts did very great mischief in those parts (see Sirmondus, in lib. vii. Epist. 1). Nay, some countries have been so infested with smaller creatures, particularly Spain, by conies, that they left nothing untouched ; being noxious not only to roots and seeds, but subverting whole towns, which were undermined by them. And in the neighbouring islands, called Baleares, they were so plagued with them, that they were forced to petition Augustus to send soldiers to defend them from these little animals (see Bochartus, in his Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 7).

Your high ways shall be desolate.] For travellers will not venture into the highways, for fear of the wild beasts, and because of the scarcity of people to give them entertainment. It is observable, that this plague is directly opposite to the blessing promised unto their obedience (ver. 6), where he saith, *I will rid evil beasts out of the land* ; which was never over-run with them till it was overspread with wickedness.

Ver. 23. *If ye will not be reformed*] He would have them observe his hand in all these punishments ; by which he intended their reformation.

But will walk contrary] See ver. 21.

Ver. 24. *Then will I also walk contrary unto you,*] Serve you in your kind, and still make your plagues more grievous, as your stubbornness grows more obstinate. To what was said before of this matter, I shall add the interpretation of Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 36), where he thus glosses on this place : "If, when I inflict upon you these punishments, you believe them to be accidental things, mere *chances* (so he understands the word *heri*, which we translate *contrary*), then will I deal with you according to your opinion, and lay more heavy punishments upon you : for because they believed these plagues happened by *accident*, which were the consequences of their false opinions and evil works, therefore they did not reform them ; as Jeremiah saith (ch. v. 3), "Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved." Thus he.

I will punish you yet seven times] If we should follow the literal exposition mentioned ver. 21, then those plagues there threatened being *seven times multiplied*, would make the plagues threatened in this verse, for their multiplied transgressions, *three hundred and forty-three times* greater than the first, ver. 18. But the meaning is only, that they should grow more numerous and more destructive.

Ver. 25. *I will bring a sword upon you,*] This seems

when ye are gathered together within your cities, I will send the pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.

26 And when I have broken the staff of your bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver you your bread again by weight: and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.

to be no new plague, having been before threatened, ver. 17. Therefore the meaning is, that he would send three sore judgments upon them, all at the same time, viz. *war, pestilence, and famine*, which are contained in this and the next verse. Of *war and famine* at once, see Jer. xiv. 18, and xvi. 4. Of *pestilence* added to them, together with captivity, ch. xv. 2—4, and xlv. 12, 13, and see Ezek. vi. 11, 12, and still worse, Ezek. xiv. 21.

Quarrel of my covenant.] My quarrel with you for the breach of that covenant which you solemnly made with me (Exod. xxiv. 3, 8, and xxxiv. 10—12, &c.).

When ye are gathered together] Thinking there to defend yourselves against your enemies, by impregnable fortifications.

I will send the pestilence] To destroy the soldiers in your garrison.

Ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.] Forced to surrender, because you have no men left to defend the place.

Ver. 26. *Broken the staff of your bread,*] Taken away its power to nourish you (as Bechart expounds it), or rather, taken bread itself from you, which is the support of life by a sore famine (ver. 10). If they either wanted corn to make bread, or their corn had no heart in it (as we speak), either way they would be starved.

Ten women shall bake your bread in one oven.] That is, there shall be such scarcity, that a small oven shall be sufficient to bake bread for ten families, i. e. for a great many, as the number *ten* in Scripture signifies (1 Sam. i. 8; Job xix. 3).

Deliver you your bread again by weight.] Distribute to every one in the family a certain quantity; not enough to satisfy them, but only (as we speak) to keep body and soul together. So it follows:

Ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.] Never have enough to satisfy their hunger; but, by eating, made to crave the more to eat: so Pellicanus glosses, who thus concludes his notes on these verses, *Hæc sunt arma Dei contra insensatos, &c.*, "These are the weapons of God against stupid wretches; which no wicked man can evade, when God in anger begins to fall upon them. Let no man, though ever so great and rich, hope to be safe from the hand of the Lord, who can kill kings by worms and lice when he pleaseth."

Ver. 27. *If ye will not for all this hearken unto me,*] If all these plagues have no better effect upon you than the former (see ver. 21, 23, 24).

Ver. 28. *Then I will walk contrary unto you*] His indignation rises proportionable to their offences: for now he not only saith he will set his face against them (as he speaks, ver. 17), but proceed against them, *in fury*; by such punishments as should quite ruin them.

I will chastise] The very manner of speech expresses anger and indignation: being as if he had said, I will make you know who it is that you have despised (ver. 15). The word *jissarti* also, which we render *chastise*, imports smarter punishments than

27 And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk contrary unto me;

28 Then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury; and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins.

29 And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat.

30 And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, and cast your carcases

those expressed by *hickethi*, I will smite or punish you (ver. 24).

Seven times for your sins.] If we should by a literal account multiply the number of plagues mentioned ver. 24, *seven times*, the threatening here would amount to this: that their rebellion, not amended by so many plagues, but continued still from age to age (notwithstanding all the corrections inflicted on them for their reformation, ver. 23), should in conclusion be punished *one thousand one hundred ninety-seven times* more severely than at first (ver. 18). But the simple sense is, that their obstinate contempt of his laws should be punished with new and more grievous plagues. Which was fulfilled, as our Dr. Jackson observes (book i. on the Creed, ch. 22), in their captivity, in the days of Manasseh, Jehoiachim, and Zedekiah: and again in the time of Ptolemy, the first under Antiochus Epiphanes. For these latter calamities were at least *seven times* greater (both for extent and duration) than the former persecutions, which they suffered from the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, and Syrians. By all which, and by what follows, it plainly appears, that these threatenings were a kind of prediction. For Moses evidently foresaw they would not prove so obedient as he desired (Deut. xxxi. 27, 29), and consequently that these threatenings, in case of disobedience, would turn into prophecies. Unto every one of which their history exactly answers; as the book of Deuteronomy will give me occasion to show more fully.

Ver. 29. *Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, &c.*] This is the very utmost calamity that could come upon a people: and yet (as Conradus Pellicanus observes) it is put before the throwing down of their high places and images, &c. As if the devouring of their children (such was their incredible lust after idols) would seem a less evil to them than the loss of their images.

This was fulfilled among the Israelites in the siege of Samaria (2 Kings vi. 29), and among the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem before the Babylonian captivity (Lam. iv. 10), and in the last siege by Titus, as Josephus relates (lib. vii. De Bello Judaico, cap. 8).

Ver. 30. *I will destroy your high places,*] Where they were wont to worship their idols, according to the manner of the heathen; who built temples, and altars, and offered sacrifices to their gods, upon mountains and high hills; especially such as were shaded with trees. Inasmuch, that the Indians in Philostratus call the high mountain Caucasus, *ἡ οὐς αἰών*, "the house of the gods." And the ancient Persians (as Herodotus saith in his Clio, cap. 131), *ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν ὄρεων ἀναβαίνοντες*, "going up to the top of the highest mountains," there offered sacrifices unto Jupiter; calling the whole circle of the heavens by that name. And in the island Naxos the highest mountain was also consecrated to him; as from his worship on Mount Athos he is called Ἄσως in Hesychius. They that would see more of this matter, may look into Cuperus's Apotheosis Homer, p. 15, 16, &c. And the reason of their choosing these places for their worship was, because they thought their sacrifices would be more acceptable there than in

upon the carcases of your idols, and my soul shall abhor you.

31 And I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries unto desolation, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours.

32 And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it.

valleys. For, as Lucian himself saith, they thought themselves in such high places to be nearer to their gods, and so should more easily obtain audience, *ὅτι τῶν εὐχαλῶν ἀρχὸν ἵσταίντο οἱ θεοί* (lib. De Dea Syr.), and Tacitus saith the same in the last book of his Annals.

How much the Israelites were inclined to follow the nations of the world in this, appears too plainly by their history; which shows that high places were frequented in the reigns of their good kings, as well as of their bad. Yea, they were so fond of them, that when they could not go to them, they offered upon the tops of their houses (Jer. xix. 13, xxxii. 29; Zeph. i. 5).

Cut down your images.] The Hebrew word *chammanecem*, which we translate *your images*, properly signifies "temples erected for the worship of the sun," as Aben Ezra says upon this place. For it is certain that the Hebrews called the sun *chammē*; from whence comes the word *chamman*, the temple of the sun: whom the ancient Phœnicians took to be the Lord of Heaven. So Sanchoniathon, *τοῦτον γὰρ* (speaking of the sun) *ἰδὼν ἐνὸς μόνου οὐρανοῦ Κύριον*. Though it is very probable, that, as superstition increased, the name of *Chammanim* was given to other temples, as well as those of the sun. (See Bochart in his Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 17). Others take this word to signify what the Greeks call *ἱερθεῖα* and *ἱερτεῖα*, "temples of the fire;" which being worshipped by the eastern people, temples were erected in honour of it. But this is not much different from the former: the Persians worshipped the sun in the fire, which was the symbol and representative of the sun (see Selden, Syntag. ii. De Diis Syris, cap. 8).

Cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols.] Which were both burnt together, as some imagine. However, this expresses the utmost contempt both of them and of their idols; who were alike detestable. Their fondness of them also when they were alive, seems to be represented by throwing them upon them when they were dead. And the Hebrew word *gillulim* (which we barely translate *idols*), importing something belonging to the dunghill, is taken by some to signify the images of Baal-peor; who was worshipped, as the Jews say, after a most beastly manner. These idols, whatsoever they were, though dressed up finely, yet were no better than dead carcases, without any life or soul in them. And we might think (if that superstition were so old) that Moses alludes to the little images of Isis, which were made of plaster and clay, and are found frequently in the sepulchres of Egyptians at this day. Unto which Christoph. Arnoldus (in his epistles to Wagenseil) thinks the Talmudists allude, when they say that Pharaoh's daughter, becoming a proselyte to the Jewish religion, washed herself in the river Megullile, from these dunghill idols (as some render it) of her father's house (Excerpt. Gemaræ in Sota, cap. 1, sect. 40). The Dutch interpreters translate it *dreck-goden*, not merely for the matter (as Arnoldus thinks), but also for the form of a beetle, which lives in dung: for so they represented Isis, as Plutarch tells us in his book De Isid. et Osir. (see Wagenseil, Sota, p. 1176).

My soul shall abhor you.] As so offensive to me,

33 And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you: and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste.

34 Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths.

35 As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest;

that I can bear with you no longer. This is directly opposite to his promise, if they would be obedient, ver. 11, "My soul shall not abhor you."

Ver. 31. *I will make your cities waste.*] Their walls being thrown down, and their houses burnt.

Bring your sanctuaries unto desolation.] They had but one sanctuary, and therefore some think their *synagogues* are comprehended under this name; for they are sometimes called sanctuaries, as I observed before. But the sanctuary, properly so called, having several parts, which were all holy, Moses may be thought to speak of it here in the plural number. As Jeremiah represents the Jews, saying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these" (ch. vii. 4); that is, both these courts wherein we stand, as well as that of the priests, and the most holy place, are all the Lord's temple. Or the word *your* is to be applied to such places of worship as they themselves had consecrated in opposition to God's sanctuary.

I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours.] This seems to determine the meaning of *sanctuaries* to God's own house, where *sweet odours* of incense, made of several sweet spices, were daily offered unto him: which being a representation of their prayers sent up to him, he here declares that he will not be appeased by them, nor by any sacrifices they could offer to him, but utterly reject them.

Ver. 32. *I will bring the land into desolation.*] The people being carried captive, or forced to flee into strange countries (ver. 33).

Your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished.] They that possess this country out of which you are expelled, shall be amazed when they reflect upon the calamities that are fallen upon you: which Jeremiah describes as very dreadful (ch. vii. 20): and often mentions the astonishment wherewith they were struck who beheld them (ch. xviii. 16, xix. 8, xxv. 9, 11), and see 2 Chron. xxix. 8, 9, which shows this began before Jeremiah's time.

Ver. 33. *I will scatter you among the heathen.*] Some fled into one strange country, and others into another, according as they could find means and opportunity; insomuch, that there were no known places where they were not dispersed. So Jeremiah threatens, ch. xiii. 24, xv. 4.

Will draw out a sword after you.] So Jeremiah threatens those that would go into Egypt for safety; that "the sword which they feared should overtake them there" (ch. xlii. 16—18).

Your land shall be desolate.] For they that were left there, and their enemies to whom the country was given, were not enough to cultivate the land and build their cities. By all this, as well as by what follows, it appears that here is a plain prediction of the miseries that came upon Israel, by Tiglath-Pileser and Salmanasar; and upon Judah by Nebuchadnezzar; who laid their cities waste, destroyed the sanctuaries, despoiled them of their goods, drove them into strange countries, and, as it here follows, made their land keep its Sabbaths.

Ver. 34.] This is a most bitter reproach to them for their ingratitude to God, and inhumanity to their brethren, in not keeping the sabbatical year, men-

because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it.

36 And upon them that are left *alive* of you I will send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; and the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, as fleeing from a sword: and they shall fall when none pursueth.

37 And they shall fall one upon another, as it were before a sword, when none pursueth:

tioned in the foregoing chapter. Dr. Hammond hath another notion of the word, which we translate *enjoy* (see note g. upon Ps. cii. p. 504).

Ver. 35. *As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest;* Lie untill, as it ought to have done every seventh year. And it lay thus seventy years; because, as some think, they had neglected to keep so many sabbatical years: which we cannot think to be true, without supposing that they kept none for half the time, from their entrance into Canaan, till they were expelled out of it by the captivity of Babylon.

Because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it.] "For in those four hundred and ninety years (says Procopius Gazaus), when they were under the government of kings, there were seventy years to be kept as sabbaths: which, that the land might enjoy its Sabbaths, were spent in the captivity of Babylon." We do not expressly read, indeed, of this profane neglect, while they dwelt in their land; but Jeremiah complains that they did not, in his time, give their servants liberty in the seventh year (ch. xxxiv. 17), and he gives this as one reason why God delivered them up to slavery (for so I understand those words, Lam. i. 3, "Judah is gone into captivity, because of affliction, and because of great servitude"). And from thence we may conclude, that the same covetous humour (and distrust of God's providence) made them not suffer their land to rest in that year; especially since the author of the second book of Chronicles expressly mentions this as a reason of their captivity, "to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah the prophet, until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths; for so long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbaths, to fulfil threescore and ten years" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21). Now their punishment in this was made the more remarkable, if it be true, that both the kingdom of Samaria and the kingdom of Judah were destroyed in a sabbatical year; and that immediately after a jubilee, the city and temple were destroyed by Titus, according to Scaliger's computation. And so I observed before, Maimonides makes account (ch. xxv. 8), that the year when they were carried captive to Babylon, and the first temple destroyed, was in the expiration of a sabbatical year (Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 10, sect. 3).

Ver. 36. *Upon them that are left alive of you* This imports that the body of the people should be destroyed.

Send a faintness into their hearts] Where their spirits sunk under their present miseries.

Sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; And yet they were condemned to live in continual dread of more miseries. For the Hebrew word we translate *faintness* signifies *softness*, which could not support the weight of their affliction. And this last phrase imports such a timorousness as should make their life always uneasy to them, and such a cowardice as should render them vile and despicable. And so they are noted at this day to be mean-spirited and faint-hearted: it being scarce ever heard that a Jew listed

and ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies.

38 And ye shall perish among the heathen, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up.

39 And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them.

40 If they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, with their trespass

himself for a soldier, or engaged in the defence of the country where he lives.

They shall flee—and fall when none pursueth.] Fancy they hear the sound of trumpets or clashing of arms; which made them start and run away, nay, fall into a swoon, when there was no danger. Such terrors the heathen themselves have observed, in men of an evil conscience, who are afraid of their own shadow, as they say of Orestes.

Ver. 37.] *They shall fall one upon another,*] As people are wont to do, when they make too much haste, and run confusedly; or the foremost hinder the flight of those that follow (Jer. xli. 16).

As it were before a sword,] For fear of the sword; as this Hebrew phrase certainly signifies, and is so translated in the margin of our Bibles, Isa. xxi. 15, and xxxi. 8 (see Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 8).

Ye shall have no power to stand] Being so timorous as to flee when there were none (as it goes before), they could not stand before them when they appeared.

Ver. 38. *Ye shall perish*] Die with grief, or by diseases, poverty, oppression, and hard usage.

Your enemies shall eat you up.] Inasmuch, that the ten tribes never returned to their own land: but either perished by hunger and bad accommodations; or were swallowed up (as we say) into the body of another nation.

Ver. 39.] With grief and sorrow, and sad reflections upon the miseries into which their sins, and the sins of their fathers, had thrown them: inasmuch that death was more acceptable to them than life (Jer. viii. 3).

Also in the iniquities of their fathers] Especially those of Manasseh king of Judea, whose wickedness was so great, that the zealous reformation which his grandchild made could not turn away "the fierceness of God's great wrath against them" (2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27).

Ver. 40. *If they shall confess their iniquity,*] Though Moses had been above three times as long in recounting the plagues, which he either foresaw, or feared would come upon them for their sins, than in the blessings which he promised should follow their obedience: yet he plainly shows, that the blessings would have far excelled the curses, had not their disobedience hindered. For after all these dreadful calamities were come upon them, he concludes with a most gracious promise, that God would restore them to their own land, from whence they were expelled, if they truly repented of those sins which were the cause of it.

He means, by "confessing their iniquities, and the iniquities of their fathers," &c., acknowledging them with such unfeigned sorrow as wrought repentance; without which he gave them no hope of deliverance. And it is well observed by a great divine of our own, that if, without confession of *their fathers' iniquities*, they could not be absolved from *their own*, their fa-

which they trespassed against me, and that also they have walked contrary unto me;

41 And *that* I also have walked contrary unto them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity:

42 Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land.

43 The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths, while she lieth desolate without them: and they shall accept of the

punishment of their iniquity: because, even because they despised my judgments, and because their soul abhorred my statutes.

44 And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for *I am the Lord* their God.

45 But I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the heathen, that I might be their God: *I am the Lord*.

46 *These are the statutes and judgments and*

thiers' iniquity not repented of was their own, and so was the punishment due unto it.

They have walked contrary unto me; Both they and their forefathers; whose ways had been so contrary to God's laws, that, if they sincerely confessed it, God expected they should take the quite contrary course, and observe those precepts carefully which their fathers had violated.

Ver. 41. *I also have walked contrary unto them.*] Be sensible that all the miseries they have endured came not by chance, but were the just punishment I sent upon them for their sins: particularly that it was by my order that they were carried captive into a strange land.

If then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled.] By an uncircumcised heart seems to be meant a heathenish temper of mind, insensible of God; which made them stubborn and refractory; and, therefore, this phrase is the same with a *hard heart*: for which there was no cure, but such remarkable judgments, as evidently carried in them the marks of a Divine hand: which when they saw, and submitted to it, he gives them hope of deliverance.

They then accept of the punishment] Patiently bear it, as their just desert; and acknowledge they do not deserve to be delivered from it.

Ver. 42. *Then will I remember my covenant*] See Exod. iii. 6. He promises to restore them to their own land; according to the covenant made with their forefathers, that he would give it them for an everlasting possession. For to *remember* a covenant, or promise, in Scripture language, is to perform it, and make it good. Accordingly we find the forenamed confession made by Daniel (ch. ix.), and he makes it in the name of all the people; among whom, no doubt, there were many that heartily joined with him: and then followed their wonderful restoration in the reign of Cyrus; of which we read, Ezra i. &c.

I will remember the land.] Repopulate it with its former inhabitants, &c. See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, where this immediately follows the relation he had made of the land being laid desolate.

Ver. 43. *The land also shall be left of them, &c.*] This verse is very obscure; unless we take it to speak of a new expulsion out of their own land, after their reduction to it. And then the next words,

They shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity.] Must be interpreted, "after they had accepted," or "though they had accepted," &c. This made their sin the more provoking; that they offended God again, when he had so graciously forgiven them, and delivered them from a dismal captivity.

Because they despised my judgments.] Returned to the very same wicked disposition for which they had been formerly expelled (ver. 15). This was fulfilled by degrees, by the successors of Alexander, and at last by the Romans.

Ver. 44. *Yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies.*] He would not have them utterly despair of mercy, even after a new banishment, which hath now continued many ages. For this promise is not yet fulfilled; as Dr. Jackson observes, book i. on the Creed, ch. 31, sect. 9.

I will not cast them away.] As we see at this very day they are not *destroyed utterly*, but remain a great body in several countries; after above sixteen hundred years' expulsion from their own land.

To break my covenant with them.] Never more to own them for my people.

I am the Lord their God.] I still continue to have a peculiar right to their obedience, as they have to my kindness, if they will return to their duty.

Ver. 45. *I will for their sakes remember the covenant, &c.*] The meaning cannot be, that God would be so gracious for their sakes who were so very wicked; but, as the words in the Hebrew are, he would "for them (i. e. for their good and advantage) remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom he had brought forth out of the land of Egypt; that is, once more deliver them from their miserable condition, and restore them to his favour, that he may be *their* God. And that great man (now mentioned on the foregoing verse) observes, "That the continuation of their plagues seems so much interrupted, and the plagues themselves so much mitigated in the last age (since the gospel hath been again revealed), as if their misery were almost expired, and the day of their redemption drawing nigh." But then they must first "confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers (as Moses speaks before, ver. 40), with their trespass which they trespassed" in crucifying Christ the Lord, "and accept the punishment of their iniquity," acknowledging that so horrid a crime deserved so long and so heavy a punishment. For "every child (as he observes in another place, book xi. p. 3750) is born, as it were, heir to his father's sins," and to their plagues; unless he renounce them by taking their guilt upon him, and such hearty confession as this law prescribes, and patient submission of himself to God's correction.

Ver. 46. *These are the statutes*] This may be thought to refer either to all the foregoing book of laws, or to what is said in this chapter. Menochius thus expounds it: These are the punishments which God threatened to the breakers of his laws. But it is more reasonable to take in the whole, in this manner, "These are the statutes, and judgments, and laws (together with the promises and threatenings annexed to them), which the Lord made between him and Israel."

In mount Sinai] See ch. xxv. 1.

By the hand of Moses.] By the ministry of Moses, who delivered these laws from God's own mouth.

It is obvious to observe, that, instead of "these are

laws, which the LORD made between him and

the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.

the laws which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel," Onkelos, the famous Chaldee interpreter, hath, "between his Word and the children of Israel." Which Theodoric Hackspan produces, among other places, to prove, that in those paraphrasts the Word of the Lord signifies no more than *αὐτός*, "himself." Which, though it be true in some places, yet in others, as I have observed before, it cannot

have that signification; particularly in Ps. cx. 1, where the Hebrew words are, "The Lord said unto my Lord;" which are thus expounded by Jonathan, "The Lord said unto his Word:" where it can signify nothing, but another Divine person. And so Onkelos might intend it here; that the Lord made all these laws between his eternal Word and them.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *He that maketh a singular vow must be the Lord's.* 2 *The estimation of the person.* 9 *Of a beast given by vow.* 14 *Of a house.* 16 *Of a field, and the redemption thereof.* 28 *No devoted thing may be redeemed.* 32 *The tithe may not be changed.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When a man shall make a singular vow, the persons *shall be* for the LORD by thy estimation.

3 And thy estimation shall be of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old, even thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary.

4 And if it be a female, then thy estimation shall be thirty shekels.

5 And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old, then thy estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels.

6 And if it be from a month old even unto five years old, then thy estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female thy estimation *shall be* three shekels of silver.

7 And if it be from sixty years old and above; if it be a male, then thy estimation shall be fifteen shekels, and for the female ten shekels.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1.] Some religious people, it is possible, were touched with such a sense of what Moses had now delivered, in the foregoing promises and threats, that they thought of giving themselves wholly unto God, or of vowing some of their goods to him: and therefore he gives Moses further directions for the regulating of such vows.

Ver. 2. *Singular vow.*] And, first, if any man vowed himself, or his children, wholly to the service of God in the tabernacle, he directs what was to be done in that case. Which he calls a *singular or extraordinary vow*; and by Philo is called *ἐνὶ μεγάλῃ*, "the great vow:" it being a wonderful piece of devotion (as the word *japhli* in the Hebrew imports), because men were desirous to help God's priests in the meanest ministry; such as bringing in wood, carrying out ashes, sweeping away the dust, and such like.

The persons shall be for the Lord by thy estimation.] The meaning would have been more plain, if the words had been translated just as they lie in the Hebrew, "According to thy estimation, the persons shall be for the Lord." For this immediately suggests to one's thoughts, that the service of the persons themselves thus devoted, was not to be employed in the tabernacle; but a value set upon them by the priest, and that to be employed *for the Lord*, i. e. for holy uses; for repairing the sanctuary, suppose, or any thing belonging to it. The reason why God would not accept the persons themselves, as they desired, but the value of them, for his service, seems to be, because there was a sufficient number of persons peculiarly designed for all the work of the tabernacle; which he would not have encumbered by more attendants there than were needful.

Ver. 3. *Thy estimation shall be*] That the priest might not either overvalue or undervalue any person,

the rates are here set down which he should demand for their redemption.

Of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old;] For at twenty years of age (saith Procopius Gazæus) men begin to be fit for business, and continue so till sixty; when it is time to leave it off.

Thy estimation shall be fifty shekels] That this one rule should serve for all men, though of different qualities, Philo thinks was fit for several reasons, which he gives in his book of Special Laws: the principal is, because God regarded only the vow, the value of which was equal, whosoever made it, whether a great man or a poor.

Shekel of the sanctuary.] See Exod. xxx. 13.

Ver. 4. *If it be a female,—thirty shekels.*] Women could not be so serviceable as men, and therefore were valued at a less rate: for all that they could do was, to spin, or weave, or make garments, or wash for the priests and Levites.

Ver. 5. *If it be from five years old even unto twenty*] It appears by this, that, though a child of five years old could not make a vow, yet his parents might solemnly devote one of that age to God; and it did oblige them to pay what is here required for the use of the sanctuary.

Male twenty shekels, and for the female ten] Less is required than for those above twenty, because their life was more uncertain; and they were less capable to do any service, before they came to their full growth.

Ver. 6.] Before a child was a month old, it seems, it was not capable to be devoted to God; but then it might. And still less was demanded as the value of them; because children so small were very weak and imperfect, and the price therefore set accordingly. But the words may be understood, not of children that were a month old, but that were in the first month of their life: and Samuel we find was devoted to God before he was born.

8 But if he be poorer than thy estimation, then he shall present himself before the priest, and the priest shall value him; according to his ability that vowed shall the priest value him.

9 And if it be a beast, whereof men bring an offering unto the LORD, all that *any man* giveth of such unto the LORD shall be holy.

10 He shall not alter it, nor change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good : and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then it and the exchange thereof shall be holy.

Ver. 7. *From sixty years old and above; if it be a male—fifteen shekels.*] They are valued much less after sixty than before (ver. 3), because their service then was little worth, and their life likely to be short.

For the female ten] The Hebrews think it observable, that in their youth (ver. 3, 4) males were valued almost double to females; but now, in old age, they are made almost of equal value: for old women continue very serviceable in many things, when old men are not; whence they have a saying, "An old woman in a house is a treasure in a house."

Ver. 8. *If he be poorer*] If he be not able to pay according to the forenamed rates.

He shall present himself before the priest,] Who was then in attendance at the tabernacle; for he doth not speak of the high-priest, but of the lower.

The priest shall value him:] According to the best information he could get of his ability; as it here follows.

According to his ability that vowed] He was to examine his condition; and accordingly set such a rate upon him as he might be able to pay, without undoing his family.

Ver. 9. *If it be a beast,*] Now he proceeds to the second case; which was, when any man vowed to give God a beast of some sort or other.

Whereof men bring an offering] And first he mentions clean beasts, such as God accepted at his altar; as these are explained by the opposite *unclean beast* (ver. 11).

All that any man giveth] Whether to be sacrificed or not.

Shall be holy.] Set apart for God's service, according to the nature of his vow; to be offered at the altar, if he so expressed it; or to be given to the priests and Levites, if that was his desire; or to be sold for the service of the tabernacle, if it was left at large.

Ver. 10. *He shall not alter it, nor change it,*] Some think these words, *alter* and *change*, are two expressions of the same thing. But the first word may signify, that he should not *alter* it for any other beast, or thing; and the second, that he should not *change* it for any beast of the same kind: but that very beast which was vowed, was to be given to the uses intended; and no other accepted in his stead, though it were really better.

A good for a bad, or a bad for a good:] If men had been left to their liberty, either to give unto God the beast they had vowed, or another in its room, they might have given a bad instead of a good, as Maimonides observes, which had been a great profaneness. But supposing those that were truly religious would have brought a good instead of a bad (that is, one much fatter and more valuable), God would not suffer it, because he would preserve a reverence to things once consecrated, which he would not should return to common uses, though a better thing was substituted in its room. If any man did change what he had vowed, though it were for the better, he was to

11 And if it be any unclean beast, of which they do not offer a sacrifice unto the LORD, then he shall present the beast before the priest:

12 And the priest shall value it, whether it be good or bad: as thou valuest it, *who art* the priest, so shall it be.

13 But if he will at all redeem it, then he shall add a fifth *part* thereof unto thy estimation.

14 ¶ And when a man shall sanctify his house to be holy unto the LORD, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it stand.

be beaten, as Maimonides saith in his treatise on this subject (cap. 1).

If he shall at all change beast for beast, &c.] The man was to be beaten, and both the one and the other beast was to become God's. Which the Jews understand thus (as Maimonides tells us in the same treatise), that if he changed the beast he vowed twice or thrice, nay, a thousand times, they all became holy; and he was also to suffer the punishment of stripes for every one of them.

Ver. 11. *And if it be an unclean beast,*] Some comprehend under this, such beasts as, though in themselves clean, yet had some blemish in them, which rendered them unfit for sacrifice. But, as they could not be offered in sacrifice, so one would think it was not lawful to vow them either to that or any other holy use.

He shall present the beast before the priest:] That he might consider the worth of it.

Ver. 12. *The priest shall value it,*] Of a great price or a small. He was not allowed to exchange it for a clean beast; both because it was dedicated to God, and because that exchange might have been a great damage to the priest: many unclean beasts being of greater value than some clean; a horse or a camel, for instance, of greater price than a sheep or a goat.

As thou valuest it,—so shall it be.] He directs his speech to the priest, to awaken his conscience, to attend and make upright judgment; because that was to be the value of it, which the priest determined it to be worth.

Ver. 13. *If he will at all redeem it,*] It was in the man's choice, either to leave the beast with the priest, or to pay him the money at which he had rated it.

He shall add a fifth part thereof] If he chose the latter, it was a sign he thought it worth more than the price which the priest had set upon it, who could not understand the value of it so well as himself. And every man, as Maimonides observes (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46), regarding his own advantage, and inclining naturally to save what he can; if a beast were not rated at its just value, he that had vowed it would be disposed rather to redeem the beast than let the priest have it. Which is the reason that God orders he should in this case pay a fifth part more than the priest set upon it, that he might be sure to give the full value.

Both this and the foregoing law was to preserve that from being vile and cheap, which bare the name of God (as he there speaks), and was consecrated to his uses.

Ver. 14. *When a man shall sanctify his house*] By vowing it to God's service; for of such sanctifying he speaks in this chapter: and this is the third case about vows; which commonly consisted in promising to God some part of their estates, either to serve for sacrifices, or to be kept for some sacred uses: whence came those vast treasures which were in the house of God, mentioned 1 Chron. xvi. 26—28; for they were

15 And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house, then he shall add the fifth *part* of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be his.

16 And if a man shall sanctify unto the Lord *some part* of a field of his possession, then thy estimation shall be according to the seed thereof: an homer of barley seed *shall be valued* at fifty shekels of silver.

17 If he sanctify his field from the year of jubile, according to thy estimation it shall stand.

18 But if he sanctify his field after the jubile, then the priest shall reckon unto him the money

according to the years that remain, even unto the year of the jubile, and it shall be abated from thy estimation.

19 And if he that sanctified the field will in any wise redeem it, then he shall add the fifth *part* of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be assured to him.

20 And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more.

21 But the field, when it goeth out in the jubile, shall be holy unto the Lord, as a field devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's.

chiefly oblations of part of the spoils taken from their enemies, which David, and Saul, and Abner, and Joab had dedicated: together with the oblations of such persons as Samuel the seer, who is there said to have dedicated a great deal "to maintain the house of the Lord."

Then the priest shall estimate it,] He makes the same law in this case which he had done about unclean beasts; that the priest should consider the worth of it, and accordingly set the price, having respect to the condition of the house, whether it was great or little, old or new, &c.

So shall it stand,] That was to be the fixed price; which no man was to attempt to alter.

Ver. 15. *If he that sanctified it will redeem his house,]* If he that vowed it to God, chose afterward rather to pay the price himself than part with the house, he was to submit to the law made in the foregoing case; which was, to add a fifth part to the rate set upon it. For there was another reason why many might make this choice (besides that mentioned in ver. 13), because, if they did not redeem it, the house could never return to them again; no, not at the jubile. For it is probable, that the law concerning lands (which immediately follows) was the rule for houses also, which were valued according to their distance from the year of jubile, at a higher or lower price, as lands were (ver. 18, 22, 23).

Then he shall add the fifth part,] "He that gave us the law (saith Maimonides in his treatise on this subject, cap. ult.), knows the most intimate sense of all men's souls, and penetrates into the most secret recesses and lurking-places of human desires: and he seeing that their love of riches would make them very saving; so that, if out of a religious motion they had consecrated any thing to him, they would be prone to repent of it; he therefore ordained, that if any man had a mind to redeem what he had consecrated, he should add a fifth part to its just value;" that is, pay well for it.

Ver. 16. *If a man shall sanctify]* By a vow; after the same manner that some did a house (ver. 14).

Some part of a field] This seems to signify, that it was not lawful for a man to vow his own field; that is, all his estate: because God would have no man's family undone and made beggars to enrich his sanctuary.

Of his possession,] Not purchased by him, but descended to him as an inheritance from his ancestors.

Thy estimation shall be according to the seed thereof:] It shall be valued according to the quantity of seed which is required to sow it.

An homer of barley seed shall be valued at fifty shekels] So much land as an omer of barley would sow, was to be rated at fifty shekels, and so proportionably; so much as would take up two omers at a hundred, or half an omer at five-and-twenty. Menochius thinks

it was to be rated so much yearly; but there is not the least intimation of this in the text; and his only reason for it is this of Abulensis, that it would have been too little to give for a piece of land to be held forty-nine years (see lib. ii. De Republ. Hebræor. cap. 19. Quæst. 7). Which is of no force at all; for it is plain God designed a moderate rate should be set upon all things which men vowed to him; whereby men were not discouraged to vow. And this yearly rent had been excessive and oppressive: for a piece of land, which an omer of barley (i. e. about a pottle of our measure) would sow, could yield no great crop, and consequently could not be of a considerable value; barley also being much cheaper than wheat. Concerning an omer, see Exod. xvi. 36.

Ver. 17. *If he sanctify his field from the year of jubile,]* Make this vow immediately after the jubile, or in that year.

According to thy estimation] Before mentioned, of fifty shekels for an omer of barley.

It shall stand] It shall be so rated, and nothing abated.

Ver. 18. *If he sanctify his field after]* Some years after.

Then the priest shall reckon unto him the money according to the years that remain,] The priest was to compute how many years were gone since the last jubile, and how many yet remained till the next; and accordingly to deduct from the rate of *fifty shekels* before mentioned, either more or less, as the years yet to come were more or fewer.

Ver. 19.] The very same rule is given in this case, as in those of unclean beasts and houses, ver. 13, 15.

Ver. 20. *If he will not redeem the field,]* When the priest hath set his value upon it, and tells him he may have it again at such a rate, if he pleases, and he refuses the offer.

Or if he have sold the field] That is, if the priest, upon his refusal, have sold it to another man; and afterward he that vowed it hath a mind to it himself, and would give the price at which he might have had it.

It shall not be redeemed] He was then excluded from all benefit of redemption.

Ver. 21. *But the field, when it goeth out]* Out of the possession of him to whom the priest sold it.

Shall be holy unto the Lord,] Shall not return to him that vowed it, but continue God's portion.

As a field devoted;] Being solemnly consecrated to the Divine service.

The possession thereof shall be the priest's,] Who were to have the inheritance of it for their better support. But they might sell it; nay (Menochius thinks), were bound to sell it to some of the kindred of him that devoted it, or to some of his tribe; for otherwise lands would go out of the tribe to which they belonged; and besides, the priests were to have

22 And if a man sanctify unto the LORD a field which he hath bought, which is not of the fields of his possession;

23 Then the priest shall reckon unto him the worth of thy estimation, *even unto the year of the jubile*: and he shall give thine estimation in that day, *as a holy thing unto the LORD*.

24 In the year of the jubile the field shall return unto him of whom it was bought, *even to him to whom the possession of the land did belong*.

25 And all thy estimation shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary: twenty gerahs shall be the shekel.

no inheritance in the land (Numb. xviii. 20). See him, lib. ii. De Republ. Hebr. cap. 19, and his Annotations upon this place. But these seem not to be solid reasons why the priests should not enjoy this land themselves: for though they were not to have any inheritance in the division of the land of Canaan, yet if any fell to them by the means now mentioned (which was but very seldom, since men were very careful to preserve their inheritances), God doth here bestow such land upon his priests; who might possess it if they pleased, because they had it in God's right; or else sell it (ver. 20), and keep the money to their own use.

Ver. 22. *If a man sanctify—a field which he hath bought,*] And consequently could enjoy only till the year of jubilee; when it was to return to the family of whom he purchased it.

Which is not of the fields of his possession;] No part of his paternal inheritance (as that mentioned ver. 16), but bought of the priests, to whom it was fallen by a vow; or of him to whom the priests had sold it.

Ver. 23. *The priest shall reckon unto him the worth]* Set a value upon it, according to his judgment.

Even unto the year of the jubile:] With respect to the number of years, between the time of the vow and the year of jubilee.

He shall give thine estimation in that day,] Presently pay the price that the priest hath set upon it, without the addition of the fifth part (as Menochius well observes in the place before mentioned), which he, who redeemed his paternal inheritance, was bound to pay over and above the price at which the priest esteemed it (ver. 19). For this was not so much worth as that, being but for a term of years, till the jubilee.

As a holy thing] As a thing devoted unto God, instead of the land, which was redeemed with this money.

Ver. 24.] Not unto him who bought the field, and then vowed it to God, but unto the hereditary owner; which is the meaning of the next words, *even unto him to whom the possession of the land did belong*.

Ver. 25.] Full weight, according to the standard kept in the sanctuary (see Exod. xxx. 13, and ch. xix. of this book, ver. 36).

Ver. 26. *Only the firstling of the beasts,*] By vowing it to be a whole burnt-offering, or a peace-offering unto the Lord; as Maimonides expounds it. The reason was, because no man could lawfully vow that which was not his own, as the *firstlings* were not; they being the Lord's already, as it follows in the end of this verse.

The same reason held (as Maimonides likewise observes) in all things belonging to God, *as tenths*. Yet they devised ingeniously enough (as he speaks) a way to give these *firstlings* to God by a new obligation, and yet not offend, as they imagined, against

26 ¶ Only the firstling of the beasts, which should be the LORD's firstling, no man shall sanctify it; whether it be ox, or sheep: it is the LORD's.

27 And if it be of an unclean beast, then he shall redeem it according to thine estimation, and shall add a fifth part of it thereto: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to thy estimation.

28 Notwithstanding no devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the LORD of all that he hath, *both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed*: every devoted thing is most holy unto the LORD.

this law; for they interpret these words of *firstlings* already brought forth: no man might sanctify such; but while they were in the womb, they might; saying, "I vow that lamb (suppose) which my ewe goes with to be a whole burnt-offering to God, if it be a male;" but they could not vow it for a *peace-offering*, because no man could alter any thing for his own profit.

Whether it be ox, or sheep:] Under these two are comprehended all other kind of creatures, whose firstlings belonged to God.

It is the Lord's.] Numb. iii. 13, viii. 17. For this reason no man was to presume to vow such things; it being a kind of mockery to make a present of that to another which was his own before (see Mr. Mede concerning this verse, p. 512).

Ver. 27. *If it be of an unclean beast,*] Most understand this of the *firstling* of an unclean beast. Against which there is this objection, that such things were before ordered to be redeemed, not with money, but with a lamb (Exod. xiii. 13). Therefore it seems more reasonable to understand this of the *firstlings* of such an unclean beast, which a man hath redeemed (ver. 13), but afterwards devoted to God; which he might do; for, after the redemption, it was become his own again.

He shall redeem it] At the rate thou shalt set upon it.

Shall add a fifth part] As was ordained before in the like case (ver. 11).

If it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold] Any other man might buy it, at that rate the priest had set upon it; and the money was applied to holy uses.

Ver. 28. *No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord]* Nothing that was devoted by that sort of vow, which was called *cherem* (as the word is here in the Hebrew), with a curse (as the word implies) upon themselves and others, if the thing was not employed according to their vow.

Both of man and beast, &c.] All manner of things which might be sanctified to the Lord, by the fore-mentioned simple vow, might be thus devoted and consecrated to him by a *cherem*, i. e. *beasts and houses, and lands, and even men themselves*, as far as they had power over them; for that is meant by those words, *all that a man hath* (see the next verse).

Shall be sold or redeemed:] For this was the peculiar nature of this sort of vow; that the thing devoted by it should remain irreversibly and unalterably to the use unto which it was devoted; for the person was *accursed* that applied it to any other use than that to which it was consecrated.

Every devoted thing] Of this kind.

Is most holy] Other things devoted by a simple vow were *holy* (ver. 9, 10, &c.), but these were *most holy*, so that none might touch them but the priests; and they were so strictly applied to the Divine service,

29 None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; *but* shall surely be put to death.

30 And all the tithe of the land, *whether* of

that they could not be alienated, either by sale, or redemption, or commutation, or donation, or any other way (see Mede, p. 160).

Ver. 29. *None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed;* Some learned men have, from these words, asserted, that parents and masters among the Jews had such a power over their children and servants, that they might devote them to death and so kill them; only the sentence of the priest was to concur, to whom every devoted thing fell as his portion. This is maintained by Ludov. Capellus, and confuted by Mr. Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Hebr. cap. 6, where he judiciously observes, that this power would have too much intrenched upon the *sixth commandment*, if private men might have, at their pleasure, thus disposed of their children and slaves. And, in the next chapter, he explains the sense of this verse; and proves, indeed, that there may be a *cherem* (*minhaadam*) of men, or from among men, as well as of beasts; but this word hath four several senses among the Hebrews. First, it signifies the sacred gift itself, which was devoted to God, or to holy uses; and so it signifies in the foregoing ver. 28. Secondly, it signifies that which was devoted to perdition and utter destruction, either by the right of war, or upon the account of capital enmities: an example of which we have in Jericho, Josh. vi. 17, where the whole city was a *cherem* (devoted to destruction), as a punishment to their enemies; yet so, that the metals were made a *cherem* of the first sort; that is, sacred to the Lord and his holy uses. And thus the great Sanhedrin (called in Scripture *the whole congregation*) might devote those to be a *cherem*, who, going to the wars, did not obey orders, and perform the charge laid upon them. An example of which we have, Judges xxi. 5; 1 Sam. xiv. 24. I omit the other two for brevity's sake (of which there are examples, Josh. vi. 26; Ezra x. 8; Acts xxiii. 12, 14, 21, see Selden, ib. cap. 7, 8), because the *cherem* here mentioned by Moses is of this second sort: for it is evident that the *cherem* of the first sort, mentioned ver. 28, was of such things, over which they had an entire power, to dispose of them as they pleased. And therefore those words, *both of man and beast*, the Hebrews understand of their slaves, whether men or women (who were Canaanites, or gentiles, not others), who were in their power as much as their *beasts*, to give away or to sell. But to take away their life, or to give them to be slain, was not in their power: but all the effect of this *cherem* was, that the whole right which they had to the service of such slaves, was transferred by him that devoted them to the service of the priests and sacred uses (see Selden in that book cap. 9, p. 518, &c.). But though they might not devote their servants to death, yet they might their enemies, before they went out to war with them; and such of their own people also as did not observe the military laws. An example of which we have, Numb. xxi. 2. Upon which account also, the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead were slain (Judges xxi. 9, 10), for violating the solemn public *cherem*, pronounced against those that came not up to Mizpeh (ver. 5). And this is the *cherem* spoken of in this verse (see Selden, cap. 10). For as for the *cherem*, whereby a man was excommunicated, it only loaded him with many curses, and made him execrable, so that no man might come near him; but did not touch his life, as he there shews, p. 530.

the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the LORD's: it is holy unto the LORD.

31 And if a man will at all redeem *ought* of his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth *part* thereof.

Ver. 30. *All the tithe of the land, — is the Lord's:* By an ancient right before the law of Moses was delivered: for this is the first time we find any mention of a law about tithes; for which he giving no reason, it is a sign this was a pious usage all the world over; and therefore, being no new thing, but what all nations practised, the Jews could not think it burdensome to them; unless they would be wholly irreligious, and not acknowledge God to be the author and fountain of all the plenty and happiness they enjoyed: which was the intention of paying tithes; as the gentiles anciently did, and the Jews themselves, after victory over their enemies. For which there being no precept that appears, what can we think, but that natural reason, and the common custom of mankind (founded, perhaps, upon some direction given to our first parents from above), taught them to make this acknowledgment to God, as the author of their successes and safety, as well as of all plenty and prosperity (see Gen. xiv. 19, xxviii. 22).

Whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree. By the "seed of the land," is meant corn (as Rasi expounds it), and by the "fruit of the tree," wine and oil. For thus they are reckoned up in other places (Numb. xviii. 12), where he gives the priest the first-fruits of the "wine, and oil, and wheat." And the like we read in Deut. xviii. 3, 4, and in Deut. xiv. 23, they are commanded to eat before God, "the tithe of their corn, of their wine, and their oil." Under which last is comprehended the fruit of all other trees; as under the word *seed* in this place seems to be comprehended all manner of herbs, as well as corn. For so the Pharisees understood it; and our Saviour doth not disallow it.

It is holy God, having declared his right in the tithe in the beginning of the verse, here commands that it be reserved to him as his portion: which he afterward conferred and settled upon the Levites by a special donation (Numb. xviii. 21).

Ver. 31.] Mr. Selden, in his History of the Tithes (ch. ii.), speaking of the second tithe, mentioned Deut. xiv. 13, which was to be spent at Jerusalem (either in kind, or else, if it were too far thither, by turning it into money, and therewith to buy provision to make feasts), saith, "that to this tithe do the Jews apply that of Lev. xxvii. 30, 31." But for this he quotes only R. S. Jarchi: who, though he was a great Talmudist, yet must not be thought to understand the sense of all their doctors. Aben Ezra, it is plain (to name no more), takes it otherwise; making Moses to speak of such a tithe as Abraham gave Melchisedec, and Jacob vowed to God. Lyra, I might add, a converted Jew, agrees with him. And there is great reason for it; no such thing as a *second tithe* being as yet ordained: and when they were commanded, and the changing of them into money allowed, there is not a word said of "adding a fifth part" (see Deut. xiv. 24, 25), which is sufficient to show that Moses, in these two verses, speaks of the *first tithe*, which was paid to the Levites, by a law made some time after this; which transferred the right that God had in the tithe of the land unto them; which, if any man had a mind to *redeem*, and not to pay it in kind, God allows him so to do; because the tithe was not more holy than things vowed to God, spoken of before: but then he was to do as in the case of such things (ver. 13), add a *fifth part*, over and above, to what such a portion of tithe was esteemed to be worth. The reason

32 And concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock, *even of whatsoever passeth under*

of which was, as Mr. Calvin well observes, not that the priest should get more than his due, by the man who desired to redeem his tithe, but that the man might not make a gain of the priest. For it is seldom seen that a husbandman desires to pay money rather than his tithe; unless he propound some considerable advantage to himself.

Ver. 32. *Tithe of the herd, or of the flock.*] Every one knows, that by "the tithe of the herd" here is meant *calves*, and by the *flock* is to be understood *lambs and kids* (Lev. i. 2). For this was the tithe of those young ones that were brought forth that year; the same cattle not being again tithed every year. And he speaks of clean beasts, which were allowed in sacrifice; for tithe was not paid of other beasts; but their first-born only was the Lord's. This tithe was paid to God every year, as a eucharistical sacrifice, for all the benefits they received from God by their cattle.

Even of whatsoever passeth under the rod.] This expresses the manner of this tithing, which, if we will believe the Jews, was thus: they were all brought into a sheep-cot (saith Maimonides, in his Treatise of First-born, cap. vii. in the beginning), in which there was but one gate or door, and that so narrow as to suffer no more than one to come out at once. Their dams being placed without, and the gate opened, the young ones were invited by their bleatings to press to get out to them; and as they passed by, one by one, a man who stood at the gate with a rod, coloured with ochre, told them in order; and when the tenth came out, whether it was male or female, sound or not, he marked it with his rod, and said, "Let this be holy in the name of the tenth." And this account R. Solomon and others give of this matter; of which notion they are so fond, that R. Bechai (upon Numb. xvii), makes Jacob (who vowed tithe of all that God should give him) to have decimated his children on this manner, beginning at Benjamin and stopping at Levi, who was the tenth according to that reckoning, and hath some pretty conceits about it. But Bocharius thinks Moses doth not speak here of the rod of the tithes, but of the shepherd's crook: and so doth Aben Ezra, the Syriac, and the Vulgar: for the flock passed under his rod as oft as he numbered them, which was every morning and evening (if he was a good shepherd), especially in the evening (see Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44, p. 499). Of this Jeremiah speaks (ch. xxxiii. 13), and Ezekiel alludes to it, when he saith (ch. xx. 37), "I will cause you to pass under the rod." Where Kimchi notes it is the same phrase with this in Leviticus, and as much as to say, "As he that telleth his sheep holdeth a rod in his hand, and telleth them one by one, and brings out the tenth for the tithe; so will I number you, and the sinners shall perish," &c.

The tenth shall be holy.] That is, saith Maimonides (in his forenamed treatise called Bechoroth), the fat and the blood of them was offered at the altar; and then the owners ate the flesh anywhere in Jerusalem, as they did the lesser holy things. For the priests had no portion of them, but all belonged to the owner, as did the paschal lamb. If there was any blemish in them, whether before or after the tithing, then they might be eaten in any place. And so Bartenora (as Dr. Outram observes, lib. i. De Sacrificiis, cap. 11), "we do not find in the whole law that any part of these tenths was given to the priests." So a great many other of their doctors, who observe that Moses doth not reckon these among the twenty-four *gifts* (for so many they make the whole number of them)

the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord. 33 He shall not search whether it be good or

which were bestowed upon the priesthood. But as there is nothing else in Scripture to warrant this, which nowhere prescribes how these *tenths* should be employed, but only declares that they are *holy to the Lord*; so this very phrase, I should think, sufficiently signifies that they belonged to the Lord's ministers; and if not entirely to the priests, much less entirely to the owners of them (before they were the Lord's); but if they were to eat them at Jerusalem, as the Jews imagine, the Levites sure were to have their share, and the stranger and other poor people, as they were to have in their *second tithe* of corn, wherewith they made feasts there (Deut. xiv. 27—29).

Ver. 33. *He shall not search whether it be good or bad.*] It is not easy to give an account why God required so punctually the *tenth* calf, goat, or lamb; that though it were never so lean or blemished, he would not suffer it to be exchanged for the better, unless it were to avoid all disputes, strife, and contention. There are those, indeed, that think the reason was, because in those ages this was looked upon as so sacred a number, that it mystically denoted God, whose Divine perfections, providence, and bounty they were thought to acknowledge, who gave the *tenth* to him; which was not to be altered and changed, no more than he himself can be.

If he change it at all, then both—shall be holy;] As it was in beasts vowed to God (ver. 9, 10).

It shall not be redeemed.] Nor might they sell it, no more than suffer it to be redeemed. If they did, he that sold it or bought it got nothing (as Maimonides speaks); and besides, the seller was to be scourged, as he that sold the *cherems* given to the priest, ver. 28 (Bechoroth, cap. 6, sect. 5).

Ver. 34. *These are the commandments, which the Lord commanded.*] That is, these moreover were added to the foregoing commandments, before they removed from the wilderness of Mount Sinai (see ch. xxv. 1, xxvi. ult.). For having said before, in the conclusion of the foregoing chapter, "these are the statutes, and judgments, and laws which the Lord made," &c. which respect all that preceded in this book, the *commandments* here spoken of can relate to nothing more but the laws delivered in this chapter about *vows*, and *devoted things*, and *tithes*.

Which laws ought not to be passed over, without serious consideration how far we may be concerned in them. And therefore to make what I have noted about them more useful to us in these days, I desire the reader to observe, that the very same pious inclinations have ever been in all good Christians, which Moses here supposes (in the former part of this chapter) would be in the Jews, to devote some part of their goods, their houses, or lands to the service of God; which became sacred things, and were to be employed to no other use but that. The very first Christians had so much of this spirit in them, that they sold all their possessions and goods, and let every one that needed have a share of them (Acts ii. 45, iv. 35); because the whole number of believers attended to nothing else but the service of Christ; and the apostles also were to be furnished with means to go and propagate the gospel in all the world. Where, as soon as the Christian religion prevailed in any place, immediately there were the like voluntary oblations made, in such a proportion, as served not only for the support of the service of God in that church, but helped to maintain the Christians at Jerusalem, who had been brought low by parting with their estates to further the first preaching of the gospel. This we find in a great number of places; but it may

bad, neither shall he change it; and if he change it at all, then both it and the change thereof shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed.

suffice to say, that the feasts of charity were maintained out of these oblations.

By which it is apparent that they took themselves to have the very same obligations upon them in this matter, which the Jews formerly had; and therefore it is no wonder that *tithes* came in time to be devoted for the maintenance of God's ministers. For it is senseless to imagine, that the gospel which constrained them to give up themselves to God, should not constrain them, with the same freedom of mind, to give some of their goods (as Moses here supposes the Jews would do) for the maintenance of his service. And it is as unreasonable to think it did not move them to give the ministers of God as honourable a maintenance, as had been allowed under the law of Moses.

Which required, besides the *tenth* here mentioned, another tithe of the remainder to be spent in sacrifices at Jerusalem, of which the Levites had their share, as I observed in Deut. xiv. 22, 28. To which, if we add the first-born with all sin-offerings, and the priest's share of peace-offerings, and the skins of the sacrifices (which alone made a good revenue, as Philo observes), and likewise all such consecrations as are mentioned in this chapter, the Levites' cities and suburbs, it will easily appear it could not be so little as a *fifth* part of the fruit of the land which came to their share.

Now the reason we find no such certain rate determined by the gospel, as was by this law, is, because there was no need of it; and for the same reason there was none, for a good while, settled by the church; all the revenues belonging to it, which served for all sorts of pious uses, arising from the devotion and oblations of the people, which were more than enough for God's service. This was visible in the beginning of our religion, when the first Christians far outdid any thing that had been done under the law. And they could not imagine, that they who succeeded them would fall so short as not to offer sufficient for God's service; though not so much as they had done, because there could not be the same necessity. And so Mr. Selden himself observes that this reason is given by Agobardus, why nothing was decreed in councils, or publicly promulgated by the fathers in the first ages, concerning giving of their goods, and adorning churches; because there was no necessity of it: the religious devotion, the love of Christians to such things *ultra æstuante*, "being very fervent, and abounding of its own accord."

And when love began to wax cold, so that they found it needful to make laws about such things, they could not think fit to order less for the settled mainte-

34 These *are* the commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount Sinai.

nance of God's service than the *tenth* (besides all voluntary oblations), which had been the part most eminently limited under the law of nature, long before the law of Moses. See Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 31, where he saith, Christians, having greater hopes, could not give less than they did in former times, when their hope was lower.

I shall add but one observation more, from an excellent person of our own church (Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church, &c., p. 219), that as all such consecrations, as here are mentioned by Moses, tended to communion with God, by the participation of sacrifices offered to him, which were maintained by such contributions; so whatsoever is devoted by Christians unto such holy uses, as to build and repair churches, to maintain holy assemblies, and to support those who minister God's ordinances, or enable the poor to attend upon them, hath the like intention to obtain an interest in the sacrifice of Christ, represented in the eucharist; which is the chief part of the service rendered to God in the church. This is notably exemplified in the account which Tertullian gives of Marcion the heretic (lib. De Præscriptionibus, cap. 30), who, when he first embraced the faith of Christ, and was received into the church, *pecuniam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ contulit*, "contributed a sum of money to the church;" which money, when he fell off from the Christian truth to his own heresy, was straightway thrown out together with him. This both demonstrates that they continued, in those days, to bring offerings into the treasury of the church; and that the intention of them was, that they might have communion with the church in all its services; for when men fell off from Christianity, they cast out their offerings, in token they had no communication with them.

I end all with the words of Conradus Pellicanus upon the thirtieth verse of this chapter: which will show the sense of the first reformers in this matter. "All the tithe is the Lord's, and remains so for ever, &c.; and therefore tithes are to be paid by Divine and natural right, and religiously expended, according to his appointment, &c. And if tithes should not be sufficient for the maintenance of those who ought to be sustained in the church, at the public charge, the ninths, or the eighths, ought of necessity to be raised by the judgment and consent of the church; for the law of charity dictates this, and the excellent, irreprehensible ordinance of God: which charity binds more strongly in the evangelical law than in the Mosaic; inasmuch as the church ought to be more perfect than the synagogue; and charity than fear."

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

NUMBERS.

THIS Book is called by the name of NUMBERS in our language; because it begins with an account of the numbering of the people in the beginning of the second year after they came out of Egypt; though it contains a great many things besides that; particularly, another numbering of them (chap. xxvi.) towards the conclusion of their travels in the wilderness: for this book comprehends a history of about thirty-eight years, though most of the things related in it fell out in the first and in the last of these years; and it doth not appear when those things were done, which we read of about the middle of the book, from the fifteenth to the twentieth chapter.

CHAPTER I.

1 *God commandeth Moses to number the people.* 5 *The princes of the tribes.* 17 *The number of every tribe,*
47 *The Levites are exempted for the service of the Lord.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tabernacle of the congregation, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying,

2 Take ye the sum of all the congregation

of the children of Israel, after their families, by the house of their fathers, with the number of their names, every male by their polls;

3 From twenty years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel: thou and Aaron shall number them by their armies.

CHAP. I.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses*] Who undertook nothing without order from God.

In the wilderness] Where they had continued near a full year (as appears by comparing Exod. xix. 1, with this place), and shortly after this removal from it (ch. x. 11).

In the tabernacle] From whence the Lord delivered those laws which we read in the foregoing book (see on Lev. i. 1), and now seems to have admitted him into the tabernacle, whereas before he only spake to him out of it.

On the first day of the second month,] All that is related in the foregoing book, seems to have passed in the first month of the second year after their coming out of Egypt, in the beginning of which the tabernacle was set up (Exod. xl. 2, 17), and in the middle of it the passover was kept; as appears by this book (ch. ix. 1, 2, &c.).

Ver. 2. *Take ye the sum*] There had been a muster, as we may call it, of the people, before the tabernacle was erected (Exod. xxx. 12), and consequently some months before this; for it was in order to a contribution, which every one was to make towards that holy work (Exod. xxxviii. 26), whereas this was for the better disposing of their camps about the tabernacle now that it was set up; and for their more regular march when they removed from Mount Sinai, which they were to do shortly.

Of all the congregation] Who alone were numbered; all except the Levites; but none of the mixed multitude that came with them out of Egypt (Exod. xiii. 38).

After their families,] It appears by Josh. vii. 16, 17, &c. that the several tribes of Israel were divided into families, and those families into households, and those households had every one of them a head or chief, who is called the father of it. There were seventy of these families in all; but some tribes had more, others fewer, according to the number of souls (as they are called); that is, persons who were in each when they went down into Egypt (Gen. xlv. 27).

By the house of their fathers,] Every family, as I said, being distributed into houses (which we now call families); these houses were denominated from their chief, whom they called their father; for no houses were denominated from the mother, as Jews say.

Number of their names,] The names of every person, in the several houses, were set down and registered, that they might be the better known.

Every male by their polls;] But no women; for the reason which follows.

Ver. 3. *From twenty years old and upward,*] Which was ever after this the age when men were thought fit for war.

All that are able to go forth to war] One would think by this they were not to number very aged and decrepit people, because they were no more able to go to war than women and children, and those under twenty years old. And if we may believe Josephus (lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 9), after fifty years old, men were not bound to pay the half-shekel which was due in such musters; and therefore we may reasonably think were excused from going to war, unless they had a mind themselves.

4 And with you there shall be a man of every tribe; every one head of the house of his fathers.

5 ¶ And these *are* the names of the men that shall stand with you: *of the tribe of Reuben*; Elizur, the son of Shedeur.

6 Of Simeon; Shelumiel the son of Zuri-shaddai.

7 Of Judah; Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

8 Of Issachar; Nethaneel the son of Zuar.

9 Of Zebulun; Eliab the son of Helon.

[*Thou and Aaron*] Who had the highest authority in the nation.

[*Shall number them by their armies.*] This seems to import, that, in taking the account of them, they distributed them into certain troops or companies, out of which were formed regiments (as we now speak), and greater regular bodies, which composed several armies. We do not read this was required in the former numbering (Exod. xxx.), that being for another end, as I now observed; not for their more orderly march in their remove from Mount Sinai. And here I cannot but take notice, what a vast difference there was between this method and that rude way which Cærops, the first king of Attica, after the Ogygian flood (which happened about the time of Moses), took to know the number of his people; which the Greek writers say, was by requiring every one of them to bring a stone, καὶ βάλλειν εἰς τὸ μέτρον, "and throw it down before him;" which he counting, found them twenty thousand. So the scholiast upon Pindar (Ode ix.) and others in Meursius De Regibus Atheniens. (lib. i. cap. 7).

Ver. 4. *With you there shall be a man of every tribe*;] Whom they were to take for their assistants.

[*Every one head of the house of his fathers.*] The LXX. and the Vulgar understand this to signify the principal persons in each tribe, who were best acquainted with every family and household in that tribe. And so it is expounded, ver. 6, and many think these were the first-born in their tribe: but there is this objection against it, that Nahshon, who is named for the tribe of Judah (ver. 7), was not descended from the first-born of that tribe; for Pharez was not Judah's eldest son, Selah being before him, who had children, as we find in ch. xxvi. of this book (ver. 20). Besides, when the principals of the tribes are reckoned up again (ch. xxxiv. of this book), in the last year of their abode in the wilderness, none of them are derived from these men here mentioned, but from others: and therefore these were the most eminent men in the several tribes, upon a different account; either for wisdom or valour, or some other excellent quality.

Ver. 5. *That shall stand*] Be assistants.

[*With you*.] i. e. With Moses and Aaron.

[*Of the tribe of Reuben; Elizur.*] There is little to be observed concerning these tribes, but that they are here placed not in the order of their birth, but of their mothers who bare them. First, the children of Leah, who are all reckoned in the same order wherein they were born of her (ver. 6—9). Then the children of Rachel (ver. 10, 11), and after them the children of the two handmaids, in the four following verses; where (ver. 12) Dan is set first, he being the first-born of Bilhah, whom Rachel gave Jacob for his wife (Gen. xxx. 5), but then the next that follow are not reckoned according to the order of their birth; for Naphtali, who was born next, is placed the last; and the youngest son of Zilpah placed before the

10 Of the children of Joseph: of Ephraim; Elishama the son of Ammihud: of Manasseh; Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

11 Of Benjamin; Abidan the son of Gideon.

12 Of Dan; Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

13 Of Asher; Pagiel the son of Ocran.

14 Of Gad; Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

15 Of Naphtali; Ahira the son of Enan.

16 These *were* the renowned of the congregation, princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel.

eldest; for which we cannot now discern the reason, though it is likely it was upon the account of some pre-eminence or other which they had gained; as Ephraim, the youngest son of Joseph, is mentioned before Manasseh the eldest (ver. 10), because Jacob had given him the precedence, when he blessed them before his death (Gen. xlviii. 19).

Ver. 6. *Of Simeon; Shelumiel*] There is less to be observed concerning the names of these great men of each tribe; for whatsoever the import of them may be in the Hebrew language (which Chytraeus and others have endeavoured to make out), it signifies nothing to us: only most of them show how much God was in the thoughts of those who imposed these names on their children; for Elizur signifies "My God the rock;" and Shelumiel is as much as "God my peace," or "God my rewarder;" and Zurishaddai, "my rock omnipotent," or "all-sufficient," &c.

Ver. 14. *Son of Deuel*.] So he is called also, ch. vii. 42, and yet in the second chapter (ver. 14), he is called the son of Reuel; for these two letters, *daleth* and *resh*, are very often changed, the one for the other; as Ripah (Gen. x. 3), is called Dipath (1 Chron. i. 6), as, on the other hand, Dodanim (Gen. x. 4) is called Rodanim (1 Chron. i. 7), and it is to no purpose to heap up more examples there are of this.

Ver. 16. *These were the renowned*] The Hebrew word *keruim* signifies properly men called or named; that is, who had the honour to be named by God to this employment; which made them more noble than they were before. But without this respect to their nomination by God, this word signifies in general, *famous* men, as we translate it (ch. xvi. 2, xxvi. 9), or *renowned* (Ezek. xxiii. 23). Accordingly the Vulgar translates it, *most noble*.

[*Princes of the tribes*] As appears more plainly from the noble offerings which each of them made for the dedication of the altar (ch. vii.).

[*Heads of thousands*] Men not only of great authority; such as Jethro advised Moses to take to his aid in governing the people (Exod. xviii. 21), but the highest of that rank; being chief commanders over all the thousands that were in their several tribes; under whom, no doubt, were many inferior officers of great account; for so all people have found it necessary to submit themselves to the government of some supreme power, with several subordinate rulers under it. In which Israel excelled all other nations, being under the government of God himself, who appointed Moses immediately under him, with several others, as we here find, to assist him; for it is truly observed by Xenophon, that οὐδὲν οὕτως οὐτ' εὐχρηστον, οὐτε καλὸν ἀνθρώποις ὥς ἡ τάξις: "nothing is either so profitable for men, or so becoming, as good order;" and, on the contrary, nothing so mischievous, or unseemly, as confusion. Now order is nothing else but the apt disposition of every thing in its proper place, for certain ends and uses. Accordingly among men nothing is more necessary, than that every one should know and

17 ¶ And Moses and Aaron took these men which are expressed by *their names* :

18 And they assembled all the congregation together on the first *day* of the second month, and they declared their pedigrees after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, by their polls.

19 As the Lord commanded Moses, so he numbered them in the wilderness of Sinai.

20 And the children of Reuben, Israel's eldest son, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war ;

21 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Reuben, *were* forty and six thousand and five hundred.

22 ¶ Of the children of Simeon, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, those that were numbered of them, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war ;

23 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Simeon, *were* fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

24 ¶ Of the children of Gad, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war ;

25 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Gad, *were* forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.

26 ¶ Of the children of Judah, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war ;

27 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Judah, *were* threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.

28 ¶ Of the children of Issachar, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war ;

29 Those that were numbered of them, *even*

keep his place in that degree and rank that belongs to him ; as was here ordered by God for the preservation and good government of his people.

Ver. 17. *Moses and Aaron took these men*] To be their associates in the numbering of the people.

Which are expressed by their names :] Whom God himself marked out by name to be joined with them. For as people cannot be preserved without order, so that cannot be preserved without rulers and governors ; and they will signify nothing if their authority be not revered ; and nothing can gain them such reverence, as a particular designation by God to their office.

Ver. 18. *They assembled all the congregation together*] They immediately executed their commission on the same day they received it (ver. 1), summoning all the people to appear before them.

Declared their pedigrees] The people instantly obeyed, and every one showed from whom he was descended ; or it may refer to Moses and Aaron, and the rest, who set down every man's original in the public tables.

After their families, &c.] First, they showed of what family they were ; and then of what house in that family ; and then the name of every person in that house was given in (see ver. 2). Such a kind of distinction Cecrops made in Attica, when he numbered the people, whom he divided into four tribes (which, in the days of Alcmaeon, their last king, were increased into ten) ; every one of which had several people in it, which were like the families in Israel ; there being no less than ten or eleven people in that tribe which was called after his own name, *Kecropis* (see Meursius, lib. i. De Reg. Athen. cap. 7, and lib. ii. cap. 10). And every one knows how Rome, at the first, had three tribes instituted by Romulus, which were divided into ten courts (if I may so call them), and those into certain families, which in aftertimes were increased into five-and-thirty tribes, according to the regions of the city.

Ver. 19. *So he numbered them*] With the assistance of the forenamed persons.

In the wilderness] Before they removed from Sinai ; which being upon the twentieth day of this month

(ch. x. 11), they finished this work in so many days or less.

Ver. 20. *By their generations,*] The word *generations* seems to be larger than *families*, as that is than *houses*, comprehending every family in that tribe ; as families comprehend every household, and household comprehends every person therein. So the meaning is, all that were descended from Reuben, according to their several families ; and houses in those families ; and persons in those houses.

Ver. 21.] Some have observed, that this tribe was one of those which had the smallest number of men in it ; in which they think was fulfilled the prophecy of Jacob, who foretold that Reuben should not excel (Gen. xlix. 4). But I do not look upon this as solid ; for there were several tribes, which all this time had fewer persons in it than this ; particularly the children of Joseph (whom Jacob compared to a *fruitful bough*, Gen. xlix. 22), were very much fewer (see below, ver. 33, 35). Gad also, Benjamin and Asher, were fewer in number than Reuben ; who, in this regard, excelled five tribes.

Ver. 23. *Simeon*] He had six children when they went down into Egypt, and Reuben but four ; which is a plain reason of the greater increase of this tribe than the former.

Ver. 24. *Gad,*] It is probable that this tribe is therefore mentioned next, though descended from a hand-maid, because they were to encamp and march together with Simeon under the standard of Reuben ; as is ordered in the next chapter, ver. 14.

Ver. 25. *Gad,*] He had more sons than Simeon (Gen. xlii. 10, 16), when they came out of Egypt ; and yet fewer descended from him, by many thousands, than there did from Simeon ; of which the reason doth not appear.

Ver. 27. *Judah,*] It may be justly thought that Jacob's prophecy concerning the power and strength of this tribe (Gen. xlix. 8, &c.) began already to be fulfilled, they being far more numerous than any other.

Ver. 28. *Issachar,*] There is a plain account why this tribe and Zebulun are mentioned next to Judah, because they two marched under his standard (ch. ii.

of the tribe of Issachar, *were* fifty and four thousand and four hundred.

30 ¶ Of the children of Zebulun, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

31 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Zebulun, *were* fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.

32 ¶ Of the children of Joseph, *namely*, of the children of Ephraim, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

33 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Ephraim, *were* forty thousand and five hundred.

34 ¶ Of the children of Manasseh, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

35 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Manasseh, *were* thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

36 ¶ Of the children of Benjamin, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

37 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Benjamin, *were* thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

38 ¶ Of the children of Dan, by their gene-

rations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

39 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Dan, *were* threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

40 ¶ Of the children of Asher, by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

41 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Asher, *were* forty and one thousand and five hundred.

42 ¶ Of the children of Naphtali, throughout their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war;

43 Those that were numbered of them, *even* of the tribe of Naphtali, *were* fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

44 These *are* those that were numbered, which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, *being* twelve men: each one was for the house of his fathers.

45 So were all those that were numbered of the children of Israel, by the house of their fathers, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel;

46 Even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.

47 ¶ But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers were not numbered among them.

4, 5, 7). It may be observed also, that these two tribes were more numerous than many others who had more children when they came out of Egypt.

Ver. 32. *Ephraim*,] He had the pre-eminence given him to Manasseh long ago (Gen. xlviii. 19), and therefore is here placed before him.

Ver. 33. *Ephraim*,] Though they were hitherto but few in comparison with some other tribes, yet in this the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled (Gen. xlviii. 19, 20), that they were more fruitful than Manasseh, there being above eight thousand persons more in this tribe than in the other (ver. 35).

Ver. 35. *Manasseh*] This was now the smallest tribe; but before they got to Canaan they grew very numerous, being increased above twenty thousand (ch. xxvi. 34).

Ver. 37. *Benjamin*,] Though Benjamin had more children than any of the rest of his brethren, when they went down into Egypt (Gen. xli. 21, where it appears he had ten sons), yet his tribe had the fewest men in it of all other, except Manasseh.

Ver. 39. *Dan*,] On the contrary, Dan, who had but one son when they went down into Egypt (Gen. xli. 23), grew to a greater number than any other tribe, except Judah. So variously did the Divine providence work in fulfilling the promise to Abraham, of multiplying his seed.

Ver. 41. *Asher*,] The growth of this tribe was not proportionable to that of some other, considering how many children Asher had at their going down into Egypt. But they increased near twelve thousand

more before they got out of the wilderness (ch. xxvi. 47).

Ver. 43. *Naphtali*,] The great increase of this tribe is alleged by Bochartus, to justify his interpretation of Gen. xlix. 21, by altering the punctuation of the words. But I have there observed, that five other tribes were more numerous than Naphtali when this account was taken of them.

Ver. 44. *These—were numbered*,] This is the account that was taken of the number of men in each tribe.

Which Moses—numbered,] See v. 3, 4, &c.

Each one was for the house] Who could the better judge to what tribe every one belonged.

Ver. 45, 46. *So were all those that were numbered*, &c.] By which it appears there was not one man dead since their last numeration (seven months ago), when they were taxed for the tabernacle; for they were at that time just so many as are here mentioned (Exod. xxxviii. 26). As for Nadab and Abihu, they were of the tribe of Levi, who are not here reckoned; and the man that was stoned for blasphemy (Lev. xxiv.) was not of Israel, by the side of his father.

Ver. 47. *But the Levites—were not numbered*] There was no account taken of them among the other tribes; as it is likely they were not comprehended in the former number (Exod. xxxviii. 26), being the persons who took the account (ver. 21), and had before this consecrated themselves to the Lord (ch. xxxii. 29).

After the tribe of their fathers] Is a Hebraism, for

48 For the Lord had spoken unto Moses, saying,

49 Only thou shalt not number the tribe of Levi, neither take the sum of them among the children of Israel:

50 But thou shalt appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of testimony, and over all the vessels thereof, and over all things that *belong* to it: they shall bear the tabernacle, and all the vessels thereof; and they shall minister unto it, and shall encamp round about the tabernacle.

51 And when the tabernacle setteth forward, the Levites shall take it down: and when the tabernacle is to be pitched, the Levites shall set

it up: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

52 And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, throughout their hosts.

53 But the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle of testimony, that there be no wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel: and the Levites shall keep the charge of the tabernacle of testimony.

54 And the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord commanded Moses, so did they.

the "fathers of their tribe;" expressing, in short, what is at large said of all the rest, "by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers" (ver. 20, 22, 24, &c.).

Ver. 48.] He had received an order from God, when he commanded him to number the people, not to number them; which he sets down, that it might not be thought he favoured them, because he was of their tribe, and therefore exempted them from the wars, unto which all others were engaged.

Ver. 49. *Thou shalt not number the tribe of Levi, &c.*] Because they were intended for another service, and therefore were to be numbered by themselves. There were as stout and valiant men in this tribe as any other (which appeared sufficiently when God's honour was to be vindicated, Exod. xxxii.) but God did not design them for the wars of Canaan, they having employment enough in carrying and guarding the tabernacle.

And from this example, the heathen learned to exempt all those who ministered to their gods from all other services; particularly from the war. Strabo notes (lib. ix. Geograph.) this custom to have been as old as Homer's time; for in all his catalogue there is no mention of any ship that went against Troy from Alalcomenon, because that city was sacred to Minerva, who is thence called by Homer Ἀλακχομένης Ἀδρήνα. The same is observed by Cæsar (lib. vi.) of the ancient Druids, that they were freed from the wars, and from tribute also. Which privilege St. Basil challenges as belonging to the clergy, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον, "according to the ancient law," Epist. cclxix.; and S. Greg. Nazianzen doth the same in many places; particularly by his letter to Julianus, Epist. clxvi.

Ver. 50. *Appoint the Levites over the tabernacle*] This was their work, to attend continually upon the house of God.

Of testimony.] So it is called, because the ark of the testimony was there; for which it was principally made. See Exod. xxxviii. 21, and what I have noted upon Exod. xxv. 16, ch. xl. 3.

Over all the vessels] Not to use them in any sacred ministry (which belonged to the priests alone), but to carry them when they were to be removed; and to keep them in safety at all times. See ch. viii. ult. where it is expressly said, they shall do no service there.

They shall bear the tabernacle.] As is particularly directed in the fourth chapter.

Minister unto it,] Which ministry is at large described in the third chapter.

Encamp round about the tabernacle.] As a guard unto it: they being like to the legions about the palace of a great king, to secure and defend it from violence or rudeness. Which was the reason that they did not march under any of the standards of the other tribes: because they were to make a camp by themselves; the order of which is directed in the same third chapter. And for the same reason they were not to go to the wars; because their camp was to attend upon the tabernacle, the house of God.

Ver. 51.] When the Israelites removed to a new station, the tabernacle was taken in pieces, that it might be the more easily carried from place to place: in which the Levites were to be employed; and likewise in putting it together again, when it was to be set up, where they rested in their journeys; as is more fully ordered in the fourth chapter, where the manner of taking it down and setting it up again is directed; and every one's office about it, whether priests (for they had some hand in it) or Levites, expressly appointed.

The stranger] Who is not of this tribe, though an Israelite.

** That cometh nigh*] To perform any of the forenamed offices.

Shall be put to death.] As a presumptuous person, in meddling with that which doth not belong unto him. The author of Schebet Jehudah extends this to all strangers, who worshipped strange gods; and saith there was a golden sword hung up in the gate of the temple with this inscription, "The stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death."

Ver. 52. *The children of Israel*] The rest of the tribes before mentioned.

Shall pitch their tents, &c.] In the order prescribed in the next chapter.

Ver. 53. *The Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle*] As is directed ch. iii. where they are ordered to make a camp nearer the tabernacle, within the other camp of the Israelites.

That there be no wrath upon the congregation] To prevent the other camp of the Israelites from coming too nigh the tabernacle; whereby they might have incurred God's displeasure.

The Levites shall keep the charge of the tabernacle] That is, therefore they were to be a constant guard about it; that no man might approach nearer than God allowed, and so bring heavy punishments upon himself and upon the congregation.

Ver. 54. *Did according*] Consented to all that is here required, and did accordingly.

CHAPTER II.

The order of the tribes in their tents.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

2 Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house: far off about the tabernacle of the congregation shall they pitch.

3 And on the east side toward the rising of the sun shall they of the standard of the camp of Judah pitch throughout their armies: and Nashon the son of Amminadab shall be captain of the children of Judah.

4 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.

5 And those that do pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Issachar: and Nethaneel the son of Zuar shall be captain of the children of Issachar.

6 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.

7 Then the tribe of Zebulun: and Eliab the son of Helon shall be captain of the children of Zebulun.

8 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.

9 All that were numbered in the camp of

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1.] The just number of days that were spent in taking the forenamed account of the people is uncertain (see ch. i. 19), but that being finished, now order is given for their encamping under their several standards. And it is directed to Aaron as well as Moses; though the order for numbering them was directed to Moses only (ch. i. 1), Aaron having by that first order been joined with him in taking the account of them.

Ver. 2. *Every man—shall pitch by his own standard,*] By the banner of that tribe to which he was joined by the following order.

With the ensign of their father's house.] Every family and household had their particular ensigns, beside that great banner under which they encamped and marched; it being pitched and carried (as will appear) in the midst of them. How these banners and ensigns were distinguished one from another, we have no certain knowledge. The later Jews say (particularly Aben Ezra upon his place), that Judah carried in his standard the figure of a lion, and Reuben the figure of a man: Ephraim of an ox, and Dan of an eagle, for which I can see no ground. For though Judah be compared to a lion, yet the reasons he gives for the other are very absurd; with which I shall not trouble the reader, but only observe, that there is not one word of any such thing in their ancient writers; no, not in the whole body of the Talmud, as the famous Bochartus assures us. And it is not likely that they, who so lately smarted for making the golden calf, would adventure to make any other images, and expose them to the eyes of all the people. Nor is it impertinent to observe, that when Vitellius in after ages was to march against the Arabians through Judea, the great men of the nation met him, and besought him to march another way: the law of their country not allowing images (such as were in the Roman ensigns) to be brought into it. So Josephus relates, lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 7, for which one can see no reason, if their ancestors in the wilderness had, by the command or allowance of Moses, carried an eagle in any of their standards (see Bochart in his Hieroz. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 5). It is more probable, if there be room for conjecture in this matter, that the name of Judah might be embroidered in great letters in his standard, and of Reuben in his, and so of the rest: or they were distinguished by their colours only, as now our regiments are.

Far off about the tabernacle] At such a distance as

might show their reverence to the tabernacle; and that there might be another camp of the Levites within them, who made a nearer enclosure about it, in the same form with the camp of Israel, which was quadrangular. This distance of the camp of Israel from the tabernacle, is reasonably judged (by Josh. iii. 4) to have been two thousand cubits; that is, a mile.

Ver. 3. *On the east side*] These are two expressions (after the manner of the Hebrews) for the same thing. Or *kedma*, which we here translate on the east, may be translated on the fore-part, viz. of the tabernacle: which was towards the sun's rising.

Shall they of the standard of the camp of Judah pitch] These had the most honourable post (as we now speak) of all others; pitching before the most holy place, where Moses and Aaron had their station in the camp of the Levites (ch. iii. 38). And therefore the LXX. translate the first words of this verse thus, *οι παρεμβάλλοντες πρώτοι*, &c. "they that encamp first towards the east shall be," &c.

Throughout their armies.] They being, as we read before (and as the next verse tells us again), threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred men, were divided into several bodies (such as we now call *companies*, and *regiments*, and *brigades*), under their several officers: for which the Hebrews have no name but that of *army* or *host*.

Nashon] He who was employed as the principal person in that tribe to help to take the number of them (ch. i. 7).

Shall be captain] Their commander-in-chief, or general, as we now speak.

Ver. 4.] Hitherto Moses had set down the words that God spake to him: but these are his own words, which he intermixes all along with those of God's.

Ver. 5.] These now are the words of God; ordering what tribes should pitch under the standard of Judah.

Shall be the tribes of Issachar.] He and Zebulun were two of the sons of Leah, as well as Judah: and therefore their tribes are fitly placed under the standard of the tribe of Judah, as likely to agree well together.

Nethaneel] It may be noted once for all, that the commanders-in-chief of the several tribes, were those very persons who were chosen to take the number of them: which shows they were men of eminence among them; as I observed, ch. i. 4.

Ver. 6.] These are the words of Moses, which to the end of the chapter (as I noted before) are inter-

Judah *were* an hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, throughout their armies. These shall first set forth.

10 ¶ On the south side *shall be* the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their armies: and the captain of the children of Reuben *shall be* Elizur the son of Shedeur.

11 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, *were* forty and six thousand and five hundred.

12 And those which pitch by him *shall be* the tribe of Simeon: and the captain of the children of Simeon *shall be* Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

13 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

14 Then the tribe of Gad: and the captain of the sons of Gad *shall be* Eliasaph the son of Reuel.

15 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty.

16 All that were numbered in the camp of Reuben *were* an hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, throughout their armies. And they shall set forth in the second rank.

17 ¶ Then the tabernacle of the congregation shall set forward with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the camp: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place by their standards.

18 ¶ On the west side *shall be* the standard of the camp of Ephraim according to their armies: and the captain of the sons of Ephraim *shall be* Elishama the son of Ammihud.

19 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* forty thousand and five hundred.

20 And by him *shall be* the tribe of Manasseh: and the captain of the children of Manasseh *shall be* Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

21 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

22 Then the tribe of Benjamin: and the captain of the sons of Benjamin *shall be* Abidan the son of Gideon.

23 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

24 All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim *were* an hundred thousand and eight thousand and an hundred, throughout their armies. And they shall go forward in the third rank.

scattered with the orders that God gave for the forming of their camp.

Ver. 9.] This was the greatest body of all other; which had the honour to be placed just before the oracle, as the strongest guard to it: the tribe of Judah lying in the midst, and the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun on each side of his standard; unto which all their ensigns were in some sort of subjection.

Throughout their armies.] This great body was divided into several smaller companies; for which they had no other name (as I observed before) but that of armies.

These shall first set forth.] When they removed from one station to another, this camp marched first. For they commonly went eastward; in which quarter this camp was pitched (ver. 3).

Ver. 10. *On the south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben*] There is nothing to be observed concerning this camp, but that the tribe of Reuben had the honour to pitch in the midst of it; and the tribes of Simeon and Gad lay on either side of him under his standard or banner: just as Issachar and Zebulun did on either side of Judah. And there was an evident congruity in it; Simeon being his next brother, and Gad the eldest son of Zilpah, the handmaid of their mother Leah (Gen. xxx. 10, 11).

Ver. 14. *Eliasaph*] See note upon ch. i. 14.

Ver. 16. *In the second rank.*] That is, when they removed, the three tribes that were pitched on the east marched first under the banner of Judah (as was said before, ver. 9), and then followed these three that lay on the south side under the banner of Reuben.

Ver. 17. *Then the tabernacle—shall set forward*] After the forenamed camps the tabernacle was to follow, between those two that went before, and the camp of Ephraim and the camp of Dan that came after. So they did not march as they pitched; for then there was a camp on each side of the tabernacle: whereas when they marched there was none on the

sides, but two camps went before it, and two followed it.

In the midst of the camp.] Not entirely in the midst: for it appears by the tenth chapter of this book, ver. 17, that after the first camp under the standard of Judah was gone forward, the tabernacle was taken down and carried by the sons of Gershon and Merari between the camp of Judah and that of Reuben, which next followed: and then the sanctuary set forward, borne by the Kohathites (ver. 21), who marched exactly *in the midst*, between the standards of Judah and Reuben and the standards of Ephraim and Dan.

As they encamp, so shall they set forward.] This may refer either to the Levites, the sons of Kohath; that, as they lay encamped on the same side of the tabernacle that the standard of Reuben did, so they should immediately march after them. Compare ver. 10 of this chapter with ch. iii. 29. Or to the two camps forenamed; that they should march in the same order wherein they lay encamped: Judah, for instance, in the midst of Issachar and Zebulun, before and behind him, or on each side of him.

Every man in his place by their standards.] Every man keeping his place which was assigned him, under the standard to which he belonged; that there might be no disorder among them.

Ver. 18.] There is little to be noted here, but that Ephraim is plainly preferred before his brother, as he was in Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlviii. 19, 20), and that the two tribes which encamped under his standard, viz. Manasseh (ver. 20), and Benjamin (ver. 22), are fitly joined with him: they being all descended from Rachel.

Ver. 24. *Camp of Ephraim were an hundred thousand and eight thousand*] This was the smallest body of all the four.

In the third rank.] And therefore, though they lay on the west side in their encampment, yet when they

25 ¶ The standard of the camp of Dan *shall be* on the north side by their armies: and the captain of the children of Dan *shall be* Abiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

26 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

27 And those that encamp by him *shall be* the tribe of Asher: and the captain of the children of Asher *shall be* Pagiel the son of Ocran.

28 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* forty and one thousand and five hundred.

29 ¶ Then the tribe of Naphtali: and the captain of the children of Naphtali *shall be* Ahira the son of Enan.

30 And his host, and those that were numbered of them, *were* fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

marched they did not go in the rear of all, but immediately behind the tabernacle.

Ver. 25. *Camp of Dan shall be on the north side*] This tribe, we may reasonably think, was advanced to this dignity, of bearing one of the four standards, though they descended from a handmaid; because Dan was the eldest of Jacob's sons of that sort (Gen. xxx. 6), and this tribe was the most numerous of all others except Judah; as the foregoing chapter shows (ver. 39), with whom the tribes of Asher and Naphtali are fully joined, being descended from handmaids also.

Ver. 31. *Camp of Dan were an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand, &c.*] This was the greatest body of men, except that under the standard of Judah, who marched in the front; and is the reason, perhaps, why these are ordered here, in the next words, to bring up the rear.

They shall go hindmost] Here the standard comprehends ensigns; for there was but one standard for this camp, as there were no more for the other three: therefore the meaning is, they shall march hindmost under their several colours, as we now speak; which was ordered for the greater security of the sanctuary, by the two strongest bodies marching before and behind, where there was the greatest danger.

Ver. 32. *These are those which were numbered*] That

31 All they that were numbered in the camp of Dan *were* an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall go hindmost with their standards.

32 ¶ *These are* those that were numbered of the children of Israel by the house of their fathers: all those that were numbered of the camps throughout their hosts *were* six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.

33 But the Levites were not numbered among the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.

34 And the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses: so they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward, every one after their families, according to the house of their fathers.

is, thus were all these persons disposed under their several standards; whose number was taken by Moses and Aaron, with their associates (ch. i. 44, 45).

Ver. 33. *But the Levites were not numbered*] And consequently did not belong to any of these standards, being to make another camp by themselves, (ch. i. 47, &c.).

Ver. 34.] As they gave in their names when they were to be numbered (ch. i. 54), so they now joined together under such standards as God appointed.

So they pitched by their standards, &c.] Each tribe encamped under the standard that was assigned to them; and they also marched, when they set forward, in such order as is here directed. Some order, no doubt, had been observed before, both when they rested and when they marched (see Exod. xii. 18), but it was not so exact and regular as this form, into which they were now cast by God himself, nor can we think it was so strictly observed.

The Jews say that this camp made a square of twelve miles in compass about the tabernacle; as Dr. Lightfoot hath observed, in his Cent. Chorogr. cxlviii., and J. Wagenseil more lately, in his annotations upon the Gemara of Sota, cap. i. sect. 51, where several of them say, that the camp was three parasots in compass; and a parasot was four miles.

CHAPTER III.

1 *The sons of Aaron.* 5 *The Levites are given to the priests for the service of the tabernacle,* 11 *instead of the firstborn.* 14 *The Levites are numbered by their families.* 21 *The families, number, and charge of the Gershonites,* 27 *of the Kohathites,* 33 *of the Merarites.* 38 *The place and charge of Moses and Aaron.* 40 *The firstborn are freed by the Levites.* 44 *The overplus are redeemed.*

1 *THESE* also are the generations of Aaron and Moses in the day that the LORD spake with Moses in mount Sinai.

CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *These also are the generations of Aaron and Moses*] Being now to give an account of the Levites, who had not been numbered with the rest of the children of Israel, he sets down the descendants of the principal persons among them: viz. Aaron (whom he puts in the first place, because he was the eldest

2 And *these are* the names of the sons of Aaron; Nadab the firstborn, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

brother, and his posterity were advanced to the dignity of priests) and Moses; whose posterity were only ministers to the priests, as all the common Levites were. It may seem, indeed, at first sight, as if he gave an account only of Aaron's posterity (ver. 2), but if we look further to ver. 27, 28, we shall find the posterity of both here numbered in the family of the Amramites, of which both Aaron and Moses

3 These *are* the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests which were anointed, whom he consecrated to minister in the priest's office.

4 And Nadab and Abihu died before the LORD, when they offered strange fire before the LORD, in the wilderness of Sinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar ministered in the priest's office in the sight of Aaron their father.

were: Amram being their father; from whom the genealogy of the children of Moses is derived (1 Chron. xxiii. 13, 14, &c.), through their generations; as here those of Aaron.

Concerning the word *generations*, see Dr. Hammond on the first of St. Matthew, note a.

In the day that the Lord spake unto Moses.] This circumstance seems to be particularly specified, because at that time Nadab and Abihu (who are mentioned in the next verse) were both alive, and very eminent persons (Exod. xxiv. 1, 9, 10), though they were now dead, at this numbering of the Levites.

Ver. 2. *These are the names of the sons of Aaron, &c.*] There seems no necessity of setting down the names of Aaron's sons, they not being here to be numbered. But it was of great concernment to have the distinction preserved between the priests and the Levites, their offices being very different; and therefore Moses here sets down who belonged to the one, and who to the other.

Ver. 3. *These are—the sons of Aaron.*] See Lev. viii. 30.

Whom he consecrated] In the Hebrew, "whose hand he filled" (see Exod. xxviii. 41, and xxix. 9).

To minister in the priest's office.] He would have it noted, that Aaron's posterity were solemnly consecrated to a higher office than the rest of the tribe of Levi, who were to be their servants: the very name of *cohen* carries dignity in it; signifying sometimes a *prince*, as well as a *priest*. Accordingly the priests had very little servile work imposed upon them, but their chief business was to draw near to God, to present him with the blood, and the fat, and some part of the sacrifices which might be killed by other persons. This shows that they were God's familiars; inasmuch that some sacrifices were divided between him and them: and it was the same thing, whether they were consumed on the altar, or eaten by the priests: and those things are said to be given to God which were put into their hands, though they never came to the altar: which is an evidence of the near relation they had to the Divine Majesty, which the Levites had not; for they could not come nigh to offer any thing to him, no more than the rest of the Israelites, but were employed in inferior service about the tabernacle, that the priests might wholly attend to the service of God at the altar.

Ver. 4. *Nadab and Abihu died*] A little after their consecration (Lev. x. 1, &c.).

They had no children;] Which is here recorded, that all posterity might know there were none to be admitted to the office of priesthood, but such as could derive their genealogy from Eleazar or Ithamar. If the other had left any sons, they would have inherited their father's office before Eleazar; as Maimonides observes out of Siphre (see Schickard's *Jus Regium*, cap. vi. Theor. xx.).

Eleazar and Ithamar ministered—in the sight of—their father.] The LXX. rightly translate it, "together with their father," who was the high-priest, and they lower priests under him: and so were all their sons; which it is likely they had in good number: for they are appointed (ver. 35) for the guard of the tabernacle towards the east. And thus the Gemara Hierosol. in

5 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 6 Bring the tribe of Levi near, and present them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister unto him.

7 And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation before the tabernacle of the congregation, to do the service of the tabernacle.

the title concerning Fasting, saith, that Moses appointed eight classes of priests: four of the family of Eleazar, and as many of Ithamar; which continued till the time of Samuel the prophet, and David, who admitted many more (see Selden *De Success. in Pontif. cap. 1*).

Ver. 5.] Now he gives order about the rest of the tribe of Levi, who had been omitted in the late muster.

Ver. 6. *Bring the tribe of Levi near,*] They had consecrated themselves to God by a noble act, mentioned Exod. xxxii. 29, which procured them this blessing to be presented to God, and consecrated to him in a solemn manner, for such services as he should assign them. So this word, *bring near*, signifies to offer them unto God: as they were, ch. viii. 10, 11.

Before Aaron the priest.] In his presence.

That they may minister unto him.] Unto Aaron and the rest of the priests, who were the immediate ministers of God; and the Levites were given to minister unto them: which they did many ways; especially while they remained in the wilderness, where they had a peculiar charge (which otherwise would have been incumbent on the priests), not only to guard the tabernacle, and keep a watch night and day about it; but also to take it down, and to carry it, when they removed, and to set it up again when they rested; as we read in the following part of this chapter, and in the next. When they came into the land of Canaan, and were settled there, they had less to do of this kind: but as the charge of the tabernacle still lay upon them, as it had done before, so did other works in the courts of the Lord's house, and in the chambers where they waited on the priests; which are particularly mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiii. 28, 29, &c. And in David's time their work was still more increased; for he appointed them to be singers in the house of the Lord, and to play upon several sorts of instruments (1 Chron. xxv.), which they did morning and evening (1 Chron. xxiii. 30). Porters, perhaps, there were before, who stood at the several gates of the tabernacle, as afterward of the temple; and are said therein "to minister in the house of the Lord" (1 Chron. xxvi. 12), as also guards of the treasury of God's house, and of things dedicated to him (ver. 20). But as he increased the number of them, so they settled them in their courses, that there might be a constant attendance with greater ease. As for those of them that were made judges and officers, not only in matters concerning the Lord, but in the service of the king (as we read there, 1 Chron. xxvi. 29, 30), it no more belongs to what is said of them here, than what follows there (ver. 31), that "there were found among them mighty men of valour" (see upon ver. 10).

Ver. 7. *They shall keep his charge.*] It highly concerned Aaron in particular, and the whole congregation in general, that the tabernacle should be well guarded: and this was the Levites' great business at present; who took this charge from off their hands, by attending that service, which all of them were bound to perform.

Before the tabernacle] This exactly expresses in what their ministry consisted; which was not performed in

8 And they shall keep all the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle.

9 And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons: they are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel.

10 And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

the tabernacle (where the priest only officiated in the holy place, as the high-priest in the most holy), but before it, in the external part of it, where they assisted the priests in their service.

To do the service] Such service as I have mentioned before (ver. 6).

Ver. 8. *They shall keep*] By guarding them, and keeping a continual watch about them.

All the instruments] Every thing belonging to it.

To do the service] By which service at the tabernacle they took upon them the charge; which otherwise was incumbent on the whole congregation, who were to take care that the holy things were kept both safe and secure, and also separate to the sacred uses to which they were appointed.

These words, which are often repeated ["to do the service of the tabernacle"], are to be carefully noted; because the Levites did not serve in the tabernacle (which belonged only to the priests), but served the tabernacle, by guarding it, and taking it down, and carrying it, &c. as was said before.

Ver. 9. *Give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons:*] They were first presented unto God (ver. 6), and God bestowed them as a gift upon the priests (see ch. viii. 19).

They are wholly given unto him] To attend upon the priests, and to obey their orders; for which they paid them nothing, but they were to do it freely, being given to them to be their servants by God, who paid them their wages.

Ver. 10. *Appoint Aaron and his sons,*] Or, thou shalt appoint them to wait on their priesthood: which he had shown before was very different from the Levitical office; but, to make them more mindful of their dignity, he repeats it again; that Aaron and his sons alone should officiate as priests, viz. in offering sacrifice; in setting the bread upon the holy table: looking after the lights, and burning incense; which they were to perform in their own persons, and not appoint any others, as their deputies, to do them: for none of these things could be performed by the Levites, whose business it was to look after the fine flour of which the bread was made; to prepare it, and the frankincense which was to be burnt; and abundance of such like things, which are particularly mentioned 1 Chron. ix. 27—29, 31, 32. But they could not make the anointing oil, or the sweet perfume, mentioned Exod. xxx. 23, 34, for they were most holy; and, therefore, the priests only could compound them.

The stranger] By stranger is meant any one (though a Levite) that was not of the sons of Aaron, who alone had the privilege to approach unto God.

Shall be put to death.] God himself sent out a fire to consume Korah and his company, who presumed to offer incense, being but bare Levites, and not priests (ch. xvi.).

Ver. 11.] To make the matter more clear, he further tells Moses the reason, why he took the Levites from

11 And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,
12 And I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel: therefore the Levites shall be mine;

13 Because all the firstborn are mine; for on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I hallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel, both man and beast: mine shall they be: I am the Lord.

among the children of Israel to be his after a peculiar manner.

Ver. 12. *I have taken the Levites*] Take notice of the reason why I have taken the Levites from among the rest of the Israelites (ver. 9), for it is by my order and appointment.

Instead of all the firstborn] To make an exchange with them for all their firstborn, which I have heretofore challenged as my own, and now take the Levites in their stead.

The Levites shall be mine;] As all the first-born were, which now shall be theirs, and the Levites be mine.

Ver. 13. *Because all the firstborn are mine;*] By a special right, which is mentioned in the next words.

For on the day that I smote all the firstborn] The title whereby he laid a claim to all the firstborn was, that great miracle (as R. Levi of Barcelona calls it) which he wrought, when he destroyed all the firstborn of their neighbours in Egypt, and touched not one of theirs. By which sparing mercy he acquired a just right to them; and by that solemn dedication which he then commanded to be made of them unto his uses (Exod. xiii. 2, 12, 13).

I hallowed unto me all the firstborn] He separated them unto himself, by sparing them, when he killed all other first-born, but only theirs.

Mine shall they be;] Both by that act of his own, and by the act of the children of Israel, whom he commanded to sanctify them to him (Exod. xiii. 2, and xii. 29), they became God's. By which it appears, that he had not a peculiar right in the first-born, more than in any other of their children, till their coming out of Egypt. And therefore, the taking of the Levites to be his, instead of the first-born, is no argument that the first-born had hitherto been the priests who ministered unto God, till this exchange of them for the Levites. So our learned Dr. Lightfoot seems to infer, in his notes upon this passage; "The first-born (saith he) had been priests till the consecration of the Levites; but now that function must be confined to that tribe." In which words (with due respect be it spoken to that excellent man's labours) there are several mistakes. For, as the priesthood was not now confined to this tribe, but to one family in this tribe (that of Aaron), so it was not confined to it upon this occasion; but he and his sons were consecrated before this exchange of the Levites for the first-born, who were now given to minister unto them, but had nothing to do with the priesthood; no more than the first-born had, for whom they were exchanged; that peculiar right which God had in the first-born being since their coming out of Egypt. Upon all which considerations, we may look upon this exchange as an argument rather that the first-born were not priests in former times than that they were: as the Jews fancy, and as many have suggested from this very taking of the Levites to be God's portion in their

14 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, saying,

15 Number the children of Levi after the house of their fathers, by their families: every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them.

16 And Moses numbered them according to the word of the LORD, as he was commanded.

17 And these were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari.

18 And these are the names of the sons of Gershon by their families; Libni, and Shimei.

19 And the sons of Kohath by their families; Amram, and Izebar, Hebron, and Uzziel.

20 And the sons of Merari by their families; Mahli, and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites according to the house of their fathers.

21 Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites,

and the family of the Shimites: these are the families of the Gershonites.

22 Those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, even those that were numbered of them were seven thousand and five hundred.

23 The families of the Gershonites shall pitch behind the tabernacle westward.

24 And the chief of the house of the father of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael.

25 And the charge of the sons of Gershon in the tabernacle of the congregation shall be the tabernacle, and the tent, the covering thereof, and the hanging for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation,

26 And the hangings of the court, and the curtain for the door of the court, which is by the

stead. For so Menochius himself (lib. ii. De Repub. Jud. cap. 1) asserts from this very place, Jus sacerdotum in Levitis translatum, et eos loco primogenitorum acceptos, quibus, hoc jus debebatur, "that the right of priests was transferred to the Levites, and they were accepted instead of the first-born, to whom that right belonged." In which there is not a word of truth, but only that the Levites were accepted instead of the first-born; who had the same right to the priesthood that the Levites had; that is, none at all.

[I am the Lord.] Who may take whom I please to be employed in my service; and think it reasonable that those whom I spared, when I slew the Egyptian first-born, should be mine.

Ver. 14. *The Lord spake unto Moses*] There was some reason, no doubt, why Moses alone is commanded to take the number of the Levites upon this occasion (as he alone did, ver. 16), when Aaron is joined with him in numbering the Israelites (ch. i. 3), and in numbering the Levites themselves who were fit for service (ch. iv. 2, 41, 45), nay, the chief of the Israelites assisted therein (ver. 46). And it is most probable he alone was employed to take this account, because Aaron was a party in it; the money that was to be paid for so many of the first-born as exceeded the number of the Levites, being given to him and to his sons (ver. 48).

In the wilderness] This command immediately followed the other, in the two preceding chapters, before they departed from the wilderness of Sinai; where they had been ever since God delivered the law to them from that mountain.

Ver. 15. *Number the children of Levi*] Just as they had numbered the rest of the children of Israel (see ch. i. 2). Only those they numbered from twenty years old and upward; but the Levites from a month old and upward.

Every male from a month old] The reason of this difference was, that this was the age at which they were to redeem their first-born (ch. xviii. 16), in whose stead the Levites were to be given unto God (see ver. 40 of this chapter).

Ver. 16. *Moses numbered them*] This charge was committed to him alone (ver. 10), and he alone (as I there observed) performed it.

Ver. 17. *These were the sons of Levi*] The same account we had before (Gen. xlv. 11; Exod. vi. 16).

Ver. 18. *Sons of Gershon*] The same is said Exod. vi. 17.

Ver. 19. *Sons of Kohath*] They are mentioned in the same order, in Exod. vi. 18, 19.

Ver. 20. *These are the families of the Levites*] VOL. I.—72

These were the principal families in this tribe; from whence the several households, and the persons in them, were derived.

Ver. 21, 22. *Of Gershon was the family, &c.*] From his two sons sprang two families; who had in them seven thousand and five hundred male children, from a month old and upward.

Ver. 23. *Gershonites shall pitch behind the tabernacle westward.*] Where the most holy place was; and where they under the standard of Ephraim lay, in the great camp of Israel (ch. ii. 18), between whom and the tabernacle this part of the camp of Levi pitched.

Ver. 24. *The chief*] The commander-in-chief, as we may style him, or the principal officer in this part of the camp of the Levites, was Eliasaph the son of Lael; but of what family he was, whether of the Libnites or Shimites, is not related.

Ver. 25. *The charge*] That which was committed peculiarly to their care.

In the tabernacle] In the things belonging to the tabernacle; for none went into it but the priests alone.

Shall be the tabernacle.] Not the boards, and pillars, and bases of it (for they belonged to the care of the sons of Merari, ver. 36), but the ten curtains, which were the inward hangings of it, and are called the *mischan*, or tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 1, and see the next chapter of this book, ver. 25).

The tent.] The outward curtains of goats' hair, which are called *ohel*, the tent (Exod. xxvi. 7, 12).

The covering thereof.] The *nichse*, as the Hebrews call it, or the covering of the tent, were the rams' skins and badgers' skins, which lay outmost of all, upon the curtains of goats' hair (Exod. xxvi. 14).

The hanging for the door] The outward veil, mentioned Exod. xxvi. 36, for the inward veil, which hung before the most holy place, was the charge of the Kohathites.

Ver. 26. *Hangings of the court.*] See Exod. xxvii. 9. *Curtain for the door*] Exod. xxvi. 16.

Which is by the tabernacle.] Or, as the Hebrew particle *al* may be translated, is over, or upon the tabernacle, &c. that is, this curtain at the door and the hangings of the court compassed the tabernacle, and the altar of burnt-offerings (which stood at the door of it, Exod. xl. 19), round about; so that they were not exposed to common sight: for these Gershonites had nothing to do with the altar itself, which was the charge of the Kohathites (ver. 31).

The cords of it] This seems to refer, not merely to the curtain for the door of the court, but to all that

tabernacle, and by the altar round about, and the cords of it for all the service thereof.

27 ¶ And of Kohath *was* the family of the Amramites, and the family of the Izecharites, and the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these *are* the families of the Kohathites.

28 In the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, *were* eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the sanctuary.

29 The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle southward.

30 And the chief of the house of the father of the families of the Kohathites *shall be* Elizaphan the son of Uzziel.

31 And their charge *shall be* the ark, and the table, and the candlestick, and the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the hanging, and all the service thereof.

32 And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest *shall be* chief over the chief of the Levites, and *have* the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.

went before, viz. the cords whereby those hangings were stretched out, and fastened by pins to the woodwork of the tabernacle: for the cords of that belonged to the custody of the sons of Merari (ver. 37), and we find pins and cords, as well for the tabernacle (that is, the hangings) as for the court, i. e. the boards, &c. (Exod. xxxv. 18).

For *all the service*] Of this part of the house of God, as appears from ver. 31 and 36, where this is repeated with respect to the other parts of it.

Ver. 27. *Of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, &c.*] He was the second son of Levi, and had as many more families sprung from him as from the eldest; among which was the family of the Amramites, of which were Moses and Aaron.

Ver. 28. *In the number of all the males, &c.*] Though there were four families of the Kohathites, and but two of the Gershonites, yet the latter were as numerous as they, within eleven hundred.

Keeping the charge] Of what belonged to the holy place, which was committed to their charge, as it follows afterward; and they were instructed in it betimes.

Ver. 29. *Kohath shall pitch—southward.*] Between the tabernacle and the standard of Reuben (ch. ii. 10).

Ver. 30. *The chief—shall be Elizaphan*] There was a commander-in-chief appointed over this body of the Levites, who was chosen out of the youngest family of the Kohathites. But it is observable, there were no standards belonging to any of these bodies, they being designed for other service, and not for war.

Ver. 31. *Their charge shall be the ark, &c.*] The sanctuary, as was said before (ver. 28), being committed to their custody, the particulars are here mentioned, which were the most precious of all the holy things, with which the Kohathites had the honour to be intrusted, though a younger family than those descended from Gershon, because Moses and Aaron were of it, being of the family of the Amramites; which is the reason why the Kohathites are reckoned first in the next chapter (ver. 2): and that of the forty-eight cities given to the Levites by Joshua, almost half of them fell to their families (Josh. xxi. 4, 5).

33 ¶ Of Merari *was* the family of the Mahalites, and the family of the Mushites: these *are* the families of Merari.

34 And those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, *were* six thousand and two hundred.

35 And the chief of the house of the father of the families of Merari *was* Zuriel the son of Abihail: *these* shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle northward.

36 And *under* the custody and charge of the sons of Merari *shall be* the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and the sockets thereof, and all the vessels thereof, and all that serveth thereto,

37 And the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords.

38 ¶ But those that encamp before the tabernacle toward the east, *even* before the tabernacle of the congregation eastward, *shall be* Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the sanctuary for the charge of the children of Israel; and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

The altars.] Both the altar of burnt-offerings and the altar of incense.

The vessels.] See Exod. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16.

The hangings.] That is, the veil before the most holy place, for all other hangings were under the care of the Gershonites (ver. 25, 26), wherein the ark was wrapped, when they carried it (ch. iv. 5).

All the service thereof.] Whatsoever belonged to this part of God's house (see ver. 26), and the particulars are mentioned in the next chapter, ver. 7, 9, 14.

Ver. 32. *Eleazar—shall be chief over the chief*] There was one officer in chief set over each of these great families; of the Gershonites (ver. 24), of the Kohathites (ver. 30), and the Merarites (ver. 35). And over all these chiefs there is now appointed a supreme chief (who was to govern them as they governed those under them), and that Eleazar, who was more than a Levite, being the eldest son of Aaron, the high-priest.

Have the oversight] But, more particularly, Eleazar was to supervise those that had the sanctuary under their care: that is, all the Kohathites and Elizaphan their chief (ver. 20).

Ver. 33, 34. *Of Merari, &c.*] Nothing is observable of these, but that they were the fewest in number, being thirteen hundred less than the children of Gershon (see ver. 22).

Ver. 35. *These shall pitch—northward.*] Opposite to the Kohathites, between the standard of Dan and the sanctuary (ch. ii. 25).

Ver. 36.] Concerning all the things mentioned in this, and in the next verse, see Exod. xxvi. 15, 16, &c. xxvii. 10–12, &c. and the next chapter of this book, ver. 31, 32.

Ver. 37. *Their cords.*] These are different from those before mentioned, ver. 27, as I noted there.

Ver. 38. *But those that encamp before the tabernacle*] Where the entrance into it was.

Even before the tabernacle—eastward.] He would have this station observed, as much excelling the rest.

Shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons.] There were but three bodies of the Levites, descended from the three sons of Levi (ver. 1), and therefore none left to guard this side of the tabernacle, but Moses

39 All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered at the commandment of the LORD, throughout their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand.

40 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Number all the firstborn of the males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and take the number of their names.

41 And thou shalt take the Levites for me (I am the LORD) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel.

and Aaron, and their families; who lay between the standard of Judah and the tabernacle (ch. ii. ver. 3), which was the most honourable post, as I there noted: where the priests were with great reason placed, together with the chief governor of all, Moses; because they were to guard the holy place, that none might go into it but themselves.

Keeping—of the sanctuary] Of the entrance into it. *For the charge of the children of Israel;*] Which it concerned every one of the children of Israel should be kept sacred (see ver. 7.)

The stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.] No man that was not of the house of Aaron (though a Levite) was, upon the peril of his life, to enter into the sanctuary; of which they had the charge (see ver. 10).

Ver. 39. *All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered*] This looks like a contradiction to the observation I made, ver. 14, 16. But Aaron's numbering here, in all probability, is only agreeing that this was a true account which Moses took of the tribe of Levi. For Moses still continues to be alone concerned in numbering the first-born of the children of Israel, for whom they were to be exchanged (ver. 40, 42).

Were twenty and two thousand.] If the particular sums before mentioned (ver. 22, 28, 34) be put together, they amount to three hundred more than twenty two thousand. Therefore it is a reasonable conjecture, that the three hundred are omitted in this account, because they were the first-born of the Levites themselves; and upon that score belonging to God already (by the law in Exod. xiii. 2, xxxiv. 20), could not be exchanged for the first-born of other tribes, and substituted in their stead, as other Levites were. It is very observable here also, that the Levites were the fewest in number of any tribe; being but two-and-twenty thousand three hundred, from a month old and upward: when some tribes were twice, nay, thrice as many (see ch. i. 27), not reckoning children, but only men from twenty years old and upward. In which the Divine Providence was very conspicuous, which so ordered it, that this whole tribe might be dedicated to him; whereas, if it had grown proportionably to the rest, there would have been more Levites by far than the first-born of all the tribes.

Ver. 40. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] To whom alone this command is directed, as I observed above.

Number all the firstborn of the males] The first-born males were to be a month old, before their parents were bound to redeem them: if they died before, they were not to pay any thing for them. Which depends upon another law, Lev. xii. 4, 6, where if a woman brought forth a male, besides the seven days of her separation, she was to stay three-and-thirty days more before she went unto the sanctuary: at which

42 And Moses numbered, as the LORD commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel.

43 And all the firstborn males by the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them, were twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen.

44 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

45 Take the Levites instead of all the first-born among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle; and the Levites shall be mine: I am the LORD.

46 And for those that are to be redeemed of

time the child being to be presented to God, it appears that he acknowledged them for his when they were a month old. Yet they distinguish between the time when the redemption money was due, and when it was offered. This latter was deferred till the mother was abroad again: but it was due, and the father obliged to pay it, as soon as the child was a month old. So Const. L'Empereur observes out of Maimonides, upon Bava kama, cap. vii. sect. 6.

Take the number of their names.] That their number, and that of the Levites, might be compared one with the other; for the reason which here follows.

Ver. 41. *Thou shalt take the Levites—instead of all the firstborn*] God had taken them before, as we read, ver. 12, by declaring his will to Moses about it. And now he commands Moses to declare his will to the people, and actually to make this exchange; after he had taken the number, both of the first-born and of the Levites. For he had authority to take which he pleased, being their Lord.

The cattle of the Levites, &c.] Not that they should be sacrificed, or taken from the Levites; but that they should be accounted God's cattle; they being the cattle of the Levites, who were his entirely: and therefore were presented unto him, as the Levites were; but still continued in their possession by his allowance, for their encouragement in their service (see ver. 45).

Ver. 42. *Moses numbered—all the firstborn*] But we do not find that he numbered the firstlings of their cattle, or the cattle of the Levites; because the exchange of them was not made in particular, by substituting one for one; but generally, by substituting all the cattle of the Levites, instead of all the firstlings of the Israelites' cattle.

Ver. 43.] It may appear something strange, that, from above six hundred thousand men (reckoning from twenty years old and upward, ch. i. 46), there should not be more than this number of first-born sons; till it be considered, that thus many were born since the slaughter of the Egyptian first-born (which was not much above a year ago), after which time all the first-born of Israel became God's; but not those that were born before: for so the law is, Exod. xiii. 2. "Whatsoever openeth the womb (i. e. hereafter) both of man and beast, shall be mine."

Ver. 44. *The Lord spake unto Moses,*] Still he is the person solely employed in this business.

Ver. 45.] Having numbered both the Levites and the first-born, now he bids him take those two-and-twenty thousand Levites instead of so many first-born. As for the cattle, they were not numbered, as I observed before, but exchanged in the lump, as we speak.

The Levites shall be mine.] I think it is remarkable that he doth not add, "and their cattle shall be mine also." For he did not take their cattle from them

the two hundred and threescore and thirteen of the first-born of the children of Israel, which are more than the Levites ;

47 Thou shalt even take five shekels apiece by the poll, after the shekel of the sanctuary shalt thou take *them* : (the shekel is twenty gerahs :)

48 And thou shalt give the money, wherewith the odd number of them is to be redeemed, unto Aaron and to his sons.

49 And Moses took the redemption money of

when they became his ; but left them the use of them, who still enjoyed them in his right.

I am the Lord.] This exchange is made by my authority, who am the Lord, both of them and all they have.

Ver. 46.] There being two hundred threescore and thirteen first-born more than there were Levites, they are directed, in the next verse, what to do about them. For there could be no exchange of Levites for them, because there was not a sufficient number to be taken in their stead.

Ver. 47. *Five shekels apiece by the poll.*] This was the price of redemption ever after, as appears from ch. xviii. 16. For it had been lately constituted the value of a man-child, from a month to five years old, in Lev. xvii. 6.

After the shekel of the sanctuary, &c.] See Exod. xxx. 13, &c. The only difficulty in this matter was, to determine which of the first-born should be redeemed by paying this money, and which should be exchanged for the Levites. For every one of the Israelites, no doubt, was desirous rather to have his first-born redeemed by a Levite, than by paying five shekels ; and yet some of them must be put to this expense, there not being Levites enough to answer for them all. The Jews think (particularly R. Solomon) that there was no way to satisfy this doubt like that by drawing of lots, which was done in this manner. Moses, saith the forenamed doctor, took two-and-twenty thousand scrolls of parchment, and wrote in them these words, *a son of Levi* ; and two hundred and seventy and three more, wherein he wrote *five shekels* ; and then putting them all together in an urn, and shaking it to mingle them, he commanded

them that were over and above them that were redeemed by the Levites :

50 Of the first-born of the children of Israel took he the money ; a thousand three hundred and threescore and five *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary :

51 And Moses gave the money of them that were redeemed unto Aaron and to his sons, according to the word of the Lord, as the Lord commanded Moses.

every one of the first-born to come, and put in his hand, and draw out a schedule : and to him that drew out one of the former sort, he said, "a Levite hath redeemed thee ;" but to him that drew out one of the latter, he said, "pay thy price." And thus they tell the story also in the Gemara Babylon. tit. Sanhedrin, which is probable enough ; unless we suppose the congregation to have redeemed the two hundred seventy-three first-born out of a common stock ; which was a shorter way, but not so Divine as the other.

Ver. 48. *Thou shalt give the money,—unto Aaron and to his sons.*] Which was but reasonable ; because the Levites being given to them by God (ver. 6, 7), the money that was paid to make up what was wanting in their proportion to the first-born belonged to them likewise.

Ver. 49. *Moses took the redemption money of them*] To whom the lot fell, having *five shekels* written upon it.

Them that were redeemed by the Levites :] The first-born were redeemed by the Levites as far as their number would reach ; the rest, who were more than the Levites, were redeemed by money.

Ver. 50. *A thousand three hundred and threescore and five shekels.*] Five times two hundred seventy and three make just this number.

Ver. 51. *Moses gave the money—unto Aaron and to his sons.*] Which was a rule observed in future generations (ch. xviii. 15, &c.).

According to the word of the Lord,] This is so oft repeated, to show how faithful a servant Moses was ; who did nothing but by the Divine order, and omitted nothing that was commanded him.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The age and time of the Levites' service.* 4 *The carriage of the Kohathites, when the priests have taken down the tabernacle.* 16 *The charge of Eleazar.* 17 *The office of the priests.* 21 *The carriage of the Gershonites.* 29 *The carriage of the Merarites.* 34 *The number of the Kohathites,* 38 *of the Gershonites,* 42 *and of the Merarites.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

2 Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from

CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron,*] They being both of them concerned to see this carefully executed, he speaks to both ; and they took others to their assistance (ver. 34, 46).

Ver. 2. *Take the sum of the sons of Kohath*] They are first mentioned, being employed in the most honourable work ; as I observed before (ch. iii. 31).

Ver. 3. *From thirty years old and upward*] In this work, to which they are appointed, they were not employed till they came to *thirty* years of age ; but

among the sons of Levi, after their families, by the house of their fathers,

3 From thirty years old and upward even un-

they were admitted to attend at the tabernacle, and do other service, at the age of *five-and-twenty* ; as we read, ch. viii. ver. 25. Which places the Jews (in the Gemara Babylonia upon the title Cholin) reconcile with this, after this manner : they were admitted to learn their duty at *five-and-twenty*, and to minister at *thirty*. And so Aben Ezra upon Num. viii. "They were probationers, and might do some service at *five-and-twenty* years old, but not do all : " for they might wait upon the tabernacle, but not bear the ark. And that is the exact truth ; they were admitted to minister to the priests at *five-and-twenty*, but were not put upon this laborious work here mentioned, till

til fifty years old, all that enter into the host, to do the work in the tabernacle of the congregation.

4 This shall be the service of the sons of Kohath in the tabernacle of the congregation, about the most holy things:

5 ¶ And when the camp setteth forward, Aaron shall come, and his sons, and they shall

they had sufficient strength for it; which was at thirty years of age, when they were able to carry burdens; for by that word their work is described (ver. 15, 19, 24, 31, 47). For though some things, which they were charged withal, might be put into wagons, yet the ark and the most holy things were to be carried upon their shoulders, though they marched never so far (ver. 15, and vii. 9). When the ark, indeed, was settled in the temple, which was a fixed place, and therefore was no longer to be carried up and down, then (as D. Kimchi observes upon 1 Chron. xxiii.) king David appointed them to enter upon their office at twenty years old; there being also other great work to be performed in his time, for which they were fit at that age. And so it continued even after their return from the captivity at Babylon, Ezra iii. 8 (see Selden De Success. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. 4; and Lightfoot in his Temple Service, ch. vi. sect. 1).

Even until fifty years old.] Beyond which age they were not bound to do any service, but only to minister with their brethren at the tabernacle (ch. viii. 25, 26).

All that enter into the host.] Or, into the warfare. For their watching continually, as a guard, about the tabernacle (ch. iii. 7, &c.), made them a sort of militia, who were encamped, as appears by the foregoing chapter, about the tabernacle for its security. Besides which, there was other work which might make their service as laborious as a soldier's life is, and give it the name of entering into the host: which manner of speaking St. Paul uses unto Timothy, 1 Tim. i. 18, where he exhorts him to war a good warfare.

To do the work in the tabernacle.] They did not perform any work in it, but about it (such as here follows), unless we understand by the tabernacle, the outward court, into which they went to minister unto the priests.

Ver. 4.] The next verses explain what this service was: or, if the word about (in the latter end of the verse) were quite left out, the sense would be more clear—"this shall be the service of the sons of Kohath, &c. the most holy things;" that is, the ark, as Aben Ezra expounds it. And his interpretation may be justified from ver. 19, 20, in the latter of which it is called the holy, and in the former the holy of holies; as it is here in the Hebrew: for it was the "most holy of all other holy things" in the tabernacle; and gave the name to the place where it stood, of holy of holies, or the most holy place. And this made the service of the Kohathites the most honourable of all other, and is the reason they are mentioned first.

Ver. 5. When the camp setteth forward.] Which it did not do till the cloud was taken up, and removed from off the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 36, 37; Numb. x. 11).

Aaron shall come, and his sons.] While the cloud rested upon the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, none but Aaron might come into the most holy place where the ark was, and that but on one day in the year; and then, after he had filled it with incense, which made a cloud before the merey-

take down the covering vail, and cover the ark of testimony with it:

6 And shall put thereon the covering of badgers' skins, and shall spread over it a cloth wholly of blue, and shall put in the staves thereof.

7 And upon the table of shewbread they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the

seat (which was the covering of the ark), over which the Shechinah was. But that being removed in the cloud, when it was taken up from the tabernacle; not only Aaron, but his sons also might come into the most holy place, without any irreverence; that which made it so holy (viz. the glory of the Lord) being gone out of it for the present; so that there was no danger in approaching to the ark where it was wont to rest.

They shall take down the covering vail.] Whereby the holy place was parted from the most holy; which is always meant by the word *parocheth* (as I showed upon Exod. xxvi. 31), which is here used: and though the word *masach* be added to it, which constantly signifies the outward veil at the entrance of the sanctuary; yet it is plain that the inward veil, which was at the entrance of the most holy place, is here intended: for the other was committed to the care of the Gershonites (ver. 25).

Cover the ark—with it:] By this it is evident they went into the holy place, unto the very ark, over which they threw this covering.

Ver. 6. Shall put thereon the covering of badgers' skins.] Not any of those wherewith the tabernacle was covered (Exod. xxvi. 14), but a covering made on purpose for this use, to defend the ark from the injury of the weather when they carried it on their shoulders.

Spread over it a cloth wholly of blue.] Or, of perfect blue. This was the third covering of the ark; which, till it was laid upon it, the Levites might not approach. And since the tabernacle was the image of things in the heavens (as not only the apostle, but the Jews themselves say), the ark in particular being a figure of the celestial throne of God; it is not an unreasonable conceit of R. Bechai, that this blue-coloured cloth was spread over it as an emblem of the skies, which are spread like a curtain between us and the Majesty on high.

Put in the staves thereof.] It is not said they shall put them in the rings; for they were never to be taken out of them (Exod. xxv. 15). Nor do the Hebrew words signify that they should put them in; but it should be translated, "put the staves thereof," that is, upon their shoulders. So Aben Ezra interprets it; which seems to me the most simple exposition: or, fit and dispose them, under the covering, that they might be laid on their shoulders: or, order them so in the rings (which is Chuskuni's explication), that they might fall into the two notches, which were in the staves, to keep the ark from sliding up and down.

Ver. 7. Spread a cloth of blue.] It is not said wholly of blue, as it is of the former; which shows it was of something a different colour.

Put thereon the dishes.] Upon which the bread was set.

The spoons, and the bowls.] See Exod. xxv. 29.

The continual bread.] i. e. The bread which stood continually in the presence of God.

Shall be thereon:] Even when the table was carried from place to place; which shows that they provided this bread (according to the order, Exod. xxv. 30),

dishes, and the spoons, and the bowls, and covers to cover withal: and the continual bread shall be thereon:

8 And they shall spread upon them a cloth of scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of badgers' skins, and shall put in the staves thereof.

9 And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the candlestick of the light, and his lamps, and his tongs, and his snuffdishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they minister unto it:

10 And they shall put it and all the vessels thereof within a covering of badgers' skins, and shall put it upon a bar.

11 And upon the golden altar they shall spread a cloth of blue, and cover it with a covering of badgers' skins, and shall put to the staves thereof:

all the time they were in the wilderness. And it was not hard to procure so much corn from their neighbours, bordering upon the wilderness, as would be sufficient for this purpose, and for others, which I shall note in their proper places; particularly from the land of Midian, where Moses's father-in-law lived; which was not far from Sinai (as appears from Exod. iii. 1), where they were at present.

Ver. 8. *Spread upon them a cloth of scarlet,—with a covering of badgers' skins.*] These had a triple covering, as well as the ark; being holy things, and having a *holy thing* (that is, the *bread of the presence*, as it is called in the Hebrew, because it stood before God continually) in the dishes upon the table.

Put in the staves thereof.] That it might be ready to be carried (Exod. xxv. 27, 28).

Ver. 9. *Take a cloth of blue.*] Like that which covered the table (ver. 7).

Cover the candlestick] See Exod. xxv. 31, and xxxvii. 17, &c.

His lamps, and his tongs.] Exod. xxv. 37, 38, and xxxvii. 23.

All the oil vessels thereof.] For God commanded them to bring pure oil to feed the lamps continually (Exod. xxvii. 20), which was put, no doubt, in vessels, to preserve it for daily use.

Wherewith they minister] With which oil they keep the lamps continually burning.

Ver. 10. *Within a covering of badgers' skins.*] There were but two coverings for the candlestick and its vessels, it being of lesser value than the table of shewbread, and what belonged to it.

Put it upon a bar.] Rather upon a *bier*; for the word we here translate *bar*, is different from that used before (ver. 6, 8), which we translate *staves*; and signifies any instrument whereby things are removed from one place to another. We translate it indeed a *staff* (ch. xiii. 23), whereon two of them that went to spy out the land carried the cluster of grapes they had cut down: which was laid, no doubt, upon something that was broad; as this bar was whereon they carried the candlestick: which had no rings belonging to it, and therefore, I take it, was carried upon something resembling a *bier*, on which corpses are carried to their grave in this country: see ver. 12, and so the LXX. ἐν ἀναπόσειον.

Ver. 11. *The golden altar*] So called, because it was overlaid with pure gold (Exod. xxx. 3).

They shall spread a cloth of blue, &c.] As they did upon the candlestick (ver. 9.)

Put to the staves thereof.] Into the rings; which were made on purpose, that it might be carried upon the staves (Exod. xxx. 4, 5).

12 And they shall take all the instruments of ministry, wherewith they minister in the sanctuary, and put *them* in a cloth of blue, and cover them with a covering of badgers' skins, and shall put *them* on a bar.

13 And they shall take away the ashes from the altar, and spread a purple cloth thereon:

14 And they shall put upon it all the vessels thereof, wherewith they minister about it, *even* the censers, the fleshhooks, and the shovels, and the basons, all the vessels of the altar; and they shall spread upon it a covering of badgers' skins, and put to the staves of it.

15 And when Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the sanctuary, and all the vessels of the sanctuary, as the camp is to set forward; after that, the sons of Kobath shall come

Ver. 12. *They shall take all the instruments of the ministry.*] I do not see what can be meant by these, but the holy garments which Aaron and his sons put on in the time of their ministration. For all other things have been already mentioned; and these are called the *clothes of service*, Exod. xxxi. 10, where they are immediately mentioned after all the forenamed furniture of the tabernacle.

Put them in a cloth of blue.] As they did the candlestick, and the altar of incense (ver. 9, 11).

Put them on a bar.] By this it appears that the Hebrew word *mot*, which we translate a *bar*, signifies a broad instrument for carriage; such as I have described, ver. 10.

Ver. 13. *Take away the ashes from the altar.*] Of burnt-offering; which was often cleansed from its ashes (Lev. vi. 10, 11), but then especially when it was to be removed. What they did with the fire, which was always to burn upon it (Lev. vi. 12, 13), is not here related; but we may suppose it was carried upon the grate, which had rings on purpose, that it might be carried separate from the altar (see Exod. xxvii. 4).

Spread a purple cloth thereon.] As being a *holy thing*, though not of such sanctity as those before named.

Ver. 14. *Put upon it all the vessels thereof, &c.*] That they might be carried with it.

The censers.] Here the *censers* are put first, which are mentioned last in Exod. xxvii. 3, where this word is translated *firepans*. Others understand by it *tongs*.

All the vessels of the altar.] Immediately after these words, we find there follows, in two places, "the laver and his foot," Exod. xxxv. 16, and xxxix. 39, where, in the very same verse, the *laver* is mentioned with the *altar* and its *vessels*; and immediately follows them in two other, Exod. xxxvii. 7, 8, and xl. 30. The reason why it is not mentioned here, is, perhaps, because he names only those things upon which the sons of Aaron were to put a covering; and this, it is likely, was carried without one.

Staves of it.] Exod. xxvii. 6, 7, and xxxvii. 6, 7.

Ver. 15. *When Aaron and his sons have made an end, &c.*] This work was to be performed by them alone; and the Levites were not to meddle with any of these things till they had done.

The sons of Kobath shall come to bear it.] For all the forementioned things, belonging to the sanctuary, were to be carried by them, even the ark itself: which they carried so, that all the people might see it went along with them. For the rings being fastened to the bottom of the ark (see Exod. xxv. 12), when the staves were on their shoulders it appeared on

to bear it: but they shall not touch *any* holy thing, lest they die. These *things* are the burden of the sons of Kohath in the tabernacle of the congregation.

16 ¶ And to the office of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest *pertaineth* the oil for the light, and the sweet incense, and the daily meat offering, and the anointing oil, *and* the oversight of all the tabernacle, and of all that therein is, in the sanctuary, and in the vessels thereof.

17 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

18 Cut ye not off the tribe of the families of the Kohathites from among the Levites:

19 But thus do unto them, that they may

high: to represent, saith R. Bechai, Him that is most highly exalted over all. The priests, indeed, might carry the ark, being more than Levites (Dent. xxxi. 9), and accordingly we find, that, upon extraordinary occasions, they did; as when they went over Jordan (Josh. iii. 14), and when Jericho was besieged (ch. vi. 6); some think also, when David, as he fled from Absalom, sent the ark back (2 Sam. xv. 29). But it appears, from ver. 24, that there is no certainty of that; especially since, when he brought it from the house of Obed-edom, he not only employed the Levites in it, but declared none else ought to bear it (1 Chron. xv. 2, 15, 27). He bade the priests indeed, as well as the Levites, sanctify themselves for this work: for "ye (saith he to the priests, ver. 12) are the chief of the fathers of the Levites:" but they seem to have been present, only to see the Levites perform their charge; and to accompany the ark, as David himself did.

But they shall not touch *any* holy thing, lest they die.] Some imagine they were not to touch these things till they were covered by the priests: but it is more likely that even then they were not to touch them, but only the staves, or the bar, whereon they were carried; especially the ark, which is here principally meant by the *holy thing* (the word *any* not being in the Hebrew), whose staves only they touched, and lifted it up by putting them upon their shoulders.

These things are the burden of the sons of Kohath] When it was removed; for at other times they had nothing to do with these things: which are here called their *burden*, as, ver. 4, they are called their *service*, to show the nature of their service, which required the strength of grown men (ver. 3).

Ver. 16. To the office of Eleazar—*pertaineth the oil*] It is commonly thought, that he is required to carry this, and the other things that follow in this verse, himself: but, if all things be considered, it will appear more reasonable to think that he, who was the chief of all the chiefs over the Levites (ch. iii. 32), is peculiarly required to see the Kohathites did their duty: for, though they had a chief over them, whose work it was to inspect them (ch. iii. 30), yet God thought good to appoint Eleazar to supervise both him and all under him in these weighty concerns: and so the words may be interpreted out of the Hebrew: *The oversight of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be the oil, &c.* And there is the greater reason thus to understand it, because the *oil-vessels* are before committed to the Kohathites (ver. 9), and consequently the *oil* itself; which could not be carried but in the vessels.

Sweet incense,] Mentioned Exod. xxx. 34.

Daily meat offering,] See Exod. xxix. 40, 41.

Anointing oil,] Exod. xxx. 23, &c. These were not named before; but it is here laid upon Eleazar,

live, and not die, when they approach unto the most holy things: Aaron and his sons shall go in, and appoint them every one to his service and to his burden:

20 But they shall not go in to see when the holy things are covered, lest they die.

21 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

22 Take also the sum of the sons of Gershon, throughout the houses of their fathers, by their families.

23 From thirty years old and upward until fifty years old shalt thou number them; all that enter in to perform the service, to do the work in the tabernacle of the congregation.

to see that they were as carefully carried by the Kohathites as any other things belonging to the sanctuary.

Ver. 17.] The things before mentioned, especially the ark, were so sacred, that he repeats the admonition he had given about the danger of irreverence to it: which he here represents in a frightful manner.

Ver. 18. *Cut ye not off*] Do not by your negligence occasion the destruction of a great many persons.

The tribe of the families of the Kohathites] A considerable part of the tribe of Levi, viz. the family of the Kohathites, who were near a third part of it.

Ver. 19. *But thus do unto them,*] Proceed in this manner, to prevent so great a mischief as their destruction.

When they approach unto the most holy things:] Come to take up the ark: which is meant by the *holy of holies* (see ver. 4).

Aaron and his sons shall go in,] And cover the ark, and the rest of the things within the sanctuary; as is before directed.

Appoint them every one to his service] And then allot to every one his share in this work; that is, to carry such particular things, as they think most proper for them.

Ver. 20. *But they shall not go in to see*] They might go in to the most holy place, when not only the glory of the Lord was removed, but the ark and the mercy-seat, upon its removal, were covered by the priests (for then the place where they lay covered was no longer holy), but they might not come in to see the priests cover them; which was to be done before they approached.

When the holy things are covered,] In the Hebrew it is in the singular number, *when the holy, or holy thing* is covered, i. e. the ark, as the Jews generally understand it; and that with great reason, as any one may be satisfied, who will take the pains to compare 1 Kings viii. 8, with 2 Chron. v. 9. Where that which in the former place is called the *holy*, in the latter is called the *ark*.

Lest they die,] They might not, under pain of death, either see it when it was covered, or touch it afterward (ver. 15), but only carry it in the manner there described.

Ver. 21. *The Lord spake unto Moses,*] He was principally concerned in this, but Aaron was also joined with him, to see the execution of what is here required (ver. 1, 19, 34).

Ver. 22. *Take also the sum of the sons of Gershon, &c.*] The eldest son of Levi (ch. iii. 17), who, though they were employed in lower services, were to account it an honour to serve about the tabernacle.

Ver. 23. *All that enter in to perform the service,*] I do not understand why this should not be translated as ver. 2, *into the host*. For it is the very same phrase

24 *This is the service of the families of the Gershonites, to serve, and for burdens.*

25 And they shall bear the curtains of the tabernacle, and the tabernacle of the congregation, his covering, and the covering of the badgers' skins that is above upon it, and the hanging for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation,

26 And the hangings of the court, and the hanging for the door of the gate of the court, which is by the tabernacle and by the altar round about, and their cords, and all the instruments of their service, and all that is made for them: so shall they serve.

27 At the appointment of Aaron and his sons shall be all the service of the sons of the Gershonites, in all their burdens, and in all their service: and ye shall appoint unto them in charge all their burdens.

28 *This is the service of the families of the sons of Gershon in the tabernacle of the congre-*

gation; and their charge shall be under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

29 ¶ As for the sons of Merari, thou shalt number them after their families, by the house of their fathers;

30 From thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old shalt thou number them, every one that entereth into the service, to do the work of the tabernacle of the congregation.

31 And this is the charge of their burden, according to all their service in the tabernacle of the congregation; the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and sockets thereof,

32 And the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords, with all their instruments, and with all their service: and by name ye shall reckon the instruments of the charge of their burden.

33 *This is the service of the families of the sons of Merari, according to all their service, in*

in the Hebrew, both here and there: only here more emphatical by doubling the word for *host*: and therefore may, very properly, be translated in this place, "that enter in to war the warfare." For the service of the Gershonites was more burdensome than the former, though they were fewer in number (ver. 36, 40).

Ver. 24. *This is the service of—the Gershonites,*] Which were only two (ch. iii. 18, 21).

To serve, and for burdens.] *To serve*, when the tabernacle rested; and *to carry burdens*, when it removed (see ver. 47).

Ver. 25. *Bear the curtains*] The ten fine curtains, which were the inward hangings of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 1, 2, &c.). Which, I suppose, were taken down as well as carried by the Gershonites: because nothing is said here of Aaron or his sons being employed, to make them ready for carriage.

And the tabernacle] Not the boards of the tabernacle, which were the charge of the children of Merari (ver. 31), but the eleven curtains of goats' hair which covered the boards (see Exod. xxvi. 7, 8, &c.).

The covering of the badgers' skins] The outward covering of all, which was of rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins (as we translate it, Exod. xxvi. 14).

Hanging for the door] Which is described, in the conclusion of the same chapter (Exod. xxvi. 36).

Ver. 26. *Hangings of the court,*] Exod. xxvii. 9, &c.

Hanging for the door] See Exod. xxvii. 16.

Which is by the tabernacle] The sense would have been more plain, if the particle *al*, which we translate *by*, had been translated *upon*, or *over*; for the court encompassed both the tabernacle and the altar (Exod. xl. 6—8).

Their cords,] Which were employed in fastening these hangings.

All the instruments] The brazen pins, I suppose, mentioned Exod. xxvii. 19.

All that is made for them:] And whatsoever else belonged to them (see ch. iii. 26).

So shall they serve.] Or, in that shall they serve.

Ver. 27. *At the appointment of Aaron, &c.*] In the Hebrew it is, *at the mouth of Aaron*, &c. i. e. according to their order, every one of the Gershonites were to apply themselves to such services as they directed: for God had given the Levites to them to be their ministers, and keep their charge (ch. iii. 6, 7).

Appoint unto them in charge all their burdens.] The

word here for *appoint* seems to import, that the priests gave them a particular, as we speak, of what they were to do; that they might neither forget nor mistake; for it is the same word that is used in the beginning of this book (ch. i. 3) for numbering the people; and so it is used here, ver. 34, 47, 48. Therefore the Vulgar translates these words: *Et sciatis singuli cui debeant operi mancipari*, "and every man may know what is the proper business of his own calling;" not to meddle with other men's, nor to think himself fit to undertake every thing. "Ἐν γὰρ ἑπ' ἑνὸς ἔργου ἀριστερὰ ἀποδείκνυται, as Aristotle speaks in his Politics (lib. iii.), "one work is best performed by one person."

Ver. 28. *Their charge shall be under the hand of Ithamar*] That is, under the direction and conduct of Ithamar: for though the Gershonites had a chief of their own (ch. iii. 24), yet Ithamar was to inspect both him and them, and see they did not neglect their duty. Thus Eleazar was set over the Kohathites (ver. 16).

Ver. 29. *As for the sons of Merari, thou shalt number them*] Which were but two (ch. iii. 33), as those of Gershon were.

Ver. 30. *Every one that entereth into the service,*] The words in the Hebrew are the very same with those, ver. 3, which we translate *enter into the host* (see there).

Ver. 31. *This is the charge*] The most cumbersome things fell to their charge; which here follow.

Boards of the tabernacle,] See Exod. xxvi. 15, &c.

Bars thereof,] See there, ver. 26, &c.

Pillars thereof,] See in the same place, ver. 32, and xxxv. 36.

Sockets thereof,] These belonged both to the boards of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 19, 21, 25), and to the pillars (Exod. xxvi. 32, xxxviii. 27).

Ver. 32. *Pillars of the court*] Exod. xxvii. 10—12. *Their sockets,*] See there.

Their pins,] Ver. 19, and ch. xxxviii. 20.

Their cords,] Exod. xxxv. 18, xxxix. 40.

By name ye shall reckon the instruments] The priests (particularly Ithamar) were to give them an inventory of these things; expressing by name every pin, for instance, and to what use, and in what place it served; because otherwise such small things might have been lost, if they had not taken a special care of them; and they might not have been able to set up the tabernacle again when they rested, for want of them.

the tabernacle of the congregation, under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

34 ¶ And Moses and Aaron and the chief of the congregation numbered the sons of the Kohathites after their families, and after the house of their fathers.

35 From thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entereth into the service, for the work in the tabernacle of the congregation:

36 And those that were numbered of them by their families were two thousand seven hundred and fifty.

37 These *were* they that were numbered of the families of the Kohathites, all that might do service in the tabernacle of the congregation, which Moses and Aaron did number according to the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

38 And those that were numbered of the sons of Gershon, throughout their families, and by the house of their fathers,

39 From thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entereth into the service, for the work in the tabernacle of the congregation,

40 Even those that were numbered of them, throughout their families, by the house of their

fathers, were two thousand and six hundred and thirty.

41 These *are* they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Gershon, of all that might do service in the tabernacle of the congregation, whom Moses and Aaron did number according to the commandment of the LORD.

42 ¶ And those that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, throughout their families, by the house of their fathers,

43 From thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entereth into the service, for the work in the tabernacle of the congregation,

44 Even those that were numbered of them after their families, were three thousand and two hundred.

45 These *be* those that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to the word of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

46 All those that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron and the chief of Israel numbered, after their families, and after the house of their fathers,

47 From thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that came to do the service of the ministry, and the service of

Ver. 33. *This is the service of—Merari.]* In taking down and carrying the tabernacle.

Under the hand of Ithamar.] Who had the oversight both of the Gershonites and the Merarites; as Eleazar had of the Kohathites (ver. 16, 28).

Ver. 34. *Moses and Aaron and the chief of the congregation.]* They took to their assistance the very same men, I suppose, who were employed in numbering all the children of Israel (ch. i. 4, 16, 17).

Numbered the sons of the Kohathites.] Having assigned to them their particular charge, they now proceed to number them; as God commanded (ver. 2, 3).

Ver. 35. *Every one that entereth into the service.]* Or as we translate it (ver. 3), *entereth into the host.*

Ver. 36.] Of the whole number of males descended from Kohath (compare this with ch. iii. 28), there was a fourth part, and better, that were fit for service.

Ver. 37. *All that might do service.]* Such service as is particularly mentioned from ver. 4 to ver. 16.

Ver. 38. *Sons of Gershon.]* He proceeds in the same order to number them, which he observed in giving them their charge; beginning with the children of the second son of Levi, and then going back to the eldest.

Ver. 39. *From thirty years old and upward, &c.]* This verse is the very same with ver. 35.

Ver. 40. *Two thousand and six hundred and thirty.]* A third part and a little more of their males were fit for service. Compare this with ch. iii. 22.

Ver. 41. *Of all that might do service.]* Such service as is described from ver. 24 to ver. 29.

Ver. 42, 43.] These two verses are the same with ver. 38, 39.

Ver. 44.] It is very remarkable, the descendants from the youngest son of Levi (ch. iii. 17), which had the fewest males in it of a month old and upward, had the most robust men fit for service; for here are above half (compare this with ch. iii. 34) of the whole number of males grown up to thirty years of age: which was a singular providence, the heaviest burden

lying upon them who were to carry the boards, &c. of the tabernacle; not indeed upon their shoulders, but in wagons; which they were to load after they had taken them down, and unload when they were to set them up again; and for that reason had more wagons allowed them than their brethren the Gershonites (ch. vii. 7, 8).

Ver. 45. *These be those, &c.]* Who were principally employed in this business.

By the hand of Moses.] To whom the command is expressly directed (ver. 21).

Ver. 46. *Whom Moses and Aaron and the chief of Israel numbered.]* For they took in others to their assistance (ver. 34), which is here repeated, to show that there was no fraud in the business; there being witnesses of every tribe that they proceeded impartially, and did not favour the Levites, who were their brethren.

Ver. 47. *Every one that came to do the service of the ministry, and the service of the burden.]* The first of these ["the service of the ministry"] one would think related to their serving the priest when the tabernacle was standing; and the latter ["the service of the burden"] to their carrying the tabernacle when it was taken down, and removed; and so I expounded those words, ver. 24. But he mentioning here only those that were numbered from thirty years old, I think, upon further consideration, that there is no regard in these expressions to the service they did to the priests in the tabernacle, unto which they were admitted at twenty-five years old (see ver. 3), but only to the service mentioned here in this chapter, which relates altogether to the taking down and carrying the tabernacle. And therefore these must be looked upon as two phrases for the same thing; the former of which is not exactly translated; for there is nothing of *ministry* in the Hebrew; but the words are, "every one that cometh to serve the service of the service, and the service of the burden, or carriage." For it is the same word, which, being joined with *work*, we translate *servile* (Lev. xxiii. 7, and other places).

the burden in the tabernacle of the congregation,

48 Even those that were numbered of them, were eight thousand and five hundred and fourscore.

Ver. 48. *Eight thousand and five hundred and fourscore.*] If the three sums, mentioned ver. 36, 40, 44, be put together, they amount exactly to this sum in the whole.

Ver. 49. *They were numbered by the hand of Moses.*] By the assistance of Aaron and others (ver. 1, 34, 36).

Every one according to his service, and according to his burden.] I observed before (ver. 47), that *service* and *burden* are two expressions of the same thing. For though the sons of Kohath had the noblest part of the work, yet their employment is called both a *service* and a *burden*, ver. 19, as that of the Gershonites is, ver. 24. For which service all the tithes of the country of Canaan were given to them, and continued to be theirs when this kind of service ceased; as it did when the temple was built; for then there were no *burdens* to be carried on their shoulders (as Josiah speaks, 2 Chron. xxxv. 3), but their duty was changed,

49 According to the commandment of the LORD they were numbered by the hand of Moses, every one according to his service, and according to his burden: thus were they numbered of him, as the LORD commanded Moses.

even by David before the building of the temple; who made them singers, and keepers of the treasury, as well as porters at the gates of God's house: and likewise judges and other officers in the country; as we read in 1 Chron. xxvi. But the alteration in their service made no alteration in the wages allotted to them; for they still enjoyed all the tithes.

As the LORD commanded Moses.] This is so often repeated (ver. 37, 41, 45), that all posterity might reverence these ordinances as Divine institutions, and not merely human appointments. And so we are to look upon all these laws, as wise orders made by the Sovereign of the world, for the better government of that people, whom he had taken for his own peculiar. And it argues a very profane spirit in those (as Conr. Pellicanus here observes) who can admire and praise Ovid De Fastis, and such-like books, and have no regard at all (if they do not ridicule them) to these sacred writings, which are of such venerable antiquity.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The unclean are removed out of the camp.* 5 *Restitution is to be made in trespasses.* 11 *The trial of jealousy.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every leper, and every one that hath an issue, and whosoever is defiled by the dead:

3 Both male and female shall ye put out, without the camp shall ye put them; that they defile not their camps, in the midst whereof I dwell.

4 And the children of Israel did so, and put them out without the camp: as the LORD spake unto Moses, so did the children of Israel.

5 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

6 Speak unto the children of Israel, When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the LORD, and that person be guilty;

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Ver. 1.] It is not said when this was spoken which here follows; but it is likely immediately after the foregoing commandments, upon which it had some dependence.

Ver. 2. *Put out of the camp every leper.*] There were three camps (as Maimonides, and a great many others mentioned by Mr. Selden, observes, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1, n. 5), the camp of the Shechinah, or of the LORD, viz. the sanctuary with its courts, which are called the "tents of the LORD" (1 Chron. xxxi. 2); and next the camp of the Levites, who, with Aaron and his sons, made a camp about the tabernacle (ch. iii. of this book), and then the camp of Israel (ch. ii.), which encompassed them all. Answerable to these, when the temple was built, they reckoned the temple itself from the east gate to be the camp of the LORD; and the camp of the Levites, to be from the entrance of the mount of the house of the LORD to that east gate of the temple; and the camp of Israel they thought extended from the entrance of Jerusalem to the mount of the house of the LORD. Now lepers were so unclean, that they were not admitted into any of these three camps, but shut out of them all (see Lev. xiii. 46). But he that had an *issue* (Lev. xv. 2), was only shut out of the first two camps, the camp of the LORD, and the camp of the Levites; but he might be in the camp of Israel. And he that

was "defiled by the dead" (Lev. xxi. 1), was only excluded from the first, the sanctuary, but not from the other two (see Drusius also upon ch. iv. 25).

Ver. 3. *Both male and female.*] For women had issues (for instance) as well as men (Lev. xv. 2, 19, &c.).

That they defile not their camps.] The camp of Israel consisted of four camps (and therefore he speaks in the plural number), that of Judah, that of Reuben, that of Ephraim, and that of Dan (Numb. ii. 3, 10, 18, 25). Which would have been so defiled, if they had suffered these unclean persons to stay among them, that none would have been fit to go to the sanctuary.

In the midst whereof I dwell.] By his special presence in the sanctuary, which was encompassed by these camps; out of reverence to which, such unclean persons were to be kept at a greater distance than other men and women.

Ver. 4.] There was an order for this before; particularly for putting out the lepers (Lev. xiii. 46), which could not be put in execution till the camp was formed, as now it was.

Ver. 5.] It is uncertain when this was spoken; but I see no reason why we should not think it was at the same time with the other things here mentioned.

Ver. 6. *Shall commit any sin that men commit.*] In the Hebrew the words are plainly these, "shall commit any sin of man;" that is, against his neigh-

7 Then they shall confess their sin which they have done: and he shall recompense his trespass with the principal thereof, and add unto it the fifth *part* thereof, and give it unto him against whom he hath trespassed.

8 But if the man have no kinsman to recompense the trespass unto, let the trespass be recompensed unto the LORD, *even* to the priest; beside the ram of the atonement, whereby an atonement shall be made for him.

9 And every offering of all the holy things

bour: as in Joel iii. 19, "violence of the children of Judah," is truly translated, violence *against* the children of Judah. For it is apparent from the next verses (7, 8), that Moses here speaks of offences against their neighbours.

To do a trespass] Such offences against their neighbours as were also great offences against God. For the Chaldee understands these words of frauds and cheats put upon men by a false oath. And there is a good warrant for this interpretation from Lev. vi. 2, 3, where Moses gives the same command: which seems here to be repeated, only because he had something to add unto it (ver. 8).

That person be guilty;] Or rather, "be sensible of his guilt" (see Lev. vi. 4).

Ver. 7. *Then they shall confess*] Or rather, "if they shall confess," &c. For so the particle *vau* sometimes signifies: particularly ch. xii. 14, where we (as well as the LXX.) translate it, "if her father had spit in her face:" see what I have noted upon Lev. vi. 4.

He shall recompense, &c.] Rather, "then he shall recompense" the injury he did to his neighbour, in the manner here directed; which hath been explained, Lev. vi. 5 (see there).

Ver. 8. *If the man have no kinsman to recompense*] By this it is apparent, that if a man, to whom an injury had been done, was dead, he that committed it was bound to make satisfaction to his heir, whosoever he was, by restoring the principal, and adding a fifth part to it. Now the Israelites never wanting some of their kindred to succeed to their inheritances, the Hebrew doctors expound this of the "proselytes of righteousness;" who might possibly die without any heir; because they had no kindred, but such as were born after their regeneration. In which case the goods that had been illegally taken from such a proselyte by a Jew, did not become his own, unless he paid the price of them, with such an addition as is here required, &c. (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4, p. 684, 685, edit. Lond.).

Let the trespass be recompensed] By bringing to him the principal and the fifth part.

Even to the priest;] Whom God deputed to receive it as his minister. And it was (as the Jews rightly expound it) equally distributed among all the priests, who were then waiting in their course. Which is a new addition to the law in Lev. vi. and the reason, it is likely, why that law is here repeated.

Besides the ram of the atonement, &c.] Mentioned Lev. vi. 6, 7, where see what I have noted.

Ver. 9. *Every offering*] Upon the occasion of the foregoing laws concerning a recompense to be made to the priest, where a man that had been wronged was dead, and no heir to him could be found, he explains some other laws wherein the priests were concerned: who were to have all the *heave-offerings*, as the word *trumoth* (here used) signifies (ch. xviii. 8).

Which they bring] To be offered unto God.

Shall be his.] Who offers it. For there being many

of the children of Israel, which they bring unto the priest, shall be his.

10 And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.

11 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

12 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him,

13 And a man lie with her carnally, and it be

priests who waited in their courses at the tabernacle; all of which could not officiate at the same time, but some at one time, some at another; this law determines, that the particular priest who performed the office of sacrificing, should have to himself that part of the holy things which fell to the priest's share; and it should not be divided among them all. Thus L'Empereur (upon Bama kama, cap. 9, sect. 12) expounds these words better than any I have met withal.

Ver. 10. *Every man's hallowed things shall be his.*] As the former verse speaks of the holy things of the children of Israel in general, so this, of what any particular person offered; which still with greater reason was to belong to the priest that offered it. For "the labourer is worthy of his hire:" and therefore he that did the work of sacrificing, had the reward of it. R. Solomon, applying this to tithes, hath a gloss upon these words, which, though not pertinent, is very remarkable: "He that doth not duly pay his tithe, in the end his land shall yield him but a tithe of what it was wont to yield." And so R. Bechai, upon Deut. xiv., expounds these words, when a man divideth not as he ought, "he shall have nothing but the holy things;" that is, the tithe of what he used to have, according to Isa. v. 10.

Whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.] These words are only a fuller explication of this law (as the same L'Empereur observes), that the rest of the priests might not take away those holy things from him that offered them, under pretence that they belonged to the whole sacerdotal order. For though they were delivered unto him, yet it was, they might say, that they should be divided among the whole classes then in attendance. So some things were (ver. 2), and therefore this law is added to prevent their extending what was done in some cases unto all.

Ver. 11.] There is so little connection between this and the foregoing laws, that it is not easy to give a reason why it is here placed. All that I can say is, that Moses having spoken concerning frauds, from the suspicion of which men were to purge themselves by an oath (ver. 6), he here takes occasion to mention the greatest case that could happen of this nature: which was, when a woman was suspected of adultery; concerning which God gave him the following order.

Ver. 12. *If any man's wife go aside,*] Being private for some time, with another man; whose company her husband had charged her not to keep alone; and therefore is suspected by him to be an adulteress.

For it is certain, that, by a wife that *goeth aside* (whom the Hebrews from hence call *Sota*), is not meant one that hath certainly committed adultery; but is, with some reason, suspected of that crime. And therefore it is a rule among the Jews, "The bitter waters never are used but in a dubious case."

And commit a trespass against him,] And thereby hath very much offended him.

Ver. 13. *A man lie with her carnally,*] As her husband hath cause to suspect; he having (as I said before) admonished her not to be with such a man in

hid from the eyes of her husband, and be kept close, and she be defiled, and *there be no witness against her, neither she be taken with the manner;*

14 And the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be not defiled:

private: that is, to give him no cause of jealousy. So Abarbinel rightly expounds a man's "lying with her carnally," of her husband's opinion and suspicion; and the next verse justifies this exposition.

It be hid from the eyes of her husband,] There being no clear evidence, but only conjectures, that she is actually defiled.

Be kept close,] The matter having been carried very secretly; or, as it may be interpreted, *but she was shut up close with him.*

She be defiled,] In her husband's opinion.

There be no witness against her,] For if there had, she must have been put to death (Lev. xx. 10).

Neither she be taken with the manner;] She not being apprehended in the very act.

Ver. 14. *The spirit of jealousy come upon him,]* He be possessed with a strong conceit, of which he cannot rid himself, that she hath been unfaithful to him. For so a *spirit of slumber* (and the like) is used in Scripture, for such a sluggish temper, as a man cannot shake off.

She be defiled:] Whether it be really so.

She be not defiled:] Or whether it be only his suspicion.

Ver. 15. *Then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest,]* To the magistrates of the place where they lived (saith the Mishna, cap. 1, sect. 3, of Sota), together with his witnesses, both of the premonition he had given her, and of the privacy she had had with another man after his premonition, so long that there might be time enough for him to defile her: otherwise this action did not lie against her, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 13). But having these witnesses ready, he was to speak to the priest when he brought his wife before him, after this manner: "Having a jealousy of this my wife, I admonished her not to keep company with such a one; with whom she afterward was in secret; and these are the witnesses of it. She saith she is innocent, but I desire the water may be given her, that the truth may be tried." See Selden, in the place before named (cap. 15), and Wagenseil upon Sota (cap. 1, sect. 3, not. 2).

He shall bring her offering for her,] That is, the husband shall bring her oblation (not the priest, as some understand the words of the Mishna about this matter); which Chaskuni fancies was offered, as his oblation, not the woman's; to expiate his fault in not reproving her sufficiently, when he first observed her immodest behaviour: for it could not be a sacrifice for her expiation (saith he), because "the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination." But this is against the very words of Moses in this place; which say, he shall bring her oblation for her. And so Abarbinel expounds it, "the Scripture intimates that this sacrifice was brought by the husband for the sake of his wife; for he had done nothing that needed a sacrifice." Nor is Chaskuni's reason of any moment; for there is nothing said to make us look upon this as an expiatory sacrifice; but the true intention of it was (as Wagenseil well observes, Annot. in Mishna Sota, cap. 2, p. 349) to supplicate the Divine Majesty that he would be pleased to clear the woman's innocence if she were causelessly suspected; or otherwise discover and punish her guilt.

15 Then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and he shall bring her offering for her, the tenth *part* of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is an offering of jealousy, an offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance.

By this it appears, that if the process was begun in some court below (as the Jews affirm), the cause was removed to Jerusalem (where only they could sacrifice when the ark of God's presence was settled there), and brought before the great Sanhedrin: who, putting her husband out of the court (as they say in the next section of the aforementioned Mishna), and having the woman alone by herself, endeavoured first by striking a terror into her, and then by giving her good words, to persuade her to tell the truth: saying, "Dear daughter, perhaps thou wast overtaken by drinking too much wine, or wast in a frolic humour, or carried away by the heat of youth, or by the example of evil neighbours: come, confess the truth, for the sake of His great name, which is described in the most sacred ceremony; and do not let it be blotted out (ver. 23) with the bitter water." If, after this, she confessed the fact, saying, *I am defiled;* then she was to tear the instrument of her dowry in pieces, and go whither she pleased. For such an adulteress was not put to death, but only lost her dowry without any other punishment. If she said, *I am pure;* then she was brought to the door of the tabernacle, and they did as follows. So the Mishna (cap. 1, sect. 5), and see Wagenseil's annotations on Sota. And now that they have not this way of trial among them, if a man's wife give him suspicion, by keeping a man's company in secret, which he forbade her, he may not use her any more as his wife, and she loses her dowry; as Euxtorfius observes, in his book De Sponsal. et Divort. par. i. sect. 92.

The tenth part of an ephah of barley meal;] The common offering of this sort was of fine wheat flour; only this, and the sheaf, or handful, mentioned Lev. xxiii. 10, were of barley. But that was of fine flour sifted from the bran; this of coarse flour, that had nothing taken out of it, as the Mishna saith in Sota (cap. 2). Where the reason given for this barley-offering is, because she was supposed to have committed the act of a beast (which is not confined to one), therefore she was to sacrifice the food of a beast; for so barley was in Judea. Many such pretty, rather than solid reasons, are collected out of their authors by Simeon De Muis in his *Varia Sacra* upon this place. The simplest reason seems to be, that a vile sort of sacrifice was most suitable to her vile condition; for which reason also there was no oil nor frankincense permitted to be offered with it; as it here follows.

He shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon;] This sacrifice was different from all others of this kind (see Lev. ii. 15). For though that mentioned Lev. v. 11, was to have no oil nor frankincense with it, yet it was of fine flour, and not barley. And though the sheaf mentioned Lev. xxiii. 10, was of barley, yet it was sifted, and, besides, oil and frankincense were used with it; which are here forbidden. The reasons of which are given by the Jews, according to their various fancies; and some of them are ingenious enough; as, that a good name being compared to oil (Eccles. vii. 1), is here omitted, because the woman had lost her reputation. Maimonides is a little more judicious; for looking upon oil and frankincense as added unto sacrifices for the honour and dignity of them, he thinks God would have this

16 And the priest shall bring her near, and set her before the Lord :

17 And the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel ; and of the dust that is in the floor of the tabernacle the priest shall take, and put it into the water :

splendour (as his word is) to be wanting to such a woman's sacrifice, because of the baseness of her behaviour, which was the occasion of it ; as if she had been told (to stir her up to repentance), " because of the filthiness of thy actions, thy oblation is more imperfect than others" (More Nivooh. par. iii. cap. 46). But none, I think, hath given a better account of this than St. Chrysostom (Orat. v. adv. Judeos), because the woman was loaded with sorrow, and heavy accusations, and evil suspicions, *ἐμψέτο τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς οἰκίας θύνας τὸ σῆμα*, " the form of the sacrifice imitated the domestic calamity ;" for every one knows that oil and frankincense were signs of joy and gladness ; and therefore not used upon so sad an occasion as this was.

It is an offering of jealousy.] These and the following words give the reason why oil and frankincense were to be omitted ; because it was an offering for one suspected of adultery. And, in such cases, God had before ordained there should be no oil nor frankincense used (Lev. v. 11), delicacies being improper in offerings for sin.

Offering of memorial.] For she appeared before God as a sinner : and if she were not guilty, yet she was loaded with an accusation, and a just suspicion of guilt ; to which, if she had given any occasion, this sacrifice reminded her of it, and awakened her conscience to reflect upon it.

Ver. 16. *The priest.*] It is the opinion of P. Cunæus (lib. i. De Rep. Hebr. cap. 12), that the priest here mentioned was to be a member of the great Sanhedrin ; to whom the judgment of the matter belonged. But another very learned person thinks, with more reason, the priest, whose lot it was to attend at that time in his course, is here meant (see Mischna, cap. 1, Sota, sect. 5, annot. 8, Wagenseil).

Shall bring her near.] Rather " bring it" (that is, her offering) near to the altar at the door of the tabernacle.

Set her.] Rather " set the offering ;" for she is ordered to be set before the Lord afterward (ver. 18).

Before the Lord.] At the altar, which was at the door of the tabernacle (see Lev. i. 3). At the east gate of the temple, saith the Mischna, which was called the *gate of Nicanor* ; for there women also after child-bed were purified, and the lepers cleansed.

Ver. 17. *The priest shall take holy water.*] From the laver ; for no water was holy, but that which was made so by the laver ; as the Jews say in Jalkut. Therefore Onkelos, instead of *holy water*, hath *water from the laver*.

In an earthen vessel.] Which had never been employed to any other use (as the Mischna saith), and contained about a pint of our measure. This I take to have been appointed, as a further expression of the vileness of her condition ; for the reasons which the Jewish doctors give of it are not to be regarded. The best that I have observed is, to declare that she should be broken in pieces, like that earthen vessel, if she was guilty of that which she denied.

Of the dust.] Another token of her vileness ; this being the serpent's food.

That is in the floor of the tabernacle.] To make her afraid of the judgment of God. For if there were no dust in the tabernacle, they were to fetch it from some other place (as Maimonides relates their prac-

18 And the priest shall set the woman before the Lord, and uncover the woman's head, and put the offering of memorial in her hands, which is the jealousy offering : and the priest shall have in his hand the bitter water that causeth the curse :

tie, Hilcoth Sota, cap. 4), and lay it upon the floor of the tabernacle ; and then take it and put it into the water.

Put it into the water.] Sprinkle a little of it upon the water (that it might be more easily drunk), but so much, that it might be plainly seen. For there were three things, the Jews say, of which a less quantity was not admitted than might be seen, viz. this dust, and the ashes of the red heifer (ch. xix. 17), and the spittle, in the face of him that would not marry his brother's wife (Deut. xxv. 9). But if the priest put the dust into the vessel first, and then poured the water upon it, he did not do amiss ; as the Jews say in the ancient book Siphri (see Wagenseil upon Mischna Sota, cap. 2, sect. 2, annot. 11, 13).

It hath been observed by some, that such ways of trial were in use among the gentiles ; which if they could be proved to have been as ancient as Moses's days, it would make it probable, that this was ordered by God, to divert the Jews from following the superstitions of other nations to make this discovery, and bring them to appear before him at his tabernacle, and there use such rites as were of his appointment (see our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. iii. Dissert. i. cap. 2, p. 539, &c.).

Ver. 18. *The priest shall set the woman before the Lord.*] At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation ; where a great many women, who were called together on purpose, stood about her ; " that they might be taught not to do after her lewdness" (as the prophet Ezekiel speaks, ch. xxiii. 48). As many others also as would might be present, except only her maids and domestic servants, who were put out, lest they should disturb her mind too much ; as Mr. Selden interprets the words of the Mischna, about this matter (lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 15). Which another very learned man (J. Wagenseil) interprets the quite contrary way, " lest her mind should place any hope in them" (cap. 1, sect. 6, annot. 8, on Sota).

Uncover the woman's head.] He was to strip her of all her head attire (as the manner was, if we may believe Philo, in all judicial proceedings), to loose her hair, and tear her garments down to her breast ; which he bound about her (as the Jews say) with an Egyptian cord. And if she had any gold or jewels, or other ornaments about her, they were all taken from her : and she was clothed with a black garment. All which were plain tokens of her lamentable condition.

Put the offering—in her hands.] After he had put it into a frying-pan, under which he held his own hand (Lev. ii. 7), and at the same time held in his other hand the bitter water ; which he showed her.

Which is the jealousy offering.] Offered purely upon the account of her husband's jealousy ; as he told her.

The priest shall have in his hand the bitter water.] So called, because they put wormwood, or some such thing into it, to give it a bitter taste ; as Maimonides and the ancient rabbins fancy. But the later doctors say, nothing was mixed with this water but dust ; and yet it became bitter in the mouth. So Nachman and others. But the most probable account of all others is, that this water was called *bitter*, from its direful effects upon the body of the woman, if she was

19 And the priest shall charge her by an oath, and say unto the woman, If no man have lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness with *another* instead of thy husband, be thou free from this bitter water that causeth the curse:

20 But if thou hast gone aside to *another* instead of thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lain with thee beside thine husband:

guilty. To which exposition Jacob Abendana inclines (see Wagenseil upon the Mischna Sota, cap. 3, sect. 5, annot. 1).

That causeth the curse.] "Or rather, "which was given her with curses," and dreadful imprecations: blotted out with the bitter water (ver. 21, 23), as R. Bechai expounds it.

Ver. 19. *The priest shall charge her by an oath.*] Advise her to tell the truth in the manner following.

If no man have lain with thee, &c.] If thou art innocent of that whereof thou art suspected.

Be thou free from this bitter water, &c.] It shall have no ill effect upon thee.

Ver. 20. *But if thou hast gone aside, &c.*] Art guilty of adultery.

Ver. 21. *Then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing.*] This is no new adjuration; but only another part of that which began ver. 19, and is continued in this and the foregoing. So that these three verses contain the entire form of adjuration; which the priest was to pronounce in a language which the woman understood, as the Jewish doctors observe; otherwise, how could the woman answer *Amen*? as R. Ismael saith in Siphrî; exactly according to the apostle's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. And the priest was to signify to her, that this proceeding was merely to satisfy her husband's jealousy, by discovering the truth. Thus this whole matter is related by the author of Ez Hechajim (an incomparable MS. as Wagenseil calls it, who hath it in his possession): "The priest pronounces this curse in a language which she understands; and signifies to her in the vulgar tongue, that these things are done purely because her husband is jealous of her, she having been secretly with one whose company he forbade her to keep: and then saith in a tongue familiar to her, 'If no other man hath lain with thee but thy husband, &c., be thou free from these bitter waters, &c., but if thou hast been false to him, &c., the Lord make thee a curse,' &c. Unto which the woman was to answer, *Amen, Amen*." By which words she not only consented to what the priest said, but made the same imprecation upon herself.

The Lord make thee a curse.] So that when men would imprecate any evil to another, they should say, "Let that befall thee which befell such a woman;" as Rasi expounds it.

An oath among thy people.] A form of execration, as the aforesaid MS. expounds it: or, as Rasi will have it, when men called God to witness, they should say, "If I swear falsely, let God punish me, as he did such a woman." - These execrations were tacitly supposed in the oaths among the pagans, as our great Selden shows at large, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 11, p. 461, &c., where he observes, out of Porphyry, that the ancient Indians had their *Διμνην διαστατήριον*, "lake of probation, or trial;" and in his Marmora Arundeliana (p. 23), there is this form of imprecation in the league between the city of Smyrna and Magnesia, *Ἐπορκούντι μοι εὖ εἴη ἑπορκούντι δὲ, ἐξέλιτα καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γένει τῷ ἐξ ἐμοῦ*, "Let it be well with me, if I swear truly;

21 Then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, The Lord make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when the Lord doth make thy thigh to rot, and thy belly to swell;

22 And this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, to make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to rot: and the woman shall say, Amen, amen.

but if falsely, let destruction be both to myself and to my posterity." And at this day there is a custom in the kingdom of Siam to determine dubious cases, by giving a lump of rice impregnated (as my author speaks) with curses to a man to eat. Which if he can swallow without vomiting, he carries the cause; and his friends carry him home in great triumph, &c. So Jodocus Schoutenius (who was director of the East India Company there, 1636).

When the Lord doth make thy thigh to rot, and thy belly to swell.] When they see the dreadful effect of this water, in the rotting of thy thigh, after thy belly is swelled. For the swelling of the belly, it appears by the next verse, preceded the rotting of the thigh.

Such imprecations were in use in Homer's time, it appears by Agamemnon's prayer; wherein he calls Jupiter, and all the rest of the gods, to bear witness of his sincerity; wishing them to send a multitude of pains and griefs upon him if he forswore himself (*Iliad*. xix. ver. 264, 265).

Ἱερὸν θεοῦ ἀλγέα δοῖεν
Πολλὰ μὲν, βούρα δίδόντων ὅτις σφ' ἀλγήσεται ὀνόσας.

Ver. 22. *And this water.*] Or, *For this water, &c.* *Shall go into thy bowels, &c.*] If thou art guilty, it shall produce the following effects.

To make thy belly to swell.] By the belly the Jews understand the womb, and the bowels, which swelled till they burst.

Thy thigh to rot.] By her thigh is meant the secret parts of her body, as Chaskuni observes on this place. And both Bochartus and Heinsius have given many instances of the use of the word in this sense: the former in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 15, and the latter in Aristarch. Sac. cap. 1. And thus we read, in the passion of SS. Perpetuana et Felice, that when Perpetuana was thrown to the beasts, and lay on the ground, she drew back her coat, which was torn from her side, ad velamentum femoris, "to cover her thigh from being seen;" pudoris magis memor quam doloris, "having a greater sense of modesty than of pain" (p. 32, edit. Oxon.).

The Mischna here observes, not impertinently, "with what measure men mete, it shall be measured to them again;" for in the very part that offended, she suffered for her crime. I noted before (ver. 17) that there were such ways of trial anciently among the gentiles; but I am apt to think they were all later than the times of Moses, who did not ordain these rites to keep the Jews from following their customs, but they rather imitated what was practised among the Jews. Particularly Bochartus observes, out of Philostratus, there were waters in Cappadocia, sacred to Jupiter, which were very sweet and pleasant to those who were innocent and swore truly, but quite contrary to those who were perjured; whose eyes, hands, and feet were presently seized and infected with blotches and filthy ulcers, *ὠδερῶς καὶ φθόσας*, which is the very disease here mentioned, if we believe Josephus, who saith the woman's belly swelled by the dropsy, till at last it burst. And Phi-

23 And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot *them* out with the bitter water:

24 And he shall cause the woman to drink the bitter water that causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter.

25 Then the priest shall take the jealousy

offering out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the offering before the Lord, and offer it upon the altar:

26 And the priest shall take an handful of the offering, *even* the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall cause the woman to drink the water.

27 And when he hath made her to drink the

lostratus adds, that the whole body of such people grew consumptive; nor could they stir from those waters, but there they lay deploring their misery (see Bochart. lib. i. Canaan, cap. 28, p. 589, 590). Which agrees so perfectly with what the Jews say of this *bitter water*, that it is most likely this story of the Cappadocian water was derived from thence. For they say, not only the belly of the woman swelled, and her thigh rotted, but every member of her body felt the effects of this deadly poison, which spread to the very hairs of her head; as they tell us in Rabbboth, quoted by Wagenseil upon the Mischna, which saith the same (cap. 1, Sotâ, sect. 7). And therefore Huetius justly thinks the fable of the Stygian Lake, and several other rites of finding out the truth of secret crimes, were invented by the Greeks from this example (Demonst. Evan. propos. iv. cap. 11, n. 12). Many authors have collected several sorts of trials of this kind; and lately Guil. Saldenus, in his Otia Theologica, Exercit. v. n. 24, 25. But, above all, see Huetius's *Questiones Alnetanæ* (lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 23), where he gives a large account how far this rite of trying women's chastity by drinking this water was spread amongst the most barbarous nations.

The woman shall say, Amen, Amen.] The word *Amen* is doubled, to express her full consent and her earnest desire that God would deal with her according to her deserving. The Mischna will have the first *Amen* refer to those words, "The Lord make thee a curse;" and the second to the next words, "And an oath among thy people:" so that she prayed God both might come upon her if she were guilty. We may as well say, that one of these *Amens* relates to the first part of the adjuration (ver. 19), and the other to the second part (ver. 21). Or, as Abarbanel doth, that there being a double curse, one that her belly should swell, and another that her thigh should rot, she said a double *Amen*; praying both might befall her if she were guilty. And, as the Talmudists understand it, they were an imprecation upon herself. For so they say in Schœvnot; Whosoever saith *Amen* to an oath (or curse), seems to pronounce the oath or curse with his own mouth. See Wagenseil upon Mischna Sotâ (cap. 2, sect. 5, annot. 3), where he produces a great deal more out of the Scripture itself, in confutation of the opinion of our learned Fuller, who, in his Miscellanies, affirms, that *Amen* is only an asseveration, but never a form of swearing.

Ver. 23. *The priest shall write these curses*] Several opinions are related in the Mischna, concerning the words that were to be written; which some would have to begin at ver. 19, *If no man have lain with thee*, &c., and to continue to this verse. But others think they began at those words, ver. 21, "The Lord make thee a curse and an oath," &c., and that the last words were omitted, "the woman shall say, Amen, Amen." Which of these opinions is the true, neither the Gemara nor Maimonides have determined.

In a book.] Every scroll of parchment, wherein any thing was written, the Jews call *sepher*, a book: in which, it hath been commonly said, the name of the woman was written, together with the curse; but there is nothing either in the Scripture or in antiquity to countenance this.

He shall blot them out with the bitter water.] Or rather, "into the bitter water;" that is, he was to scrape out the words he had written into the water, and so make the woman drink it; or, as the Jews explain it, wash the words he had written with the bitter water till they were quite blotted out: see Wagenseil in Mischna Sotâ, cap. 3, sect. 3. Who observes a great many curiosities which the Jews have about the parchment and the ink, upon and with which these curses were written; and that they were not valid, if they were written by a layman; or by a priest that was not of age; or if they were written before she was adjured; or if he blotted out one word before the rest were written, &c. (see there, cap. 2, sect. 4). Hottinger forgot himself when he said, the scroll itself was thrown into the water (The-saur. Philolog. lib. ii. cap. 2), for no such thing appears.

Ver. 24. *He shall cause the woman to drink, &c.*] viz. After he had offered the jealousy-offering upon the altar (ver. 26). And if she refused to drink the water, into which the curses were scraped, they forced her to it, with this preceding admonition; "My daughter, if thou art confident of thine innocence, do not fear to drink this water; which will do thee no more hurt than dry poison laid upon the flesh of a living creature," &c. If hereupon she confessed that she had been polluted, the water was straightway poured out; *because there was no holiness in it*, as Maimonides saith. For it is called *holy*, ver. 17, not because it was sanctified to this use, but only because it was taken out of the *laver*, which was a holy vessel: see Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Heb. cap. 15, who observes also, in the foregoing chapter, that if, after a man had brought his wife to this trial, he chanced to die before this adjuration, she was freed from taking the potion, but lost her dowry.

The water that causeth the curse] Or, that is loaded with curses, which have been scraped into it.

Shall enter into her, and become bitter.] Produce those direful effects before mentioned, if she be guilty.

Ver. 25. *Out of the woman's hand,*] Into which he had put it, before he adjured her (ver. 18).

Shall wave the offering before the Lord.] How this waving was performed hath been shown before, upon Leviticus. Rasi here expresses it in four words, he moved the oblation "to and fro, up and down." Something like to which Pythagoras seems to intimate in that symbol of his, *προσκύνει περιερέωντος*, "worship, turning round." Which Plutarch ascribes to Numa; in whose life, he says a great many observable things concerning *turning round* in their sacred offices: which was a rite in use among the gentiles; who, when they saluted their gods, standing with their heads uncovered, "turned about their bodies to the right hand;" as Christoph. Arnoldus observes out of Suetonius and others, in his appendix to Wagenseil's annotations upon Sotâ, p. 1186.

Offer it upon the altar.] At the south corner of it.

Ver. 26. *The priest shall take an handful of the offering.*] See upon the second chapter of Leviticus, ver. 2.

Burn it upon the altar.] The rest of it the priests were to eat, unless her husband himself was a priest;

water, then it shall come to pass, *that*, if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, *and become* bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot: and the woman shall be a curse among her people.

25 And if the woman be not defiled, but be

in which case it was all thrown among the ashes. See Selden in the place above named: where he also observes, that if she confessed the fact, or her husband would not have her drink, or either of them died before she drank, or a witness of the adultery appeared (which made the waters useless), the whole sacrifice was burnt, and not only a memorial thereof. All which is in the Mischna, sect. 3, 4.

Afterward shall cause the woman to drink the water.]

The sacrifice therefore was first offered; though the Mischna says, that if the priest gave her the water to drink first, and then presented the offering, he did not do amiss.

Ver. 27. *When he hath made her to drink*] By this it appears he might force her to drink, if she would not do it by persuasion.

Then it shall come to pass, &c.] These effects here mentioned, presently followed: for she grew pale, and her eyes were ready to start out of her head, &c. so that they cried out, "Carry her forth, carry her forth, lest she defile the court of the temple," by dying there, as the Mischna saith, cap. 3, sect. 4. The adulterer also, if we may believe the Jews, died the same day and hour: nay, his belly swelled, as hers did: and his secret parts rotted, as the author of Ez. Hechajim saith, in Wagenseil upon Sota (cap. 5, sect. 1), where he adds, that all this came to pass in case her husband had never offended in the same kind: for if he had at any time defiled the marriage-bed, then this water had not these effects upon his wife, though she had been faulty. Which the Gemara also affirms.

Ver. 28. *If the woman be not defiled—then she shall be free.*] Receive no harm at all by drinking the water.

Shall conceive seed.] If she was barren before, she became fruitful after this trial, and also bare a man-child (if we may believe the Jews), and had easy labour. Her beauty also increased, her health was confirmed, and if she had any disease it was cured. They observe also, that if, after she was thus cleared, she kept company again with the same man whom her husband suspected, and by his renewed admonition had required her not to be in private with him, this potion was not repeated; but she was dismissed from being his wife, without any dowry: but if she kept company with any other person privately, after admonition to the contrary, this potion might be repeated, as often as she offended with new lovers. Thus that MS. Ez. Hechajim, so highly commended by Wagenseil, who also adds, that in case her husband put her away after her acquittal, and she married another man, who had the same ground of jealousy that her former husband had, because of her familiarity with the same person whom he had forbidden her to keep company withal, her new husband might bring her to a new trial by this water: and so might as many husbands as she should marry one after another, if she gave the like occasion of jealousy.

Ver. 29. *This is the law of jealousies.*] Whereby God declared himself to be privy to the most secret sins, and to be both the preserver of conjugal faith and chastity, and the protector of innocence; and provided that man and wife should live happily to-

gether, by keeping men from cruel and furious proceedings against their wives when they entertained a jealousy of them (willing them to commend the case to God), and by continuing wives in their duty out of dread of this punishment; which was so terrible (as Maimonides well observes) even to innocent women, that they would have given all they had to avoid it; nay, wished rather to die than undergo such a public infamy, of having their head uncovered, their hair cut off (as he represents it), their garment torn to their breasts; and so to stand in the sanctuary before a great multitude of men and women, and the whole Sanhedrin (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49).

When a wife goeth aside] If the man went aside from her, she had not the same action against him; because the family was not so much injured by his going aside as by hers; which brought a spurious brood to inherit his estate.

To another.] Hence the Talmudists conclude, such an action did not lie against a woman who was only espoused, or that waited for her former husband's brother to take her to wife, if they gave suspicion of being defiled. So the Mischna, cap. 4, sect. 1.

Is defiled;] By that other man with whom she went aside.

Ver. 30. *Or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon him.*] It appears by the first words of this law (ver. 13, 14), that whether she was really defiled, or there was only a vehement suspicion of it, which bred a jealousy in him; the husband had liberty to bring her to this trial for his own satisfaction: which law was rather permissive than preceptive.

Set the woman before the Lord.] That he might show whether there was cause for her husband's jealousy or not (see ver. 18).

The priest shall execute upon her all this law.] Though the man was not bound to bring her to this trial, but rather the contrary, if he could otherwise get rid of his jealousy; yet the priest was bound to proceed against her according to the foregoing rules, when she was set before the Lord to be tried. And he might set her before him on any day that was not a festival, and in any hour of the day; but not in the night: nor might he give the drink to two suspected women at one and the same time.

Ver. 31. *The man be guiltless from iniquity.*] By iniquity here is to be understood the punishment due to iniquity. For the wife, or her parents, if she appeared to be innocent, could have no action against the husband, upon the account of this accusation: and if she was guilty, she was justly punished for her crime; and her husband had no reason to say (as the Jews speak in Pesikta), "Wo is me, that I have killed a daughter of Israel," &c., for he is here pronounced innocent in that matter by the eternal God; who doth not exercise a tyranny (as they there go on) over his creatures, nor gives them precepts, that he may make them weary of their lives, or destroy them. No, his precepts are right; the whole law is divine: and God doth not bring any man into judgment, but for the violation of that which was expressly commanded, and which he might have been able to fulfil.

But the particle *van*, in the beginning of this verse, signifies sometimes as much as *if*, as I observed upon

set the woman before the Lord, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law.

ver. 7. And so the Jews here commonly understand it, "if the man be guiltless from iniquity." For thus the rule is expressed in the Gemara, upon the fifth chapter of Sota: "When the husband is free from iniquity (i. e. from adultery), then the water tries his wife: but if he be not free (i. e. be himself also guilty of adultery), then the water hath no power to try her:" that is, produces none of the effects before mentioned. And so the author of Ez. Hachajim, in Wagenseil upon Sota (p. 595), concludes from these very words, That the bitter water then only had power, when the man was free from the sin of which he suspected his wife: and gives this as the reason why, in the latter end of the second temple, this way of trial ceased, and was quite taken away by the Sanhedrin; because the number of adulterers was then so great, that the water had no effect; according to those words of the prophet Hosea (ch. iv. 14), "I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery," &c. For that is another rule of theirs, "When adulterers were multiplied, the bitter waters

31 Then shall the man be guiltless from iniquity, and this woman shall bear her iniquity.

ceased;" i. e. there was no trial by them (see Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Heb. cap. 15, p. 408). Yet the Jews seem to have continued in after ages, since their temple was destroyed, some form of dreadful imprecations, in their synagogues, for the discovery of truth in doubtful cases. For St. Chrysostom says, he himself saw a very modest, good Christian woman, brought by a senseless fellow (who also had the name of a Christian) into a Jewish assembly; whom he would have compelled to take their oath, *περί τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων*, "concerning some things wherein he desired satisfaction:" from which the woman being rescued, by St. Chrysostom's assistance, when he examined the man about it, how he came to forsake the church, and resort to their Sanhedrin; his answer was, "That he had been told by many, *φαινεταί τοῖς ἱερεῖσι γυναικίους ὄρεσιν ἵσται*, that there were more horrible adjurations among them than Christians" (Homil. i. adv. Judæos). Which, no doubt, arose from the direful effects of this adjuration here prescribed, if the woman was guilty of what she was suspected.

CHAPTER VI.

1 The law of the Nazarites. 22 The form of blessing the people.

1 AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord:

3 He shall separate himself from wine and strong drink, and shall drink no vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any liquor of grapes, nor eat moist grapes, or dried.

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1.] This law very properly follows the foregoing (about women suspected of adultery), as a remedy against all such sins; by abstaining from wine, and all other incitements to lust; and by devoting themselves, for some time, in a peculiar way to the service of God. And there seems to be a plain opposition between a woman professing herself a Nazarite, and forbearing wine, and the care of her hair; and a woman that loved company, and was entangled in the love of other men besides her husband.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Who were all concerned in this law.

When either man or woman.] For women as well as men might make this vow, if they were at their own disposal, and not under the power of their parents, or husbands, by whose authority this vow might be disannulled (ch. xxx. 4, 5, &c.).

Shall separate themselves.] The Hebrew *וַיִּפְחֵל* *yaphli* signifies the doing something extraordinary, beyond the common rate of other men: and therefore Forster hath well translated it, when a man or woman "shall vow a singular vow."

To vow a vow of a Nazarite.] The Hebrew word *Nazar*, which signifies in general to separate, in the conjugation *niphal* (as they call it) signifies to separate from others, by a profession of some special act of religion. Whence *Nazir* signifies one that, beyond the common prescription of the law, dedicates, not his goods, but himself to God in a peculiar kind of sanctimony. So Philo, who calls this *μεγάλη εὐχή*, "the great vow;" because he that makes it, devotes not his corn, or beasts, &c., but his own self unto God; *παρατίθηται γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτὸς εἰς ἰσχύον αὐτοῦ*,

"for every man is to himself the greatest possession he hath."

To separate themselves.] To separate themselves for some time to a higher measure of purity than other men practised, that they might attend to the service of God. From whence this vow was called, *separation unto the Lord*. For they who observed it were holy, saith Maimonides; yea, were placed, for the present, in the dignity of the high-priest as to sanctity: being forbidden to pollute themselves for their father or mother, as it follows afterward (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 48). The Jewish doctors are wont to be so curious in marking every word, and scrupulously adhering to it, that it is something strange they should allow a father the liberty to separate his child to be a Nazarite without its consent; when the text expressly speaks of those who *separate themselves*. But so the Mishna determines in Sota (cap. 3, sect. 8), and it allows this liberty to the father, though not to the mother; though we find Hannah vowing Samuel to be a Nazarite before he was born, 1 Sam. i. 10, 11 (see Wagenseil on that place, annot. 2, 3).

Ver. 3. *He shall separate himself from wine.*] In this consisted one part of the special sanctity of Nazarites; that, by abstinence from wine, or any thing that was intoxicating, they might the better attend to the study of the law, or other exercises of religion.

Strong drink.] As wine was made of grapes, so *shecar* was a liquor made of other fruit, as dates, &c. (see Lev. x. 9). To which add, that other authors call the juice of dates, as well as grapes, by the name of *wine*. Nay, Pliny saith, that *præcipua vina*, "the choicest wines," were made of those dates called *carlotæ*, which grew about Jericho; though they were *iniqua capitâ*, "hurtful to the head," from whence

4 All the days of his separation shall he eat nothing that is made of the vine tree, from the kernels even to the husk.

5 All the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in the which he separateth himself unto the LORD, he shall be holy, and

shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.

6 All the days that he separateth himself unto the LORD he shall come at no dead body.

7 He shall not make himself unclean for his father, or for his mother, for his brother, or for his sister, when they die: because the consecration of his God is upon his head.

they had their name (lib. xiii. Nat. Hist. cap. 4). With great reason, therefore, such intoxicating liquors were forbidden to those who set themselves apart to attend upon God, during the time of their separation. Which justifies, in part, what Maimonides saith, that Nazarites were advanced to the dignity of priests, who might not drink any wine, or strong drink, in the time of their ministration to God in the sanctuary.

And shall drink no vinegar of wine, &c.] For that had the same effect with wine and strong drink, of which it was made.

Liquor of grapes,] i. e. Secondary wine; which was made by maceration of grapes in water, after the juice had been pressed out to make wine. Pliny speaks of various kinds of it (lib. xiv. Nat. Hist. cap. 10).

Nor eat moist grapes, or dried.] Which might have stirred up their appetite after wine, or heated their blood; and indisposed them for the service of God, to which they had devoted themselves.

Ver. 4. *Days of his separation*] or *Nazariteship*, as it is in the margin. Which sort of vow either was for all their life, or only for a time. Samson and John Baptist were made perpetual Nazarites, by the direction of God, from their mother's womb. But here Moses speaks of such as were made Nazarites by themselves, for a time only. Which the Jews say was at least for thirty days: but it appears by St. Paul it might be for a week only: unto which he limited the time of his ἀγνότης, as it is called in Acts xxii. 26, 27. For every one might vow for what time he pleased.

Eat nothing that is made of the vine tree,] No paste, nor sauce, that had any of the juice or infusion of the grapes in it.

From the kernels even to the husk.] Which might give the smallest tincture to any thing into which they were put.

All this caution seems to be intended to instruct those, who give themselves wholly unto God's service, to be very sober and abstemious in the use of wine and strong drink; the excess of which is the bane of true piety. For amat Spiritus Sanctus siccacorda, as Grotius admirably observes upon Luke i. 15, "The Holy Ghost delights in dry souls."

Ver. 5. *There shall no razor come upon his head:*] Nor was his hair to be cut with scissors, or any other instrument; but he was to let the locks of his hair grow, as it is in the conclusion of this verse. This made such persons look majestically and venerably, without any expense. For, as Agesilaus speaks in Stobæus, τὸ κομᾶν τῶν κόμαων τὸ ἀδανανέστατον, "to let one's hair grow long, is the cheapest ornament." Besides, neglect of the hair was proper to those who renounced, for the present, all manner of pleasure (as the Nazarites did), and betook themselves to a severer sort of life. Such persons not only let their beards and their hair grow, but wore a hairy garment, which the Hebrews called *addareth*. Such a one John Baptist wore, as Elijah did before him, whose mantle is called by this name (1 Kings xix. 19), and who is said himself to have been a *hairy man* (2 Kings i. 8), from whence Grotius concludes, that either he was a Nazarite, or the habit of a prophet and a Nazarite was the same (see him on Matt. iii. 4).

But Moses himself seems, in the next words, to give the plainest reason of this matter.

Until the days be fulfilled,] It was a token he had kept himself pure from all legal defilements: for if he had not, he must have shaved his head (ver. 9), as they did who were cleansed from their leprosy (Lev. xiv. 8, 9).

Shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.] This law, in which consists the second part of their Nazariteship, some fancy to have been translated from the Egyptians, into the religion of the Hebrews. Which was the opinion of S. Cyril of Alexandria, lib. xvi. De Adorat. where he saith, that Moses, knowing how hard it would be to bring the Israelites from the ill customs they had learned in Egypt, most wisely instituted the like rites to these that were in use there, to the intent they might not perform such worship any longer to demons, but to the Lord of all. Procopius Gazæus, upon this place, hath the same notion: Græcorum liberi, si in nymphas vel montanas vel aquatiles incidissent, comas nutriebant. Lex itaque mala dæmonum consuetudine dempta, ad Deum hoc ipsum transfert. The sense of which is, "that the Greeks let their hair grow in honour of the nymphs; and therefore the law, to abolish that wicked custom, transferred that to God which was done to demons." To which I should readily subscribe, if there were any proof that this rite of consecrating their hair to demons was so old among the Egyptians and Greeks as the times of Moses. It is far more probable, that the original of this custom among the gentiles was from this law of the Nazarites. So Hen. Lindembrogius very well observes upon those words of Censorinus (de Die Natali, cap. 1), Crinem Deo sacrum pascabant, "that they let their hair grow in honour of their gods;" particularly of Apollo, who thence was called Κουρτορόπος; of Bacchus, Minerva, and others; yea, this superstition grew so much, that they consecrated it to rivers, in which they thought there was some divinity. But hujus moris origo (saith that learned annotator upon him) videtur fluxisse à Nazaræis Judæorum, "the original of this custom seems to have flowed from the Jewish Nazarites" (see more upon ver. 18).

Ver. 6. *He shall come at no dead body.*] This was a third part of this religion, not to touch a dead body, nor be in the house where a dead body was, nor accompany it to the grave (see ch. xix. 11—13). For such defilements by the dead made men unclean seven days, so that they might not approach to the house of God; and therefore, that the Nazarites might always be fit to attend upon his service, he would have them avoid this defilement.

Ver. 7. *He shall not make himself unclean for his father, &c.*] In this he was superior to the ordinary priests, who might be defiled for such near kindred (Lev. xxi. 2, &c.), and was equalled to the high-priests (as I observed before, ver. 2, out of Maimonides), who might not (Lev. xxi. 11).

Because the consecration of his God is upon his head.] His hair upon his head, which was unshorn, shewed him to be separated (as the word is in the Hebrew) unto God. Which hair also was consecrated to him, when the days of his separation were

8 All the days of his separation he *is* holy unto the LORD.

9 And if any man die very suddenly by him, and he hath defiled the head of his consecration; then he shall shave his head in the day of his cleansing, on the seventh day shall he shave it.

10 And on the eighth day he shall bring two turtles, or two young pigeons, to the priest, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation:

11 And the priest shall offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, and make an atonement for him, for that he

sinned by the dead, and shall hallow his head that same day.

12 And he shall consecrate unto the LORD the days of his separation, and shall bring a lamb of the first year for a trespass offering: but the days that were before shall be lost, because his separation was defiled.

13 ¶ And this *is* the law of the Nazarite, when the days of his separation are fulfilled: he shall be brought unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation:

14 And he shall offer his offering unto the LORD, one he lamb of the first year without

fulfilled. For in this unshorn hair seems to have consisted the principal part of Nazariteship.

Ver. 8. *He is holy*] By a peculiar vow, and therefore was not to come near a dead body.

Ver. 9. *If any man die very suddenly*] Either by violence, or an apoplexy, or any other way. And the case was the same, if he chanced to light upon a dead body unawares.

He hath defiled the head of his consecration;] The consecration of his head; that is, his hair. For though he could not help his being so suddenly surprised, yet he was defiled by being where a dead body was: and consequently the hair of his head, which had been consecrated to God, was defiled also; and therefore could not be offered to him, and burnt in his honour.

Then he shall shave his head] His Nazariteship was interrupted by this defilement, so that it could not proceed further; but, after the usual purification, was to be begun anew; by shaving off this polluted hair, and letting new hair grow instead of it. By this it appears that Moses here speaks only of such as made this vow for a limited time: for perpetual Nazarites, who were consecrated to God for all their life, were never shaven, whatsoever defilement they contracted.

On the seventh day] For so many days uncleanness by the dead lasted (ch. xix. 11), and the seventh day was the day of cleansing from that uncleanness (ver. 12). All other legal uncleanness polluted a Nazarite so as to make him stand in need of such purifications as other men used in those cases: but this alone polluted him so as utterly to put him out of that state; which, as it here follows, was to be begun again.

Ver. 10.] The very same sacrifice which was offered for one that had been defiled by a running issue (Lev. xv. 14).

Ver. 11. *The priest shall offer*] As in the forenamed case (Lev. xv. 15).

And make an atonement] Which was to be done before the burnt-offering would be accepted.

For that he sinned by the dead,] He had not properly sinned; but contracted a legal uncleanness, by touching a dead body, or being where it was. Which, though it was against his will, yet was a defilement in the account of the law; and a kind of sin, because it was a breach of a ceremonial law, and therefore thus to be purged. The reason of which, and such like precepts, Abarinel observes (in his preface to the book of Leviticus, ch. iv.), was only this; to make men very cautious how they contracted any defilement; as the Nazarite might do in the time of his separation, and put himself to much trouble. Which is the foundation of a famous saying among their wise men: "Diligence begets caution; and caution, purity; and purity, holiness and sanctity."

Hallow his head] Consecrate his hair afresh to the Lord, after his head hath been shaven.

Ver. 12.] This is a further explication of what was

said just before, in the end of the foregoing verse: that from the eighth day he shall begin to compute the time of his Nazariteship, for so many days as he at first vowed unto the Lord.

Bring a lamb] Which was to be offered even for ignorant offences, by the law made before (Lev. v. 15).

The days that were before] His defilement by the dead.

Shall be lost,] Shall not be reckoned, as the LXX. have it, but go for nothing (as we speak), though they were so many that he had almost fulfilled his vow. If, for instance, he had vowed to be a Nazarite for a whole year, and in the twelfth month happened upon a dead carcass, all the foregoing eleven months were lost, and he was to begin his year's vow again: and this, so often as such an accident happened, if it were before the time that his vow was completed. Which may seem very hard, if we do not seriously consider the intention of it; which was, to oblige them to the strictest care to preserve themselves holy and pure in all things; as they were plainly taught to be, by the watchful diligence they were bound to use, to avoid this legal defilement here mentioned. For none could absolve them from this vow, till it was fulfilled in the exactness that is here required. For, as they tell the story in the Talmud, Queen Helen having taken a vow upon her for seven years, by coming into the holy land was engaged for seven years more; and being defiled towards the latter end of them, was obliged for another seven years; which was twenty-and-one years in all (see Dr. Lightfoot of the Temple, ch. 18).

Because his separation was defiled,] His first separation was defiled by a dead body; which made it necessary he should begin a new one. It might happen also that he might die, before he had fulfilled the time he had vowed to be a Nazarite. In which case, Maimonides saith, any of his sons might go on where he left, and at the end of the days which his father had vowed, offer the sacrifices here appointed, and be shaved in his stead (so the Mishna Sotæ, cap. 3, sect. 8). But Maimonides acknowledges there is no foundation for this in Scripture; but it relies wholly upon tradition (see Wagenseil on that place, annot. 4).

Ver. 13. *This is the law of the Nazarite,*] Of putting an end to his Nazariteship.

When the days—are fulfilled;] At the end of the time he vowed to continue in this state.

He shall be brought] By the priest.

Unto the door] That the sacrifices here prescribed might be offered for him.

Ver. 14. *He shall offer*] i. e. The Nazarite was to present these following offerings unto the Lord: for the priest's offering them is not mentioned till ver. 16.

One he lamb—and one ewe lamb, &c.] Here are all sorts of offerings, which he was obliged to make in the conclusion of his Nazariteship. A burnt-offering,

blemish for a burnt offering, and one ewe lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, and one ram without blemish for peace offerings,

15 And a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and wafers of unleavened bread anointed with oil, and their meat offering, and their drink offerings.

16 And the priest shall bring them before

the Lord, and shall offer his sin offering, and his burnt offering:

17 And he shall offer the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the Lord, with the basket of unleavened bread: the priest shall offer also his meat offering, and his drink offering.

18 And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall take the hair of the head

as an acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion. A *sin-offering*, imploring pardon for any omissions of which he might have been guilty during this vow: and a *peace-offering*, in thankfulness to God, who had given him grace both to make, and to keep, and to fulfil this vow.

Ver. 15. *A basket of unleavened bread, &c.*] Besides the forementioned sacrifices, here are three oblations more prescribed to complete his thankfulness: of which see Exod. xxix. 2.

Their meat offering, and their drink offerings.] This seems to relate to the *burnt-offering* and *peace-offering* before mentioned (ver. 14), which were to have their proper meat-offering and drink-offering; besides the basket of unleavened bread, with the cakes and the wafers: see Lev. vii. 12; Numb. xv. 2, 3, &c. Where these accessory offerings are ordered to accompany the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, though sin-offerings had none.

Ver. 16. *The priest shall bring them*] Unto the altar of burnt-offerings; as the Nazarite had already brought them to the door of the tabernacle (ver. 14).

His sin offering] Though the *burnt-offering* be first named (ver. 14), as the principal sacrifice of all other, yet the *sin-offering* was first offered; by which his peace being made with God, the two other offerings which followed were acceptable to him.

Ver. 17. *He shall offer the ram—with the basket of unleavened bread.*] And the cakes and wafers, which accompanied the *peace-offering*, that nothing might be wanting to complete the feast which was to be made upon them.

The priest shall offer also his meat offering, &c.] By this it appears, that these were distinct from the basket of unleavened bread, &c., as I observed, ver. 15.

Ver. 18. *The Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation*] i. e. The hair of his head, which was consecrated to God, shall be shaved off, that it may be presented unto him. For having now fulfilled his vow, this hair was holy; it not having been defiled as that hair was which he shaved off before (ver. 9).

At the door] That it might be publicly known he had ended his vow.

And shall take the hair] His hair which was consecrated to the Lord.

Put it in the fire] Where it was burnt.

Which is under the sacrifice of the peace offerings.] In the court of the women (as they tell us in Middoth, cap. 2, sect. 5), where there were four rooms; and that in the north-east corner was the room of the Nazarites; in which they boiled their peace-offerings, and, having polled their hair, put it under the pot where the sacrifice was boiling: which, as L'Empeur there observes out of Abarbanel, was offered out of joy, that their vow was fulfilled; and therefore they put their hair to be there burnt, as a testimony that their Nazariteship was at an end, and that they had no further obligation to let their hair grow, in observance of this law. And accordingly to this account, that question is resolved which many have made: whether the Nazarite's hair was to be burnt with holy fire (viz. that on the altar), or with common: for it

was burnt with that which was under the pot, or caldron, in which the peace-offerings were boiled, which was common fire. And, indeed, it had been unseemly to burn hair upon the altar, it being God's table, where his meat was set before him; for it would not have been grateful at one of our feasts. Yet the fire under the peace-offerings may, in some sort, be called holy, as it was employed to boil holy meat; and in that regard, more sacred than other vulgar fire.

There are those who think no account can be given of such ordinances as these, but only this; that it was so general a custom, and so very ancient among mankind, to let their hair grow on purpose, and to plait it in locks, that they might, at a certain time, cut it off, and devote it to some of their gods; that, in all likelihood, the Israelites would have followed their superstition, if God, to prevent it, had not instituted a way of doing what the rest of the world did, without their idolatry. For the directions which God here gives about it, are manifestly opposite to the way of the gentiles. For the Nazarites are here directed to cut their hair (when the time of their separation was completed) at the door of the tabernacle, where it was also to be burnt; whereas the gentiles hung their hair, when they had cut it, upon trees; or consecrated it to rivers (as I observed, ver. 5), or laid it up in their temples, there to be preserved. The Hebrew Nazarites also are required to offer various sorts of sacrifices, when they cut their hair; of which we rarely read any thing among the gentiles: and all the time of their separation were to drink no wine, nor eat grapes, &c., which was not known among the heathen. From whence it is, one may think, that they are so often put in mind of the Lord, in this law of the Nazarites; who are said to be "separated unto the Lord" (ver. 1, 5, 6), and the "consecration of his God" is said to be upon his head (ver. 7), and all the days of his separation he was "holy to the Lord" (ver. 8), unto whom he "consecrated the days of his separation" (ver. 12), to put them in mind, that, though they used this rite, which was common to other nations, yet it was in honour of the Lord only, whom they acknowledged to be the author of health, and strength, and growth: for the devil also had his Nazarites, as appears from Hosea ix. 10. All this is said, and much more, with a specious show of truth, by a most ingenious and learned friend of mine, now with God, in his excellent book, *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus*, &c., lib. iii. Dissert. 1, cap. 6.

But there are two things wanting to make this opinion probable. First, none can tell how the world came by such a custom of letting their hair grow for sacred uses, unless they had it from Moses; who tells us whence he derived it, viz., from God; who appointed this rite for such reasons as then were plain, but now, perhaps, do not appear to us. Besides, secondly, there is not the least evidence that this custom was so old as Moses's time; which to me seems not likely, but rather that it was derived, among the gentiles, from an imperfect knowledge of what is here ordained by Moses. For the chief part of this Nazariteship consisting in letting their hair grow, and

of his separation, and put it in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace offerings.

19 And the priest shall take the sodden shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake out of the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them upon the hands of the Nazarite, after the hair of his separation is shaven:

20 And the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before the Lord: this is holy for the priest, with the wave breast and heave shoulder: and after that the Nazarite may drink wine.

21 This is the law of the Nazarite who hath

vowed, and of his offering unto the Lord for his separation, beside that that his hand shall get: according to the vow which he vowed, so he must do after the law of his separation.

22 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

23 Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them,

24 The Lord bless thee, and keep thee:

25 The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:

consecrating it unto God, the gentiles took it to be a piece of great devotion, *μη ἀποκρίνει τῶν παίδων τὰς κορυφὰς*, &c., as Theodoret speaks, Quæst. xxviii. in Levit. "not to cut off their children's hair, but let it grow, and, after a certain time, dedicate it to their demons." Many authors have written much of this custom; for which there was a certain day appointed at Athens, viz. the third day of the feast called Ἀνατομία, which day was called Κορυφαίς, because then the hair of their grown children was shorn off, and sacrificed to Diana (see Petr. Castellanus, in his Syntagma De Festis Græcorum; where he quotes a passage out of Hesychius (p. 28), who says, that before they cut off their hair, they brought a measure of wine, which they offered to Hercules, and then all that were present drank of it: which is some imitation of the drink-offering here mentioned by Moses, which was offered at the completion of their Nazariteship. And Grotius and Huetius have made it so plain, that the Attic laws were derived from Moses, that I cannot doubt but this custom also flowed from the same fountain.

And, if we must give an account of the reason of this institution among the Hebrews, I think that of Maimonides is better than this, against which I have excepted; viz. that this law about their hair was made in opposition to the opinion of the ancient idolaters, called Zabii, who held all things which were separated from the body to be impure; as the hair, the nails, and the blood. From whence all barbers among them were accounted impure persons, because they cut men's hair, and let blood: and who-soever suffered a razor to pass upon his flesh, was required to wash himself in pure fountain-water; as he shows, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 47.

Ver. 19. *Take the sodden shoulder*] The left shoulder, which he was to take out of the pot as it was boiling; for the right shoulder (which is called the *heave-shoulder* in the next verse) was the priest's portion, by a law made before this (Lev. vii. 32, 33).

One unleavened cake—and one unleavened wafer,] The basket of unleavened bread was ordered to be offered before (ver. 17), and now he orders one of the cakes and one of the wafers (mentioned with the bread, ver. 15), to be put into the hands of the Nazarite; the rest being burnt, I suppose, upon the altar.

Put them upon the hands of the Nazarite,] That he might give them to the priest, in token of his thankfulness to him for his pains.

After the hair—is shaven:] And his vow, in a manner, completed; as it was immediately after these things were presented unto God.

Ver. 20. *The priest shall wave them*] Both the sodden shoulder and the cake and wafer.

For a wave offering] See Lev. vii. 30, 31.

The wave breast and heave shoulder:] These two were the priest's portion out of all peace-offerings, as I observed before, from Lev. vii. 34; but in this peace-offering he had, moreover, the other shoulder,

as a special token of the Nazarite's gratitude for his cleansing.

After that the Nazarite may drink wine.] He was restored to his former freedom, to live as other men did.

Ver. 21. *This is the law of the Nazarite*] All these things he was bound to perform, before he could be freed from his vow, though he was never so poor.

Beside that that his hand shall get:] Besides which he might add, if he pleased, according to his ability.

According to the vow] There was a necessity that he should perform what his vow obliged him unto, according to the law of Nazariteship; though he might voluntarily offer what he thought good, over and above his oblation, now that he was executing his vow. His friends also might join with him in the expense he was at for so many sacrifices as he was enjoined to offer; or in providing voluntary offerings, beyond his oblation. Thus we read, in Acts xxi. 23, 24, that St. Paul, by the advice of St. James, and the elders at Jerusalem, was at charges with certain men that had this vow upon them, and purified himself with them: which was agreeable to the custom among the Jews, as Petitus and others have observed out of Maimonides; who says, others might help the Nazarites to fulfil their vow, and partake with them in it, by abstaining from wine, &c., for some time, as they did.

Ver. 22.] The tabernacle having been lately erected, to which the people were all to resort, they are invited to it by the directions here given, how they should be dismissed, when they came to worship: which was in such a manner, that they might not doubt (as R. Menachem glosses) but the Divine benediction would come down upon them from his celestial habitation, when they devoutly frequented his house here on earth.

Ver. 23. *Speak unto Aaron*] Whose proper office it was to bless the people; as it was to offer their sacrifices, and burn incense (Deut. xxi. 5).

On this wise ye shall bless] Standing so that they might be seen with their hands lifted up and spread; speaking with a loud voice, with their faces towards the people (see Lev. ix. 22).

Ver. 24.] Give thee all good things, and preserve thee from all evil.

Ver. 25.] Be favourable unto thee, and pardon all thy sins.

Ver. 26.] Be always with thee to protect and defend thee, and give thee perfect happiness.

When this benediction was said in the sanctuary (if we may believe the Jews), it was but one, and pronounced without any pause; the people keeping a profound silence: but out of the sanctuary (in their synagogues) they made three of it, the priest pausing at the end of every verse, and the people saying, *Amen* to each of them. In the sanctuary also they pronounced the name Jehovah, which is here thrice repeated; but in their synagogues they used some

26 The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

27 And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel; and I will bless them.

other name instead of it. So the Mischna Sota (cap. 7, sect. 6).

The repetition of this name three times, in these three verses, and that with a different accent in each of them (as R. Menachem observes), hath made the Jews themselves think there is some mystery in it: which we understand, though they do not. For it may well be looked upon by us, as having respect to the three persons in the blessed Trinity; who are one God, from whom all blessings flow unto us (2 Cor. xiii. 14). This mystery, as Luther wisely expresses it (upon Ps. v.), is here occulte insinuat, "secretly insinuated," though not plainly revealed. And it is not hard to show, if this were a place for it, how properly God the Father may be said to *bless and keep us*; and God the Son to be *gracious unto us*; and God the Holy Ghost to *give us peace*.

Ver. 27. *Put my name*] To put God's name upon them, was to commend them to his almighty goodness; or, to bless them, by calling upon the Lord, and beseeching him to bestow all that they desired upon them.

I will bless them.] The Jews from hence observe, that God's blessing, in some sort, depends upon the blessing of the priest: which they thought so necessary, that such priests as were admitted to no other service might perform this; for fear the people should at any time want it. So Chaskuni (upon Deut. xxi. 5), and Jalkut (as Wagenseil observes upon the Gemara Sota, cap. 7, sect. 26), whose words are these, "The blessing pronounced by a priest, who hath some blemish in his body, ought to be accounted legitimate."

Jonathan here paraphrases these words in this manner, "I will bless them in my Word, or by my Word:," which is the apostolical doctrine, that "God the Father hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in, or by Christ" (Eph. i. 3), who, with the Holy Ghost, is most high in the glory of God the Father. And it is observable, that the Jews think it utterly unlawful to add a fourth benediction to these three, though they find one in Deut. i. 2, "The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more than you are; and bless you as he hath promised you."

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The offering of the princes at the dedication of the tabernacle.* 10 *Their several offerings at the dedication of the altar.* 89 *God speaketh to Moses from the mercy seat.*

1 AND it came to pass on the day that Moses had fully set up the tabernacle, and had anointed it, and sanctified it, and all the instruments thereof, both the altar and all the vessels thereof, and had anointed them, and sanctified them;

2 That the princes of Israel, heads of the house of their fathers, who were the princes of

the tribes, and were over them that were numbered, offered:

3 And they brought their offering before the LORD, six covered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for two of the princes, and for each one an ox; and they brought them before the tabernacle.

4 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *On the day that Moses had fully set up the tabernacle,*] Which he did upon the first day of the first month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt (Exod. xl. 17, 18).

And had anointed it, &c.] See Lev. viii. 10, 11; where it is said, he anointed also (as it here likewise follows) all belonging to it: which being seven days in doing, as appears from the thirty-fifth verse of that chapter, it is evident that the word *day* doth not here precisely denote the very day on which the tabernacle was erected; but more largely, at or about that time (as it must necessarily signify, ver. 84 of this chapter), after he had set up the tabernacle; and not only sanctified and anointed it, but received orders about sacrifices, and anointed the priests (with the rest mentioned in the book of Leviticus), and also had numbered the people; ordered their encampment, and the encampment of the Levites; and given them their charge about the tabernacle. In short, when Moses had done all the things mentioned hitherto in this book, then followed this dedication of the altar. And whosoever will compare this chapter with the second, may easily be convinced that this offering of the princes was not made till the camp was formed, and the tribes ranged under their several standards: for the princes' offering held in the same order and method that they are disposed there.

Ver. 2. *That the princes*] Mentioned ch. i. 5, 16.

Were over them that were numbered,] This evidently shows that this offering of the princes was after the numbering of the people.

Offered.] In the order that is set down in this chapter.

Ver. 3. *They brought their offering*] The LXX. translate the Hebrew word *korbanam*, τὸ δῶρον αὐτῶν, "their gift, or their present," which they made to God; which consisted of several things, for divers uses.

Before the Lord,] i. e. At the door of the tabernacle; as it is explained in the end of the verse.

Six covered wagons, and twelve oxen;] In the first place they made a present for the service of the tabernacle itself; that such parts of it as were most cumbersome might be more conveniently carried; and that they might be free from dust, rain, or hail. The wagons were covered; being not ordinary carriages, but such as were used by great persons. So the LXX. understood it, who translate the Hebrew word *tzabbim*, by *λαμπήρη*. in Isa. lxi. 20, and here ἀμάξας *λαμπήρις*. Now as Pollux reckons *λαμπήρη* among the wagons and chariots then used, so Hesychius tells us (as learned men have observed) it signifies such wagons as illustrious men and women used; and that they were covered above.

A wagon for two of the princes.] This shows plainly enough, that they were sumptuous, and had, perhaps, rich coverings; in that two of the great men joined in the present of one wagon.

5 Take it of them, that they may be to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation: and thou shalt give them unto the Levites, to every man according to his service.

6 And Moses took the wagons and the oxen, and gave them unto the Levites.

7 Two wagons and four oxen he gave unto the sons of Gershon, according to their service:

8 And four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, according unto their

service, under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

9 But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none: because the service of the sanctuary belonging unto them *was that* they should bear upon their shoulders.

10 ¶ And the princes offered for dedicating of the altar in the day that it was anointed, even the princes offered their offering before the altar.

11 And the LORD said unto Moses, They

For each one an ox:] That there might be a pair of oxen to draw each wagon. And it is probable, those oxen were yoked together, which were offered by those two princes, who joined in offering one wagon.

Before the tabernacle.] Set them before the entrance of it.

Ver. 4.] It seems Moses did not accept these presents, till he had orders from the Lord, in the next words.

Ver. 5. *Take it of them,]* Receive their presents, as acceptable to me.

To do the service of the tabernacle] He directs their use: which was to carry the tabernacle, when they removed from one place to another.

Give them unto the Levites.] In order to which, he directs him to bestow them upon the Levites, who had the charge of that carriage.

To every man according to his service.] In such proportions as the things they had to carry required.

Ver. 6. *Gave them unto the Levites.]* In such proportions as follow in the next two verses.

Ver. 7. *Two wagons and four oxen—unto the sons of Gershon,]* As they were fewest in number that could do service, so they had less burdensome things to carry than the sons of Merari (ch. iv. 25, 40), and therefore had fewer carriages allowed them.

Ver. 8. *Four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari,]* They were the most numerous, and had the greatest burden; and therefore had allowance of more carriages and oxen (ch. iv. 31, 32, 48).

Under the hand of Ithamar] Who had the inspection and care both of the Gershonites and Merarites (ch. iv. 28, 33).

Ver. 9. *But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none:]* For the reason that follows.

Because the service of the sanctuary, &c.] The LXX. translate it more exactly, "because they had the service of the holy thing (τὸ ἅγιον, as the ark is called, ch. iv. 4), they shall carry it on their shoulders:" which was for the greater honour and dignity of the ark, and of the law contained in it; as Maimonides, R. Levi ben Gerson, and others, observe: and that the form and structure of the ark might not be diminished, as Maimonides adds (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 45), nor the ephod and the breastplate ruffled; as they might have been by the shaking of a wagon. Yet they all observe, this was not so peculiar to the sons of Kohath, but that the priests, the sons of Aaron, upon some special occasions, carried the ark; particularly when they went over Jordan (Josh. iii. 3), and at the siege of Jericho; at both which times a great miracle was to be wrought; and when Zadok and Abiathar carried it back to Jerusalem, 2 Sam. xv. 29 (though that, I observed before, may be otherwise interpreted, and there seems no reason why they should carry it back, when the Levites brought it, ver. 24), and when Solomon's temple was built (1 Kings viii. 6). For the Levites might not go into the holy place, and therefore it was then carried by the priests.

Ver. 10. *The princes offered]* They brought the offerings, which they desired might be presented unto God.

For dedicating of the altar] The Hebrew word *chanac*, which, in one place of the Pentateuch, signifies simply to begin to use, or enjoy a house (Deut. xx. 6), here, and in several other places, signifies the first application and addition of any thing to sacred uses, or to the Divine service; to which it had been designed and consecrated. And this was done with some certain solemn words and actions, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 13, n. 1, and cap. 15, n. 3. And so, among the Latins, the word *inchoare*, when applied to sacred things, signifies, to perfect or consummate: as Servius observes upon Æneid. vi. And both civil and sacred initiations were accompanied with great joy and gladness. But this is not to be understood, as if the dedication of the altar was the setting of it apart, and sanctifying it for the service of God (which had been done before, and seven days spent therein, Exod. xxix. 27, Lev. viii. 11), but, as the word properly signifies, the beginning to use it, after it had been so sanctified.

In the day that it was anointed,] At the time that it was set apart; and all other things ordered for the safeguard of the tabernacle (see ver. 1).

Even the princes offered] Presented their gifts (as the LXX. translate it), which they desired God would accept upon this great occasion.

Before the altar.] At the door of the tabernacle, near unto which the altar stood (Exod. xl. 6), for he speaks of the altar of burnt-offerings.

Ver. 11. *The Lord said unto Moses,]* Here again Rasi observes, that Moses would not receive their offering till he knew the mind of God; who directed in what manner and order their gifts should be offered to him.

Each prince on his day,] This made the dedication a very long solemnity, which continued twelve days. When these twelve days began, it is not easy to determine; but it seems to me a very reasonable computation, which Fortunatus Scacehus hath made of this whole business, Myrothec. Sac. Elæochrysm. lib. ii. cap. 74, where he supposes, that the tabernacle being erected the first day of the first month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt, seven days were spent in the consecration of it and of the altar, &c. And on the eighth day Moses began to consecrate Aaron and his sons, which lasted seven days longer. Then the fifteenth day of that month was the first day of unleavened bread, which God commanded (as we read here, ch. ix.) to be observed in the first month, and lasted till the two-and-twentieth. The rest of the month we may well suppose was spent in giving, receiving, and delivering the laws mentioned in the book of Leviticus. After which, on the first day of the second month, he began to number the people, according to the command in the beginning of this book, which may be supposed to have lasted three days. And then on the fourth the Levites were numbered: on the next day we may suppose they were offered to God, and given unto the

shall offer their offering, each prince on his day, for the dedicating of the altar.

12 ¶ And he that offered his offering the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah :

13 And his offering *was* one silver charger, the weight thereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them *were* full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

14 One spoon of ten *shekels* of gold, full of incense :

15 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

16 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

priests : on the sixth day they were expiated and consecrated (as we read in the next chapter) ; and on the seventh day their several charges were parted among them (of which we read ch. iv.). After which the princes, he supposes, began to offer upon the eighth day of the second month, for the dedication of the altar, which lasted till the nineteenth day inclusively : and on the twentieth day of this month they removed (as we read ch. x. 11, 12) from Sinai to the wilderness of Paran.

Ver. 12. *He that offered his offering the first day*] By God's order, no doubt.

Was Nahshon] He held the principal place among the Israelites, being the *nasi*, the *prince* or *captain* (as we translate it, Numb. ii. 3) of the children of Judah, who had the first standard. And yet he alone, of all the twelve great men here mentioned, is not called *nasi*, prince of Judah, as all the rest are called princes of their tribes (ver. 18, 24, 30, &c.), but simply *Nahshon of the tribe of Judah*. The Jews give several reasons of it ; but perhaps it was, because he offered first, which was honour enough ; and there needed no more to be said of him.

Ver. 13. *His offering was one silver charger, &c.*] It appears by the metal that this *charger* and *bowl* were of, that they were for the use of the altar of *burnt-offerings* in the outward court, for all the vessels of the sanctuary were of gold. And I take this *charger* (or broad dish, or platter) to have been offered, for receiving the flesh which was offered at the altar, or the fine flour for the *meat-offerings*. And the *bowl* received the blood, or was used for pouring out wine.

Both of them were full of fine flour] Which was to attend upon the *burnt-offering* and the *peace-offering*, mentioned ver. 15, 17. See ch. iv. 7, where I observed, it was not difficult to procure this fine flour in the wilderness.

Ver. 14.] Both the metal of which it was made, and that which was in it, show this *spoon* was for the use of the golden altar in the sanctuary : which may incline one to think, that both altars were now dedicated ; that is, first began to be used for the service of the whole congregation (see ver. 88).

Ver. 15. *One young bullock, one ram, one lamb*] There are so many sacrifices mentioned here and in the two following verses (no less than twenty-one in all), that, together with the silver and gold plate, they look like too great a present to be made out of one man's private estate : and therefore some have thought, that the rest of the great men of the tribe of Judah joined with Nahshon in their contributions towards it ; and that it was offered in his own and their names.

17 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year : this *was* the offering of Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

18 ¶ On the second day Nethaneel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar, did offer :

19 He offered for his offering one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

20 One spoon of gold of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

21 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

For a burnt offering :] This is first mentioned, as being the most ancient sort of sacrifice, long before we read of any other ; and being an acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion over all.

Ver. 16.] This in all likelihood was first offered, though the other be first mentioned. For in the next chapter we find the *burnt-offering* enjoined in the first place ; but the *sin-offering* offered before it (ch. viii. 8, 12). The like I observed before (ch. vi. 16, see there).

Ver. 17.] These sacrifices were more numerous than the *burnt-offering* or the *sin-offering* ; because the priests, and the princes, and as many of the people as they invited, had their share of them, and feasted before the Lord upon them, with great rejoicing : which custom, as Mr. Selden observes, flowed from hence to the gentiles, who dedicated their altars, and temples, and statues, &c., with much ceremony ; and the ancient Greeks, *καταθεστικὸν ἱερεῖον*, "with more sumptuous sacrifices." See lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 14, num. 3, where he also shows, how they were dedicated among the Romans with plays, and feasting, and public largesses : and at last their feasts became anniversary, as the *feast of dedication* among the Jews was, after the times of Antiochus (num. 6, 7). In which feast there was *Αυροραία*, "illuminations" (as we now speak), by setting up of candles, or lamps, in token of joy (cap. 13, num. 9).

This was the offering of Nahshon] And was the pattern which all the rest followed.

Ver. 18. *On the second day*] Their offerings were thus distributed, to be offered on several days, that confusion might be avoided ; and that every tribe might distinctly express their devotion to God, and be graciously accepted by him ; and the solemnity be made the more remarkable, by continuing it so long as twelve days. For which reason the *feast of dedication*, after Mattathias had purged the temple and the altar, after the profanation of them by Antiochus, was kept eight days by the Jews in following times ; and this *Parascha* (as they call it) of the law, from ch. vi. 22, to ch. viii. 4, of this book, was wont to be read at that feast ; as the same Mr. Selden observes (cap. 13, n. 7). As among the Romans, he observes (cap. 14, n. 7), there was a feast of like nature kept six days.

Nethaneel—did offer :] This tribe, and Zebulun, being under the standard of Judah, are the next that offer. And so they proceed in the same order ; Reuben, and those under his standard, offering next ; because they encamped next to them (ver. 30, 36, 42, &c.).

Ver. 19. *He offered—one silver charger, &c.*] It may be observed, once for all, that there is no difference in

- 22 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :
- 23 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this *was* the offering of Nethaneel the son of Zuar.
- 24 ¶ On the third day Eliab the son of Helon, prince of the children of Zebulun, *did offer* :
- 25 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :
- 26 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :
- 27 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :
- 28 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :
- 29 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this *was* the offering of Eliab the son of Helon.
- 30 ¶ On the fourth day Elizur the son of Shedeur, prince of the children of Reuben, *did offer* :
- 31 His offering *was* one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :
- 32 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :
- 33 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :
- 34 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :
- 35 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this *was* the offering of Elizur the son of Shedeur.
- 36 ¶ On the fifth day Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, prince of the children of Simeon, *did offer* :
- 37 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :
- 38 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :
- 39 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :
- 40 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :
- 41 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the

first year: this *was* the offering of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

42 ¶ On the sixth day Eliasaph the son of Deuel, prince of the children of Gad, *offered* :

43 His offering *was* one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty *shekels*, a silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

44 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

45 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

46 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

47 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this *was* the offering of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

48 ¶ On the seventh day Elishama the son of Ammihud, prince of the children of Ephraim, *offered* :

49 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

50 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

51 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

52 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

53 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this *was* the offering of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

54 ¶ On the eighth day *offered* Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur, prince of the children of Manasseh :

55 His offering *was* one silver charger of the weight of an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

56 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

57 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

58 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

59 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year: this *was* the offering of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

60 ¶ On the ninth day Abidan the son of

the offerings of these princes; but all offered plate of equal weight, and an equal number of sacrifices, without the least variation: either by common agreement, or by the Divine appointment; that the vanity of vying one with another might be prevented; and none might brag of their outdoing their brethren; and all might be confident that they were equally interested in the altar, and accepted by the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 24. *Eliab*] Here it may be observed, that Moses thought fit to set down distinctly, and at length, the offerings of the princes of every tribe (as he doth

here, and in the following part of this chapter), though they were the very same, without any difference; that an honourable mention being made of every one apart, none might think themselves in the least neglected.

Ver. 30. *Elizur*] There is nothing new to be noted of him, or any of the rest; because the same thing is repeated, for the reason forementioned.

Ver. 48. *Elishama*] This solemnity was not interrupted by the Sabbath; but the offerings continued then, as upon other days.

Gideoni, prince of the children of Benjamin, offered :

61 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

62 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

63 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

64 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

65 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year : *this was* the offering of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

66 ¶ On the tenth day Abiezer the son of Ammishaddai, prince of the children of Dan, offered :

67 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

68 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

69 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

70 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

71 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year : *this was* the offering of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

72 ¶ On the eleventh day Pagiel the son of Ocran, prince of the children of Asher, offered :

73 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

74 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

75 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

76 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

77 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year : *this was* the offering of Pagiel the son of Ocran.

78 ¶ On the twelfth day Ahira the son of Enan, prince of the children of Naphtali, offered :

79 His offering *was* one silver charger, the weight whereof *was* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat offering :

80 One golden spoon of ten *shekels*, full of incense :

81 One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering :

82 One kid of the goats for a sin offering :

83 And for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he goats, five lambs of the first year : *this was* the offering of Ahira the son of Enan.

84 *This was* the dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed, by the princes of Israel : twelve chargers of silver, twelve silver bowls, twelve spoons of gold :

85 Each charger of silver *weighing* an hundred and thirty *shekels*, each bowl seventy : all the silver vessels *weighed* two thousand and four hundred *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary :

86 The golden spoons were twelve, full of incense, *weighing* ten *shekels* apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary : all the gold of the spoons *was* an hundred and twenty *shekels*.

87 All the oxen for the burnt offering were twelve bullocks, the rams twelve, the lambs of

Ver. 84. *This was the dedication of the altar,*] By these oblations and sacrifices ; which were simple and plain, though costly and magnificent. With which the gentiles were not content, but used sometimes barbarous rites in their dedications ; as appears by their *taurobolia* and *criobolia* in honour of the mother of the gods, &c. (see Selden in the forenamed book, cap. 14, n. 8, 9).

In the day when it was anointed,] The dedication lasting twelve days, it is apparent the word *day*, in this place, necessarily signifies the time (were it more or less) wherein a thing was done, as I observed ver. 1, and see ver. 88.

By the princes of Israel,] From whose example princes and great men should learn (as Conradus Pellicanus well applies all this) “to be devoutly religious ; and to possess the fear and reverence of the Lord God in their breasts : to be strong in faith ; far from covetousness ; unanimous in their endeavours to do honour to God ; to give a good example of faith and good works to others ; to seek the profit of their subjects ; assist the servants of God ; lend their helping hand to the proficiency of true piety ; provide the ministers of the church with all things necessary, that religion be not neglected and condemned by their poverty ; for the sake of God whom they serve, to do them honour by word and deed ; and follow their

godly admonitions, &c. This is a profitable allegory (saith he) of this history : and we need not seek for one more ingenious. As for those who highly value the allegorical sense of all these things, habent alios qui gustui suo consulunt et curiositati ; ‘they may find other commentators to please their taste, and satisfy their curiosity.’”

Twelve chargers of silver, &c.] In these and the following words the whole sum of the oblations and sacrifices is set down by Moses ; that every reader, in all future times, might see without the trouble of casting up the account) how devout and generous their ancestors were.

Ver. 87. *For the burnt offering were twelve bullocks, &c.*] Whether there were any prayers made for a gracious acceptance of the sacrifices, which should be hereafter made on this altar, we are not told. But the sacrifices themselves were in the nature of supplications ; and it is likely, they that offered them made their humble petitions with them. And so the gentiles always did at the dedication of their temples or altars : an instance of which is observed out of Gruter, by Fort. Scacchus and by Selden, in these words : *Hanc tibi aram, Jupiter Opt. Max., dico dedicoque, uti sis volens propitius mihi collegisque meis, &c.* Which is a dedication of an altar to Jupiter, with a prayer that he would be gracious to him that

the first year twelve, with their meat offering : and the kids of the goats for sin offering twelve.

88 And all the oxen for the sacrifice of the peace offerings *were* twenty and four bullocks, the rams sixty, the he goats sixty, the lambs of the first year sixty. This was the dedication of the altar, after that it was anointed.

dedicated it, and to his friends and neighbours. The like dedication there is of a temple to Priapus, near Padua, with this prayer, that he could constantly guard their fields, &c. (Myroth. Sacr. Elæochrys. 2, cap. 28, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 14, p. 290, 309).

With their meat offering :] Which was brought in the twelve chargers and bowls, as a necessary appendix to the burnt-offerings and the peace-offerings : as is fully explained ch. xv. 8, 9.

Ver. 88. *This was the dedication of the altar,]* Which is repeated here again, to show why it was called the *dedication* ; because this was the first solemn sacrifice which was offered for the tribes, or particular persons among them ; and therefore was the more sumptuous.

After that it was anointed,] Here the word *day* is omitted (which is used ver. 1, and ver. 84). Moses intending only to let posterity know that this dedication followed not long after the anointing of the tabernacle and the altar : whereby it was sanctified to God's service.

Ver. 89. *When Moses was gone—to speak with him,]* That is, with God. This seems to be here mentioned, because he had lately had a special occasion to go and inquire particularly of God, about a matter of great concernment, as will appear from ch. ix. 8, 9. And it is likely he had gone in twice upon this occasion, to consult him about the offering of the princes (ver. 4, 5, 10, 11), and now, it is possible, went in again, to know if the Lord would give him any further directions.

He heard the voice—from off the mercy seat, &c.] There God promised to meet him, and to commune with him, &c. (Exod. xxv. 22), which supposes he would be always present there. And so he was ; for the cloud of glory filled the house after it was set up

89 And when Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak with him, then he heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy seat that *was* upon the ark of testimony, from between the two cherubims : and he spake unto him.

(Exod. xl. 33, 34), from whence God spake to him (Lev. i. 1), and told him he would *appear* (i. e. reside constantly) *in* the cloud upon the mercy-seat (Lev. xvi. 2). Now here he relates how God appeared and communed with him from thence ; which was by a *voice* that he heard of one speaking to him, as he stood in the outward part of the sanctuary. So the Jews understand it ; particularly R. Solomon, who thinks that Moses only entered into the sanctuary, and, standing in the very entrance of it, heard the voice speaking to him “from between the two cherubims ;” which was very clear and strong ; but went no further than into the sanctuary, where Moses alone at that time was. So they observe in Siphri, as Buxtorf notes in his *Histor. Arææ Fœderis*, cap. 15.

He spake unto him,] With an audible voice : and so distinctly, that he perceived and understood every word. Which Abarbanel thinks God vouchsafed for this reason ; that, as he visibly represented to him in the mount the pattern of the tabernacle, and of every thing belonging to it, whereby the form and figure of every particular was imprinted on his mind, and he was the better able to give directions how to make them exactly ; so he being to write in his law all that God required them to do, he delivered every thing to him in an audible voice ; that he might set down in these books the very words and phrases which he heard with his ears from the mouth of God, as plainly as if he had described them from some ancient volume.

To which I cannot but add, that this audible articulate voice from God, which was perceived by human ears, represented God as if he was incorporate ; and may well be looked upon as an earnest of that great mystery, “God manifested in the flesh ;” who in the fulness of time became a man, and spake to all the Jews familiarly in their own language.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 How the lamps are to be lighted. 5 The consecration of the Levites. 23 The age and time of their service.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Speak unto Aaron, and say unto him, When

thou lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light over against the candlestick.

CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1.] When this was spoken is not certain. If Moses went into the tabernacle immediately after the princes had offered (ver. 89 of the foregoing chapter), it may be thought he then spake these things to him. But both this, and what follows concerning the Levites, seem rather to have been delivered after the order for giving them to the priests, and settling their several charges (ch. iii. and iv.). But some other things intervening, which depended upon what had been ordered concerning their camp, and that of the Israelites (see ver. 4), Moses omits this, till he had set down them, and some other matters, which he had received from God (see ch. vii. 11).

Ver. 2. *When thou lightest the lamps,]* At the same time the public service of God began at the altar of burnt-offerings (of which he speaks in the foregoing

chapter), the setting on the shew-bread, offering incense, and lighting the lamps, were begun in the sanctuary. The last of these is only here mentioned : but it supposes the other.

The seven lamps shall give light over against the candlestick,] Upon the table which was over against the candlestick ; as the Vulgar Latin very well explains it ; which is rather a paraphrase upon these words than a translation of them, in this manner ; “When thou lightest the seven lamps, let the candlestick be set up on the south side” (for so it was ordered, Exod. xxvi. 35), and so Moses set it (ch. xl. 24), “and let the lamps look towards the north, over against the table of shew-bread,” see Exod. xxv. 37, where there is the like obscure expression, but to this sense. And thus this verse may be translated exactly out of the Hebrew, “When thou settest up the lamps, the seven lamps shall shine before the face of the can-

3 And Aaron did so; he lighted the lamps thereof over against the candlestick, as the Lord commanded Moses.

4 And this work of the candlestick *was of* beaten gold, unto the shaft thereof, unto the flowers thereof, *was* beaten work: according unto the pattern which the Lord had shewed Moses, so he made the candlestick.

5 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

6 Take the Levites from among the children of Israel, and cleanse them.

7 And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: Sprinkle water of purifying upon them, and let them shave all their flesh, and let

dlestick," i. e. enlighten all the room that is opposite to it; for there were no windows in the sanctuary, and therefore these lamps were lighted.

Ver. 3. *Aaron did so;*] For God's table being placed over against the lamps, where he was represented as feasting with his people (which nobody doth in the dark), it was but fit that there should be continual light in that place. And this, as I take it, is the first time that the lamps were lighted, when the altar was dedicated, and the public service of God began, which continued ever after.

Ver. 4.] Upon this occasion he briefly repeats what is more largely said concerning the structure of this candlestick, Exod. xxv. 31, &c. and xxxvii. 17, &c.

Ver. 5.] That which follows plainly belongs to what was said, ch. iii. 7.

Ver. 6. *Take the Levites*] In that place (ch. iii. 7), he bade Moses give them to Aaron and his sons, out of the children of Israel; and now he executes it.

Cleanse them.] He had given them their charge (ch. iv.), and now he prepares them for the performance of it; for they could not be fit to attend in the tabernacle till they were purified, and in some sort, consecrated to that service.

Ver. 7.] Here he directs how they were to be purified; and then (ver. 9, 10, &c.) how they were to be consecrated or dedicated to God.

Sprinkle water of purifying upon them.] The manner of making this water is not described till ch. xix. 9, but, in all likelihood, had been ordered and made before, because the Levites were sprinkled with it; as those also were who had been defiled by the dead (ch. xix. 13).

Let them shave all their flesh.] The greatest purity was required in them; for they are here ordered to be cleansed, according to the cleansing of a leper (Lev. xiv. 8, 9), and of a Nazarite, when he was defiled by the dead (Numb. vi. 9). R. Levi ben Gersom thinks, there was this moral signification in this shaving; that they were hereby admonished "To cast away all worldly cares, as much as might be, and wholly give themselves to their sacred ministry."

Wash their clothes.] That their bodies being cleansed might not be defiled by foul apparel.

Ver. 8. *Let them take a young bullock*] For a burnt-offering, as is manifest from ver. 12.

With his meat offering.] Which always attended upon burnt-offerings (ch. xv. 9).

Another young bullock—for a sin offering.] This being offered for the whole body of the Levites, is the same sacrifice that is ordered when the whole congregation of Israel sinned through ignorance (Lev. iv. 13, 14).

Ver. 9. *Bring the Levites before the tabernacle*] To the door of it, where the altar of burnt-offerings stood (Exod. xl. 6).

them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean.

8 Then let them take a young bullock with his meat offering, *even* fine flour mingled with oil, and another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin offering.

9 And thou shalt bring the Levites before the tabernacle of the congregation: and thou shalt gather the whole assembly of the children of Israel together:

10 And thou shalt bring the Levites before the Lord: and the children of Israel shall put their hands upon the Levites:

11 And Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord for an offering of the children of Is-

Gather the whole assembly] The Hebrew words, *col adath*, which we translate the *whole assembly*, frequently signifies *all the elders of Israel*; as in ch. xv. 4, xxv. 7, and xxxv. 12. And it cannot well have any other sense in this place, as appears from the next verse.

Ver. 10. *Bring the Levites before the Lord:*] Present them to him at the altar.

The children of Israel] The elders of the people mentioned in the foregoing verse. For all the children of Israel could not possibly do what is here enjoined; but some of them in the name of the rest; and none so proper as their rulers and governors, who were their representatives.

Shall put their hands upon the Levites:] As men used to do upon their sacrifices; which signified the devoting of that beast to God, by him who laid his hand on it at the altar, for such purposes as he brought it. And this was done by private men in their burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings, as well as in their sin-offerings (see Lev. i. 4, ch. iii. 2, and viii. 13); but the Jews observe, that the whole congregation laid their hands only upon the sin-offering that was offered for them (Lev. iv. 15). Therefore the Levites are here to be considered under that notion; as is manifest from ver. 19, where God is said to have given them to Aaron, &c., "to make an atonement for the children of Israel." For the Levites being given to God instead of the first-born, by the sanctification of which first-born to God (as it is called, Exod. xiii. 1), the whole family was sanctified, and their sin, after a sort, expiated; the offering of the Levites after this manner to God, was to have the same effect that the offering of the first-born had; viz. the sanctification and atonement of the children of Israel.

Ver. 11. *Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord.*] The Hebrew words are more significant; "Aaron shall wave the Levites before the Lord, for a wave-offering," &c. I have often observed before, that this waving or agitation to and fro before the altar (of which, see Exod. xxix. 24), was a solemn consecration of a thing to God, as a sacrifice; and therefore the Levites were presented unto him, under the same consideration as the first-born were. But it was impossible for Aaron to wave them, as he did some parts of a sacrifice: and therefore, it is probable that he lifting up his hands, and turning about to all sides (as he did when he offered a wave-offering), they, at his command, imitated the same motion; and so were offered up to God, and became wholly his (see ver. 21).

That they may execute the service of the Lord.] Or, as it is more significantly in the margin, "that they may be to execute," &c. Which expresses the intention of this "waving them before the Lord," that being wholly given up to him, they might become

rael, that they may execute the service of the LORD.

12 And the Levites shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks: and thou shalt offer the one *for* a sin offering, and the other *for* a burnt offering, unto the LORD, to make an atonement for the Levites.

13 And thou shalt set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and offer them *for* an offering unto the LORD.

14 Thus shalt thou separate the Levites from among the children of Israel: and the Levites shall be mine.

15 And after that shall the Levites go in to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation: and thou shalt cleanse them, and offer them *for* an offering.

16 For they *are* wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of such as

open every womb, *even instead of* the firstborn of all the children of Israel, have I taken them unto me.

17 For all the firstborn of the children of Israel *are* mine, *both* man and beast: on the day that I smote every firstborn in the land of Egypt I sanctified them for myself.

18 And I have taken the Levites for all the firstborn of the children of Israel.

19 And I have given the Levites *as* a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tabernacle of the congregation, and to make an atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no plague among the children of Israel, when the children of Israel come nigh unto the sanctuary.

20 And Moses, and Aaron, and all the congregation of the children of Israel, did to the

meet to execute that service to which he appointed them at his house.

Ver. 12. *The Levites shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks.*] It being evident, from ver. 19, that the Levites were considered as an expiatory sacrifice; and yet, not being to be devoted to death (no more than the first-born were), these two sacrifices, one for sin, the other a burnt-offering, were substituted in their stead. Upon which, therefore, they were to lay their hands, that the sin, which the children of Israel laid upon them (ver. 10), might be transferred to these beasts, by laying their hands upon them, to be actually sacrificed unto God, by shedding their blood.

One for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering.] The burnt-offering was mentioned first, ver. 8, being the most ancient of all offerings, from the beginning of the world: but the sin-offering is offered first, to make the other acceptable. And so it was when Aaron was consecrated (Lev. viii. 14, 18), and when he offered for himself (Lev. ix. 8, 12), and for the people (ver. 15, 16), (to name no more) in the cleansing of a leper (ch. xiv. 19).

To make an atonement.] The sin-offering properly made the atonement; and the burnt-offering declared its acceptance.

Ver. 13. *Set the Levites before Aaron.*] As they were brought before the Lord, because they were to be given unto him (ver. 9), so now they were set before Aaron and his sons, because they were given by God to them (ver. 19).

Offer them for an offering.] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, "and wave them for a wave-offering unto the Lord." Some imagine, that as Aaron *waved* them before (ver. 11), so now they were in like manner *waved* by Moses. But it seems to me more probable that the meaning is, they being waved, &c. should be *set before Aaron and his sons*, and presented to them as God's gift, according to his order (ch. iii. 9). And so these words ought to be translated "after thou hast waved them for a wave-offering;" that is, after Aaron, by his order, had waved them; and thus the like words must be understood, (ver. 15 (see there)).

Ver. 14. *Thus shalt thou separate the Levites.*] By the forementioned purification (ver. 7) and oblation (ver. 10, 11).

The Levites shall be mine.] They became his, by this solemn oblation of them to him (ver. 11).

Ver. 15. *Shall the Levites go in.*] To the court of the tabernacle, where they were to attend upon the

priests, and assist them in their ministry, and in taking down the tabernacle when it was to remove.

To do the service.] In the court of the priests, where the altar of burnt-offering stood: for into the sanctuary itself none but the priests entered: and there was no ministry there in which the Levites were to assist.

Thou shalt cleanse them, and offer them.] Or rather, "after thou hast cleansed them, and offered," &c., according as was directed, ver. 7, 11.

Ver. 16. *For they are wholly given unto me.*] God commanded them before to be taken from among the children of Israel (ch. iii. 45), and now they are given to him. The word is repeated twice in the Hebrew, *given, given* (which we translate *wholly given*), because the children of Israel had devoted them to him, by laying their hands on them (ver. 10), and Aaron had waved them as a wave-offering to the Lord (ver. 11).

Instead of such as open every womb.] See ch. iii. 12, 13.

Ver. 17. *All the firstborn, &c.*] Exod. xiii. 2.

Ver. 18.] By the exchange mentioned ch. iii. 2, 13, 45.

Ver. 19. *I have given the Levites, &c.*] In the Hebrew the words are more emphatical, "I have given the Levites given," &c., that is, the Levites, which are given unto me (ver. 16), I have given unto Aaron and his sons (ch. iii. 9).

To do the service.] See ch. iii. 7. The Vulgar Latin translates it, "to serve me for the children of Israel;" i. e. to do them service by assisting the priests in offering sacrifice for the people.

In the tabernacle.] See ver. 15.

To make an atonement.] Not by offering sacrifice, for that was the work of the priests alone; but by being offered themselves, in the nature of an expiatory sacrifice unto God, as I observed before (ver. 10, 12). For though they were not slain at the altar, as sacrifices were, yet they might expiate, as the scape-goat did; which was sent away alive into the wilderness, after it had been presented unto the Lord, as these Levites were (Lev. xvi. 7, 10).

That there be no plague.] As there would have been if any man had presumed to officiate in the house of God, but such as were, in this manner, taken by himself to minister there.

When the children of Israel come nigh.] To worship God, and to bring their sacrifices to be offered at his altar.

Ver. 20. *Moses—and all the congregation.*] i. e. The elders of the people (ver. 9, 10).

Levites according unto all that the Lord commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them.

21 And the Levites were purified, and they washed their clothes; and Aaron offered them as an offering before the Lord; and Aaron made an atonement for them to cleanse them.

22 And after that went the Levites in to do their service in the tabernacle of the congregation before Aaron, and before his sons: as the Lord had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them.

Did to the Levites, &c.] Separated them to God from the rest of the Israelites, as he had directed (ver. 14).

Ver. 21. The Levites were purified,] According to the order given, ver. 7.

Aaron offered them as an offering] Or rather, "waved them a wave-offering," &c., as I observed, ver. 11. To which may be added, that it is likely some of the Levites were thus waved in the name of all the rest: for there being two-and-twenty thousand of them (ch. iii. 39), one cannot well conceive how they should be every one thus offered.

Aaron made an atonement for them] See ver. 12.

Ver. 22. Went the Levites in to do their service:] According to the directions given ver. 15.

Before Aaron, and before his sons:] In their presence, and by their direction.

Ver. 23.] After the foregoing commands, he gave him some further instructions.

Ver. 24. This is it that belongeth unto the Levites:] Add this to what hath been said about them.

From twenty and five years old and upward they shall go in] Then they might begin to take the custody of the tabernacle upon them, and to be door-keepers, to keep out strangers and such as were unclean; but not to load the wagons, and do such-like work of burden, till they were thirty years of age (see ch. iv. 3).

To wait upon the service] In the Hebrew the words are, "to war the warfare of the tabernacle;" which is a phrase often used before, ch. iv. 3, 23, &c., and there applied to those that carried the tabernacle; which they might not do till thirty years of age, but might go in to learn at five-and-twenty, as some reconcile these two. But Abarinell notes, that there is nothing said of their learning, but of their service or ministry; and therefore at twenty-five years old

23 And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

24 This is it that belongeth unto the Levites: from twenty and five years old and upward they shall go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the congregation:

25 And from the age of fifty years they shall cease waiting upon the service thereof, and shall serve no more:

26 But shall minister with their brethren in the tabernacle of the congregation, to keep the charge, and shall do no service. Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charge.

they began that part of the service which consisted in the custody of the tabernacle.

Ver. 25. They shall cease waiting upon the service] In the Hebrew, "shall return from the warfare of their service," i. e. be discharged from their function, and no longer burdened with any laborious work, as that of carrying the tabernacle was.

Shall serve no more:] In such manner of work.

Ver. 26. But shall minister] This ministry is explained in the following words, "to keep the charge," that is, to take care of the tabernacle, unto which they were to be a guard.

In the tabernacle] See ch. iv. 3.

Shall do no service.] In the Hebrew, "serve no service;" that is, do no laborious work (as was said before), their age beginning to require ease and rest; and therefore no ministry was required of them, but what they might well perform without pains and labour.

Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charge.] Appoint them their ministries, according to these rules, which were observed after the ark of God was settled, and there was no occasion to remove it any more; when David, therefore, instead of carrying the ark and the tabernacle (for which there was then no further occasion), appointed them to be singers in the temple, and porters, &c., for which they were fit at twenty years of age; but continued their employment no longer than till fifty (as the Jews tell us), when their voice began to decay. Whence that observation of Abarinell upon this very chapter: "Age makes Levites unfit for service, not blemishes in their bodies; but priests are unfit by blemishes in their bodies, not by age;" for priests continued their service as long as they lived; and though they did not begin it till twenty years of age, yet no law of God forbade them to begin sooner.

CHAPTER IX.

1 The passover is commanded again. 6 A second passover allowed for them that were unclean or absent. 15 The cloud guideth the removing and encampings of the Israelites.

1 AND the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the first month of the

second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying,

CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. And the Lord spake unto Moses] Or, "the Lord had spoken:" for he relates now what was done a month ago; but not recorded till now, for a special reason: which was, that God having commanded them, in the month before this, to keep the passover, some persons were unprepared for it; and thereupon a question arose, what course they should take! for they were much troubled they could not do as their brethren did: which produced a new

command from God, that they should keep the passover in this second month of the first year after they came out of Egypt. This Moses being to give an account of, as a matter of great importance, he doth it in the proper place for it, when he was relating what things were done in this month (ch. i. 1), and deferred the mention of keeping the passover in the first month, till he could speak of them both together.

In the first month] In which month they were commanded to keep the passover, in memory of their wonderful deliverance from the land of Egypt.

2 Let the children of Israel also keep the passover at his appointed season.

3 In the fourteenth day of this month, at even, ye shall keep it in his appointed season: according to all the rites of it, and according to all the ceremonies thereof, shall ye keep it.

4 And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should keep the passover.

5 And they kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the first month at even in the wilderness of Sinai: according to all that the Lord commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel.

Ver. 2.] Aaron having been lately consecrated, and having offered all sorts of sacrifices for himself and for the people; and God having declared his acceptance by fire from heaven (Lev. viii. and ix.), God commanded the people should keep the passover; which he had lately admonished them was one of the feasts of the Lord (Lev. xxiii. 5). But the first order for the observation of it, being that they should "keep this service when they came to the promised land" (Exod. xii. 25), they might thence conclude, there lay no obligation upon them to keep it here in the wilderness: and therefore, by a special precept, they are required to keep it (when the year was come about to the time of its first observation), that the memory of so singular a benefit might not presently slip out of their mind (see Exod. xiii. 5).

Ver. 3. In the fourteenth day.] So it was ordained, Exod. xii. 6: Lev. xxiii. 5.

According to all the rites of it.] With unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, and the other rites mentioned Exod. xii. 9, 10.

According to all the ceremonies.] If there be any difference between ceremonies and rites, I should think this belongs to their eating it in haste, with their loins girt, shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands (Exod. xii. 11). Unto which they were not bound, when they came into the land of Canaan, when they were no longer travellers: but, it is likely, were observed here in the wilderness, when they were in an unsettled condition.

Ver. 4. Keep the passover.] According to all the rites and ceremonies belonging to it.

Ver. 5. They kept the passover.] It was not hard to procure so much flour as would serve to make unleavened bread for that even, from some of their neighbours about the wilderness (see ch. iv. 7).

In the wilderness of Sinai.] Where they rested almost a whole year; but after they removed from thence were so uncertain in their motions from place to place, that they did not circumcise their children, who consequently could not eat of the passover: and therefore we never read of its being kept after this during their forty years' stay in the wilderness; nor would they have been obliged, as I said, to keep it now, without this special command. Yet their doctors say, that this is written by Moses, as a reproach to the Israelites, that "they observed no passover in the wilderness, but this one alone." Yet there are Christian writers, who deliver it as the opinion of the Hebrews themselves, that they kept another passover, a little before they ended their wanderings in the wilderness, viz. in the first month of the year wherein Miriam died (see Selden De Synedr. lib. ii. cap. 2. n. 11).

So did the children of Israel.] They kept the passover on the fourteenth day at even; but perhaps did not keep the feast of unleavened bread for seven days following. For here is no mention of that; and it

6 ¶ And there were certain men, who were defiled by the dead body of a man, that they could not keep the passover on that day: and they came before Moses and before Aaron on that day:

7 And those men said unto him, We are defiled by the dead body of a man: wherefore are we kept back, that we may not offer an offering of the Lord in his appointed season among the children of Israel?

8 And Moses said unto them, Stand still, and I will hear what the Lord will command concerning you.

had not been easy to provide so much bread, the want of which was supplied by manna.

Ver. 6. Certain men, who were defiled by the dead body.] And by a late law (for there is nothing about this in the original law of the passover, Exod. xii.), no unclean person might eat of holy things (Lev. vii. 20).

On that day.] On the fourteenth day of the first month, at even, when the rest kept the passover who were not defiled.

They came before Moses—on that day.] On the very day that the passover was kept.

Ver. 7. These men said unto him.] Though they came before them both, whom they found sitting together: yet they applied themselves to Moses only, as the supreme judge in such singular cases: for the judges, which were constituted by the advice of Jethro, could not resolve this hard question; and therefore they resorted to Moses, unto whose judgment all difficult causes were reserved (Exod. xviii. 22, 26, see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1, n. 3).

We are defiled.] And therefore some may think, should have been excluded out of the camp (according to what was ordained ch. v. 2.), and consequently kept from coming with such questions, or about any other business to Moses. But it must be considered, that when this happened, the law now mentioned was not given: for this was in the first month of the second year, and that law was not given till the second month, when the camps were formed.

Wherefore are we kept back.] It was against their will that they were defiled by the dead body of a man (which perhaps they were bound to bury), and therefore they expostulate with Moses about their being denied the liberty which others had; pleading, in effect, it was not their fault that they were defiled by the dead, but rather their unhappiness; and therefore, why might they not challenge a right in this sacrifice, as well as others, seeing they had not forfeited it by any other voluntary guilt?

That we may not offer an offering.] The passover is called the "korban of the Lord," because it was to be killed, and its blood sprinkled (which shows it to be properly a sacrifice), and then eaten by God's commandment, in a grateful remembrance of an exceeding great benefit; which shows it to be an eucharistical sacrifice. For though the first sacrifice in Egypt was to procure deliverance to them, and to avert the evil which fell on the Egyptians by the destroying angel: yet, after it was a thanksgiving for deliverance then wrought, by God's special favour to them: of which there was a compendious commemoration made in their paschal rites (Exod. xii. 26, 27).

In his appointed season.] For if they did not perform all this service now, they knew it was not lawful to be done at any other time.

Ver. 8. Stand still.] Or, wait here a while. In

9 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

10 Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If any man of you or of your posterity shall be unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a

journey afar off, yet he shall keep the passover unto the Lord.

11 The fourteenth day of the second month at even they shall keep it, and eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.

which words Moses himself acknowledges the difficulty of the case; which he could not resolve, till he had first consulted the Divine Majesty about it. Which may teach judges not to be ashamed to confess their ignorance, and take advice on matters dubious; as the Jerusalem Targum here observes. But I see no such good ground for the other part of his observation on this verse; that there being four difficult causes brought before Moses, in two of them he made haste to determine; but in the other two he was slow. Those of the first sort were this, and that of the daughters of Zelophehad (ch. xx.); these he judged presently, because they were pecuniary matters; but the other two (viz. about him that blasphemed, Lev. xxiv. and him that gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day, Numb. xv.) being capital causes, he took longer time to judge; for he put them in ward till the mind of the Lord was known: to teach those that succeeded him in the office of judges, "to make quick despatch in money matters, but to proceed slowly in capital causes." But, as this was no pecuniary cause, so it doth not appear but he took as much time to understand the mind of God in it, as in the other two about blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking: for he went in to consult with him, as he did also in the case of Zelophehad's daughters, whose cause he brought before the Lord (ch. xxvii. 5).

I will hear what the Lord will command] These words seem to signify, that Moses might go into the holy place when he pleased to inquire of God; where God spake with him in an audible voice (ch. vii. 89), whensoever he desired satisfaction about any doubt. So Abarbinel, who in this forsakes the Talmudists: for they fancy, that because God called to Moses, and then spake to him out of the tabernacle (Lev. i. 1), he could never go into the holy place, but when he was called. Which was true only at that time, when the glory of the Lord had newly filled the tabernacle; so that he durst not come into it, till he was invited; but was not a general rule to be observed in all his colloquies with the Divine Majesty (that he should wait till he had a singular call to come to him); for it is plain by this place, that he went in to speak with him, whensoever he had occasion.

Ver. 9.] He brought this case before the Lord, as his manner was in such doubts, and the Lord gave him the following answer; which was to be a rule, not only to these present inquirers, but to all posterity.

Ver. 10. *If any man of you—shall be unclean*] From hence the Jews observe, that this is a law concerning particular persons only; not concerning all the people, or the major part of them. For, as the Mischna saith in the title Pesachim (cap. 7), if all the people, or the greater part, or the priests, had contracted any defilement, they ought notwithstanding to keep the passover, even in that defilement. But if the lesser part only were defiled, then they that were clean ought to keep it in the first month, and they that were defiled in the second. This they ground upon the very first words of this law (ver. 6), "there were certain men;" and upon these, "if any man of you," &c. From whence, saith Maimonides, this doctrine follows, out of ancient tradition, that "there were some private persons, who were adjourned

to the second passover; but if the generality should be defiled by the dead, they were not to be so adjourned, but to sacrifice in that uncleanness." A great deal more to the same purpose may be seen in the forenamed Mr. Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1, n. 3.

By reason of a dead body,] This case is mentioned instead of all other of like nature. For there was the same reason for those who were unclean by a leprosy; for women in child-bed, or that were menstruous, or those that had a running issue, or had touched a dead carcass. And this some of them ground upon ver. 13, where, speaking of those who should keep the passover, it is said in general, *the man that is clean*, &c., therefore, he that was any way unclean might not keep it.

Or be in a journey afar off,] Out of his own country (for it could not be kept anywhere but in Judea, Deut. xvi. 2), or at such a distance that he could not reach the tabernacle upon the day appointed. In the Mischna, indeed, this *dereck rechokah*, as it is in the Hebrew (*a long way off*), is defined to be *fifteen miles* from Jerusalem, or the place where the tabernacle was. Whence Maimonides saith, "If any man on the *fourteenth* day of the month Nisan, at sunrising, was *fifteen miles* or more from Jerusalem, this was a *remote way*; but if he was not so far from it, he was not comprehended in this *remote way*; for he might be at Jerusalem time enough in the afternoon to keep the passover that evening; though he went but a slow pace, and that on foot. But I do not take this to be a reasonable explication. Philo hath determined the distance a great deal better, according to the interpretation I mentioned at first, lib. iii. De Vita Mosis, where he saith, the second passover was permitted, *τοῖς μακρὰς χάριν ἀποδηρίας καὶ ἀποκομιῆς*, &c., "To such who were hindered by their travels into countries a great way off, from sacrificing with the rest of their nation. For it was not their fault that they were deprived of this honour; especially considering that so small a country as Judea could not contain such a populous nation, but sent out colonies into many places." As for those who were only *fifteen miles* from Jerusalem, they might easily have come to the feast, if not on the *fourteenth* day, yet the day before; and if this distance had been a good reason to excuse their absence, most of the nation might have stayed away without any danger.

Yet he shall keep the passover] When that uncleanness is gone, and he is returned to his own country again.

Ver. 11. *The fourteenth day*] They had a whole month's time given them, to dispose themselves and their affairs, so that they might be able to keep it.

Eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.] Those Jews who are called Karaites, as Mr. Selden observes in the place before named (n. 7), expressly say, that they were not bound in the second month passover unto more than this; to eat the lamb with unleavened bread and bitter herbs: but they were not obliged to keep the feast of unleavened bread seven days, because they might do that in the passover of the first month: for the unclean are only prohibited to eat the passover, but not to keep the feast of unleavened bread.

If the same persons that could not keep it in the

12 They shall leave none of it unto the morning, nor break any bone of it: according to all the ordinances of the passover they shall keep it.

13 But the man that *is* clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the passover, even the same soul shall be cut off from among his people: because he brought not the offering of the LORD in his appointed season, that man shall bear his sin.

14 And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto the LORD; according to the ordinance of the passover, and according to the manner thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land.

15 ¶ And on the day that the tabernacle was reared up the cloud covered the tabernacle,

namely, the tent of the testimony: and at even there was upon the tabernacle as it were the appearance of fire, until the morning.

16 So it was alway: the cloud covered it *by day*, and the appearance of fire by night.

17 And when the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, then after that the children of Israel journeyed: and in the place where the cloud abode, there the children of Israel pitched their tents.

18 At the commandment of the LORD the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of the LORD they pitched: as long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle they rested in their tents.

19 And when the cloud tarried long upon the tabernacle many days, then the children of Israel

first month, happened again to be unclean in the second, they could not keep it in the third, or the fourth months: for this had been to confound one feast with another; and there is no order for it.

Ver. 12. *Leave none of it*] This belongs to the eating of the paschal lamb (Exod. xii. 10, 16).

According to all the ordinances] See ver. 3. This is to be understood of all the rites that were proper to the offering, and to the eating of the paschal lamb; but not to the keeping of the seven days of unleavened bread.

Ver. 13. *But the man that—forebareth to keep the passover,*] In the first month, which was the time appointed for it.

Shall be cut off] By the hand of the judges, or of God.

Because he brought not the offering] See ver. 7.

That man shall bear his sin.] The punishment of it.

Ver. 14. *If a stranger shall sojourn among you,*] He speaks of a proselyte, who had not entirely embraced their religion; but was no idolater.

And will keep the passover] Hath a desire to join with you in the solemnity.

According to the ordinance] He was to be circumcised, and his whole family; or otherwise he could not be permitted to keep it (see Exod. xii. 41). If he was made an entire proselyte after the passover in the first month, and before that in the second, it was a question whether he might keep it then or not.

Ye shall have one ordinance,] See Exod. xii. 49.

Ver. 15. *On the day that the tabernacle was reared up*] This is here mentioned again by Moses, because he is going to speak of their removal from Sinai; which was by the direction and guidance of this cloud, which settled upon the tabernacle when it was first erected (Exod. xl. 34).

The cloud covered—the tent of the testimony:] The words may be exactly rendered out of the Hebrew, “the cloud covered the (mischam, or) dwelling-place of God, upon (or over) the tent of the testimony:” that is, over that part of the tabernacle where the ark was, the cloud appeared visible to all, viz. over the most holy place; where the Lord appeared in a glorious cloud upon the mercy-seat (Lev. xvi. 2).

At even] When it grew dark.

There was upon the tabernacle] Upon that part of it now mentioned.

The appearance of fire,] The same cloud which was outwardly dark, was bright within, and turned that light side towards them in the night; when the cloudy part could not be seen nor be useful to them.

Until the morning.] Till it was day, when the cloud was more serviceable to them than the light.

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Ver. 16. *So it was alway:*] All the time of their continuance in the wilderness (see Exod. xiii. 21).

The cloud covered it by day,] The word *by day* is not in the original: it being the manner of the Hebrew language to omit a word sometimes in one part of a sentence, which the other part necessarily supplies; as in Ps. lxxxiv. 11, “One day in thy courts is better than a thousand;” i. e. in any other place. And Ps. xcii. 7, “a thousand shall fall at thy side (i. e. on thy left hand), and ten thousand at thy right hand.”

The appearance of fire by night.] As the dark side of the cloud appeared by day over the holy place, when they had need of no other light but that of the sun; so the bright part appeared every night, and that like fire; when the cloud, by reason of darkness, could not be seen, nor be serviceable to them for their direction (see Exod. xl. 38).

Ver. 17. *When the cloud was taken up*] Or went up from off the tabernacle, which it before covered, and appeared higher in the air. From hence to the end of the chapter, Moses gives an account of their removal from Mount Sinai, and the reason of their staying a longer or shorter time in those places to which they removed, all the time of their travels in the wilderness.

Then after that the children of Israel journeyed:] They took down the tabernacle, when the cloud was gone up from it (as had been directed, ch. iv. 5, &c.), and followed the cloud, which went before them, and led them to the place where they were to rest (Exod. xiii. 21).

Where the cloud abode,] Where it stopped its motion, and stood still.

Pitched their tents.] Set up the tabernacle, and encamped round about it.

Ver. 18. *At the commandment of the Lord*] The motion of the cloud was an indication of the Divine pleasure, that they should move also, and go towards another station: which they did, and went on as long as the cloud moved.

They pitched:] For when the cloud stood still, that was a Divine direction to them to stand still also, and there to fix their station where the cloud stood; which, as soon as the tabernacle was set up again, came down and settled upon it, in its wonted place, over the tent of the testimony (ver. 15).

As long as the cloud abode—they rested] And as long as the cloud rested immovable, in that new place to which it had conducted them, they likewise rested in tents round about it.

Ver. 19. *When the cloud tarried long*] As it some

kept the charge of the Lord, and journeyed not.

20 And so it was, when the cloud was a few days upon the tabernacle; according to the commandment of the Lord they abode in their tents, and according to the commandment of the Lord they journeyed.

21 And so it was, when the cloud abode from even unto the morning, and that the cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed: whether it was by day or by night

times did: for Maimonides reckons that they stayed eighteen years in one place.

Then the children of Israel kept the charge of the Lord.] This phrase is used here something differently from the sense it hath, ch. iii. 25, 28, &c., signifying their obedience to God in fixing their abode there, where the cloud rested, till it moved again, though it rested never so long.

Journeyed not.] This is the explication of the foregoing words, "they kept the charge of the Lord;" not daring to stir without the conduct of God, though sometimes they stayed so long in a place, that, no doubt, it was very irksome to those who were very desirous, if not impatient, to be in the land of promise. This is an instance of some regard they had to the Divine Majesty; though they did not fear and reverence him so much as they ought to have done; which appeared by their frequent mutinies and disobedience, mentioned in the following story.

Ver. 20.] If they had a desire to rest awhile longer in some station which was very convenient for them; yet, upon the motion of the cloud, they took down their tents and moved also.

Ver. 21. And so it was, when the cloud—was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed.] That is, if it did not stay a whole day in a place, but settling, in the even upon the tabernacle, it was taken up again the next morning; yet they followed its motion. This is a great instance of their obedience in this particular: for, having rested but one night, they might be weary, and very unwilling to take down their tents and the tabernacle, and travel again the next morning.

Whether it was by day or by night] This is a further instance of their being perfectly guided by God in this matter; that, though they were at rest in their beds, yet, if notice was given of the motion of the cloud, they rose up and went after it. For they were sensible their safety depended upon the protection and guidance of this cloud.

Ver. 22. Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, &c.] These words may seem superfluous (saith Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 50) unto those who do not consider the intention of Moses in this relation; which was, to confute the conceit of profane people, who imagined the reason of the Israelites staying so long in the wilderness was, because they lost their way. For the Arabians, he saith, in his days, still called the wilderness, in which

that the cloud was taken up, they journeyed.

22 Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle, remaining thereon, the children of Israel abode in their tents, and journeyed not; but when it was taken up, they journeyed.

23 At the commandment of the Lord they rested in the tents, and at the commandment of the Lord they journeyed: they kept the charge of the Lord, at the commandment of the Lord by the hand of Moses.

they travelled, the wandering desert; fancying the Israelites here bewildered (as we speak), and could not find their way out; but wandered like men in the dark, backward and forward; not knowing which way to turn themselves: therefore the Scripture punctually shows that all their removals (which were irregular), and the time they rested in any place (which was very unequal, being sometimes for eighteen years, sometimes only for one day, or one night), were all ordered by a special direction of God. For which cause all the circumstances of their motion are recited so particularly by Moses. Which shows, also, that the way from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea (on the borders of the land of Canaan) was a plain, known, and beaten road, of about eleven days' journey; which it was not easy for them to miss. And therefore the cause of their going about, and of their staying forty years in the wilderness, is that which Moses relates.

Ver. 23. At the commandment of the Lord they rested, &c.] This is the usual recapitulation of what goes before (see ch. ii. 34, iv. 49, vi. 21); and here was the more necessary, because it gives an account of a most material thing, their long stay in the desert, through which God thought fit to lead them (Exod. xiii. 17, 18).

They kept the charge of the Lord.] Moved or rested according to the direction which God gave them.

At the commandment of the Lord] See ver. 18.

By the hand of Moses.] By his ministry, who told them they were to be guided in their motions by the cloud. And therefore they expected no other commandment but that, the Lord being in that cloud, and telling them by its motion or rest what they should do. And when it did move, no question, it was so leisurely, as that they, their children, and cattle might follow it with ease, and be able to take their necessary refreshment.

It is observable, that in all these verses 18, 20, 23, where it is said they journeyed or rested *al pi* (at the mouth), which we well translate "at the commandment of the Lord," Onkelos renders it "at the mouth (or commandment) of the Word of the Lord:" which Word he takes to have given to Moses all the commandments he received; for so he translates those words, Exod. xxv. 22. "And there will I meet thee by these; and I will prepare (or appoint) my Word to thee there;" to deliver, that is, the Divine oracles and answers to him.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The use of the silver trumpets.* 11 *The Israelites remove from Sinai to Paran.* 14 *The order of their march.*
29 *Hobab is intreated by Moses not to leave them.* 33 *The blessing of Moses at the removing and resting of the ark.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Make thee two trumpets of silver; of a whole piece shall thou make them: that thou mayest use them for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps.

3 And when they shall blow with them, all the assembly shall assemble themselves to thee at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

4 And if they blow but with one trumpet, then the princes, *which are* heads of the thousands of Israel, shall gather themselves unto thee.

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1.] This commandment concerning the trumpets, it is very likely, was given before, but not mentioned till now, when there was an occasion for one principal use of them, viz. the removal of their camp (ver. 11).

Ver. 2. *Make thee two trumpets*] There were several sorts of trumpets, of different form, among the ancients, as Eustathius shows upon Homer's *Iliad* Σ. p. 1138, where he mentions six: the second of which was στρογγύλη, "turned up round" like a ram's horn, which, he saith, the Egyptians used (it being found out by Osiris) when they called the people to their sacrifices; *χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῇ πρὸς θυσίαν καλοῦντες τοὺς ὄχλους δι' αὐτῆς*. It was called in their language *χρονή*. Now in this Moses opposed the Egyptians (which they would do well to take notice of, who make their customs to be of the greatest antiquity); for those which he here ordered to be made were long, such as we use at present. So Josephus tells us, in whom there is a large description of them, lib. iii. *Antiq.* cap. 11, where he saith they were a cubit long, and narrow, like a pipe; but wider, as ours are, at the bottom.

Though only two be now ordered for present use, it did not hinder their making more hereafter: when both priests and people also were multiplied; see 2 Chron. v. 12, where, in Solomon's time, there were a hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets. And Josephus mentions a vast number more (lib. viii. *Antiq.* cap. 2).

Of silver.] These being sacred trumpets, as Josephus frequently calls them, it was fit they should be made of this pure metal; which gave them also a shriller sound.

Of a whole piece.] As he did the candlestick (*Exod.* xxxv. 31), which made them the more firm, and apter to give a certain and distinct sound.

Use them for the calling of the assembly, &c.] These are the two great uses for which they were designed: unto which some think a third is added (ver. 9, see there). It is certain that in ver. 10, another use of them is assigned.

Ver. 3. *When they*] i. e. The priests (ver. 8).

Shall blow] With an equal and continued sound.

With them,] With both the trumpets, as appears from ver. 4.

All the assembly shall assemble] By this kind of sound, with both the trumpets, the people understood that the whole congregation was called to meet together.

At the door] Which seems to have been the usual place where they assembled; and made their meet-

5 When ye blow an alarm, then the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward.

6 When ye blow an alarm the second time, then the camps that lie on the south side shall take their journey: they shall blow an alarm for their journeys.

7 But when the congregation is to be gathered together, ye shall blow, but ye shall not sound an alarm.

8 And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall be to you

ing the more solemn, because it was before the Lord.

Ver. 4. *If they blow but with one trumpet, then the princes, &c.*] If only one trumpet made the sound before mentioned, it was intended to summon only the princes of Israel to attend Moses.

Shall gather themselves] At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, as was said before.

Ver. 5. *When ye blow an alarm,*] When they did not simply blow with a long, even, and plain blast; but with an interrupted, and a broken or trembling sound: which had, as the Jews say, a plain note before, and after that a quavering. We generally explain it by a *tara-tan-tara*; but that word (as Dr. Lightfoot observes) signifies a blast, which put the quavering sound before and after, and the plain note in the midst; which is contrary to the Jewish description of it (see *Temple Service*, ch. 7, sect. 2). Hottinger makes no other distinction between the foregoing sound (ver. 3), called *tekiah*, and this, called *teruah*; but that the former was equal, and this was quick and concise (*Analect. Dissert.* iii. p. 152).

Then the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward.] viz. If this alarm was blown only once (as appears from ver. 6), then the hosts that were under the standard of Judah began to march (see ch. ii. 3).

Ver. 6. *When ye blow an alarm the second time, &c.*] Having ceased for a while, if the alarm was blown again, then those tribes which were under the standard of Reuben (ch. ii. ver. 10, 11, &c.) began to move, who lay on the south side.

They shall blow an alarm for their journeys.] That is, they shall blow a *third* and *fourth* alarm, for the moving of the other two standards. So the LXX. rightly explains it, in so many words at length; "Ye shall blow an alarm the third time, and the camps that lie towards the sea (i. e. on the west side) shall take their journey; and ye shall blow the fourth alarm, and they that lie towards the north," &c. In what order the camp of the Levites moved, is related afterward, ver. 17, 21.

Ver. 7.] Here is a manifest distinction between plain *blowing* and *sounding an alarm*; which were for different purposes, and accordingly to be used (ver. 3, 5).

Ver. 8. *The sons of Aaron—shall blow*] None else were permitted to use them, either for calling the assembly together, or for their march, or at their feasts: because God would have the greater regard paid to the sound which was made by his ministers: as if he himself called upon them to attend his summons.

They shall be to you for an ordinance for ever.] These trumpets shall be used by you, not only while

for an ordinance for ever throughout your generations.

9 And if ye go to war in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies.

you stay in the wilderness, but in future ages, as long as you are a nation.

Ver. 9. *If ye go to war in your land against the enemy, &c.*] This is thought to be a third use of the trumpets; when they were going to give battle to their enemies. Which may be confirmed from ch. xxxi. 6, and from 2 Chron. xiii. 12. But this doth not exclude another meaning; which is, that they called the people together to fast and pray to God before they went out to battle. For it is certain that a fast was proclaimed by blowing of the trumpet (Joel ii. 15, &c.). Which justifies what Maimonides saith in Taanioth, cap. 1, that they blow with the trumpet, not only when they were in danger from their enemies, but in all other distresses, by famine, or pestilence, &c. For he makes this blowing with the trumpets in this place, to be the same with that precept, Ps. l. 14, "Call upon me in the day of trouble" (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 36). The only objection that I can find against this exposition (which is very ancient) is, that Moses speaks here of *blowing an alarm* with the trumpets; which was not used (ver. 7) for calling the assembly together, but for the motion of the camps (ver. 5). Yet one cannot conceive how they should be gathered together to make an army to fight with their enemies, but by some sort of sound with the trumpet (see Judg. iii. 27, vi. 34), and being met, it is highly probable they called upon God by prayer and fasting for good success; as the latter part of this verse intimates. Besides, these silver trumpets seem to have been used only at the sanctuary; and other trumpets were used when they went to war. For at the siege of Jericho, the priests blew with horns, not with these silver trumpets. Therefore, they may well be thought here to have called them to the sanctuary to pray to God before they went to war; and that by blowing an alarm, whereby they understood the meaning of the summons. And if we may believe the Jews, they used, when the temple was built, to *blow an alarm* every morning at the opening of the gates of it; particularly at the opening of the east gate, called the gate of Nicanor (as Dr. Lightfoot observes in the place above named); for which, though there was no express command, yet it was grounded on this reason, that the Levites, who were God's host, as they are often called in this book (ch. iv. 3, &c., viii. 24), might be awakened to come and attend their service in the house of God.

Ye shall be remembered before the Lord] He will be merciful to you, and grant your request; as the next words explain it.

Ye shall be saved] Which is to be understood with this condition, "that they turned to him with unfeigned repentance;" which was the proper intention of their prayer and fasting.

Ver. 10. *In the day of your gladness.*] Here is the fourth use of these trumpets, which were blown when they rejoiced for the good success, suppose, of their arms, or any other great deliverance; like that mentioned Esther ix. 19, when they feasted upon the peace-offerings, which were then offered. And thus it was when Solomon built the temple (2 Chron. v. 12, vii. 6), and at the laying the foundation of the second temple after the captivity (Ezra iii. 10), and at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 27, 35).

10 Also in the day of your gladness, and in your solemn days, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; that they may be to you for a memorial before your God: I am the Lord your God.

In your solemn days.] Mentioned in Lev. xxiii. which were proclaimed by sound of trumpet (see there, ver. 2); and there were great feasts upon many of them, at which the Levites, the poor, and the widows were entertained (Deut. xvi. 11; Neh. viii. 10, 12). But they were not all *feasts* which are there mentioned; for one of those *solemn days* was a *fast*, viz. the great day of atonement. And therefore the Hebrew word *mode* should rather be translated *days of assemblies*, as our Mr. Thorndike observes; who (in his book concerning the Service of God at religious Assemblies) notes, that Moses here distinguishes three sorts of solemnities. First, "The days of your gladness;" which signifies solemnities to be celebrated with cheerfulness of heart, i. e. feasts. Then, "The solemn days of assemblies" (as he translates it); containing, besides those, assemblies for humiliation, as the day of atonement. And lastly, "The beginnings of your months;" to which there was a peculiar service appointed (ch. xxviii. 11).

In the beginnings of your months.] On the new moons, which the Jews observed, not like those other festivities and days of assemblies, upon which they abstained from all servile work; but with special sacrifices, which God appointed to be offered to him upon them (Numb. xxviii. 11, 14), and with the solemnity of blowing with trumpets (Ps. lxxxix. 3). And they were the more careful to observe the new moons, because their great festivals depended upon them; though they are not reckoned among their festivals or solemn assemblies (Lev. xxiii.), but only the first day of the seventh month was a memorial of blowing of trumpets (ver. 24), which gave occasion, perhaps, for observing all the new moons in the year. And there being no express command for observing the first day of the month, but only for peculiar sacrifices upon it, and blowing of trumpets, some argue from thence, that, in the most ancient times, before the law of Moses, new moons were observed with festival joy (it being plain that they were so in the days of Hesiod); of which, though we can have no certainty, yet it is very probable, that the idolatry of worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, being then in the world, they were wont, at the appearance of every moon, to express much joy, and offer sacrifices to it. From which God intended to preserve his people, by appointing special sacrifices (with blowing of trumpets) to be offered unto himself at that time. And it is manifest the Jews were so observant of the new moons, that they seem to have regarded them next to their Sabbath, as times of religious worship of the Divine Majesty (2 Kings iv. 23; Isa. lxvi. 23; Amos viii. 5).

And thus I find, that among the Athenians (whose laws are observed by many to have been derived from Moses), the first day of the month was *ἡπόρτις ἡμέρα*, as Plutarch speaks, "a most holy day;" and yet it was not a festival; nor was it consecrated to any particular god, but unto all. And there was a law, *ταῖς νομικαῖς θύραις*, "that they offer sacrifices upon the first day of the month;" when they went up to the *acropolis* (as Demosthenes tells us) to pray for the public welfare of the city, and for their own private happiness (see Sam. Petrus in his Comment. in Leges Atticas, lib. i. tit. 1, p. 85).

11 ¶ And it came to pass on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, that the cloud was taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony.

12 And the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran.

13 And they first took their journey according to the commandment of the Lord by the hand of Moses.

14 ¶ In the first place went the standard of the camp of the children of Judah according to their armies: and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

15 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Issachar was Nethaneel the son of Zuar.

16 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of Helon.

17 And the tabernacle was taken down; and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari set forward, bearing the tabernacle.

18 ¶ And the standard of the camp of Reu-

ben set forward according to their armies: and over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur.

19 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

20 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

21 And the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary: and the other did set up the tabernacle against they came.

22 ¶ And the standard of the camp of the children of Ephraim set forward according to their armies: and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud.

23 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

24 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideon.

25 ¶ And the standard of the camp of the children of Dan set forward, which was the rere-

Over the burnt offerings,] Especially the morning sacrifice; at the offering of which the trumpets began to sound (2 Chron. xxix. 27).

Over the sacrifice of your peace offerings,] Which, being sacrifices of thanksgiving, it was very proper to have them attended with the sound of the trumpets.

That they may be to you for a memorial] i. e. That he may graciously accept your offerings, and bless you (as the phrase signifies in the foregoing verse), when he sees his service to be your delight and joy.

I am the Lord your God,] By whose sovereign authority these commands were given; and in the observance of which they might be assured of his blessing.

Ver. 11. *On the twentieth day]* After their coming out of Egypt, as appears from ch. i. 1.

That the cloud was taken up] In token that they were to begin to move, as the cloud did (ch. ix. 17).

From off the tabernacle] i. e. The most holy place, over which it resided (ch. ix. 15).

Ver. 12. *Took their journeys]* After the cloud was taken up, it stood still for some time, till they had taken down the tabernacle, and packed up their own tents and household-stuff. Or else, while those under the first standard moved, they took down the tabernacle; but still the three tribes which first moved, upon the going up of the cloud, must have some time allowed to take up their own tents, &c.

Out of the wilderness] Where they had stayed near a year.

The cloud rested] After three days' motion (ver. 33).

In the wilderness of Paran,] Where they had several stations, besides this; which was the midway between the Red Sea and the land of Canaan; and, from the graves of those that lusted, was called Kibroth-hattaavah (ch. xi. 33, xxiii. 16), where they stayed a month; and from thence went to Hazeroth; and were still in the wilderness of Paran (ch. xii. 16).

Ver. 13. *They first took their journey]* In the Hebrew the words are, "they journeyed at the first;" i. e. at their first removal; which was this.

According to the commandment] Not whether they pleased themselves, but according as God had before directed, when the cloud was taken up; and in such order as he appointed (see ch. ix. 18); and there seems to have been a special direction, by an express command, for this first removal (Deut. i. 6, 7).

Ver. 14.] By this it appears, that the foregoing words, concerning their removal "according to the commandment of the Lord," relate to the order of their march, as well as to the way they went. See, concerning those that marched under his standard, and their commanders (which are here mentioned, and in the two next verses), ch. ii. 1, 3, 5, 7.

Ver. 17. *The tabernacle was taken down;]* By the Levites (ch. i. 51), who went about this work as soon as the cloud went up from the tabernacle; while the three tribes under the standard of Judah were setting themselves to move.

The sons of Gershon and—Merari set forward,] They immediately followed the three tribes, which encamped on the east of it, under the standard of Judah.

Bearing the tabernacle,] Such parts of it as were committed to each of their charge (see ch. iv. 24, &c., 31, &c.).

Ver. 18.] Of this and the two following verses, see ch. ii. 10, 12, 14.

Ver. 21. *The Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary,]* That is, the ark, the holy table, the candlestick, &c., and other things belonging to the sanctuary (ch. iv. 15, 16, &c.), which the Kohathites carried in the middle of the four camps, for their greater security.

The other] i. e. the Gershonites and the Merarites before mentioned (ver. 17).

Did set up the tabernacle against they came,] When the cloud rested, the two foregoing camps under the standards of Judah and Reuben rested also; and settled themselves in their tents: which while they were doing, the Gershonites and Merarites (who marched between them) set up the tabernacle, that it might be ready to receive the ark, and the other holy things, which followed immediately, under the care of the Kohathites. This shows the excellent order wherein they always moved; not only without any tumult or confusion, but with such a discipline as signified they were under the conduct of a most skilful leader.

Ver. 22.] After the Kohathites followed three other tribes, who were under this standard: see ch. ii. 18, 20, 23, 24, where all that was needful hath been said of the two following verses.

Ver. 25. *Dan]* See concerning him, and those mentioned in the two next verses, ch. ii. 25, 27, 29.

ward of all the camps throughout their hosts : and over his host *was* Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

26 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Asher *was* Pagiel the son of Ocran.

27 And over the host of the tribe of the children of Naphtali *was* Ahira the son of Enan.

28 Thus *were* the journeyings of the children of Israel according to their armies, when they set forward.

29 ¶ And Moses said unto Hobab, the son of Raguel the Midianite, Moses' father in law, We are journeying unto the place of which the Lord said, I will give it you : come thou with us, and

we will do thee good : for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel.

30 And he said unto him, I will not go ; but I will depart to mine own land, and to my kindred.

31 And he said, Leave us not, I pray thee ; forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes.

32 And it shall be, if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what goodness the Lord shall do unto us, the same will he do unto thee.

33 ¶ And they departed from the mount of the Lord three days' journey : and the ark of

Which was the reeward of all the camps] The Hebrew word *measseph* (which we translate *was the reeward*) comes from a word which everywhere signifies to gather together, or collect. And therefore is here to be so understood ; and the whole sentence thus rendered : "Then set forward the standard of the camp of Dan, gathering to it all the camps throughout their hosts : " or, "according to their armies," as we here translate the last part of these words (ver. 14, 18, 22). So Forsterus translates it ; the meaning being, that all the rest of the people, who were not a part of the four before mentioned camps, all under twenty years old (who were "not able to go forth to war"), together with the mixed multitude that came with them out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 38), and all the unclean persons, who were shut out of the camp (ch. v. 2), came after this hindmost standard of the children of Dan.

Ver. 28. *Thus were the journeyings*] In this order they marched, when they removed from one station to another.

Ver. 29. *Moses said unto Hobab,*] His wife's brother, as Theodoret understands it.

The son of Raguel the Midianite,] The son of Jethro, priest of Midian ; for Raguel and he are thought by many to be the same person (Exod. ii. 18, lii. 1) ; or one was the father, and the other the son, and Hobab was the grandson of Raguel.

Moses' father in law,] These words may either refer to Raguel, who is supposed to be Jethro ; and then it is rightly translated *father-in-law* ; or they may as well refer to Hobab, and be translated *brother-in-law* ; for so the Hebrew word *choten* sometimes signifies, a very near kinsman. It cannot, without great straining, be otherwise expounded in Judges i. 16, and iv. 11. After Jethro, therefore, was gone back to his own country (Exod. xviii. 27), Hobab, his son, stayed still with his sister Zipporah, and accompanied Moses all the time he stayed near Sinai, which was not far from Midian, whither he thought to return, now the Israelites were marching away from that neighbourhood ; but Moses was desirous to have his company further, even to the land of promise.

We are journeying, &c.] i. e. To the land of Canaan ; for thither God intended to have brought them shortly after this removal ; as appears from Deut. i. 6, 7.

Come thou with us,] See ver. 32.

For the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel.] Promised to bestow a noble country upon us for our inheritance.

Ver. 30. *I will not go ;*] This was his present resolution, till Moses had further persuaded him.

But I will depart to mine own land,] Which he was loth to leave, merely in hope of what the Israelites had not yet in possession.

To my kindred,] With whom all men love to live and die.

Ver. 31. *He said,*] i. e. Moses replied.

Leave us not, I pray thee ;] Do not persist in that resolution, but be persuaded to go along with us.

Forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness,] He being a borderer upon this wilderness, was well acquainted with every part of it, and the better able to advise them how to secure their camp (for the cloud only served to direct them where it should be pitched), and defend themselves from the people, on all sides, that might be injurious to them ; which made Moses so earnest with him to stay with them, while they had such need of his assistance.

Thou mayest be to us instead of eyes,] To give them advice and counsel in any difficulty they might meet withal in the places where they stayed ; or to direct them how to provide themselves with such things as they wanted : for he, having lived long thereabouts, could not but understand the neighbouring countries. The LXX. understand this passage, as if he desired him to continue to be what he had been hitherto in the wilderness (viz. a good adviser, like his father Jethro), assuring him, they would look upon him as an *elder* ; that is, have him in great honour.

Ver. 32. *If thou go with us,*] Not only stay with us, while we are here in the wilderness, but go along with us into Canaan.

Yea, it shall be,] Depend upon it.

That what goodness the Lord shall do unto us, the same will we do unto thee.] Give thee some part of the possession which God shall bestow upon us. Accordingly it appears, that, as Moses prevailed with him to accompany them, so he and his posterity were settled among the Israelites, Judges i. 16, and iv. 11 (where either he or his father is called the Kenite), who lived in tents, not in houses, after the manner of their forefathers in Midian.

Ver. 33. *They departed from the mount*] viz. Horeb, in the wilderness of Sinai, where they had stayed a long time (Deut. i. 6).

Three days' journey ;] They travelled three days before the cloud settled again upon the tabernacle ; though it stood still sometimes (but did not descend) to give them time for necessary refreshment, and for sleep (see ch. xi. 1).

The ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them] It is said, ver. 21, that the sanctuary was carried between the first two standards and the last two : i. e. in the midst of the camp, as we expressly read, ch. ii. 17, which Abarinell thinks is to be understood of all their journeys but only this. That was the constant order of their march ; first went the standard of Judah, next that of Reuben ; after this, the tabernacle of the congregation ; then followed the standard of Ephraim ; and last of all, that of

the covenant of the LORD went before them in the three days' journey, to search out a resting place for them.

34 And the cloud of the LORD *was* upon them by day, when they went out of the camp.

Dan. But now, in their first removal, God did them the honour to appoint the ark to go before them, in the front of all the camps; as he did when they passed over Jordan (Josh. iii. 6); that is, in their first and last journeys this extraordinary favour was shown them; but in all the rest the ark went in the midst of them. And thus Aben Ezra upon this place: "This first removal was not like the rest of their removals." But I see no good ground for this exposition. The plain meaning seems to be, that the Lord, as their king and governor, led them by the cloud, which was always over the ark; just as a general leads his army, though he be not in the front of it, but in the midst, from whence he issues out his orders.

To search out a resting place] There was no need of inquiry after a fitting station for them; but he speaks after the manner of generals, who send officers before them, to take up the most convenient quarters for their army (see Deut. i. 33).

Ver. 34. It seems this removal of their camp from Sinai was in the day-time (as sometimes they removed in the night, ch. ix. 21); and the cloud being taken up from off the tabernacle, so moved over the ark as to overspread them all by day, as the pillar of fire was over them by night, to give them assurance of the Divine protection (see note upon Exod. xiii. 21, and Ps. cv. 39).

Ver. 35. *When the ark set forward,*] There being the letter *nun* turned the wrong way in the Hebrew word for *set forward*, as there is in the word for *complained*, in the first verse of the next chapter; the Jewish doctors fancy it denotes here God's gracious converting his face towards them, at the prayer of Moses; and, in the following story, the people's aversion to God, and ungrateful turning away their hearts from him.

Moses said,] It was his custom to pray in this manner upon such occasions; as R. Levi ben Gersom expounds it.

Rise up,] This is an expression (saith Abarbanel) like that in Isa. xxxiii. 10. "Now will I rise, saith the Lord, and will be exalted," &c., where his taking vengeance upon his enemies is called *his rising*; according to Job xxxi. 14, "What shall I do, when God riseth up," &c. The next words, "Let thine enemies be scattered," &c., justify this sense.

Lord,] It seems very strange to me, that any should allege this place as a proof that the ark is called *Jehovah*; when the prayer of Moses is so plainly directed to the Lord himself (who was there in a glorious symbol of his presence), and not to the ark; considering also, that in other places where this very form of speech is used, the Lord and the ark are most manifestly distinguished the one from the other (see 2 Chron. vi. 41, and Ps. cxxxii. 8). And yet an anonymous anti-trinitarian writer (confuted by Joseph de Veisin fifty years ago), observing that the

35 And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, LORD, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee.

36 And when it rested, he said, Return, O LORD, unto the many thousands of Israel.

Chaldee here, instead of the *Lord*, hath the *Word of the Lord*, is so absurd as to say, that the ark is called the *Word*; because God (saith he, p. 234), ante illam responsa vel oracula sua dabat, &c., "before the ark gave his answers or oracles, when the priest, in dubious matters, consulted the mouth of the Lord;" which exposition carries its own confutation in it; for, if the high-priest consulted the mouth of the Lord (as he speaks), then, by the *Word* which gave the answer, must be meant the Lord himself; to whom Moses here directs his prayer, as the Jerusalem Targum excellently paraphrases this verse; "And it came to pass, when the ark was taken up, that Moses lifted up his hands in prayer, and said, Rise now, O Word of the Lord, in the strength of thy power, and scatter the enemies of thy people," &c.

Let thine enemies be scattered;] This is a prayer, that God would put all those to flight (as he had done the Amalekites, Exod. xvii.) who opposed their passage to the promised land; as, after they came thither, they used this prayer (Ps. lxxviii. 1) for his aid against all those who sought to dispossess them of it.

Let them that hate thee flee] This is a repetition of the same prayer, as is usual; for *thine enemies*, and *those that hate thee* signify the very same (Ps. xxi. 8, Dan. iv. 19, Luke i. 71).

Ver. 36. *When it rested,*] As it did wheresoever the cloud stayed, and moved no further.

He said,] He prayed again. So the Jerusalem Targum understands both this and the former verse, "Moses lifted up his hands in prayer, and said," &c. And Jonathan Uzielides, "Moses stood in prayer, and begged mercy of God, saying," &c.

Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel.] Which Onkelos thus paraphrases, "Come again, and dwell with thy glory in the midst of us." And so he did; the cloud, wherein the Divine Majesty resided, settling upon the tabernacle, over the ark of the testimony, as soon as it was again pitched. Others translate it, *Give rest, O Lord* (which the Hebrew words will bear); secure us, that is, in peace against the incursions of our enemies, and all other dangers. R. Levi ben Gersom expounds it, *Bring back the Israelites into the land of promise*, where their forefathers dwelt when they were few in number; whose posterity was now increased to *ten thousand thousands*, as the last words are in the Hebrew. And there are those who will have this to be a prayer for their increase and multiplication into many more thousands than they were already. And thus the Jerusalem Targum (who still by the *Lord* understands his *Word*), "Return now, O Word of the Lord, from the vehemence of thy anger, and come back to us in thy merciful goodness; bless the myriads, and multiply the thousands of Israelites."

CHAPTER XI.

- 1 *The burning at Taberah quenched by Moses' prayer.* 4 *The people lust for flesh, and loathe manna.*
 10 *Moses complaineth of his charge.* 16 *God divideth his burden unto seventy elders.* 31 *Quails are given in wrath at Kibroth-hattaavah.*

1 AND when the people complained, it displeased the LORD: and the LORD heard it; and his anger was kindled; and the fire of the LORD burnt among them, and consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camp.

2 And the people cried unto Moses; and

when Moses prayed unto the LORD, the fire was quenched.

3 And he called the name of the place Taberah: because the fire of the LORD burnt among them.

4 ¶ And the mixt multitude that was among

CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *When the people complained,*] Or, as it is translated in the margin, "were as it were complainers," or mutterers. Which words, D. Kimchi, in his Michol, brings as an instance to prove that the particle *caph* (which we translate *as*) doth sometimes serve only to signify the truth of a thing, and to confirm it, and imports nothing of likeness. For the discontent of the people did not rest in their minds, but broke out into open murmurings and undutiful complaints. The like he observes Gen. xxv. 31, 33, and Hosea v. 10, "The princes of Judah were like them that remove the bound;" where we make it to signify a similitude, but should only have taken it as a strong affirmation of the truth of the thing (see Theod. Hackspan. Disput. iv. De Locutionibus Sacris, n. 4).

Complained,] Of their long march for three days together, with their little children, cattle, and all their baggage. So it is commonly thought; but I can see no good ground for it. For, no doubt, the cloud stood still (though it did not come down and settle, as I said ch. x. 33), that they might make some convenient rests in their journey; else, how should they gather the manna that fell every night about their tents, and would keep but one day, as we read Exod. xvi. ? I conclude therefore, that this muttering was the beginning of those loud complaints which were made a little after (ver. 4, 5, &c.), because they were not brought by this removal to a place where they might have had other food than manna, of which they now grew weary, having lived upon it near a whole year.

It displeased the Lord;] In the Hebrew, "It was evil in the ears of the Lord;" that is, though it was only a muttering, which did not come to the ears of Moses (as this complaint shortly after did), yet the Lord took notice of it, and was much offended at it; as it here follows.

And the Lord heard it;] Or, when the Lord heard it, he demonstrated he was highly offended, by sending a fire among them.

The fire of the Lord burnt among them,] Some take this phrase, "fire of the Lord," to signify a great fire; as "mountains of the Lord" are high mountains; which came either from heaven like lightning (as in 2 Kings i. 12), or from the pillar of cloud and fire over the tabernacle; where the glory of the Lord appeared sometimes like unto fire.

Consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camp.] Where the mixed multitude was (as I observed, ch. x. 25), who came out of Egypt; and may well be supposed to have stirred up the Israelites to complain of their tedious journey, which had not yet brought them near to the land of Canaan. And perhaps some of them lagged behind on purpose, that they might complain of weariness (as some take it), or rather of want of stronger food. But Bochartus hath demonstrated, that this word which we translate

the uttermost parts, signifies in all, or throughout. Of which he gives many instances out of Lud. De Dieu, upon Ezek. xxxiii. 1 (see Gen. xix. 4, and xlvii. 2, &c. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34). And therefore so it should be here rendered, *consumed some in every part of the camp*: where they began to make complaints one to another, of their being still in a wilderness.

Ver. 2. *The people cried unto Moses;*] Of whose power with God they had a great experience: but had reason to distrust their own interest in him, because of their murmuring humour: for it is likely they are the same people that cried now to Moses, who before complained (ver. 1).

When Moses prayed unto the Lord,] As they begged he would.

The fire was quenched.] Went out; and no signs of it appeared. So the Hebrew phrase signifies, *it sunk*. What number of them was burnt we are not told; it is likely not many, because the terror of it instantly made them deprecate God's displeasure, by Moses their intercessor; which put a stop to it.

Ver. 3. *Taberah;*] Which, for another reason, was also called Kibroth-hattaavah (ver. 34). They are mentioned, indeed, in Deut. ix. 22, as if they were two distinct places; but it is plain, by the story, that the things which occasioned both these names, happened in one and the same station. And therefore they were only different names for the same place; unless we suppose Kibroth-hattaavah to have been the name of that particular piece of ground in that place where the lusters were buried.

Because the fire of the Lord burnt among them.] This is the reason of the name of *Taberah* (which signifies a burning), which was imposed on this place, to preserve the memory both of God's judgments and of his mercy.

Ver. 4. *The mixed multitude that was among them,*] The Hebrew word *hasaphsoph* is well translated by Bochartus, populi colluvies undecunque collecta, "the dregs or scum of the people gathered together from all parts." For the doubling of words increases their sense, in the Hebrew language, and makes the same with the superlative degree in other tongues; of which he gives many instances in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 6). See Lev. xiii. 19, where *adamameth* signifies exceeding red: as *hasaphsoph* here doth a very great collection of all sorts of people, both Egyptians and other neighbouring nations, who were invited by their wonderful deliverance out of Egypt, to join themselves to the Israelites, as proselytes to their religion (see Exod. xii. 38). The Jews, in Tanchuma, say, there were forty thousand of them, and Jannes and Jambres at the head of them.

Fell a lusting;] He doth not say for what: and the Jews have taken the liberty to fancy what they please. Some of them say that they lusted after such women, as Moses had lately forbidden them to marry. So the

them fell a lusting: and the children of Israel also wept again, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat?

5 We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick:

paraphrase of Uzielides; "Moses heard the people weeping, because those that were near of kin to them were forbidden in marriage." And he makes as if these proselytes petitioned Moses to abrogate those laws about incest. Such conceits others have indulged to themselves (as Mr. Selden shows, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4, p. 202), when the words (in the end of this verse, and ver. 13, 18), plainly show they lusted for flesh to eat.

The children of Israel also] Though the mixed multitude were the first fomenters of this discontent, yet it ran among the children of Israel throughout the whole camp; and rose so high that they fell into a great passion.

They] They had shed some tears, it seems, before (when they complained, ver. 1), but now they wept aloud, out of anger, vexation, and grief. Or else this weeping again refers to their first murmuring a year ago, like unto this (Exod. xvi. 3).

And said,] They could not refrain from bursting out into such discontented language; as argued they were extremely angry, or rather enraged.

Who shall give us flesh to eat?] It is an expression of a vehement, impatient desire (mixed with despair) after flesh-meat; which they needed not to have wanted, if they would have killed their cattle, which they brought with them out of Egypt in great abundance (Exod. xii. 38), but they preserved them for breed when they came to Canaan; and if they killed them daily, they would not have lasted long to suffice six hundred thousand people, besides women and children (see ver. 21, 22). Besides this, while they continued in the wilderness, they were not permitted to eat any flesh, but only their share of the peace-offerings that were offered at the altar (Lev. xvi. 3—5). Which lasted, the Jews think, till they came to the land of Canaan, when this restraint was taken off (Deut. xii. 15, 16). And, indeed, the wilderness was so barren a place, that they could there have no great increase of cattle, scarce sufficient for sacrifice. They were angry, therefore, that they were not yet brought to a country where they might have had all sorts of flesh, without killing their own cattle; and have taken their fill of that and all other food (as appears by the next verse) at as easy rates as they had done in Egypt: whereas now they despaired, as I said, of getting any such food; for so such questions as this signify (Psalm cxlii. 5; Isai. liii. 8; John viii. 16).

Ver. 5. *We remember the fish,*] This shows that all kind of food is comprehended under *flesh*, for which they longed; particularly this, which is one sort of flesh (1 Cor. xv. 39).

Which we did eat in Egypt freely;] Or, for nothing: for they could easily catch them in the river of Egypt, which abounded with them (Isa. xix. 8), and in the sea also, which was not far from them; wherein was exceeding great plenty of excellent fish.

The cucumbers, and the melons, &c.] None of which grew here in the wilderness, but were there in such plenty and perfection, that they were the common food of the Egyptians: who were noted anciently for the meanness of their diet, as Casaubon observes, in lib. ix. Athenæi Deipnos. cap. 11, p. 674. Some fancy these things were the cheaper there, because the Egyptians durst not eat either fish, or leeks, or onions; as is said by Juvenal, Sat. xv. Pliny, lib.

6 But now our soul is dried away: *there is* nothing at all, beside this manna, *before* our eyes.

7 And the manna *was* as coriander seed, and the colour thereof as the colour of bdellium.

8 And the people went about, and gathered

xix. cap. 6, and Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 37, where he saith, it was not lawful for the Egyptians to taste of fish. But, in my opinion, these words of the people demonstrate rather, that they were not so superstitious in the days of Moses; for they were not the words merely of the Israelites, but of the *mixed multitude*, who were the beginners of this mutiny, and of this sort of undutiful language; which, one would think, they put into the mouths of the Israelites, who could not otherwise have had the impudence to magnify their condition in Egypt, where they groaned under the sorest slavery.

It is a strange fancy of one of the doctors in the Talmud (in the title Jona), who by *fishes* understands *harlots*; whom this crew of mixed people lusted after.

The onions,] The Hebrew word *chatzir* properly signifies *grass*; which being no part of human food, the LXX. here render the word *onions*; as agreeable to the other words that accompany it. But the learned Ludolphus thinks they had no other reason for it; and therefore, out of the Arabian language, rather interprets it *lettuce*, or *salads*, in general, which were most excellent in Egypt (Dissert. De Locustis, par. ii. cap. 14).

Ver. 6. *But now our soul is dried away;*] They speak as if they were starved; and, as we speak, had neither life nor soul left in them. Such is the vile nature of discontented ingratitude, which makes men that are advanced from a poor to a plentiful condition condemn their present enjoyments, and praise their former wretched state.

There is nothing at all, beside this manna,] They were angry that they were come to a place where they found nothing but that of which they were now grown weary; and therefore speak of it with disdain.

Ver. 7. *The manna*] Upon this occasion he describes more fully what kind of thing it was which they despised, that it might appear how justly God was displeased with them for their ingratitude.

Was as coriander seed,] Not in colour (for that was like *bdellium*, as it here follows), but in its shape and form, being round (Exod. xvi. 14).

The colour thereof as the colour of bdellium.] Of a pure white colour, and bright like pearl; so that it was very grateful to the eye, as well as pleasant to the taste (see Exod. xvi. 31).

Ver. 8. *The people went about,*] Round their camp (Exod. xvi. 13).

Gathered it,] Fresh every morning; which made it still more acceptable (Exod. xvi. 18, 19).

Ground it in mills,] Into flour, with a hand-mill.

Beat it in a mortar,] Bruised it with a pestle, in a wooden or stone mortar.

Baked it in pans,] Or else boiled it (as R. Bechai expounds it) in a pot.

Made cakes of it;] Or make cakes of it in an oven, or in a pan; that is, saith the same R. Bechai, it was of such an excellent composition, that it might be dressed divers ways, or eaten as it fell. For, if they would, they might use it, saith he, for food immediately, as they gathered it; or they might grind it, or bruise it, and then either boil it or bake it; and it was agreeable in what way soever it was prepared; which Moses mentions, to show how ungrateful they were to God, who, by one thing, entertained them with great variety.

it, and ground it in mills, or beat it in a mortar, and baked it in pans, and made cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of fresh oil.

9 And when the dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell upon it.

10 ¶ Then Moses heard the people weep throughout their families, every man in the door of his tent: and the anger of the LORD was kindled greatly; Moses also was displeased.

11 And Moses said unto the LORD, Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou

layest the burden of all this people upon me?

12 Have I conceived all this people? have I begotten them, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father beareth the sucking child, unto the land which thou swarest unto their fathers?

13 Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat.

14 I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me.

15 And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I

The taste of it was as the taste of fresh oil.] When it was newly fallen, it tasted like honey; but when it was prepared by boiling, or baking, it tasted like fresh oil (see Exod. xvi. 31). Or to some it had the taste of honey; to others, of fresh oil. The Jews, indeed, say it had all sorts of tastes, according to every man's desire. So the author of the Book of Wisdom speaks (ch. xvi. 20, 21), from the ancient tradition of the Hebrews: whereby, I suppose, they meant no more, but that it pleased every man's palate; and had in it all that could be desired in any meat; being grateful to the taste of young and old, and refreshed the spirits, and kept up the flesh of their bodies in good plight. For it is not unreasonably observed, by the aforesaid R. Bechai, that it is compared by Moses to fresh oil, which is fat as well as sweet, to show how unjust their complaint was, that they had no moisture left in them, but were dried away (ver. 6).

Ver. 9. *When the dew fell—in the night.*] There was a great providence of God in this, saith the same Bechai, which sent it in the night, while they slept quietly in their beds; that when they rose in the morning they might find their food ready for them. And thus, saith he, it was when they came to Canaan; the rains were wont to fall in the night season, and not in the day-time; that they might not be hindered from their work in the fields, and in their plantations.

The manna fell upon it.] That is, upon the dew; for it did not fall upon the camp, but round about it (see Exod. xvi. 14). This is a further aggravation of their ingratitude, that they despised this rare food, which came not out of the earth, or the waters, but from above, out of the air; and therefore was more pure and spirituous than cucumbers and leeks, &c., which crude and gross sort of food their depraved minds preferred before this celestial nourishment, which, by falling on the dew, was kept clean and pure for their use.

Huetius observes, that several authors, both ancient and modern, mention manna as a thing which sometimes falls in those countries (particularly in Arabia, and upon Libanus), which they call *aerial honey*, or *dewy honey*, and *Syrian dew*; which was fit for food. But it never fell in such quantity, nor so constantly, every day, for the space of forty years; and so delicious and hearty. All this was miraculous; as was also its melting when the sun shone upon it; and that it putrefied before the next day, except on the Sabbath, and yet kept in an urn many years (see Alnetane Quest. lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 17).

Ver. 10. *Moses heard the people weep, throughout their families.*] Or, for their families: or, about the state and condition of their families, as some of the Jews understand it, though to a foolish sense (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4, p. 203): who they pretended could not live any longer upon manna.

Every man in the door of his tent.] It may be understood of Moses's tent, about which the heads of

the several families were gathered; as mutinous soldiers are wont to be, about the door of their chief commander.

The anger of the Lord was kindled greatly.] Which brake forth shortly after, in a great plague upon them (ver. 34).

Moses also was displeased.] The same phrase with that, ver. 1.

It was evil in the eyes of Moses.] i. e. Grieved him so that it made him wish himself rid of the burden of their government.

Ver. 11. *Moses said unto the Lord.*] I suppose he went into the sanctuary to bewail himself, and pray God to relieve him (see ver. 24).

Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant?] By committing this people to his charge.

Wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight.] By granting the prayer which he made at his first call to this office (Exod. iii. 2, iv. 10).

That thou layest the burden of all this people upon me?] i. e. The principal care of such an untractable multitude upon one man, to whom they resorted in all difficulties (Exod. xviii. 22, 26).

Ver. 12. *Have I conceived all this people? have I begotten them.*] Are they my children, that I should make provision for the satisfaction of all their desires?

Carry them in thy bosom, &c.] Take a tender care of them, as a parent doth of a little infant, and conduct them into Canaan, &c. Nothing can more lively express the affection that princes ought to have for their people (if they have any regard to the will of God), than this Divine command to Moses.

Ver. 13. *Whence should I have flesh to give?*] It is impossible for me to do what they desire.

For they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh.] And yet they will not be satisfied without it. He seems to be affected with their weeping, as the most loving parents are with the tears of a sucking child, when it cries for that which they have not for it.

Ver. 14. *I am not able to bear all this people alone.*] Let me have some joined to me to take part of this trouble with me, and help to manage them in such mutinies: for it is beyond my strength to undergo the toil of hearing all their complaints, and appeasing their tumults. Some may imagine there was no reason for this request; he having several persons already appointed to assist him, by the advice of Jethro (Exod. xviii.). But Rasi thinks those men were burnt in the late fire; because they did not suppress the beginning of this mutiny (ver. 1), but perhaps join in it: and so Bechai. But the true account is rather this, that they were set only to hear and judge smaller causes; all the weighty and difficult causes being still brought before Moses, to whom also the last appeal was made in every cause: which was so great a burden, that he complained for want of help in those great things which lay wholly upon him (see Exod. xviii. 22).

pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.

16 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring

Ver. 15. *If thou deal thus with me,*] If thou leavest me still alone in this office.

Kill me, I pray thee, out of hand,] I shall take it for the greatest kindness to be taken immediately out of the world.

Let me not see my wretchedness.] Live to be a most miserable creature. For to see wretchedness is to be wretched; as to see death is to die (Psalm lxxxix. 48). And what could make such a tender parent as he was more miserable than their perpetual untowardness, together with the intolerable trouble it would give him to see heavy punishments continually befall them for their wickedness, and the enemies of God rejoice in their ruin?

Ver. 16. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] Here is not the least sign of God's dislike of this expostulation of Moses with God; which seems not very dutiful: because the vexation this stubborn people gave him was really so great, that he had reason to desire to be eased of it: which, though he begged with much earnestness, yet, no doubt, with no less submission to God's holy will and pleasure.

Gather unto me] These words are interpreted by the Talmudists, as if the meaning was, that "they may be a Sanhedrin to my land;" i. e. a holy, perpetual, standing council, to endure throughout all generations. For wheresoever we meet with this word *li* "unto me," they think it signifies a thing to be established by God to all generations. The examples they allege of it are these: of Aaron and his sons he saith, They shall minister *unto me* in the priest's office, (Exod. xxviii. 41), and of the Levites he saith (Numb. iii. 12), They shall be *mine*, or *unto me*; and of the Israelites (Lev. xxv. 55), *Unto me* the children of Israel are servants. The like is said of the first-born (Numb. iii. 13), of the sanctuary (Exod. xxv. 18), of the altar (Exod. xx. 24), of the holy ointment (Exod. xxx. 31), of the kingdom of David (1 Sam. xvi. 1), and of the sacrifices (Numb. xxviii. 2, see Mr. Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4, n. 2).

Seventy men of the elders of Israel,] This number is generally thought, both by the Jewish and Christian writers, to be derived from the number of persons that came down into Egypt with Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 27), who, saith R. Bechai, were a kind of prototype of this number in future ages. For hence they were governed by so many elders when they were in Egypt, Exod. iii. 16 (where there is no mention indeed made of seventy, but he gathers it from what followed), and those were the seventy whom we find at the giving of the law, a little after they came out of Egypt (Exod. xxiv. 1, 9), who are called nobles, or great men (ver. 11). So that this number was not now first constituted; but rather continued and confirmed.

Whom thou knowest to be the elders] For there were many elders, out of whom seventy were chosen (see Exod. xxiv. 1).

Officers over them] That is (saith R. Bechai) whom thou knowest to be of the number of those who, when they were officers in Egypt over the people, were beaten by Pharaoh's taskmasters (Exod. v. 14). Which word *officers* doth not signify men that had any judicial authority; but only such as had an inspection over others, to see they did their work, and

them unto the tabernacle of the congregation, that they may stand there with thee.

17 And I will come down and talk with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone.

to give an account of them. But it is very likely they were persons of note, who had more than ordinary understanding and breeding, which advanced them to be inspectors of others. And therefore the Talmudists rightly observe, that *the elders and officers* here mentioned were, no doubt, men of wisdom and judgment; who knew how to use the authority that was committed to them. And it is not improbable (as some of them affirm) that they were chosen out of those lesser courts which were erected by the advice of Jethro. See Selden in the same place (sect. 5), who at large confutes Baronius and others; who say, that the number of the great Sanhedrin (which derived its original from hence) was seventy-two; and makes it appear they were only seventy; and with Moses, their head, seventy-one (sect. 8). And it is not unworthy our notice, that about the same time (as he observes, sect. 12), that this number of seventy judges was here constituted in the wilderness, the great judicature in Areopagus was constituted among the Greeks, viz., in the reign of Cæcrops, the first king of Athens, after the Ogygian flood: when, according to Eusebius, the people of Israel were brought out of Egypt. The Marmora Arundeliana indeed say, this court was erected in the time of Cranaus; but that makes no great difference, for he was the successor of Cæcrops. We do not find of what number it consisted, but it is certain it was the highest πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλλάσι συνεδρίων, "of all the courts among the Greeks." And it is no less observable, that, as that court began about the same time with the constitution of this among the Hebrews, so they both ended in the reign of the emperor Vespasian; as the said Mr. Selden shows in that book (cap. 16, sect. 10).

Bring them unto the tabernacle] That there they might be as it were consecrated unto God; and that the people might know they received their authority from him.

That they may stand there with thee.] As those men who were to be sharers with him in his authority, and were like to him in wisdom, piety, and descent. So Maimonides glosses upon these words in Hilk. Sanhedr. cap. 2, where he saith, none were made members of the Sanhedrin but priests and Levites, and such of the Israelites as were descended from the noblest families; and quotes these words to prove it.

Ver. 17. *I will come down*] In a visible manner (ver. 25).

Talk with thee there] To declare (perhaps in their audience), that he appointed them to the office of being the assistants of Moses in the government.

I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them;] He did not take away from Moses any of the gifts which he had bestowed upon him; nor did he diminish them: but conferred upon these men some of the gifts (which are here meant by *spirit*), viz., of wisdom, and judgment, and courage; with all others that were needful in a governor. This R. Solomon Jarchi illustrates by the comparison of a great lamp set up in a room, at which many others are lighted, without the least diminution of its light (see further, ver. 25).

They shall bear the burden of the people with thee.] By this it appears it was the spirit of government which God intended to give them, that they might ease Moses, by assisting him, with the same authority

18 And say thou unto the people, Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow, and ye shall eat flesh: for ye have wept in the ears of the Lord, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was well with us in Egypt: therefore the Lord will give you flesh, and ye shall eat.

19 Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor five days, neither ten days, nor twenty days;

20 But even a whole month, until it come

out at your nostrils, and it be loathsome unto you: because that ye have despised the Lord which is among you, and have wept before him, saying, Why came we forth out of Egypt?

21 And Moses said, The people, among whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month.

22 Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for

that he had, to hinder or to appease such mutinies as now the people were fallen into.

That thou bear it not thyself alone.] That all the murmurings of the people might not be only against him; but some of their complaints might be diverted unto others: who might also help him in the judging of such causes as had hitherto been reserved to him alone. For it is plain that these seventy persons made a higher court than any of those constituted by the advice of Jethro.

Cornelius Bertram indeed fancies, that these rulers of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, not being sufficient for the business committed to them (though he likewise conceives they had some of their several families joined with them), God appointed these seventy for their assistance, to whom they were to bring all causes which they could not determine, before they troubled Moses with them (lib. De Repub. Jud. cap. 6). But our learned Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church, ch. 2, hath well observed, that those captains were to be in place only during the pilgrimage of the wilderness; for when they came to the land of promise, the law provided that judges and ministers should be ordained in every city (Deut. xvi. 18), who, if there fell any difference about the law, were to repair to the place where God dwelt, to the successors of Moses, and these seventy, for resolution in it (Deut. vii. 11, 12). For, as he judiciously notes in his Review, p. 69 (suitable to what is here delivered), they were assumed to assist Moses in his great office of judging the hardest causes; and, by that law (Deut. xvii. 8, &c.), were afterwards made a standing court, resident at the place of the tabernacle; to judge the last result of all causes concerning the law, and to determine all matter of right not determined by the letter of the same.

Ver. 18. *Say thou unto the people.*] All that he said hitherto concerned Moses himself, in answer to his request. Now he tells him what he should say to the people, in answer to their complaint.

Sanctify yourselves.] Here the word sanctify seems to signify no more, but to prepare and make themselves ready to receive what they desired. So the Chaldee expounds it; and so the word is translated by us several times in the book of Jeremiah (ch. vi. 4, xii. 3, li. 28).

Against to-morrow.] He seems at the same time to gratify Moses and satisfy them: for his setting the seventy elders before the Lord, and their eating flesh succeed one another. Or else, he immediately gathered the elders; and the next day the quails came for their food.

Ye shall eat flesh, &c.] You shall have what you long for with such vehemence, that it hath made you utter complaints against the Lord.

Ver. 19. *Ye shall not eat one day.*] As they did about a year ago (Exod. xvi. 12, 13).

Nor two days, &c.] Not for a short time only.

Ver. 20. *But even a whole month.*] So long (the Hebrews gather from hence) they stayed in this part of the wilderness of Paran; or rather, a little longer. For they came hither on the twenty-third day of the

second month, in the even; on which, if we suppose the fire to have burnt among them (ver. 1), and that the next morning, which is scarce credible, they lusted after flesh, and in a tumultuous manner demanded it of Moses, who promised they should have it; we must allow a little time for the constituting of the seventy elders; and suppose it was done on the twenty-fifth day, and that the next day the quails came (as we translate it), they were two days in gathering them: from whence, if we begin this month, it will appear they stayed here longer than that space.

Until it come out at your nostrils.] Till you be glutted with it, and vomit it up so violently, that it come not only out at your mouth, but at your nostrils.

It be loathsome unto you.] Which was both the cause and the effect of vomiting.

Because that ye have despised the Lord.] Forgetting all that he had done for them, as if it had been nothing; and slighting his servant Moses.

Which is among you.] By a visible token of his glorious presence in the sanctuary, where he dwelt among them (Exod. xxv. 8).

Why came we forth out of Egypt?] As if he had undone them by their deliverance from thence.

Both Onkelos and Jonathan translate this verse in such a manner that one cannot but think they had a notion in their days of more persons than one in the Godhead. For these are the words of the latter of them, "Because you have despised (or rejected, as Onkelos) the Word of the Lord, for glorious is his majesty which dwelleth among us." For I cannot see how the word *Memri* can signify any thing in this place (whatsoever it may do in some others), but a person equal to Jehovah. And yet the anonymous writer against the Trinity (confuted by De Voisin), hath the strange, unaccountable boldness to pass it by with this silly gloss, *Propriè de lege accipi potest, &c.* "It may be properly understood of the law, which may be contemned or transgressed:" as if this could be called, "the glorious majesty of the Lord," which dwelt among them. What will not men say or do to serve a cause!

Ver. 21. *The people among whom I am.*] Over whom I preside, as their governor.

Are six hundred thousand footmen.] Who were able to carry arms; besides women, and children, and slaves, and the mixed multitude; who in all may well be supposed to have made thirty hundred thousand.

And thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month.] i. e. How can this be! Which is a downright distrust of God's promise, if we regard merely the words, and do not consider that they were spoken hastily, and something inconsiderately, while his mind was very much disturbed by the tumult which the people made; for which reason a severe notice is not taken of it; but he only put in mind of God's eternal power (ver. 23). Which may make it probable, that they were only words of admiration, how such a provision should be made for such a vast number; and those uttered on a sudden.

Ver. 22. *Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for*

them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?

23 And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand waxed short? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not.

24 ¶ And Moses went out, and told the people the words of the Lord, and gathered the

them, to suffice them?] In the Hebrew the words are, "If the flocks and the herds be slain for them, will they be sufficient for them?" That is, there will not be enough for a whole month. And so the next passage is to be translated, *If all the fish of the sea be gathered for them, will they be sufficient for them?*

Ver. 23. *Is the Lord's hand waxed short?*] i. e. I need not tell thee that my power is as great as ever.

For thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass] For thou shalt be convinced of it by the speedy performance of my promise.

Ver. 24. *Moses went out,*] I supposed, ver. 11, that Moses went into the sanctuary to make his addresses to God for relief; and if that be true, then that is the place from whence he now went out. But there is this objection against it, that if he had gone to consult God in the sanctuary (as he did on some occasions, ch. vii. 89), it would not have been said that he *went out*; but that he *came out*. For that is the usual expression in this matter. Therefore we may rather think he now *went out* of his own tent, where the people stood murmuring (ver. 10).

Told the people the words] Both concerning them and concerning himself.

Gathered the seventy men] That is, sent out his summons to them to attend him; though two of them, it appears afterward, did not come (ver. 26).

Set them round about the tabernacle.] That is, required them to come thither, and there place themselves; that the people might understand they received their authority from God; and that from thence he might send his Holy Spirit upon them. For God alone, who was their king, could appoint who should bear rule among them. There also were the great assemblies held (see ch. xxvii. 2).

Ver. 25. *The Lord came down in a cloud,*] The Shechinah; or Divine Majesty, appeared from heaven in a cloud; or, in the "pillar of the cloud," as it is in ch. xii. 5.

Spake unto him,] As he had promised, ver. 17, declaring, it is likely, the reason and intention of his appearing on this occasion.

Gave it unto the seventy elders;] See there, ver. 17. *When the spirit rested upon them,*] i. e. As soon as they received it.

They prophesied,] Either by setting forth the praises of God in such a strain as none else could imitate, or giving such admirable instructions to the people, as manifested they were raised above themselves; or perhaps by declaring things to come (particularly that they should have *quails*, as we render the word, in great abundance very shortly, as some of the Jews take it), though that could not gain them such credit as the other gifts, till their predictions were fulfilled. And these the Jews call the *second degree of prophecy*; concerning which Maimonides speaks in his preface to his More Nevoch. but more fully in his second part of it, cap. 45, where he saith, the *first degree* was that which moved and enabled men to some heroic undertaking, with assurance they were put upon it from God; as to deliver men from tyranny and oppression: which was the *Spirit of the Lord* that came upon Gideon and Samson, and the rest of the judges

seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them round about the tabernacle.

25 And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease.

26 But there remained two of the men in the

of Israel; who were carried by an extraordinary power to perform such things, as otherwise they thought not themselves fit to undertake. And the *second degree* was, when a man found a power upon him, exciting him to speak either psalms, or hymns, or wholesome precepts of living; or about political affairs, and civil government, far beyond his natural capacities; and all this waking, and in the full vigour of his senses. This is also called the *Holy Spirit*; and in this number he places these seventy elders, who were endued with the spirit of Moses, for the government of the people with him, in such measure that they attained to be prophets. Just as in the New Testament the prophets are placed next to the apostles; so these men were next to Moses.

Did not cease.] In which translation we follow the Chaldee paraphrasts, as several others do; but the LXX. translate it, *and they added no further* (which the Hebrew word will well bear), taking the meaning to be, that they prophesied that day, but not after. And this is the sense of the Talmudists, particularly of Jarchi, who, in his gloss upon this place, saith: "All these elders prophesied only this first time that the Spirit rested upon them, as they stood about the tabernacle; but they did not prophesy after that." The like say several others mentioned by Mr. Selden (lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4, sect. 2). And indeed the Spirit was not sent upon them to make them prophets, but to make them governors and judges. And therefore the gift of prophecy, which God gave them for the present, was only to procure them reverence from the people; as an evident sign that they were chosen by God to be coadjutors to Moses, in the exercise of his supreme authority over them. And thus I find Theodoret understood it (Quæst. xx. in Num.). "The seventy did not prophesy beyond this day, ὅτι οὐ προφητείας χάριν ἀλλ' οἰκονομίας, &c., because God promoted them not to prophesy, but to govern: which St. Paul also reckons among other gifts bestowed upon Christians" (1 Cor. xii. 26). Now, that it might appear God had conferred this Divine gift of government upon them, they also prophesied the first day they received it. And I do not see why our translation [*did not cease*] may not be interpreted to this sense; that is, "they did not cease all that day while they stood about the tabernacle."

Ver. 26. *There remained two of the men*] Of the seventy elders, whom Moses ordered to appear, and set themselves about the tabernacle. So the Jerusalem Targum: these were "of the number of the seventy wise men, neither did the seventy wise men go from the tabernacle while Eldad and Medad prophesied in the camp." And so R. Levi ben Gersom notes: "It seems to be plain out of the text, that these two were of the seventy elders." Which our translators thought necessary to express by adding those words of *the*; for in the Hebrew there is no more said, but only *there remained two men*.

In the camp,] Among the rest of the people; from whom they would not come, out of modesty, saying, *They were not equal to such a dignity*; as the words are in the Gemara Babylonica, tit. Sanhedrin. Or perhaps they loved a private life; and were afraid of being envied by the people, whom they saw to be so

camp, the name of the one *was* Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and they *were* of them that were written, but went not out unto the tabernacle: and they prophesied in the camp.

27 And there ran a young man, and told

unruly, that it made them decline the burden; as Saul did, when he hid himself among the stuff.

Eldad, and—Medad:] We do not find the names of any other of the seventy elders, but only these two; who, Jonathan saith, were Moses's brothers by the mother's side. And St. Jerome himself mentions such a tradition, that they were his brethren. But there is no certainty of this; nor of what others of the Jews say concerning them (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4, sect. 3).

It may be they are mentioned in honour of their virtuous modesty which made them think themselves unworthy of so high a dignity.

The spirit rested upon them:] As it did upon those who were about the tabernacle (ver. 25). Whereby God marked them out to be in the number of those whom he had chosen to be assistants unto Moses.

They were of them that were written, &c.] Whose names Moses put into the summons, which he sent to those whom he judged fit to be advanced to this authority. The Jews (particularly Solomon Jarchi) say, they were chosen by the way of casting lots; and, according to their manner, they tell the story thus, in the place mentioned before in the Gemara:—Moses, say they, was in doubt how he should execute God's command (ver. 16), because, if he did not choose an equal number out of every tribe, it might be ill taken; and if he chose *six* out of each of the twelve tribes, they would exceed the number of seventy; if but *five*, they would fall short of it. He resolved, therefore, at last, to choose *six* out of each tribe, which, in all, were seventy-two persons: and in seventy schedules he wrote the name of *elder*, but the other two were blanks. Then mixing all these in an urn, he bade them come and draw: and to every one who drew a schedule, that had the name of elder in it, he said, "God hath sanctified thee;" but to him that drew a blank, he said, "God hath not chosen thee." And those two blanks, some of the Jewish doctors say, came into the hands of Eldad and Medad; who therefore, were left behind in the camp. And this conceit our very learned Dr. Lightfoot himself entertained, saying (in his short account of this chapter), "that six of a tribe made up the number of the Sanhedrin (which was chosen), and two over. And those two were Eldad and Medad, who were written for elders, but the lot cast them out; that there might be but seventy. Yet did the Lord honour them with the spirit of prophecy."

But as this whole story of the manner of choosing the elders is very doubtful; so other Jews, of great authority, say, that Eldad and Medad were of the number of the seventy that were chosen. Particularly Jonathan saith expressly, they were of the number of those whose schedules came up with the name of elder in them; but they did not go to the tabernacle because they had no mind to be governors. Nay, the Talmudical gloss upon the forenamed place of the Gemara, saith, that when seventy of the seventy-two had drawn, two of them had blanks: whereby Eldad and Medad knew that the two remaining schedules had the name of elder in them, and therefore would not draw them, because they were sure not to have blanks. The very same, Mr. Selden shows, is in other noted books of theirs. So that it is generally received, they were in the number of those seventy

Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp.

28 And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, *one* of his young men, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them.

29 And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou

which were chosen to be joined with Moses in the government (see lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4, sect. 7).

They prophesied in the camp.] Which was a greater thing than if they had prophesied at the tabernacle; denoting them to be men so highly in the favour of God that he would distinguish them from other men wheresoever they were, and not want their service. The Jerusalem Targum relates what each of them foretold (for to that he restrains their prophesying), and what they both foretold but it is not worth the mentioning.

Ver. 27. *There ran a young man,]* The Jews, who will seem ignorant of nothing, say it was Gershon, the son of Moses, who carried these tidings to his father.

Ver. 28. *Joshua the son of Nun,]* From whence some conclude, that he was none of the seventy elders; though a man of a most excellent spirit. And indeed this is likely enough, he being to succeed Moses, and so to become the head of them.

The servant of Moses,] Who ministered to him, as a constant attendant on his person (Exod. xxiv. 13).

One of his young men,] The word *one* is not in the Hebrew, which may be translated "from among his young men," i. e. the rest of those that waited on him.

My lord Moses, forbid them.] Perhaps he thought they could have no authority; not being at the tabernacle: or rather, that their prophesying too much lessened the authority of Moses; by whose consent, and in whose presence, the rest were joined to him; but these two, without his knowledge, and being absent from him, became his consorts in spiritual gifts. This he thought tended to the diminution of his master; for whom he expressed a great honour. The two Targums say that they prophesied of the death of Moses, and the advancement of Joshua to be the leader of God's people; which made Joshua the more concerned to have them suppressed. But this is like the rest of their conceits; several of which are mentioned by Mr. Selden in the place before named, sect. 8.

Ver. 29. *Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake?] This shows that Joshua thought it a disparagement unto Moses, that they should have the gift of prophecy bestowed on them, and be no way indebted to Moses for it; as the others were, who were brought by him to the tabernacle, where he presented them to God, as men fit to partake of it; but these two seemed to have no dependence on him for what they received.*

Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets,] This shows also that the gift of prophecy was a distinct thing from the gift of government; for he did not wish they might all be made rulers; than which nothing could have been more absurd.

That the Lord would put his spirit upon them.] That they might all break forth, by his inspiration, into his praises: which is a high demonstration of that most excellent spirit that dwelt in Moses; which had nothing of envy, pride, or vain-glory in it: for he sought not himself in the least, but purely the glory of God, and the good of his people; which admirable temper of mind St. James from hence commends to all Christians, when he saith (ch. iv. 5), "Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But he giveth more grace."

for my sake? would God that all the LORD's people were prophets, and that the LORD would put his spirit upon them!

30 And Moses gat him into the camp, he and the elders of Israel.

31 ¶ And there went forth a wind from the

LORD, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth.

Where doth the Scripture (by which word the apostles commonly mean the Old Testament) say any thing like this, unless it be in this place? the sense of which is fully expressed by James, as Hermannus Witzius well explains this meaning, "Doth that spirit, whereby we are regenerated and governed, move us to envy or any such like vicious desire? No, far from that; it giveth greater grace, and make us rejoice in the good of our neighbours," &c., as Moses did, when he said, *Dost thou envy for my sake?* and thereby exciteme to the like envy? Is that suitable to the Spirit that is in us? which I wish God would bestow upon all his people. This agrees with what St. James saith, "But he giveth more grace" (Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 18, n. 27).

Ver. 30. *Moses gat him into the camp.*] From the tabernacle where the elders had been presented unto God, and ended with his spirit.

He and the elders of Israel.] That they might exercise their authority jointly with him. And there, I suppose, Eldad and Medad were assumed into the same authority; for we do not read that they were brought to the tabernacle: being sufficiently approved by God in the camp.

Ver. 31. *There went forth a wind from the Lord.*] At the prayer (it is likely) of Moses and the elders, who promised the people flesh enough, a mighty wind of an extraordinary force was raised beyond the common course of nature. The Psalmist informs us from what quarter this wind blew, when he saith (Psalm lxxxviii. 26), "He caused the east wind to blow in the heaven, and by his power he brought in the south wind:" which some understand, as if sometimes an east wind blew, and sometimes a south: that these quails (as we call them) might be brought from several coasts. But the Hebrews wanting compound words, make use of these two words, to express that which we call a south-east wind. Or, as Bochartus will have it, the Hebrew word *kadim*, which properly signifies the east, doth sometimes signify the south; and is by the LXX. often so translated; of which he gives a great many instances. And therefore the Psalmist (as the manner of the Hebrew language is) repeats the same thing in other words (see Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. i. cap. 15). And so the famous Ludolphus, both in this commentary upon his Ethiopic History, and his Dissertation De Locustis, saith, they were brought in by a south wind blowing from all points of that quarter.

Brought quails.] Nobody, that I have met withal, hath laboured so much to give a clear explication of this whole following discourse as Job Ludolphus, in his most learned commentary upon his Ethiopic History, lib. i. cap. 13, n. 96, where he hath a long discourse (to which I refer the reader) to show that the Hebrews do not take the word *selau* (here used) to signify quails; but we take that translation of it only from Josephus (see what I have noted on Exod. xvi. 13).

The no less learned Bocar, indeed, hath said a great deal to justify Josephus; and hath shown that Egypt and the neighbouring regions abound still with quails: from whence this wind blew fair to bring them to the Hebrews. And every one knows that there are certain winds called *Ornithias*, from their bringing great flights of birds along with them. Quails also, he ob-

serves, are wont to fly from the southern countries to the northern, in the spring-time (as it now was), and to fall sometimes in such vast quantities as to sink a ship. Notwithstanding all which, and a great deal more which he alleges, with great learning, there are several things said in the following relations, which by no means can be brought to agree to quails; and therefore Ludolphus rather takes *selau* to signify locusts; by which it is easy to give a plain explication of all that is said of them. It is certain they were not only used for food in those parts of the world, but that some of them were very delicious meat in several countries; for they that have eaten them (see Lev. xi. 22), compare them to young pigeons, or to a fresh herring, or to a crab, or lobster (like to which they are in shape and figure), and they are several ways prepared, and accounted very wholesome food, when they have thrown away the heads, and wings, and legs. Pliny saith that some parts of Ethiopia lived upon them; and that they were preserved fumo et sale, "by being dried in the smoke and salted," for their nourishment, throughout the whole year. Now all that is said in this, and in the following verses, will have a plain and easy meaning (as I said) if we follow this interpretation; but not if we take them for quails, or pheasants, or sea-fowl. As, for example, what was said before, concerning God's sending a mighty wind, is not hard to understand, if we suppose him to speak of locusts; which all authors say are brought with a wind; but it was never heard to bring quails, which cannot fly high, nor far; much less so far as from the sea to the middle of Arabia Petrea. Nor would the locusts have come this way had not this wind brought them from their ordinary course.

From the sea,] viz. From the Red Sea, yet not excluding the Persian Gulf; which must not be understood as if they came out of the sea, but from the sea-coast; and it is very probable out of Africa, where they abound. So the aforesaid Ludolphus expounds it, in his late Dissertation De Locustis, par. ii. cap. 29, &c.

Let them fall by the camp.] Or poured them down upon the camp, as dust or rain falls thick upon the ground. For both these comparisons the Psalmist uses in the place before named (Ps. lxxviii. 27). And this is expressed in Exod. xvi. 13, by covering their camp.

A day's journey on this side, and—on the other.] A day's journey, as Bochartus makes account, is at least twenty miles. See the place before named, Hierozoic par. ii. lib. i. cap. 15, p. 105; or, as Ludolphus makes the computation, sixteen miles, in his Dissertation De Locustis, par. ii. cap. 44, &c. Take it either way, it shows there was a vast number of them: for he adds.

Round about the camp.] So that which way soever they went for sixteen or twenty miles together, there lay heaps of them upon the ground; which, if we understand this of quails, cannot be conceived without a heap of miracles. And if we resort to that, what need was there of a wind to bring them, when God must be supposed miraculously to have created them as he did manna. And yet such a quantity of quails was not to be found anywhere, without a miracle, as would cover the heavens forty miles (according to

32 And the people stood up all that day, and all *that* night, and all the next day, and they gathered the quails: he that gathered least gathered ten homers: and they spread *them* all abroad for themselves round about the camp.

33 And while the flesh *was* yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the wrath of the Lord

was kindled against the people, and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague.

34 And he called the name of that place Kibroth-hattaavah: because there they buried the people that lusted.

35 And the people journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah unto Hazereth; and abode at Hazereth.

Bochartus) on all sides. But that which would have been on many accounts miraculous, if we understand it of quails, will be found less wonderful, or rather natural, if it be understood of locusts: who come in very great and thick clouds, which darken the sky; as all authors tell us (see Ludolphus, Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. p. 188).

Two cubits high] This interpreters look upon as impossible: for then the quails would have been choked and stifled; if they had been heaped so deep one upon another. And therefore they have devised the addition of a new word; and refer this, not to their falling upon the ground, but to their flying in the air, two cubits high above the earth; that so they might the more easily be taken by their hands. So the Jews and so Val. Schindler in his Lexicon upon the word *selau*. But, besides that there is nothing of this in the text; and it is contrary to what the Psalmist says, that they fell in the *midst of their camp* (ver. 28), and that they came down like rain, which always falls upon the ground, there are many other difficulties in this interpretation (as he shows p. 189, and defends what he there asserts in his Dissertation De Locustis, par. ii. cap. 49, 50); and therefore it is better to expound it of locusts; who, though they fall one upon another to a great depth, are not thereby suffocated, by reason of the length of their feet, and the thinness of their wings.

Ver. 32. *The people stood up* (or rather, *rose up*) *all that day*.] They were intent upon the gathering of them for thirty-six hours.

They gathered the quails.] By this it is evident that they gathered something lying upon the ground, and not flying in the air; for we do not *gather* things there but *take* or *catch* them.

He that gathered least] viz. The master of every family for himself, and for those belonging to him. For we are not to suppose that every man in Israel gathered so many as follows.

Gathered ten homers.] A vast quantity if they were quails; which would have served them, not for a month, but for a year or two, as Ludolphus observes (p. 190, of his Commentary on his Ethiopic Hist.), besides, we do not use to measure fowls, but to number them. And therefore Bochart, being sensible of this impropriety, takes the word *homer* here to signify a *heap*: which is confuted by Ludolphus in his Dissertatio De Locustis (par. ii. cap. 54, 55, &c.).

They spread them all abroad] This is another plain indication that they were locusts; which they spread to be dried in the sun: but if they had been quails would have been very preposterous; for it would have made them the sooner stink. Interpreters therefore commonly pass by this, and give no account why they spread them abroad; and the Vulgar Latin omits this word *spread*: whereas all authors tell us, this is the principal way of preparing locusts, and preserving them for a month or more: which they boiled, or otherwise made fit to eat, when they had occasion (see Ludolphus in his forementioned Commentary; and in his defence of it lately in his Dissertatio De Locustis, par. ii. cap. 97, 98, &c.).

Ver. 33. *While the flesh was yet between their teeth*.] While they were eating; and therefore were in good health, and had a good stomach.

Ere it was chewed.] Before they had swallowed it. *The wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people*.] They felt unexpected effects of God's displeasure; being taken, perhaps, with a sudden vomiting, of which they died (ver. 20). This was the conclusion of the month; for so long (he there saith) they should eat flesh.

The Lord smote the people with a very great plague.] He sent a pestilence among them, as Eben Ezra supposes; or, as others think, they wasted away in a consumption: the vomiting, perhaps, continuing so that they could never retain any meat, till they died. This they gather from Ps. cvi. 15, where the Psalmist saith, "He sent leanness into their soul." But Bochartus and Menochius think he burnt them up with a fire from his presence, as at the beginning of this murmuring, ver. 1, where it is said, as it is here, "The anger of the Lord was kindled." But Bochartus grounds this chiefly upon Ps. lxxviii. 21, where it is said, "A fire was kindled in Jacob;" which he refers to this story.

It may seem strange to some, that now they should be punished so heavily, when about a year ago they murmured for flesh as they did now; and he gave it them in the even, together with manna in the morning, without any punishment at all. But it is to be considered, that as it was a greater fault to fall into the same sin again, after God had been so good to them; so they were not in such necessity now, as they were then, when they were really pinched with hunger; whereas now they were fed with bread from heaven: and therefore cried for meat, not out of need, but wantonness. And it may be added, that they were not then so well taught as they had been since; by the giving of the law to them at Mount Sinai, and many other instructions from the house of God.

Ver. 34. *Kibroth-hattaavah*.] That is, the Graves of Lust: because their wanton appetites threw them into those graves; for there, as it follows, they buried those that lusted.

For there they buried the people that lusted.] Not all that lusted, for then all the people who were guilty of this sin would have been buried; but all that died of the plague, which was inflicted for this sin; who, perhaps, were those that began and headed this mutiny; or were most violent in it.

Ver. 35. *The people journeyed*] When the cloud was taken up (ch. ix. 17).

From Kibroth-hattaavah] From whence they departed about the beginning of the fourth month, called Tammuz.

Unto Hazereth.] Another place in the wilderness of Paran: but how far from the former station, whether a day's journey or more, we do not find.

Abode at Hazereth.] There the cloud rested, and accordingly there they encamped. But we do not read how long; only we are sure they stayed there at least a week (ch. xii. 15).

CHAPTER XII.

1 *God rebuketh the sedition of Miriam and Aaron.* 10 *Miriam's leprosy is healed at the prayer of Moses.* 14 *God commandeth her to be shut out of the host.*

1 AND Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married: for he had married an Ethiopian woman.

2 And they said, Hath the LORD indeed

spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us? And the LORD heard it.

3 (Now the man Moses *was* very meek, above all the men which *were* upon the face of the earth.)

CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1. *Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses*] I can see no good reason that can be given why Miriam is put here before Aaron; but because she, it is highly probable, was the beginner of this sedition, and drew her brother Aaron into it.

Because of the Ethiopian woman] Or rather Arabian woman (see Gen. x. 6).

Whom he had married:] Whom most both of the Jewish and Christian writers take to have been Zipporah; though some few fancy he speaks of another woman, whom he had lately married; Zipporah being either dead, or divorced. The only difficulty is, why they should quarrel with him about Zipporah; who, if she had been dead, or divorced, it is not likely he would have married a Cushite, but a Jewish woman. The Hebrew doctors have devised strange stories about his forbearing her company; which may be read in many authors; particularly in Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 26, where he recites many of their opinions about this matter. The most common is, that they were angry at his marriage with a woman of another nation; whom they would have had him put away, and take another wife. So they interpret the following words, "for he had married an Ethiopian woman:" as if his mere marriage with her was the thing which they spake against. Which is not at all probable, if this be meant of Zipporah; for he had been married to her forty years; which, if they had disliked, one would think should have long before now been charged upon him as a fault. I rather think that they were jealous of his being ruled too much by her, and by her relations. For it was by her father's advice that he made the judges, mentioned Exod. xviii. 21, 22, and perhaps they imagined she and Hobab had a hand in choosing the seventy elders lately made, as we read in the foregoing chapter. With which this story being immediately connected, it makes me think it hath some relation to that. For those elders were nominated, it is evident, by Moses alone; without consulting Aaron or Miriam; who, taking themselves to be neglected, in so great an alteration made of the government without their advice, were very angry; and not daring to charge Moses directly with this neglect of them, they fall upon his wife; whom in scorn they call a Cushite or Arabian woman; which in aftertimes were accounted a vile people, as appears from Amos ix. 7. For that country was inhabited by divers nations, mingled together, viz. Ishmaelites, Midianites, Amalekites, and such like: who, from thence, some think, were called by the general name of Arabians; because of their mixture. For *Ereb*, in Hebrew, signifies a *miscellaneous company*, or *mixture of many people*: see Jeremiah xxv. 20, 24, where he calls this very people by this name.

Ver. 2. *Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses?*] Here it appears that it was really Moses with whom they were offended; who alone had called

what men he thought good to be presented unto God, to be constituted by him his assistants in the government (ch. xi. 24).

Hath he not spoken also by us?] Are not we also acquainted with God's mind, being prophets? For so Aaron was made (Exod. iv. 14, 15), and Miriam so acknowledged (Exod. xv. 20). And moreover the prophet Micah (ch. vi. 4) mentions them as conductors of the people, while they were in the wilderness, together with Moses. Which might make them stomach it, that he took no notice of them when he chose the seventy elders, who were to be his coadjutors, but did it of himself.

The Lord heard it.] Observed their ill behaviour towards him; though he himself took no notice of it.

Ver. 3. *Now the man Moses was very meek.*] This is added as the reason why he passed by the affront they put upon him, and why God avenged it; because he was so exceeding meek and patient (or, as others translate it, so humble and lowly), that he would have been exposed to further affronts, if God had not chastised their insolence. Moses also might think fit to set this down as a confutation of their charge against him, being so far from that pride which they imputed to him, that he did not resent (though he was so very much above them) their undutiful behaviour towards him; who had conversed immediately with God himself, and been with him in the holy mount many days together; who sent several commands to Aaron, as well as to the people by him alone; which made such a difference between him and all others, that, as it was an unaccountable arrogance in them to equal themselves unto him, so he demonstrated how far he was from being proud of his superiority, by meekly bearing their haughty behaviour towards him.

So little cause there is for their cavils, who from hence argue that Moses was not the author of these books, because he commends himself in them; for this is not so much a commendation, as a necessary account of himself, to show how causeless their charges against him was. To such vindications of themselves the humblest souls may be constrained, by the calumnies of wicked men: as we see not only in St. Paul, but our blessed Saviour, who were put upon glorying and magnifying themselves by the malignity of their enemies (see John x. 36; 2 Cor. vi. 10, 23, &c.). And this is the more allowable, when men know, not only that they write the truth, but that it is notorious to all that are acquainted with them, and cannot be contradicted. The holy writers also are not to be confined to our rules, being moved by the Holy Ghost to set down such things, which, if they had been left to themselves, they would not have mentioned. And men, who have a due reverence to the Holy Scriptures, will look upon this rather as the Holy Ghost's testimony concerning Moses, than Moses's testimony concerning himself. But we have to do now with a generation of men that write upon

4 And the Lord spake suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, Come out ye three unto the tabernacle of the congregation. And they three came out.

5 And the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth.

these books, not as of a Divine original, but as they do upon common authors.

Ver. 4. *The Lord spake suddenly unto Moses.*] The Lord thought fit immediately to stifle their insurrection; which might have proved dangerous if it had spread among the people. And perhaps the word *suddenly* may relate to the manner of his calling to them with a quick and hasty speech, as one provoked and highly displeased.

Unto Aaron, and unto Miriam.] It is uncertain whether God spake to these two by himself or by Moses. It is likely he spake to them all together (while Aaron and Miriam were expostulating with Moses), with such a voice as he was wont to use when he communicated his mind to the prophets.

Come out ye three] It is likely they were all in Moses's tent, whither his brother and sister were come to utter their complaint.

Unto the tabernacle] Which was God's tent, wherein he dwelt among them, and from whence he declared his will to them.

They three came out.] To attend the pleasure of the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 5. *The Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud.*] The pillar of the cloud, which was wont to be over the most holy place, where the Lord dwelt, came down from thence, and the Shechinah in it, and stood, as it here follows, at the door of the tabernacle.

Stood in the door] As if it would leave them; as it did, ver. 9.

Called Aaron and Miriam.] Who were at some distance, I suppose; and are commanded to come nearer.

They both came forth.] From the place where they were then when he called them; or from Moses with whom they came from his tent, and are now required to stand by themselves.

Ver. 6. *Hear now my words.*] Mark what I say to you.

If there be a prophet among you.] This doth not make a doubt of it, but supposes that they, and others among the people, were prophets; as they alleged (ver. 2). But God would have them to understand, that he did not communicate his mind to all alike, nor in the same way and manner; but so differently, as to make a remarkable distinction between Moses and others.

Whether there were, in those days, men brought up and trained to be made fit to receive this gift bestowed upon them, we do not know; but in after-times, it is evident, there were certain colleges of prophets, wherein disciples of prophets were bred. Such was that, 1 Sam. x. 5, and xix. 18, &c., where the *sons of the prophets*, i. e. their scholars or disciples (as Jonathan always translates that phrase) were brought up; and, for the most part, such only were endued with this gift, who were so educated in those schools, in the study of the law and in piety. Though God did not tie himself to dispense it to such persons alone, but bestowed it upon whom he pleased, though they had spent no time in those schools of the prophets. This is apparent, from that proverbial speech, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 11, and xix. 24). This had been no wonder (as this

6 And he said, Hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream.

7 My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house.

8 With him will I speak mouth to mouth, and even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and

saying imports), if it had been usual for persons to be endowed with this gift on a sudden, who were never bred up in such a course as led to it. But to show how this came to pass, "one of that place answered and said (as it there follows, ver. 12). But who is their father?" that is, this is no such wonder, if it be considered who makes men prophets, viz. God, who is the father of all the children of the prophets, and therefore may inspire whom he pleases: as he now might have imparted this gift to meaner persons than the seventy elders presented to him by Moses; and made them equal, if he thought fit, with Aaron and Miriam. For this was the case of Amos, in after ages; who was "no prophet, nor a prophet's son (as he himself relates, ch. vii. 14), but a herdsman;" and yet "the Lord took him as he followed the flock, and bade him go and prophesy unto his people Israel."

I the Lord] Here is the original of prophecy; will make myself known unto him, communicate to him my mind and will.

In a vision.] This was one way of discovering his mind to the prophets; by representing things to them, when they were awake, as if they had perceived them by their senses; which at that time were locked up, and all transacted by a Divine operation upon their mind and imagination (see Gen. xv. 1, and Dan. viii. 1, 15). Abarbinel mentions one, who observes, that the word *marah* (the plural of which, *maroth*, signifies looking-glasses, in Exod. xxxviii. 8) is a different word from *march*, which is commonly used for *vision*; and teaches us, that all the representations made in this way to the prophets, were only as the images of things represented in a glass; in which we behold the outward shape, or shadow, as we may call it, but not the thing itself. And so St. Paul seems to have understood this word (if he alludes to this place, as Grotius thinks he doth) when he saith, *Now we see, de' isótepon iv aivíματι*, "through a glass darkly" (1 Cor. xiii. 12).

And will speak unto him in a dream.] This was another way of God's revealing his mind unto the prophets, in their sleep; when they not only saw things represented to them, but also heard a voice. And both these seem sometimes to have been mixed together, or to have followed one another; as in Gen. xvi. 13; Dan. vii. 1, and viii. 16—18. And it is a maxim among the Jews, that there is no degree of prophecy, but it is comprehended under one of these, *visions* or *dreams*. So Maimonides, in his *More Nevochim*, par. ii. cap. 32, and 41, and again, cap. 43, where he saith, "There is no third degree of prophecy besides these two." For as for that Divine Spirit, which moved men to speak of things appertaining to the knowledge of God and his praises, beyond their natural or acquired abilities, without seeing any figures, asleep or awake, though with assurance that it was from God, they will not have it called prophecy; though they acknowledge those parts of Scripture which they call *Cetuvim*, and the LXX. ἀγρόγραφα, i. e. written by the Holy Ghost, were indited by that Divine Spirit; and therefore we cannot reasonably deny those that were inspired by it the name of prophets.

Ver. 7. *My servant Moses is not so.*] Doth not

the similitude of the LORD shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?

receive my mind in either of those ways; and therefore is more than a prophet, having it communicated to him in a far more noble and clearer manner, which placed him in a higher rank than any other inspired person.

[*Who is faithful in all mine house.*] Because he was intrusted (so the word may be understood) with God's whole family; that is, with all the children of Israel, and faithfully discharged the trust reposed in him, by acquainting them with all God's will, and executing all his commands; and doing nothing of himself (as now he was falsely accused), but only what God required. This is a high testimony to him; and the Jews, when they are in the humour of exalting Moses, say he was *more faithful than the angels of the ministry*: they are the words of R. Jose in Siphri; and if he had said, as *faithful as the angels of the ministry*, it might have passed for a good explication.

Ver. 8. *With him will I speak mouth to mouth.*] In a most familiar manner, as one friend discourses with another. So it is explained, Exod. xxxiii. 11. From whence Abarbinel, in his Rosch Amana, gathers, that Moses's prophecy differed from others in these four things: first, that God spake to others by a mediator (that is, as he explains it, by some angel), but to him by himself, without the intervention of any other. Secondly, that they never prophesied, but their senses were all bound up, either in visions or in dreams; whereas he was as perfectly awake, as we are when we discourse one with another. Thirdly, that after the vision was over, they were often left so weak and feeble, that they could scarce stand upon their feet, as appears from Dan. x. 8, 11; but Moses spake with the Divine Majesty, without any consternation or alteration; his conversation with him being like that of one friend with another. And lastly, no prophet but he could understand the mind of God when they pleased; for he communicated himself to them only when he thought good; whereas Moses might at any time resort to God, to inquire of him, and receive an answer (see ch. ix. 8). To the same purpose also Maimonides writes, in his book *De Fundamentis Legis* (cap. vii.).

[*Even apparently.*] Plainly, clearly, and distinctly; so that there was no difficulty to apprehend his meaning, nor need of an explication. Thus he proclaimed his name to Moses, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

[*Not in dark speeches.*] Or, in parables and enigmatical representations, such as the *ladder* which Jacob saw in a dream, the *boiling-pot* which was shown to Jeremiah, the *wall*, the *plumb-line*, and the *basket of summer fruits* which Amos saw; the *beasts* which were represented to Daniel, the *lamps*, *mountains*, *horses*, and *chariots* to Zachariah, the roll of the book which Ezekiel was to eat. By all which the prophet (as Maimonides observes, whose illustrations these are of these words), was given to understand some other thing, which was intended to be made known to him by these figures (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 43); who, in his book concerning the Foundations of the Law, further observes, that some of these prophets had both the parable (as he calls it) and its interpretation represented to them; others, the parable only without any exposition; and to some was only delivered the explication.

[*The similitude of the Lord shall he behold.*] I am apt to think the word *not* should be here again repeated (as it must be in some places to make out the sense; as Prov. xxv. 27), which will make the meaning plainly this, "He shall not behold the Lord in

9 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against them; and he departed.

10 And the cloud departed from off the taber-

similitudes and resemblances," as other prophets did. For the Hebrew word *temunah* signifies the shape of a thing represented either to the outward senses or to the imagination, not the thing itself. Therefore it would be to equal Moses with the rest of the prophets to say he should see the *similitude* of the Lord; for so did they. Amos, for instance, saith he "saw the Lord standing upon the altar" (ch. ix. 1), that is, some angelical appearance, in a glorious shape. And Eliphaz saith, that "a spirit passed before him, the form (or aspect) whereof he could not discern;" only the *temunah* (we render it an *image*) "was before his eyes" (Job iv. 15, 16). But God did not thus reveal himself to Moses by images and similitudes of things, but spake to him himself, as it goes before, *mouth to mouth*. Which led Maimonides into the opinion (which he often repeats) that when God is said to speak to any other man, it was by an angel; and that he never spake to any one himself, but only to Moses. Nor did any man before him say that God *spoke to him*, or that he *sent him* on a message unto others; but Moses was the first who had this honour (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 63, and par. ii. cap. 39).

But if we follow our translation, which should run thus, "But the similitude of the Lord shall he behold," it relates to that wonderful apparition of God to him in the bush (Exod. iii. 6), as Maimonides thinks, More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 5, where he saith, "God poured upon him as much as he could contain," but especially to that revelation which God made of himself to him, when he told him that he could not see his *face*, but should behold his *back parts* (Exod. xxxiii. 20, 23), which was a privilege granted to none but him. And thus the *similitude of the Lord*, or his *likeness*, signifies the Lord himself (Ps. xvii. ult.). "When thy likeness shall awake (that is, thou thyself appear for me), I shall be satisfied."

[*Wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?*] Who is my prime minister, employed by me in the highest services.

Ver. 9. *The anger of the Lord was kindled*] As appeared by what follows.

[*He departed.*] He withdrew his presence from the door of the tabernacle, immediately before they could make an answer: which was a token of exceeding great displeasure; as it is in us when we will not so much as hear what men say for themselves, when they have highly and notoriously offended us, and we reprove them for it, but turn away from them.

Ver. 10. *The cloud departed from off the tabernacle*;) It was not merely taken up from it (as it was wont to be when they were to remove their camp), but quite disappeared for a time; or stood at a great distance from them, till Miriam was removed from the tabernacle, and carried out of the camp: for that was one reason of its departure; the Divine Majesty not designing to stay where so impure a creature was. And this was also a manifest token of God's high displeasure against them, which moved him to forsake them.

[*Miriam became leprous.*] Or, "was become leprous;" a proper punishment for pride and evil speaking: which was not inflicted upon Aaron, because he was to judge of leprosy, and was not the first in the transgression. And besides, it is likely, God would not have one that was but newly made his high-priest become vile and contemptible.

nacle; and, behold, Miriam *became* leprous, *white* as snow: and Aaron looked upon Miriam, and, behold, *she was* leprous.

11 And Aaron said unto Moses, Alas, my lord, I beseech thee, lay not the sin upon us, wherein we have done foolishly, and wherein we have sinned.

12 Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb.

13 And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee.

While as snow:] Which was a mark of an incurable leprosy, when all the body was overspread with it (Exod. iv. 6; 2 Kings v. 27).

Aaron looked upon Miriam,] As he was bound to do; whose office it was to inspect it, and judge whether it was a leprosy or not (Lev. xiii. 2, &c.).

Behold, she was leprous.] He could not but judge her to have a leprosy, and consequently pronounce her unclean.

Ver. 11. *Aaron said unto Moses,]* He was made sensible that Moses had greater interest in God than himself, and therefore desires his intercession for them.

Alas, my Lord,] Have pity upon us, miserable wretches.

Lay not the sin upon us,] He supplicates him as his superior, and humbly begs his pardon; and that he would obtain remission of the punishment which they had justly deserved by their sin: for he was afraid he himself might suffer, as he saw she did.

Wherein we have done foolishly,] He prays him to look upon their offence as proceeding from folly and weakness, though in itself a great sin.

Ver. 12. *Let her not be as one dead, &c.]* For so she was not only legally, being to be separated from the living, but naturally also; this being, as I said, the worst kind of leprosy, which ate into the very flesh, and made her look like an abortive (as it here follows) or still-born child, which had lain long dead, and was half wasted away in its mother's womb.

Ver. 13. *Moses cried unto the Lord,]* Most earnestly petitioned the Lord for her; such was his meekness and piety. And his *crying*, perhaps, supposes the Divine Majesty to be gone afar off, if not out of sight.

Heal her now, O God,] For it was beyond any other power but his to recover her.

Ver. 14. *If her father had but spit in her face,]* An expression of extreme anger, abhorrence, and contempt (Job xxx. 10; Isa. lii. 6).

Should she not be ashamed seven days?] She could not have had the confidence to come presently into his presence; but be ashamed for a great while to look him in the face.

Let her be shut out from the camp] Much more is it fit that Miriam should avoid my presence, and not presume to come before me; who have set a greater mark of my indignation and detestation upon her. For spittle might soon be wiped off; but the leprosy stuck to her, and made her unfit for all conversation with God or man.

14 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? let her be shut out from the camp seven days, and after that let her be received in again.

15 And Miriam was shut out from the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again.

16 And afterward the people removed from Hazereth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.

Seven days,] Which was the time for legal cleansing from such great impurities (Lev. xiv. 8; Numb. vi. 9, xxxi. 19).

After that let her be received in again.] I suppose she was presently freed from leprosy; but kept out from the camp so long, to declare God's displeasure against her; and to humble her, by exposing her to shame.

Ver. 15. *Miriam was shut out from the camp seven days:]* That her offence might be known to all, by her open punishment.

The people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again.] For the cloud was gone which should have directed them in their motions. And besides, this respect, perhaps, was shown unto her because she was a prophetess; and hereby she had time given her to humble herself before God, and to beg his pardon for her sin.

Brought in again.] When one would have expected that such sacrifices should have been offered for her cleansing, as are required in Lev. xiv. But this was an extraordinary case; she being on a sudden miraculously struck with the highest degree of the plague of leprosy, and as suddenly cured by the same hand that struck her.

Ver. 16. *Afterward the people removed]* Which shows that the cloud, which departed from the tabernacle (ver. 10) returned again to it, together with Miriam, that it might guide them in their removal to another station; for till it was taken up from the tabernacle, they stirred not from the place where they were (ch. ix. 17, 18).

From Hazereth,] After they had abode there seven days at the least.

Pitched in the wilderness of Paran.] Where they were before (see ch. x. 12), but now were brought into another part of it, called Rithmah, (ch. xxxiii. 18), which was called also by another name, Kadesh-barnea (ch. xiii. 26; Deut. i. 19). Or else we must suppose these two places to have been so very near together, that they might be said to have pitched either in the one or the other. This station was at the foot of the mountain on the south part of Canaan (Deut. i. 20), so that their next removal was to have been into the land promised to them, if they themselves had not hindered, by their renewed rebellion. This removal was in the fourth month of the second year after they came out of the land of Egypt (see ch. xi. 20, 35).

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The names of the men who were sent to search the land.* 17 *Their instructions.* 21 *Their acts.* 26 *Their relation.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Send thou men, that they may search the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel: of every tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a ruler among them,

3 And Moses by the commandment of the LORD sent them from the wilderness of Paran: all those men *were* heads of the children of Israel.

4 And these *were* their names: of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur.

5 Of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori.

6 Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

7 Of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph.

8 Of the tribe of Ephraim, Oshea the son of Nun.

9 Of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu.

10 Of the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi.

11 Of the tribe of Joseph, *namely*, of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi.

12 Of the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son of Gemalli.

13 Of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael.

14 Of the tribe of Naphtali, Nabbi the son of Vophsi.

15 Of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi.

16 *These are the names of the men which*

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1.] They being now come to the borders of Canaan, the Lord ordered Moses to exhort them to go up and take possession of it, and *not to fear nor be discouraged*; as we read in Deut. i. 21. But the people (out of a distrust of God's power, as Moses seems to intimate, Deut. ix. 23) desired they might first send some to search out the land, before they attempted its conquest (Deut. i. 22). About which, it is likely, Moses consulted the Divine Majesty, who gave them leave so to do.

Ver. 2. *Send thou men.*] For their greater satisfaction, God ordered them to have their desire. For there seems to have been a general fear upon them (every one of them coming to Moses with this request, Deut. i. 22) which could not be removed, but by sending some to bring them intelligence what kind of country it was, and what people they had to deal withal (ver. 18—20).

That they may search the land of Canaan.] To make a discovery both of the country and of the inhabitants, and the best way to invade it (Deut. i. 22).

Which I give unto the children of Israel.] To the possession of which God now intended to introduce them. For he had already brought them to the confines of it, and bidden them go up and possess it (Deut. i. 20, 21), but they would needs make this delay, for a discovery of the condition of the country; which was their own contrivance at the first, and not a Divine counsel.

Of every tribe—shall ye send a man.] That there might be no suspicion or partiality in their report.

Every one a ruler among them.] Men of authority and prudence, who might be the more believed; yet not of the highest rank (for such are called by the name of princes, ch. i. 16), but rulers perhaps of thousands, who were very considerable in their tribes: for they are called by the same name in the Hebrew, every one being said to be a *nasi* and a *rosh*, a leader and a head in their tribes; which may incline one to think that there were higher and lower persons of this sort, who had the same title in every tribe.

Ver. 3. *Moses by the commandment of the Lord.*] Which was given him in the fifth month (called Ab, as St. Jerome notes from the Jews) of the second year

after they came out of Egypt: it is not certain upon what day; but it is likely in the beginning of the month, which answers to the nineteenth of our July.

Sent them from the wilderness of Paran.] From Kadesh-barnea (ch. xxxii. 8, Deut. i. 19, 20, ix. 23, Josh. xiv. 7).

All those men were heads] So the rulers of thousands and hundreds are called (Exod. xviii. 25), as well as the princes (Numb. i. 16). But these were a lower sort of *heads*, or great men, in the several tribes of Israel.

Ver. 4. *These were their names.*] There is little to be observed concerning this verse, and those that follow to the sixteenth, but that it is evident these were not the same men who, in the first chapter of this book, are called the *heads* and *princes* of the tribes; being inferior persons, who ruled over some part, not over a whole tribe. The three first tribes also that are here mentioned, sprang from the three eldest sons (for Levi did not make a tribe in Israel) of Jacob: but, in the enumeration of the rest, there is not any order observed, of which I can give an account. Perhaps they being to disperse themselves, when they entered the country they were to search (see ver. 22), and thinking it not prudent to go above two (at the most) in company, cast lots who should be associated: and the first lot fell to those of the tribes of Reuben and Simeon; the next to those of Judah and Issachar; and so to the rest.

Ver. 11. *Of the tribe of Joseph.*] i. e. Of the other branch of Joseph's family, viz. of the tribe of Manasseh, as it here follows.

Ver. 16. *These are the names*] He would have their names remembered (which is the reason of this remark), for the sake of those two worthy men, Caleb and Joshua, whose virtue was very illustrious in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation.

Moses called Oshea] So he is called, ver. 8, being named for the tribe of Ephraim.

Jehoshua.] He was called by this name presently after they came out of Egypt (Exod. xvii. 9), when he went to fight with Amalek: whom he having overcome, Moses looked upon it as a token that he should save and deliver the people of Israel, and then called him by this name: which imports something more than Oshea; for that denotes only a *prayer* for salva-

Moses sent to spy out the land. And Moses called Oshea the son of Nun Jehoshua.

17 ¶ And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan, and said unto them, Get you up this way southward, and go up into the mountain :

18 And see the land, what it is ; and the people that dwelleth therein, whether they be strong or weak, few or many ;

19 And what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad ; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in tents, or in strong holds ;

tion (as Menochius observes), but this carries in it a promise of it. And some think the addition of the first letter in the name of Jehoshua was from the name Jehovah ; implying that the Lord would employ him in leading and conducting his people into the land of promise : wherein he was a type of the Saviour of the world, the Lord Jesus (whose name is the same with this), who conducts those who believe on him to a heavenly inheritance.

If I could find the like comfortable signification in the rest of the names of these men, I should think there might be some ground for their opinion, who fancy Moses chose Joshua because there was a good omen in his very name. For all nations took great care that no man should be employed in affairs of moment, whose name carried any unlucky signification in it. So Cicero observes, in his first book of Divination, that the generals of armies, and the censors, took care that none should so much as lead the sacrifices to the altar but who were bonis nominibus, "of names that signified good : " of which the consuls also were very observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine, "that the first soldier whom they listed should be of a good name ; " such as Valerius, Salvius, Statorius, or the like. On the contrary, the name of Nævius was deemed so bad, that in his Oration pro Quinct. Sext. he saith, "having named the man, methinks I have said enough."

Ver. 17. *Moses sent them to spy*] That is, when he sent them to spy out the land (as was said in the foregoing verse), he gave them the following directions.

Get you up this way southward,] This south part of Canaan fell afterward to be part of the lot of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 1—3), and was very dry, and consequently barren (Judg. i. 15), and therefore fittest for their entrance to spy out the land unobserved, being less inhabited than the better parts of the country. Besides, it was nearest to the place where they now were encamped.

Go up into the mountain :] Where the Amorites dwelt (Deut. i. 19), together with some Amalekites, and other people (ch. xiv. 43, 45). From whence they were to go down into the valleys.

Ver. 18. *See the land, what it is ; and the people*] These are the general directions which he gave them, to inform themselves both of the country and of its inhabitants.

Whether they be strong or weak, few or many ;] In particular, with respect to the latter, he directs them to inform themselves whether the inhabitants were strong-bodied or feeble ; and whether their number was great or small.

Ver. 19. *What the land is*] And, with respect to the former, he would have them bring an account ; first, what sort of country it was, whether healthful and delightful, or unwholesome and unpleasant.

What cities they be] And then how large their cities were, and of what strength.

20 And what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein, or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the firstripe grapes.

21 ¶ So they went up, and searched the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath.

22 And they ascended by the south, and came unto Hebron ; where Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.)

Whether in tents, or in strong holds ;] Whether they lived in tents, as the Arabians did (and the Israelites while they were in the wilderness), or in houses, and whether they were fortified. Or rather (as we would say in our language), whether in open villages or in walled cities : for so the word *mahanaim* signifies, not tents (as we here translate it), but hosts or camps (Gen. xxxii. 1), and here towns without walls, as the LXX. interpret it ; and the Vulgar, also, only inverting the order of the words, *whether in walled towns, or without walls*.

Ver. 20. *What the land is.*] And last of all, what is the soil of the country ; whether rich and fertile, or poor and barren ; and also, whether it be a woody country, or otherwise.

Be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit] In which discoveries, there being some hazard, he bids them be confident God would preserve them ; so that they might venture to bring away with them some of the fruit which the country produced.

Of the firstripe grapes.] Towards the vintage.

Ver. 21. *So they went up, from the wilderness of Zin*] Which was on the south of the land of Canaan (ch. xxxiv. 3 ; Josh. xv. 1, 3), being different from the wilderness of Sin, which lay near to Egypt (Exod. xvi. 1).

Unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath.] The city of Rehob lay in the north of the land of Canaan, and fell to the lot of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 28). And it lay not far from Hamath (which, in aftertimes, was called Epiphania), a city which we very often read of afterward, as the bounds of Judea northward ; which Moses saith was *unto the entrance of Hamath* (ch. xxxiv. 8). So that they took a survey of the whole country, from one end of it to the other, south and north ; and also, as they passed along, observed those parts that lay east and west. For they gave an account of the Canaanites, as dwelling "by the sea (which was westward), and by the coast of Jordan," which was on the east (ver. 29). Or, if by the sea we understand not the Western Ocean, but the Dead Sea (as some do) ; yet it appears by these very words, that they bent their course, as they passed from south to north, unto the western and eastern parts also. For Rehob and Hamath both lay at the foot of Libanus ; one to the north-west (towards Sidon), and the other to the north-east.

Ver. 22. *They ascended by the south,*] In their return from searching the country.

Came unto Hebron ;] That is, some of them. For the word in the Hebrew is not *they came* (as it is *they ascended*), but *he came* ; which demonstrates that they did not go all of them together in a company (for that had been dangerous, and might have made them taken notice of), but dispersed themselves ; some going to discover one place, some another. And it is a probable conjecture of some of the Hebrew doctors, that Caleb was the man that went to take a view of Hebron ; and was so little

23 And they came unto the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes; and they bare it between two upon a staff; and *they brought* of the pomegranates, and of the figs.

24 The place was called the brook Eshcol, because of the cluster of grapes which the children of Israel cut down from thence.

affrighted at the sight of the giants there, that he was the very person that afterward drove them out; and had this place given him for his portion: for it was in the south part of the lot of the tribe of Judah; being formerly called Kirjath-Arba (Josh. xiv. 9, 12, 14).

Where Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmi, the children of Anak, were.] These were the grandchildren of Arba (from whom Hebron had the name of Kirjath-Arba, i. e. the city of Arba), who was the father of Anak, whose family was more eminent than any other in Canaan; these three sons of his being men not only of great bulk, but prowess and valour. Bochartus thinks (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 1) that Anak signifies as much as the Roman name Torquatus; being like to that Gaul whom Manlius vanquished. And Ahiman signifies as much as, *who is my brother?* importing there was none to be compared with him. Sheshai he takes to be as much as Sixtus, viz. six cubits high, as Goliath was. And Talmi he derives from talam, "furrow;" as if he seemed in length to equal a furrow in the field. These were the people that made the Israelites tremble; for it is likely their whole family was of a very large stature, though not so big as these. And, indeed, they were so very terrible to all their neighbours, that it became a proverbial saying in those countries, *Who can stand before the children of Anak?* (Deut. ix. 2).

Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.] The Egyptians boasted of the great antiquity of their nation and cities: but Moses shows that Hebron was built before the capital city of their country: for so Zoan was; and called in after ages Tanis; lying not far from that mouth of the river Nile, which from thence was called by Plutarch ταριναίων πόλις. R. Solomon will have it that Hebron was built by Cham, one of the three sons of Noah, and the father of Mizraim; from whom the Egyptians descended. But of this there is no certainty; and the Gemara upon Sota (cap. 7), saith, It is not likely that a man would build a house for his younger son, before he had built one for his elder; for Canaan was the youngest of all the sons of Cham (Gen. x. 6). Yet those doctors are willing to suppose that Cham built both these cities; and therefore interpret the word *banah*, which is rightly translated *built*, as if it signified *fruitful* (according to Gen. xvi. 2), and make the sense to be, that "Hebron was seven times more fruitful than Zoan:" which is very foolish; as, upon other accounts, so on this, that Hebron was a stony place, and therefore not fertile.

Ver. 23. *Came unto the brook of Eshcol.*] A place which lay in a valley at the foot of the mountain (Deut. i. 24).

Cut down—a branch with one cluster of grapes.] This was done, no doubt, in some private place, upon the southern borders of Canaan; just as they were returning to the camp of Israel again. For it would have given the country too great an alarm, if they had marched in the highway with this bunch upon their shoulders.

They bare it between two] A great many authors mention vine and grapes of an extraordinary bigness

25 And they returned from searching of the land after forty days.

26 ¶ And they went and came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh; and brought back word unto them, and unto all the congregation, and shewed them the fruit of the land.

in those eastern and southern countries. I need only refer to Strabo, who says, the vines in Margiana, and other places, were so big, that two men could scarce compass them with their arms, and that they produced βέρρον διπλήρον, "a bunch of grapes of two cubits" (lib. ii. Geograph. p. 73, and lib. xi. p. 516). Which is in part justified by Olearius, in his late travels into Persia, book iii., where he saith, not far from Astracan, he saw vines, whose trunks were so thick, that a man could do no more than grasp them about with both his arms. And Forsterus, in his Dictionarium Hebraicum, p. 862, saith, there was a preacher at Nuremberg called Achaicus, who lived as a monk eight years in the holy land (as they call it), who told him upon his sick-bed, that in his time there were clusters of grapes at Hebron of such bigness, that one single kernel was sufficient to quench his thirst a whole day, when he was sick there of a tympany. J. Conradus Dieterich hath collected a great deal more to this purpose out of Leo Africanus and Nic. Radzivillius, and other authors, in his Antiqu. Biblicæ, p. 249. And since him the most learned Huetius, in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 24, where, among other things, he observes that Crete, Chios, and other islands in the Archipelago, afford bunches of grapes of ten pound weight, sometimes of thirty-six, yea, of forty. And he mentions grapes of a prodigious bigness in the island of Madeira.

Upon a staff.] See ch. iv. 10.

They brought of the pomegranates, and of the figs.] Which grew in the parts nearest to the place where the Israelites were encamped.

Ver. 24. *The place was called the brook Eshcol.*] That is, when the Israelites got possession of the land, they called this brook (or valley) by the name of *Eshcol*, in memory of this bunch of grapes, for so *Eshcol* signifies.

Ver. 25. *They returned from searching*] Came back to the camp of Israel.

After forty days.] This shows that they did not take a cursory view of the country, but took time enough to make their observations. And the ripe fruit which they brought with them, after they had been forty days from the camp, demonstrates that their return was in the latter end of the sixth month, very near to the seventh; that is, in the end of the year, according to the old style of that nation. For on the fifteenth day of the seventh month God ordered the feast of the tabernacles to be celebrated; a little before which they gathered both their harvest and their vintage (Exod. xxiii. 16, Lev. xxiii. 39, Deut. xvi. 13).

Ver. 26. *They went and came to Moses, &c.*] They went up the mountain from Eschool, and came down on the other side of it to Moses and Aaron, and all the congregation (Deut. i. 24, 25).

Unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh.] Unto the place from whence they were sent; which was Kadesh-barnea (see ver. 3, and Deut. ix. 23), which is here in short called Kadesh; but is quite different from that Kadesh we read of afterward (ch. xxi. 1). For that was in the wilderness of Sin; and they did not come to it till the fortieth year after they came out of

27 And they told him, and said, We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey; and this is the fruit of it.

28 Nevertheless the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled, and very great: and moreover we saw the children of Anak there.

Egypt (ch. xxxiii. 37, 38), whereas they were at this Kadesh in the second year; before they were doomed to wander forty years in the wilderness.

Brought back word unto them] Gave a public account before Moses and Aaron of what they had discovered.

Shewed them the fruit] And at the same time presented to them the cluster of grapes, the pomegranates, and figs, which they had brought with them.

Ver. 27. *They told him,*] They address their relation to Moses, because he sent them (ver. 2).

We came unto the land whither thou sentest us,] I suppose they chose some of their number to speak in the name of the rest: and, first, they give an account of the land, as he required (ver. 19, 20).

It floweth with milk and honey;] Their report of the condition of the land was as honest as could be desired; for they testify it to be such as God promised to bestow upon them (Exod. xxxiii. 3).

This is the fruit of it.] They prove what they say by a sample of the product of it: which was so large, that some of the Jews fancy there were eight men employed to carry this one cluster, as they say in the Gemara Sotâ, cap. 7. Of which the spies make this wicked use, as from thence to tell their brethren, "You see this goodly fruit, how vast it is: but believe us, the inhabitants of the country exceed us, and all other men, in stature, as much as this fruit exceeds all other of the same kind throughout the world." So Wagenseil explains the sense of their discourse in that place, sect. 4.

Ver. 28. *The people be strong*] This is an account of the other part of the inquiry Moses commanded them to make concerning the inhabitants and their cities (ver. 18).

We saw the children of Anak there.] See ver. 22. All this was true; but spoken in such a manner as to represent the conquest of the country exceeding difficult, if not impossible. So they explain their meaning in downright words (ver. 31), and so the people understood them, Dent. i. 28, where these frightful people are called "the sons of the Anakims:" for they saw not only those three mentioned before (ver. 22), but others also that were descended from them; who, as I there noted, were gigantic persons. So the LXX. translate these words *οἱ γίγαντες*, and so the Chaldees; and so the Jews use the word *Anakim*, to signify giants; particularly Benjamin Tudelensis, p. 3, of his Itinerary; where L'Empereur thinks it probable they were called *Anakims*, a torque quo colla superbe cingebant, "from a collar or chain which they proudly wore about their necks:" for the word *Anak* properly signifies collum torque cingere (p. 136), "to wreath a chain about the neck." But it is evident they had their name from their progenitor, Anak, the son of Arba: whence he was so called we do not know.

Ver. 29. *The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south:*] They do not represent the Amalekites as inhabitants of the land of Canaan; but they observe that they lay on the south border of it: where, if they went about to enter, in all probability, that nation (which were their early enemies when they came out of Egypt) would help to oppose them in their attempt as much

29 The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south: and the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains: and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan.

30 And Caleb stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once, and possess it; for we are well able to overcome it.

as the people of Canaan. For that is their intention, in the following report, to show what a stout people they must encounter, which way soever they endeavoured to enter into Canaan.

The Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites,] An account of all these see Gen. xv. 20, 21.

Dwell in the mountains:] Which were in the entrance of the land of Canaan, on the south-east part of it. Particularly the Amorites, it is evident, were planted there, upon the mountains of the borders of Canaan (Dent. i. 27, 44). And many of them had made an expedition into the country beyond Jordan, where they had possessed themselves of Bashan and Heshbon, and all the land between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon. For they were a very warlike people, and of great stature (Amos ii. 9), which made these searchers of their land afraid of them; and bid their brethren consider whether they thought they should be able to dispute their passage with them: which they plainly suggest, in their opinion, they could not. For the Jebusites were another mighty people, whom, after the conquest of Canaan, they could not of a long time dispossess of Mount Sion. I need not say how terrible the Hittites were; for it is probable from thence came the word *hittha*, which signifies a fright and sudden consternation, as Bochartus hath observed in his Phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 36.

The Canaanites] Those who were particularly called by this name: see Gen. xv. 20.

Dwell by the sea,] It is certain that the Canaanites dwelt by the ocean called the Midland Sea, for they seem to have had their names from merchandising, for which that situation was most proper; and for that reason others of them were seated near Jordan. This, I think, is plain from Dent. i. 7. And, besides, the word *sea* alone commonly signifies that great ocean. But it being plain that they were also seated, as it here follows, upon the river Jordan, it is possible that by *sea* may be meant, in this place, the Dead Sea, or the Lake of Genesareth, or both of them; because they were near Jordan, which ran into them.

By the coast of Jordan.] Where the Canaanites were also seated, as is evident from Dent. xi. 30. For there were both western and eastern Canaanites, as appears from Josh. xi. 3, and they are frequently joined with the Perizzites (particularly Judg. i. 4), who were a fierce sort of rough people, that dwelt in the woody part of the mountains. So that the intention of the men who made this report was, to represent to the people, that whether they invaded the land by the southern parts or the eastern, they would find both strongly guarded by a mighty people, much superior to them in force: which account, the following verse shows, put the people into a tumult.

Ver. 30. *Caleb stilled the people*] It is plain by this, that the people understood, by their way of speaking, countenances, and gestures, that the meaning of these men who made this report (which was not false in itself) was, that though the country indeed was very rich and desirable, yet it was impossible for them to drive the inhabitants out of it: which put them into a mutinous disposition, as Caleb perceived by their looks and their muttering; and therefore stepped forth, before it brake out, to quiet their spirits with

31 But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against the people; for they are stronger than we.

32 And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had searched unto the

his account of the country and inhabitants, in which Joshua, no question, joined with him. It is not indeed here mentioned, because Caleb, perhaps, stood next to those who began to make a commotion, and therefore spake first: but he was seconded by Joshua, we may be sure; because we find him mentioned in the next chapter, and, in the first place, together with Caleb, as endeavouring to appease the tumult. And he is not only exempted from the punishment inflicted upon the people for their rebellion (ch. xiv. 30, 38), but is expressly said to have followed the Lord fully, as well as Caleb (ch. xxxii. 12).

Before Moses.] The Hebrew phrase *el mosheh* may signify that he stilled them, as they were coming towards Moses in a seditious manner; or quieted them so far as to make them hearken to Moses; or, as we render it, in his presence, when they were ready to fly in his face. One of the doctors in the Gemara before mentioned (cap. 9), saith, that Joshua being about to speak, they bitterly reproached him, and would not suffer him to proceed: and therefore Caleb thought good to give them a great many blanding words, and to call Moses *this son of Amram*, which looked like contempt of him; whereby he stilled them, and disposed them to listen to him. And then he said, "Is not he the person that brought us out of Egypt; that divided the Red Sea for us to pass through it; that gave us manna from heaven? What if he should bid us make ladders and climb up into the skies, should we not obey him?"

Let us go up at once.] Or, go up immediately, without a stop.

Possess it.] He speaks as if it were already their own (as indeed it was, by God's gift), and they needed only enter and take possession of it.

We are well able to overcome it.] There will be no such difficulty, as these men represent, in the conquest of it.

Ver. 31. *But the men that went up with him*] The rest of the company that went to search the land; who, if they had not persisted in their unbelief, the people, perhaps, might have been perfectly appeased by Caleb and Joshua.

We be not able] Now they open their minds more plainly, in their reply to Caleb, whom they oppose directly; and declare their opinion downright, that they were not an equal match for their enemies.

To go up against the people.] To beat them out of the mountains which they inhabited.

For they are stronger than we.] These men had no confidence in the promise and power of God, on which Caleb and Joshua relied; but measured all things by human strength.

Ver. 32. *They brought up an evil report*] In the heat of their opposition, they now disparage the country which they had before praised (ver. 27), and also stretch their report of the inhabitants beyond the truth.

Saying, The land,—catch up the inhabitants thereof.] Unless we suppose that there was a great plague at this time in the country, as the Hebrews do (who love to excuse their forefathers' sins), this was a gross lie. But take it as they suppose, yet this was a very malignant report. For if they saw the people of the country everywhere, as they passed along,

children of Israel, saying, The land, through which we have gone to search it, is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature.

carrying their neighbours to their graves (as the Jews tell the tale), this, which they should have ascribed to the providence of God, who sent this mortality, that they might have fewer enemies to oppose them, and that these spies might pass more freely, and less observed, they most wickedly ascribe to the badness of the air: which being very unhealthy to the natives, might well be thought would be much more so to strangers. Thus bad minds (as the aforesaid Gemara glosses well enough upon this story) turn that which God intends for their benefit into their hurt. And if we had any better authority for this story, the word *achal* (which we translate *eat up*) would well enough agree with it. For, as Maimonides observes, in the first part of his *More Nevoch*. (cap. 30), it is used in the Holy Scriptures concerning any kind of consumption, destruction, or desolation: as here in this book, ch. xi. 1; Lev. xxvi. 33; 2 Sam. ii. 26, &c.

The people—were men of a great stature.] The Hebrew phrase is, "men of measures," *άνδρες έπεμεύεις*, as the LXX. translate it, "men of larger size than the rest of mankind." Which we have no reason to think was true; but having seen the sons of Anak in one part of the country, they imagined all the rest of the people to be near unto their stature. For this is the description of that giant of Gath, mentioned 1 Chron. xx. 6, where he is called "a man of measure;" and 2 Sam. xxi. 20, where he is called in the plural number (as they are here), "a man of measures," *άνηρ έπεμευέτης*, "a man above the common bigness." And thus very great houses are called "houses of measure" (Jer. xxii. 24).

Ver. 33. *There we saw the giants*] Men of greater bulk and strength than the biggest of those very great men (see Gen. vi. 4) which they spake of in the foregoing words.

Sons of Anak.] They had mentioned this once before (ver. 28), and now repeat it again; because they were struck with such a terror at the sight of them, that they were always at their tongue's end. Just as Homer mentions, *Τρωάς τε καί Έκτορα*, as Bochartus makes the comparison (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 1).

Which come of the giants.] Who were descended from a gigantic race of men; particularly from Arba, who was their grandfather, as Joshua tells us, ch. xiv. 15, xv. 13, 14, &c., where he shows how Caleb drove these Anakims out of their cities, and made them fly to the Philistines; where there were some remainders of them till the days of David. And others of them, perhaps, fled into Greece; for there was a race of men among the Greeks called *Άνακς*; who, Vossius thinks it probable, might descend from these children of Anak (lib. i. De Orig. et Progressu Idolol. cap. 13).

We were—as grasshoppers.] Their fear magnified them above measure; though, no doubt, they were men of such an extraordinary height, that they might look upon themselves to be as small and contemptible as grasshoppers are compared with us. And such very tall men there are still in some parts of the world as Job Ludolphus observes, in his Commentary upon his *Histor. Ethiopica*, lib. i. cap. 2, n. 22.

So we were in their sight.] One of the Jewish doctors makes bold to call these men liars: for, though their fear might make them appear as grasshoppers, yet how could they tell, saith he, that they were so in the sight of the children of Anak? Here the Gemarists (in the

33 And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, *which come of the giants*: and we

were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.

place I mentioned above, cap. 10) endeavour to help them out, by continuing the tale of the great mortality which was then in those countries. Where a funeral-feast (as the manner was) being one day made under certain cedar-trees, which are very shady, the spies got up to the top of them, to hide themselves among the thick boughs; but the people below happening to look up, the spies heard them say, There are men got up into the trees, who look like grasshoppers. But there needs no such inventions, to defend them, when an hyperbole will do it; their plain meaning

being this, that the Anakims looked down upon them with the utmost contempt.

By all which it appears that they had not only a sight of the Anakims, but the Anakims also saw them, and looked upon them, it is likely, as they did upon other travellers; who were wont to come thither, either for their pleasure, or to traffic in their country; or in their way to other places; whom it was not their custom to examine strictly, whence they came, and what their business was; but let pass to and fro among them freely.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *The people murmur at the news.* 6 *Joshua and Caleb labour to still them.* 11 *God threateneth them.* 13 *Moses persuadeth God, and obtaineth pardon.* 26 *The murmurers are deprived of entering into the land.* 36 *The men who raised the evil report die by a plague.* 40 *The people that would invade the land against the will of God are smitten.*

1 AND all the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night.

2 And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron: and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness!

3 And wherefore hath the LORD brought us

unto this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt?

4 And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.

5 Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation of the children of Israel.

CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *All the congregation*] By "all the congregation" may be here meant, all the great men (for so the phrase sometimes signifies), except Caleb and Joshua, and, perhaps, some few others.

Cried:] Shrieked, and made loud lamentations. *The people wept]* Which put all the people in tears. *That night.]* Which followed after the report made by the spies.

Ver. 2. *The children of Israel murmured]* As they had frequently done before; but now in a more tumultuous manner.

The whole congregation said] The great men spake in the name of the whole body of the people.

Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt!] In a fit of fury and despair they quite forgot how miraculously God had brought them from thence; and consequently could as easily bring them into Canaan.

Or—in this wilderness.] When several of their brethren were burnt, and smote with a very great plague, in this very wilderness of Paran (ch. xi. 1, 33).

Ver. 3. *Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land.]* Having vented their passion against God's ministers, they most undutifully accuse him, as if he had dealt deceitfully with them.

To fall by the sword.] Of the children of Anak, who they fancied were irresistible.

Should be a prey?] To the people of Canaan, after all the men of Israel were killed.

Were it not better for us to return] Their rage deprived them of the use of their reason.

Ver. 4. *Let us make a captain, and let us return]* They knew that Moses would not conduct them thither; and therefore they thought of choosing another leader. But, though they might in a raging fit speak of returning to Egypt, yet it is an amazing thing that they should continue in this madness, and deliberate about it; nay, actually appoint them a captain,

as Nehemiah saith they did, ch. ix. 17. For how could they get thither without food! which they could not expect God would send them from heaven, when they had forsaken him. Or how could they hope to find their way, when his cloud, which directed them, was withdrawn from them? Or hope to deal with those that might oppose their passage, if they hit upon the right way! And after all, if they came into Egypt, what entertainment could they look for there, among a people whose king, and princes, and first-born, had lately perished on their account! Nothing can be said in answer to these things, but that outrageous discontent will not suffer men to consider any thing but that which grieves them; and that foul ingratitude and forgetfulness of God's benefits, throws them into such discontents.

Ver. 5. *Moses and Aaron fell on their faces]* To deprecate God's displeasure; which lately arose against them, upon a less occasion than this (ch. xi. 33), and they might justly fear would now destroy them all, for their incurable infidelity; as Josephus explains it.

Before all the assembly] Some fancy, that their falling down *before them*, was to beseech them to desist from their murmuring; and to trust in God, who would go before them, and fight for them; as he saith he told them, Deut. i. 29, 30. But *falling on their faces* being the posture of the most humble supplicants to God, and not to men (as all understand it in other places, particularly ch. xvi. 4, xx. 6), their falling down *before the assembly* signifies no more, but that in their presence Moses and Aaron humbled themselves deeply before the Divine Majesty; and prayed to him with the greatest earnestness to forgive them, and to bestow a better mind upon them. Which they did in their presence, to awaken them to consider the danger they were in by their heinous sin; that they themselves might cry to him for mercy. For the usual posture of prayer in that na-

6 ¶ And Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, *which were* of them that searched the land, rent their clothes :

7 And they spake unto all the company of the children of Israel, saying, The land, which we passed through to search it, *is* an exceeding good land.

8 If the LORD delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us ; a land which floweth with milk and honey.

9 Only rebel not ye against the LORD, neither fear ye the people of the land ; for they *are* bread for us : their defence is departed from them, and the LORD is with us : fear them not.

tion was *standing* ; but in very great distress, and anxiety of mind, when they were exceeding solicitous to obtain their petition, they *kneeled* down, and sometimes *fell on their faces* ; which was still a sign of greater ardour and concernment, as appears from our blessed Saviour (Matt. xxvi. 39 ; Luke xxii. 41).

Ver. 6. *Rent their clothes :*] As the manner was, on any sad and doleful occasion ; especially when they heard any man blaspheme the divine Majesty ; in detestation of the impiety, and to declare their sorrow and indignation, and dread of God's judgments ; as appears from Jer. xxxvi. 24, where the stupidity of Jehoiakim and his servants is represented by this, that when they heard the words which the prophet declared in God's name against Judah, "they were not afraid nor rent their garments."

Ver. 7. *They spake unto all the company*] This showed great courage, that they durst declare their opinion, contrary to the sense of so great a multitude.

An exceeding good land.] This is opposed to what their fellows had said, that it was a land *which ate up its inhabitants* (ch. xiii. 32). Quite contrary they assure them it was *very, very good*, as the words are in the Hebrew ; and so expressed by the Chaldee, and the LXX., *exceeding, exceeding good* : that is, every way desirable ; for thus the Hebrews express the superlative degree.

Ver. 8. *If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land,*] If we do not forfeit his favour, he will make us so happy as to drive out the Canaanites, and settle us in the possession of this land.

Which floweth with milk and honey.] As their companions themselves had confessed (ch. xiii. 37).

Ver. 9. *Rebel not*] By slighting his goodness, by murmuring, and discontented speeches, and talking of going back to Egypt (ver. 2—4).

Neither fear ye the people] This is opposed to what the rest of the spies had said, concerning the mighty power and strength of the inhabitants of Canaan (ch. xiii. 28, 29, 31, &c.).

For they are bread for us :] We shall as easily vanquish them as we eat our meat.

Their defence is departed from them,] In the Hebrew the words are, *their shadow* ; whereby men being defended from heat in those countries, it signifies the protection which God gives men from those things that might hurt them : which Divine protection, they tell the people, was now withdrawn from the Canaanites, who had filled up the measure of their iniquities (Gen. xv. 16), and now were exposed as a prey to the Israelites.

The Lord is with us :] For, on the contrary, they entreat the people to consider that God, who was departed from the Canaanites, was with them, to aid and assist them in the conquest of the country : and for both these reasons they needed not to fear them. So they conclude their speech, like men of an undaunted spirit, in these words : *fear them not.*

10 But all the congregation bade stone them with stones. And the glory of the LORD appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation before all the children of Israel.

11 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, How long will this people provoke me ? and how long will it be ere they believe me, for all the signs which I have shewed among them ?

12 I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they.

13 ¶ And Moses said unto the LORD, Then the Egyptians shall hear it, (for thou broughtest

Ver. 10. *But all the congregation*] The Hebrew words *col ha edah*, as I observed, ver. 1, signifies "all the great men ; the rulers of the rest."

Bade stone them with stones.] Ordered the people to stone them to death ; as they had done, it is likely, if they had not been deterred from the attempt by the appearance of the Divine Majesty. For the Hebrew word *amar* (as Maimonides observes in his More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 65), is used, not only concerning that which is *spoken* or *thought*, but of what is *decreed* or *resolved*. And he produces these words as an instance of it, together with Exod. ii. 14 ; 2 Sam. xxi. 16.

The glory of the Lord appeared] The Shechinah which resided within the tabernacle, upon the mercy-seat, now openly appeared, in a bright flaming light, like fire ; and, in all probability, after such an amazing manner, as terrified them from their design. Thus it appeared on Mount Sinai, to fright them from approaching near unto it, Exod. xxiv. 17 (from whence, Moses saith, *the Lord thy God is a consuming fire*, Deut. iv. 24), and thus it appeared afterward (Numb. xvi. 19, 42).

In the tabernacle] Or rather *upon* the tabernacle (for *in* the tabernacle within the people could not have seen it, as now they did), over the most holy place ; which the cloud constantly covered, over the mercy-seat, where the Divine Glory dwelt (see ch. ix. 15).

Before all the children of Israel.] Both to fright them, as I said, from their purpose of stoning Joshua and Caleb ; and to show his anger and displeasure at their rebellion, which, it is likely, appeared by the flashes that came from the glorious flame.

Ver. 11. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] In answer, I suppose, unto his prayer (ver. 5).

How long will this people provoke me ?] Shall I always bear with their most undutiful behaviour ; which will provoke the greatest patience unto anger ?

How long will it be ere they believe me,] Dost thou not see that their unbelief is incurable ?

For all the signs which I have shewed] Since they continue in it, notwithstanding all the wonders I have done, to convince them of my power and faithfulness.

Ver. 12. *I will smite them*] Send a pestilential disease among them to sweep them away at once, as the fifteenth verse interprets it (see Exod. xxxii. 10).

Disinherit them,] And so deprive them and theirs of the country which I promised to their fathers for an inheritance (Gen. xv. 7). This was not an irrevocable decree, but a threatening which God changed into another severe punishment.

Will make of thee a greater nation] Fulfil my promise to Abraham, by making thee a father of a more numerous people, and more powerful than they whom I reject.

Ver. 13.] It is an abrupt kind of speech, proceed-

up this people in thy might from among them;)

14 And they will tell *it* to the inhabitants of this land: *for* they have heard that thou LORD art among this people, that thou LORD art seen face to face, and *that* thy cloud standeth over them, and *that* thou goest before them, by day time in a pillar of a cloud, and in a pillar of fire by night.

15 ¶ Now *if* thou shalt kill *all* this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying,

16 Because the LORD was not able to bring this people into the land which he sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.

ing from the great disturbance which this threatening made in his mind; being as much as if he had said, If thou thus destroy them, the Egyptians, when they hear of it, will triumph; and thou wilt lose all the honour thou hast got, by the wonderful deliverance thou didst work for thy people from their bondage.

Ver. 14. *They will tell it*] Or rather, *they will say* to the inhabitants of this land, i. e. the Canaanites, with whom the Egyptians had frequent commerce.

For they have heard, &c.] The word *for* is not in the Hebrew: and the sense will be more plain if we omit it, and translate the whole thus; "They will say to the inhabitants of this land, they have heard that thou LORD art among this people:" that is, that there was a glorious token of thy presence among us.

That thou LORD art seen face to face,] And spakest to us from Mount Sinai out of that glorious cloud, which there appeared unto all the people (Exod. xix. 18, xx. 1, xxiv. 16, 17; Deut. iv. 12).

Thy cloud standeth over them,] Numb. x. 34.

That thou goest before them,] Exod. xiii. 21.

Ver. 15. *If thou shalt kill all this people*] Or rather, "But thou hast killed all this people."

As one man,] On a sudden, with one stroke; as if they had all but one life.

Then the nations—will speak, saying,] Of which the nations that have heard the forenamed report of thy majesty will make this construction.

Ver. 16. *Because the LORD was not able to bring this people into the land*] Because he whom they called Omnipotent, was indeed defective in his power; which at last failed him, so that he could not complete what he had undertaken.

Which he sware] Gen. xv. 17, 18, xxiv. 7.

Therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.] Killed them all, before they came to the land he had solemnly promised to them; for that was an easier work than to make good his word.

The sum of this argument is, that it would be a great disparagement to the Divine Majesty if he now destroyed this nation; because his enemies would conclude, he had deluded them with false promises, which he wanted power to effect.

Ver. 17. *Now,—let the power of my LORD be great,*] That is, let it appear to be unlimited by bringing them into the land which he sware to give them (ver. 16), or by pardoning their sin, which had provoked his high displeasure against them (ver. 11). For by *power* may be meant either that which is properly called by that name, viz., his omnipotence, which can conquer all opposition: or his mercy and clemency, in overcoming his anger, and bearing with an ungrateful people: which agrees very well with

17 And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my LORD be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying,

18 The LORD is longsuffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing *the guilty*, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.

19 Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people according unto the greatness of thy mercy, and as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now.

20 And the LORD said, I have pardoned according to thy word:

21 But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the LORD.

what follows; but both tend to the same meaning, that he would not destroy them, but bestow the land of Canaan upon them according to his intentions.

According as thou hast spoken,] Which will be suitable to thy blessed nature, which thou didst proclaim to me when thy glory passed by me (see Exod. xxxi. 22, xxxiv. 5, 6).

Ver. 18. *The LORD is longsuffering, &c.*] In these very words (though something more largely) God proclaimed his name to Moses, when he showed him his glory (Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7), where they are explained.

By no means clearing the guilty,] Even these words (according to the interpretation I have there given of them) are a plain argument to move the Divine goodness to pardon their sin. But the next words ["visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children," &c.] seem to be directly contrary to the intention of his petition, till it be considered, that they had not now committed idolatry, against which sin, God, in these words, particularly declares his severity; and that Moses did not now plead for an absolute pardon without any punishment at all, but only that he would not destroy the whole nation as one man, and utterly disinherit them, as he seemed resolved to do (ver. 12, 15). This threatening he hoped his gracious nature would incline him to revoke; notwithstanding which he might "visit the sin of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation;" that is, punish them and their posterity a long time. And so this latter part of the verse is to be interpreted (according to what I observed, Exod. xxxiv. 7), "in making desolate he will not make quite desolate, though he visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children," &c.

Ver. 19. *Pardon,—the iniquity of this people*] So far as not to destroy them utterly.

According unto the greatness of thy mercy,] Which God himself had proclaimed (ver. 18).

As thou hast forgiven this people,] This looks like an argument against them: for they having provoked him so often as they had done since they came out of Egypt, in the space of one year and little more (see ver. 22), and been as often forgiven, it might seem more reasonable that he should now punish them, and not forgive them any more. But he appeals to that *long-suffering* goodness which he mentions as the prime character of the Divine Nature (ver. 18), which, though it had been exercised by them many ways, yet he hoped would still bear longer with them.

Ver. 20. *I have pardoned*] Granted thy desire, not to destroy them utterly and altogether (ver. 12, 15).

Ver. 21.] In the Hebrew the words run plainly

22 Because all those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles, which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice;

23 Surely they shall not see the land which I swear unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it:

thus, "As true as I live, and that all the earth shall be (or hath been) filled with the glory of the Lord." For so the Egyptians themselves confessed (ver. 14), that the fame of it was come to them; and afterward he did many more wonderful things when he brought them into Canaan: unto which (if these words be taken in the future tense) he hath respect, when he saith, "as true as that he would in a most glorious manner subdue the Canaanites, not one of these murmuring Israelites should come into that good land."

Ver. 22. *Because all those men*] The sense would have been clear if we had left out the word *because*, as we might have done, the Hebrew particle *ki* being sometimes only an expletive, or if we had translated it *that*, as it signifies in Gen. xxii. 17, and many other places. For the meaning plainly is, though the words be something intricate, that all the men of whom he is speaking should perish, and not one of them come into Canaan.

Which have seen my glory,] Which appeared to them in the cloud upon Mount Sinai, and resided in the tabernacle.

Miracles which I did in Egypt] Mentioned in the fourth, seventh, eighth, and following chapters of the book of Exodus.

In the wilderness,] Where he divided the Red Sea for them to pass through on dry land, and gave them manna constantly from heaven, with water out of a rock, which followed them whithersoever they went, &c.

Tempted me now these ten times,] That is, very oft, as this phrase *ten times* signifies (Gen. xxxi. 7, 41; Neh. iv. 13; Job xix. 3). But some of the Hebrews will not be satisfied with this explication, but endeavour to find out precisely just ten provocations of which they were guilty: though, to do this, they are forced to begin with one which fell out before they came to the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 11, 12), and all the other nine they find in the wilderness (see Pirke Avoth. cap. 5, and Paulus Fagius's Scholia upon it; with Genebrard upon Ps. lxxviii. 46). Mr. Mede hath observed, that "to tempt God, in Scripture language, is to provoke him by some presumptuous fact to anger;" as it were, to try whether he will punish or not; or, in fewer words, *to dare God* (book i. Discourse 26, p. 153). And the following words in the next verse justify this notion in this place.

Have not hearkened to my voice:] This seems particularly to refer to their disobedience, when he bade them "go up, and possess the land of Canaan;" notwithstanding, they would not go up, but rebelled against the commandment of the Lord their God (Deut. i. 21, 26, &c.).

Ver. 23. *Surely they shall not see the land, &c.*] The Hebrew particle *im*, when it follows an oath, is to be simply translated *not*. And so the words run clearly here, "they shall not see the land which I swear unto their fathers."

Neither shall any of them that provoked me see it.] This is but an explication of the foregoing words, and might have been better translated, "even all that provoked me (by their discontent and murmuring,

24 But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it.

25 (Now the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwell in the valley.) To morrow turn you, and get you into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea.

&c., ver. 1—3), they shall not see it." This heavy doom was passed upon them on the ninth day of the month Ab (which answers to our July), as Moses Kotzensis reports the opinion of their doctors: on which day, they say, both the first and second temples were levelled with the ground; and Bitter, likewise, a great city, was taken on the same day, in which were many thousand Jews; who, with their king (as they called him) Ben Cosiba, and his whole army, were cut in pieces. And to make this day still more dismal, Turnus Rufus, one of the Roman captains, ploughed up the ground on which the temple and buildings about it stood upon this very day (see Wagenseil upon Gemara Sotâ, cap. 7, sect. 10, annot. 8).

Ver. 24. *But my servant Caleb,*] He alone is here particularly mentioned, because this is the first proof we read of his sincerity and resolution. But Joshua is as much concerned in this character and promise, whose faith and courage were tried, as soon as they came out of Egypt, by fighting with the Amalekites. And therefore there was no need to speak here of his integrity: though afterward it is expressly remembered, in the very same words used in this place concerning Caleb (ch. xxxii. 12). And here below in this chapter (ver. 30), he is assured of coming into the land of promise as well as Caleb, with whom he joined in opposing the mutinous multitude (ver. 6), where he is named first in that heroic action.

Because he had another spirit] Was otherwise affected (as we now speak), trusting in the power and promise of God, and not at all afraid of the strength of their enemies.

Hath followed me fully,] The Hebrew phrase is, "hath fulfilled after me;" i. e. completed his obedience to me; or fulfilled my will and commands in every thing: being not only full of courage himself, but endeavouring to put it into others (Deut. i. 36).

Him will I bring into the land] Into Canaan: particularly to Hebron, and the parts about it; which were bestowed upon him by the order of Moses himself (Josh. xiv. 9, 13, &c., see ch. xiii. of this book, ver. 22).

His seed shall possess it.] Or, as some translate it, "shall expel it;" i. e. drive out the inhabitants of that place, and the parts adjacent, as we read he and his brother did (Josh. xv. 13—15, &c.).

Ver. 25. *Now the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwell in the valley.*] These words being read without a parenthesis, in conjunction with those that follow, are very plain, being thus translated; "both the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwell in the valley:" that is, at present lie in wait for you at the bottom of the other side of the mountain. For they were not far from one another (ch. xiii. 29), and the Hebrews use the word *jashah* for any *abode* in any place, though it be not a settlement, but for a short time (see ver. 45).

To morrow turn you,] Therefore, do not go forward, as I formerly commanded you, lest you fall into their ambushes; but face about, and return from whence you came, &c. This he bade them do *to-morrow*, i. e. hereafter; at their next removal: for they did remain some days in Kadesh before they

26 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

27 How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, which murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me.

28 Say unto them, *As truly as I live, saith the LORD, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you:*

29 Your carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me,

turned about (Deut. i. ult.). And so the word *to-morrow* is used in Exod. xiii. 14, for the *time to come*.

Get you into the wilderness] Into that wilderness which led to the Red Sea, and so to Egypt, whither they desired to return (ver. 3, 4). This command was so grievous to them, that it set them, as I take it, into a new fit of murmuring: which is the occasion of what follows in the next verses, 26, 27.

Ver. 26.] He now speaks unto Aaron, what he only spake to Moses before (ver. 11).

Ver. 27. *How long shall I bear with this evil congregation*] It is a short imperfect sort of speech in the Hebrew, such as men use when they are very angry; "how long to this evil congregation," i. e. shall I show mercy: which is the same with *bear with them*, as we translate it, to supply the sense.

Which murmur] Whom nothing will please, unless they have their own will in every thing.

I have heard the murmurings] This seems to signify that there was a new discontent; which, in all likelihood, arose, because God would not conduct them forward to Canaan: but bade them go back from whence they came: which order he tells them, in the following words, he would never revoke.

Ver. 28. *As truly as I live, saith the Lord,*] This oath made what he had resolved unalterable.

As ye have spoken in mine ears,] See ch. v. 2.

So will I do to you:] Give you your own wishes, to die in the wilderness; which was exactly fulfilled (ch. xxvi. 65).

Ver. 29. *Your carcases shall fall in this wilderness;*] He repeats their own desire.

All that were numbered] Which number was taken about half a year ago; as we read in the first chapter of this book (ver. 3, 18, &c.).

From twenty years old and upward,] Which amounted in all to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty (ver. 46), besides the Levites, who were not numbered at this time, as we read in the next verse, 47. And when they were numbered, their number was not taken from *twenty years old*; but from a *month old* and upward (ch. iii. 15). And therefore, the Levites are not comprehended in the heavy sentence here denounced, no more than the children under *twenty years old*, or the wives of the men that murmured; but only the men of war, who were above *twenty years old*. And accordingly we find Eleazar, who is mentioned at the numbering of the Levites (ch. iii. 32), alive at the dividing of the land of Canaan (Josh. xiv. 1).

Ver. 30. *Ye shall not come into the land,*] He would not have them retain the least hope of having this sentence reversed, being established by God's oath.

Concerning which I swear] Not to make these particular men, but the seed of Abraham inhabit it; as Grotius rightly observes (lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 13, sect. 3). The land was promised by oath, non personis, sed populo, "not to persons, but to the

30 Doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

31 But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have despised.

32 But as for you, your carcases, they shall fall in this wilderness.

33 And your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be wasted in the wilderness.

34 After the number of the days in which ye

people;" viz. to the posterity of those unto whom God sware to give it (ver. 23). Now such a promise, as he observes, may be performed at any time, because it is not tied to certain persons.

Save Caleb—and Joshua] They are excepted, because they had distinguished themselves from the rest, by their eminent faith and courage, in the midst of a perverse generation.

Ver. 31. *Your little ones,*] All under twenty years old.

Which ye said should be a prey,] He upbraids them with their discontented and distrustful language (ver. 3).

They shall know the land] That is, enjoy it.

Which ye have despised,] See ch. xiii. 32.

Ver. 32.] He repeats it again, to make them sensible of the certainty of it; and, in their own words (ver. 2), to humble and put them to confusion.

Ver. 33. *Shall wander*] So the Chaldee interpret what in the Hebrew is *shall feed*, or *graze*, as sheep do in the deserts. Or rather, after the manner of the Arabian shepherds, who could not stay long in one place, but were forced to remove their tents to another, that they might find pasture for their flocks. So R. Solomon interprets it.

Forty years,] Reckoning from their first coming out of Egypt; from whence they were brought into the wilderness a year and a half ago; and now are condemned to make up their time of wandering in it full *forty years*.

Bear your whoredoms,] That is, the punishment of their whoredoms; as idolatry is peculiarly called (ch. xv. 39, Exod. xxxiv. 15, Jer. iii. 14), of which they had been guilty presently after they came out of Egypt, when they made the golden calf and worshipped it; and continued other idolatrous practices (Lev. xvii. 5, 7), which God punishes now that he visits their present rebellion. For it was not that alone to which he threatens this punishment, but he reckons with them for all the rest of their iniquities (Deut. ix. 18, 24), especially for the greatest of them all, which he declared he would not forget to punish upon any new occasion (see Exod. xxxii. 34), which they now gave him. It must be acknowledged, also, that other heinous sins are called by this name of *whoredoms* in Scripture, as well as idolatry (Ps. lxxiii. 26), See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 23, p. 489.

Until your carcases be wasted] This is the third time he reflects upon their foolish wish (ver. 29, 32).

Ver. 34. *After the number*] See ch. xiii. 25.

Even forty years,] Reckoning the time past, since they came into the wilderness, which was a year and a half: so that the meaning is, they should wander *forty years* in the wilderness before they got out of it. Which is not to be understood so precisely as to want nothing at all of it: for they came out of Egypt on the fifteenth day of the first month, on the morrow after the passover (ch. xxxiii. 3), and they came into

searched the land, *even* forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, *even* forty years, and ye shall know my breach of promise.

35 I the LORD have said, I will surely do it unto all this evil congregation, that are gathered together against me: in this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die.

36 And the men, which Moses sent to search the land, who returned, and made all the congregation to murmur against him, by bringing up a slander upon the land,

37 Even those men that did bring up the evil report upon the land, died by the plague before the LORD.

38 But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, *which were of the men that went to search the land, lived still.*

Canaan and pitched in Gilgal, upon the tenth day of the first month of the *one-and-fortieth* year after their departure from Egypt (Josh. iv. 19); and consequently there wanted *five* days of full forty years.

Ye shall know my breach of promise.] In the Hebrew the words are no more than these, "ye shall know my breach;" which the ancients understand of God's breaking in upon them, to take vengeance of them for their sin. So the LXX. γινώσκει τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ὀργῆς μου, "ye shall know the fury of my anger;" and the Vulgar translates it, ultionem meam, "my vengeance;" that is, you shall find that I am the avenger of iniquity. And it is the same if we understand *my breach* to signify God's departure from them, who had so shamefully departed from him. Or, according to our translation, it signifies, "a revocation of the blessing promised to them:" which was so nullified, that they were left without any hope of having the like promise of entering into Canaan renewed to them.

Ver. 35. *I the Lord have said,]* Decreed and pronounced this sentence.

I will surely do it] Break from them; or break in upon them, to consume them, and utterly disinherit this untoward generation.

That are gathered together against me:] Whom they accused, as well as Moses and Aaron (ver. 2, 3).

In this wilderness they shall be consumed,] The repetition of this so frequently (ver. 29, 32, 33), was to convince them the decree was peremptory and irreversible.

Ver. 36. *The men, which Moses sent]* That is, ten of them.

Who returned,] See ch. xiii. 25, 26.

Made all the congregation to murmur] See ch. xiii. 31, 32, xiv. 2.

Ver. 37. *Even those men, &c., died by the plague]* Either by the pestilence, threatened ver. 12, or by lightning, or some other sudden death; about which there is a dispute among the Hebrew doctors, in the Gemara on Sota, cap. 7, sect. 11, where some of them say they died of a quinsy, which choked them; or as others, their tongues swelled, and hung out of their mouths down to their navels, and were full of worms, &c. So that their punishment was suitable to their sin (as they conclude); "with their tongues they offended, and in their tongues they suffered."

Before the Lord,] Whose glory appeared upon the tabernacle, before them all (ver. 10), unto which I take these words to relate: signifying that they died in his presence (and perhaps by a flash of fire from thence), on that very day upon which this murmuring was raised by their false report.

39 And Moses told these sayings unto all the children of Israel: and the people mourned greatly.

40 ¶ And they rose up early in the morning, and gat them up into the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we *be here*, and will go up unto the place which the LORD hath promised: for we have sinned.

41 And Moses said, Wherefore now do ye transgress the commandment of the LORD? but it shall not prosper.

42 Go not up, for the LORD *is* not among you; that ye be not smitten before your enemies.

43 For the Amalekites and the Canaanites *are* there before you, and ye shall fall by the sword: because ye are turned away from the LORD, therefore the LORD will not be with you.

Ver. 38. *But Joshua—and Caleb]* Here Joshua is mentioned with Caleb, and placed first (as in the sixth verse), as Caleb was in ver. 30. Which shows there was no difference made between them.

Lived still,] This is set down to show God's faithfulness in his promise to them: who, I suppose, were now in the company of the rest of the searchers of the land, before the Lord, and had no hurt, when all the other ten fell down dead on a sudden; which made their preservation the more remarkable.

Ver. 39. *Moses told these sayings]* Acquainted them with the doom which God had passed upon them.

The people mourned greatly,] Were extremely afflicted at the news: but did not beseech him to pray for them (as at other times, ch. xi. 2), because he had told them the doom was irreversible.

Ver. 40. *And they rose up]* Or, "but they rose up." *In the morning,]* The next morning after they were told what God had decreed against them.

Gat them up into the top of the mountain,] They resolved they would go up; or they prepared themselves for it: for they did not yet actually go up; as appears by the following words.

Lo, we be here,] We are ready to do as Joshua and Caleb exhorted us, ch. xiii. 40, xiv. 9. They seem now to be forward, as before they were backward to go to possess the land: which their rising early signified.

Will go up unto the place which the Lord hath promised:] They pretend now to depend upon his promise, and to trust he will make it good.

For we have sinned,] Are sensible of our sin, and repent of it. Or, *though we have sinned*, yet we hope he will make good his promise.

Ver. 41. *Wherefore now do ye transgress]* Why do you still continue in your disobedience to God; who commands you to return, and not to go forward (ver. 25).

But it shall not prosper,] You shall not succeed in your enterprise; which these words show they stood ready to take in hand.

Ver. 42. *Go not up,]* Though they sought the renewal of God's promise with tears (ver. 39), and now were ready to testify their repentance with the hazard of their lives, he would not recall the sentence passed upon them.

The Lord is not among you;] The cloud did not stir to conduct them; by which they might have understood that their attempt was presumptuous.

That ye be not smitten before your enemies,] Who, without God's help, would be too strong for them.

Ver. 43. *For the Amalekites and the Canaanites are*

44 But they presumed to go up unto the hill top: nevertheless the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and Moses, departed not out of the camp.

there before you,] Either they were removed out of the valley where they were before (ver. 25), or, their main body being there below, they sent a strong party to possess themselves of the top of the mountain, and to make good the pass against the Israelites.

Ye shall fall] Lose your lives in the attempt.

The Lord will not be with you,] This was a powerful reason to check their motion, and to restrain them from their attempt: but, after the manner of obstinate sinners, they go on still in their unbelief; as the next words inform us.

Ver. 44. *But they presumed to go up]* They audaciously endeavoured to ascend the mountain, against the Divine command: which is a strange instance of hardened infidelity.

The ark—departed not out of the camp,] The cloud stood still over the tabernacle; and therefore Moses, and the Levites, and the ark (which went before them, when they first removed from Sinai, ch. x. 33) did not stir out of the place where they were encamped to conduct them. But this seems to signify that all the other camps, except that of the Levites, i. e. the whole body of armed men, moved without the guidance of God; who would not favour them, because they moved against his express command.

45 Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, *even* unto Hormah.

Ver. 45. *Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites]* With whom the Amorites also joined (see Deut. i. 44).

Which dwelt in that hill,] Who had posted themselves there, and possessed themselves of the top of the mountain (ver. 43, and see ver. 25).

Smote them,] Having a great advantage of them that were climbing up the hill: from whence they came pouring down upon them.

Discomfited them,] It is not said how great a slaughter they made of them; but it is likely it was not small, because they chased them a good way. Thus began God's threatening to be immediately fulfilled (that their carcasses should fall in that wilderness, ver. 29), by their own wilfulness.

Even unto Hormah,] A place in the confines of Canaan, near the Dead Sea: so called from the destruction that was here made of the Israelites, and afterward of the Canaanites (ch. xxi. 3; Judg. i. 17). And upon the occasion of this calamity which befel the Israelites, and the great mortality which followed, while they stayed in the wilderness, Moses is thought to have penned the ninetieth Psalm; in which he signifies the life of man was now shortened, and reduced to seventy or eighty years; that is, made but half as long as their forefathers.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *The law of the meat offering and the drink offering.* 13, 29 *The stranger is under the same law.* 17 *The law of the first of the dough for an heave offering.* 22 *The sacrifice for sin of ignorance.* 30 *The punishment of presumption.* 32 *He that violated the sabbath is stoned.* 37 *The law of fringes.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come into the land of your habitations, which I give unto you,

3 And will make an offering by fire unto the Lord, a burnt offering, or a sacrifice in performing a vow, or in a freewill offering, or in your solemn feasts, to make a sweet savour unto the Lord, of the herd, or of the flock:

CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1.] We read in Deut. i. ult. that "they abode in Kadesh (where the foregoing murmuring was) many days:" during which time (and in the latter part of this second year after they came out of Egypt), it is very probable, all that we read in this chapter, and in the four following, was transacted.

Ver. 2.] These words were not directed to the whole congregation, but to the younger sort, who had not forfeited the favour of God, as their fathers had done; several of which, it is likely, were already dead, according to the doom God had passed upon them; and the rest looked upon themselves as disinherited (ch. xiv. 12): and therefore these precepts were not delivered to them.

When ye be come into the land of your habitations,] This shows he speaks to the children of the murmurers, whom he promised to bring into the land of Canaan (ch. xiv. 31), and would therefore have well instructed in the manner of sacrificing, wherein God's worship and service very much consisted; which is the reason why he further explains what he had heretofore said about this matter. But hence it appears, that they were not bound to observe these laws till they came to Canaan.

Ver. 3. *And will make an offering by fire]* This

comprehends all the sacrifices which were burnt upon the altar, either in the whole or in part.

Burnt offering,] This was the principal, and most ancient sacrifice of all other; which was wholly burnt upon the altar, every morning and every evening. (Exod. xxix. 40) of which he treats in the first of Leviticus.

A sacrifice] This undoubtedly signifies *peace-offerings*, as appears from ver. 8, and from the words here following; and likewise from the use of the word *sacrifice* in other places (Exod. xviii. 12; Lev. xvii. 5, 8), and from this consideration also, that *sin-offerings* had no *meat-offerings* attending on them, but only in the case of a leper (Lev. xiv. 10).

In performing a vow,] These words explain what he means by a *sacrifice*, viz. *peace-offerings*; which were offered in performance of some vow, or freely of their own accord (Lev. vii. 16, xxii. 21), or by God's command upon their solemn feasts; as it here follows.

In your solemn feasts,] Mentioned Lev. xxiii. (see there, ver. 37, and Numb. xxix. 39).

To make a sweet savour] Lev. i. 9.

Of the herd, or of the flock:] Under the word *flock* is comprehended both *kids* and *lambs*: for the Hebrew words *tsen* and *seh* signify both; as many have observed, particularly Bochart in his Hierozoicon (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 42).

4 Then shall he that offereth his offering unto the Lord bring a meat offering of a tenth deal of flour mingled with the fourth *part* of an hin of oil.

5 And the fourth *part* of an hin of wine for a drink offering shalt thou prepare with the burnt offering or sacrifice, for one lamb.

6 Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare *for* a meat offering two tenth deals of flour mingled with the third *part* of an hin of oil.

7 And for a drink offering thou shalt offer the third *part* of an hin of wine, *for* a sweet savour unto the Lord.

8 And when thou preparest a bullock *for* a

burnt offering, or *for* a sacrifice in performing a vow, or peace offerings unto the Lord :

9 Then shall he bring with a bullock a meat offering of three tenth deals of flour mingled with half an hin of oil.

10 And thou shalt bring for a drink offering half an hin of wine, *for* an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

11 Thus shall it be done for one bullock, or for one ram, or for a lamb, or a kid.

12 According to the number that ye shall prepare, so shall ye do to every one according to their number.

13 All that are born of the country shall do

Ver. 4. *Then shall he that offereth*] Of any of the forenamed sorts.

Bring a meat offering] As a necessary appurtenance to such sacrifices.

Of a tenth deal of flour] That is, the tenth part of an ephah (as is expressly declared, ch. xxviii. 5), which was an omer (see Exod. xvi. 36).

Mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.] See Exod. xxix. 40. In this, such meat-offerings as were accessories to other offerings, and a part of the sacrifice, which went before, differed from those meat-offerings which were not dependent upon a foregoing sacrifice, but offered alone by themselves: for in these latter the oil was only poured upon the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 1, &c.), and not mingled and macerated with the flour; as it is here ordered: and there was this further difference between them, that those meat-offerings which were accessory to other sacrifices, were all burnt on the altar, in honour of God, as Josephus observes, lib. iii. cap. 10, but when a meat-offering was solitary (as we may call it), as the principal offering which a man then made, a little part of it only was burnt upon the altar, and the priest had the rest: as appears from the second chapter of Leviticus.

Ver. 5. *Fourth part of an hin of wine*] See Exod. xxix. 40.

With the burnt offering or sacrifice.] Whether it were a whole burnt-offering, or a peace-offering (ver. 3), this wine was wholly poured upon the altar; and the priest had none of it.

For one lamb.] It was the same for one kid. If there were more than one, the drink-offering, as well as the meat-offering, was increased; particularly upon the Sabbath (ch. xxviii. 9). And the true reason why meat-offerings and drink-offerings are required to attend upon the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, was, because these sacrifices were a feast, and are called the *bread* or *food of God* (ch. xxviii. 2). And therefore, as bread and wine, as well as flesh, are our refectation, so God required them at his table. And *salt*, though not here named, was also added (because it was to be omitted in no sacrifice, Lev. ii. 13), as also *frankincense*; because it is said both ver. 7 and ver. 10, this drink-offering was *for a sweet savour unto the Lord*; which seems to allude to the fragrancy of frankincense.

This was a thing so well known, that the heathen imitated this practice, in all their sacrifices, which were ever accompanied with a meat-offering: inso-much that Pliny saith, without this *mola salsa*, no sacrifice was thought to be good: “nullum sacrificium ratum fieri existimant” (lib. xxx. cap. 5). And long before him we meet with it in Homer, in those known words of his,

—σάλογρας προβάλλοντα

And as for wine, Brentius, in his paraphrase to Leviticus, takes notice of that phrase in him, no less obvious,

—ἐνὶ δ' αἶσθητον οἶνον
ἀνίβει

which they not only poured upon the sacrifice, as it stood at the altar ready to be offered, but upon its flesh, when it was burning there: as we find in Virgil, Georg. iv.

“Ter liquido ardentem perfudit Neclare flammam.”

And in many other places (see Dilherrus, in his *Disert. Specialis de Caeozelia Gentilium*, cap. 10).

Ver. 6.] This being a nobler sacrifice than a lamb, a larger *meat-offering* (and *drink-offering* also, as appears by the next verse) is required to attend it.

Ver. 7.] Whereas for a lamb a fourth part was sufficient (ver. 5).

Ver. 8. *When thou preparest a bullock*] This is a sacrifice of the *herd*, as the former of the flock, mentioned ver. 3.

For a burnt offering, &c.] That is, freewill-offerings; which were one sort of *peace-offerings*, as those for performance of a vow were the other (see ver. 3): But freewill-offerings are peculiarly called by the name of *peace-offerings*, because they were the most acceptable of this sort; being offered purely out of love and affection to God, and not as a payment which was due upon a vow.

Ver. 9.] The *meat-offerings* increased proportionably to the sacrifices upon which they attended: one tenth-deal, with a fourth part of a hin of oil, being sufficient for a lamb (ver. 4), and two tenth-deals, with a third part of a hin of oil, for a ram (ver. 6); but three tenth-deals of flour, and half a hin of oil, is here required to accompany the sacrifice of a bullock.

Ver. 10.] The same was to be observed in the *drink-offering*: which is larger in this sacrifice than in the two former (ver. 5, 7).

Ver. 11.] He repeats what he had said more distinctly, proceeding from the sacrifice last mentioned unto the first: which (ver. 5) is said to be *one lamb*; but here explained to comprehend also a *kid*. For so the last part of this verse runs in the Hebrew; “for a young one (which he calls *seh*) either of the sheep, or of the goats.”

Ver. 12.] This I take to be a general rule, by which these offerings were to be governed; that, proportionable to the number of bullocks, rams, sheep, or goats that were offered, should be the quantity of the *meat-offering* and *drink-offering*; for bread and wine must bear proportion to the meat set on the table.

Ver. 13. *All that are born*] i. e. All Israelites.

In offering an offering, &c.] When they offer any of the forenamed sacrifices (ver. 3).

these things after this manner, in offering an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

14 And if a stranger sojourn with you, or whosoever be among you in your generations, and will offer an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD; as ye do, so he shall do.

15 One ordinance *shall be both* for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth *with you*, an ordinance for ever in your generations: as ye *are*, so shall the stranger be before the LORD.

16 One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.

Ver. 14. *If a stranger sojourn with you,*] There were two sorts of strangers, it is vulgarly known, among the Israelites: some that entirely embraced and professed the Jewish religion, into which they were admitted by circumcision, &c.; others that were permitted to live among them, having renounced all idolatry, but did not submit to their whole religion. The Talmudists expound this place of the former sort.

Or whosoever be among you] One would think this should signify the other sort of strangers; but they make it only an explication of the former: whether he were a proselyte that sojourned for a time, or were settled among them.

And will offer an offering] Any of the forementioned offerings, which could be offered, as is here directed, by none but one that was subject to their law. For though another proselyte, who worshipped the true God, but was not circumcised, might bring a burnt-offering; yet they say it was without a meat-offering and drink-offering; and no peace-offerings were accepted from him.

As ye do, so he shall do.] Offer according to the rules above given; which is farther explained in the following verses.

Ver. 15. *One ordinance*] viz. About sacrifices.

Shall be both for you] i. e. For you Israelites.

Also for the stranger] Here the LXX. translate it, προσφύτους προσκείμενους ἐν ἡμῖν, "proselytes that are added, or joined to you;" or are juri vestri participes, as Mr. Selden expounds it (lib. ii. Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2, p. 147).

An ordinance for ever, &c.] Never to be repealed as long as your religion lasts.

As ye are, so shall the stranger be] In matters of religion and Divine worship, though not in all civil things: for no proselyte, they think, could be chosen a member of the Sanhedrin, or great council at Jerusalem. The Jews extend these words to the way and manner of being made proselytes, by circumcision, baptism, and sprinkling of blood; as the Jews were originally, they say, initiated into their religion (Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 3, p. 34).

Ver. 16.] This general rule was made to invite and encourage strangers to become proselytes to the Jewish religion, and to engage the Jews to be kind to them, they being admitted to an *ισορροπία*, as Philo calls it, an *equal privilege* with those who were born Jews. Yet this, the Jews say, is to be received with some distinctions; for the laws of Moses, either concerning the duties they owed to God and one to another, or concerning magistracy and marriages; they say, those of the first sort belonged to proselytes, as much as to original Jews, yet with some temperance (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4); but in those of the second sort they had not an equal privilege; for they were not to have any sort of command, either civil or military;

17 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

18 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land whither I bring you,

19 Then it shall be, that, when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall offer up an heave offering unto the LORD.

20 Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for an heave offering: as ye do the heave offering of the threshing floor, so shall ye heave it.

21 Of the first of your dough ye shall give unto the LORD an heave offering in your generations.

and though they might marry with the Jews, yet not with the priests; and some marriages were permitted to them, which were forbidden to the Israelites (see there, p. 167).

Ver. 17.] These commands were given, in all likelihood, at the same time with the foregoing.

Ver. 18. *Speak unto the children of Israel,*] See ver. 2.

When ye come into the land whither I bring you,] See there also; only add this, that the Jews acknowledge such kind of offerings, as here follow, and first-fruits were due by the law only from the corn, &c., that grew in the land of Canaan; but, by the decree of their wise men, they were to bring them out of Syria, and out of the land of Og and Sihon; as Maimonides saith in his treatise called Biecurim, cap. 2.

Ver. 19. *When ye eat*] i. e. When it is ready to be eaten: for they offered it before they ate of it.

Of the bread of the land,] So corn is called (Psalm civ. 14), and the meaning seems to be, that when they made bread of the new corn of the land, they should out of the dough first make a cake, and offer it to the Lord, before they baked bread for their own use.

Ye shall offer up an heave offering] This is explained in the next verse, of offering a cake out of the first dough, whether it were of wheat, or barley, or rye, or oats, or that which they called *cusemim* (which they describe to be a kind of wheat, or barley, different from that which is commonly known by those names); for of these five kinds of grain, the Talmudists say, this cake was to be offered; and that out of the gleanings, and the sheaf left in the field, and out of the corners of the field.

Ver. 20. *A cake of the first of your dough*] Not upon the altar; but it was given to the priests, on whom God bestowed all their *heave-offerings* (ch. xviii. 8), yet they are said to be "offered unto the Lord," because they were *heaved*, or lifted up to him, as the Creator of heaven and earth; and then given to his ministers, who had it in his right.

As ye do the heave offering—so shall ye heave it.] That is, as the first-fruits of the harvest were given to the priests, and not offered upon the altar, so should this be given them (Lev. xxiii. 16, 17); and so were the first-fruits of their oil and their wine, &c. (Numb. xviii. 12, 13). All which the Jews call the *great terumah*, or *heave-offering*.

Ver. 21.] This being a new law, not given before, he repeats it, that they might be the more observant of it: as we may see they were by this; that it was one of the things which rendered a woman infamous (though not so as to give her the bitter water), if she did not separate this cake from the first dough of the new corn to be presented to God; but either made her husband believe she had done it when she had not, or ate it herself; as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 17, and therefore at this very day

22 ¶ And if ye have erred, and not observed all these commandments, which the Lord hath spoken unto Moses,

23 *Even* all that the Lord hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the day that the Lord commanded Moses, and henceforward among your generations;

24 Then it shall be, if *ought* be committed by ignorance without the knowledge of the congregation, that all the congregation shall offer one

the Jews are so nice in this point, that they take enough to make a cake, as soon as the meal is mingled with water. The proportion is not mentioned in the law; but their wise men say, it was to be the forty-fourth part of the whole dough (see Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud. esp. 34). The cabalists observing that this verse begins with the letter *mem*, and ends with *mem*, conclude (after their way), that therefore they were to give the fortieth part, because *mem* is the numeral letter for forty.

Ver. 22.] Which have been now given concerning sacrifices; for to such commandments these words seem to have respect. Maimonides, in his treatise of the worship of the planets (and the Jews generally), saith this concerns idolatry.

Ver. 23. *All that the Lord hath commanded*] That is, all the commandments in the book of Leviticus, about such matters of God's worship and service.

From the day that the Lord commanded Moses,] The word Moses is not in the Hebrew, and the sense is plainer without it, as the Vulgar hath translated these words, "from the day he began to command."

Henceforward] Or rather *thenceforward*, until now; or until he made an end of commanding. So this phrase is used in Lev. xxii. 27, "From the eighth day, and thenceforth," creatures were clean to be offered (see Ezek. xxix. 22).

Among your generations,] In the Hebrew, "to your generations." And so the LXX. εἰς τὰς γενεάς, "to be observed throughout all generations."

Ver. 24. *If ought be committed by ignorance without the knowledge of the congregation.*] It is commonly said, that Moses here speaks concerning sins of omission (as we call them), as in Lev. iv. 13, he doth of sins of commission, or doing that which ought not to be done; as here not doing that which ought to be done; for which different sorts of sacrifices are appointed. But others think that he speaks in both places of the same errors; only in that law (Lev. iv. 14), concerning those committed by the whole congregation, here of such as were committed by some lesser number of them, called the congregation; suppose the seventy elders, or the rulers of thousands and hundreds, &c., who are sometimes called by this name (ch. xxv. 7, xxxii. 12, Josh. xxiv. 4). But the Jews generally think Moses here speaks of strange worship, which was to be expiated by this sacrifice of a goat for a sin-offering. And therefore an excellent person of our own, after long consideration of the matter, comes to this conclusion: that in Leviticus he requires a young bullock to be slain for a sin-offering, when the whole congregation, though adhering to the true worship of God in every thing, were led ignorantly to do something against some negative precept (as they call it); to practise, that is, what God hath forbidden (so those words seem to import, Lev. iv. 13, 14), but this kid of the goats here mentioned for a sin-offering, together with a young bullock for a burnt-offering, was to be sacrificed, when all the people, forgetting the holy rites prescribed by Moses (which often happened under bad

young bullock for a burnt offering, for a sweet savour unto the Lord, with his meat offering, and his drink offering, according to the manner, and one kid of the goats for a sin offering.

25 And the priest shall make an atonement for all the congregation of the children of Israel, and it shall be forgiven them; for it is ignorance: and they shall bring their offering, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord, and their sin offering before the Lord, for their ignorance:

kings), fell by a common error into idolatrous worship; which agrees very well with what is said in the two verses foregoing; where he speaks, as I noted, of not observing these holy rites about sacrifices (see Dr. Outram, lib. i. De Sacrificiis, cap. 14, sect. 2).

That all the congregation shall offer one young bullock] Having neglected these laws ordained by Moses, and worshipped God in a wrong manner, according to the rites used in other countries (or at least mistaking the proper sacrifices and rites belonging to them, which they ought to have offered), this burnt-offering, I suppose, is commanded to be offered, when they saw their error, in token that they returned to God's true religion, and that way of worship which he had prescribed.

With his meat offering,] Prescribed above, ver. 8—10. Which, perhaps, they had neglected to offer formerly with the burnt-offering.

It is well observed by Mr. Thorndike out of Maimonides, that *all the congregation* (if we understand thereby the whole body of the people), could not possibly offer these sacrifices; but the great consistory offered them as often as they occasioned the breach of the law, by interpreting it erroneously (Rights of the Church in a Christian state, p. 159).

One kid of the goats for a sin offering.] To expiate for what had been done after the manner of the heathen, contrary to the laws of God's worship here delivered by Moses; or otherwise than he directed; from whence it was (which adds much probability to this), that when Hezekiah restored the true worship of God, after the temple had been shut up, and the daily sacrifice omitted, and many idolatrous rites there used, by the ignorance of the people, in the days of his father (2 Chron. xxviii. 24, xxix. 3), he caused seven bullocks to be offered for a burnt-offering; and as many goats for a sin-offering; and so Ezra did at the restoration of the Divine service after they came out of Babylon (Ezra viii. 35). And it makes no difference, that Moses here requires only one of a sort to be offered, whereas Hezekiah offered seven, and Ezra twelve; for this only proves that one was absolutely necessary, but more than one was acceptable: especially when exceeding great errors had been committed in God's worship.

Ver. 25. *The priest shall make an atonement*] Who had thus committed an error in the worship of God out of ignorance: being misled by the great interpreters of the law; who therefore were to bring this sacrifice in the name of them all. For it is apparent by this, as well as the former verse, that *all the congregation* were concerned in this sacrifice, as much as in that Lev. iv. 13. And the same appears from the next verse, where he saith, "all the people were in ignorance."

It shall be forgiven them;] Proceeding from an erroneous interpretation of the law, or some other mistake; not from contempt of God and of his laws: for then they were to be utterly cut off (ver. 30, 31).

A sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.] That is, a burnt-offering: which is not prescribed in Leviticus

26 And it shall be forgiven all the congregation of the children of Israel, and the stranger that sojourneth among them; seeing all the people were in ignorance.

27 ¶ And if any soul sin through ignorance, then he shall bring a she goat of the first year for a sin offering.

28 And the priest shall make an atonement for the soul that sinneth ignorantly, when he sinneth by ignorance before the Lord, to make an

atonement for him; and it shall be forgiven him.

29 Ye shall have one law for him that sinneth through ignorance, *both* for him that is born among the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them.

30 ¶ But the soul that doeth *ought* presumptuously, *whether he be* born in the land, or a stranger, the same reproacheth the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people.

(as I observed before), and therefore was a different sort of offering, for a different offence.

Their sin offerings.] Prescribed in the foregoing verse.

For their ignorance.] Which made them capable of a pardon; though not without these sacrifices.

Ver. 26. It shall be forgiven] He repeats it again, that they might not doubt of reconciliation to him, when they repented as soon as they understood their error, and acknowledged it, and begged his pardon by these sacrifices.

And the stranger] Who were obliged to the same laws with the Israelites, and had the same privileges (ver. 14—16).

Seeing all the people were in ignorance.] It was a common error; and therefore no wonder strangers were carried away with it.

Ver. 27. If any soul] i. e. Any particular person.

Sin through ignorance.] Offend in matters of religion; by not observing the rites here prescribed, or by doing contrary to them through mere ignorance. To this, I think, these words are to be limited; wherein they differ from that law, Lev. iv. 27, which speaks of all manner of offences through ignorance.

Then he shall bring a she goat] This sin-offering differs from that in Leviticus (ch. iv. 28), which was only a female kid of the goats.

Ver. 28. The priest shall make an atonement] As he was to do for the whole congregation (ver. 25).

Before the Lord.] These words, *before the Lord*, seem to me to import, that he speaks of sins committed about the worship of God; and confirms what I have said upon ver. 24. For in Lev. iv. both ver. 13, and ver. 27, he speaks in general of sins committed, either by the congregation, or by particular persons, "against any of the commandments of the Lord," not "before the Lord;" i. e. (as I understand it) in his worship and service.

To make an atonement] He repeats it again to show them that he would no more have a particular person suffer for his error than the whole body of the people.

Ver. 29.] See ver. 15. This must necessarily be meant of a proselyte of justice, as they called him that was circumcised, and undertook to keep the whole law; for he speaks of such, whether natives or others, as erred in not observing all his commandments (ver. 22, 23).

Ver. 30. The soul that doeth ought presumptuously.] Not merely knowingly, but wilfully and audaciously; in contempt of the Divine Majesty and his authority: for so the Hebrew phrase, *with a high hand*, signifies, as Maimonides observes, in his *More Nevochim*, par. iii. cap. 41, where he saith, it imports a sin, not only publicly and openly committed, but with pride and insolence; it proceeding, not merely from an ill custom a man hath got of doing amiss, but from an express intention to contradict the law of God, and to set himself in defiance of it: which is the reason of what follows, *the same reproacheth the Lord*.

Whether he be born in the land, or a stranger,]

Here the word *stranger* is simply used, without the addition of *that sojourneth among them* (as in the preceding verse), and therefore Mr. Selden well concludes, that even the *proselytes of the gate* were concerned in this law (as it related to idolatry and blasphemy), though not in the foregoing; and that they were liable to be *cut off* by the hand of Heaven; but whether to be punished by the judges or not, it doth not appear (lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 11).

The same reproacheth the Lord;] "No man sinned thus (saith Maimonides in the place forenamed), but he who had a settled opinion in his mind, contrary to the law of God; in which he dissented from it. And the common received exposition of this place is, that it speaks of an idolater; because he opposed the chief and principal foundation of the law. For no man worshipped a star or a planet, but he that believed its eternity: which is the most repugnant of all other things to the law of God; which, in the very first words of it, declares, that all the world had a beginning, and was made by Him whom the Jews worshipped." Thus he. But doing any thing with a *high hand* doth not signify any one certain kind of sin, as the Jews generally fancy (who think he speaks here only of an idolater or blasphemer: see Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 6, p. 101), but a certain manner of sinning, with despite to the commands of God, and contempt of his authority, in any kind of sin whatsoever. And this Maimonides himself afterward acknowledges, in the words following: "There seems to me to be the same reason in all other transgressions, which are committed contemptuously against any law of God; as, if an Israelite seethed a kid in its mother's milk, or wore heterogeneous garments, or rounded the corners of his head, or his beard, in contempt of the law. For the consequence of this is, that he believes this law not to be true; which, in my judgment (saith he) is the meaning of these words, *He reproacheth the Lord*."

That soul shall be cut off] No sacrifice could make an atonement for such a man; but he was to die, either by the hand of heaven, or of the judges. Sometimes God saith, he will cut off idolaters, and such as consulted familiar spirits (Lev. xx. 5, 6). Sometimes he only saith certain offenders shall be cut off; as here in this, and many other places. Of which phrase I have given an account, Gen. xvii. 14, where the reader may see the several opinions that have been about it; and that its meaning must be determined by the matter in hand. Accordingly, Maimonides hath judiciously resolved, that, in this place, it signifies cutting off by the hand of the magistrates, as in the case of apostasy to idolatry (Deut. xiii. 13, &c.). Not that all their goods were to be destroyed, and nothing left to their heirs (as when they served other gods); but, though a whole tribe had, *with a high hand*, transgressed any precept of the law, that is, denied it to be God's law, he thinks they were only to be all killed. Just as all the people thought in the case of the Reubenites, Gadites, and half tribe of Manasseh: who, only building an altar on the other side of Jor-

31 Because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall utterly be cut off; his iniquity *shall* be upon him.

32 ¶ And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath day.

33 And they that found him gathering sticks

dan, contrary to God's law, as was imagined, all the rest of the tribes of Israel gathered together, *to go up to war against them*, and cut them off, Josh. xxii. 11, 12, &c., 22, 23, where they acknowledged they deserved to perish, if they had built an altar for worship, as their brethren thought they had done.

Ver. 31. *Because he hath despised*] This shows the nature of the offence; which was setting at naught God's laws, and denying them to be of divine authority.

Hath broken his commandment,] Not only by doing contrary to it, but, in effect, disannulling it; by rejecting its authority, and affirming he is not bound to observe that precept.

That soul shall utterly be cut off;] They shall have no mercy upon him.

His iniquity shall be upon him.] Not upon those who put him to death; but upon himself.

Ver. 32. *While the children of Israel were in the wilderness,*] In this part of the wilderness, at Kadesh-barnea, it is very probable (see ver. 1).

They found a man] The Jews, who would not be thought ignorant of any thing, say this man was one of those that presumed to go up to the mountain, when Moses forbade them (ch. xiv. 44). And some of them say expressly, his name was Zelophehad; about the dividing of whose estate a question afterward arose (ch. xxvii. 1, &c.). So the Chaldee paraphrase, ascribed to Jonathan and others, (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. i. n. 9).

That gathered sticks] Or was *binding up sticks*, which he had gathered, and plucked up by the roots out of the earth; as some of the Jews understand the Hebrew word (Mr. Selden there observes), from Exod. v. 7.

Upon the sabbath day.] This the Jewish doctors would have to be the very next Sabbath after its first institution in the wilderness; which is to make this history misplaced, and the foregoing also, without any necessity.

Ver. 33. *They that found him gathering sticks*] Admonished him (as the Jews also say) of the unlawfulness of it, and wished him to desist. But he would not hearken unto them; and therefore (as it here follows) "they brought him unto Moses," &c., as one that contemptuously, and with a high hand, had offended God. For they make this an instance of such a presumptuous sin as is mentioned before, ver. 30, 31, which is not improbable. And it appears from hence, that they observed the Sabbath while they were in the wilderness; and therefore did not bring him before Moses on that day, but the next after; or at least he was not judged till the next day.

Brought him unto—all the congregation] Who were now, they fancy, hearing a sacred lecture, when they brought the man before Moses. For he was the chief judge, who was to determine such cases: though we may conceive the seventy elders (who were constituted before this happened, ch. xi. 24, &c.) to have been now sitting, and Moses at the head of them. But he being not deprived of any authority by their creation, who were added only to give him ease, it is more likely this man was set before Moses, as the sole judge of this case. For God speaks to him alone (ver. 35), when he directs what should be done with him. Yet

brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation.

34 And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done to him.

35 And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall be surely put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp.

36 And all the congregation brought him

Aaron and the elders, it appears by these words, were present (and called here *all the congregation*), when this offender was brought before him.

Ver. 34. *They put him in ward,*] By the order of Moses (as they did the man that blasphemed, Lev. xxiv. 12), to secure him, till the mind of God was known how he should be punished.

Because it was not declared what should be done to him.] They knew very well that he was to die; for it had been declared (Exod. xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2), but they questioned what kind of death he should suffer, as the Jews interpret it. For they observe this difference between that case of the blasphemer in Leviticus, and this here of the sabbath-breaker: that there they doubted whether he should be punished by them, or by the hand of Heaven; but here, what kind of death they should inflict upon him. Though there are some (as Mr. Selden there observes, n. 8) who imagine, the question here also was, whether the sense of the law was, that they should expect his punishment from God, or he be put to death by the court of judgment.

Ver. 35. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] Who went, I suppose, into the sanctuary, to inquire what the pleasure of God was in this matter; as he did in another difficulty (Numb. ix. 8).

The man shall be surely put to death;] By this answer, it seems to me, the question was not, at first, what death he should die; but whether he should be put to death or not: that is, whether the gathering and binding up sticks into a fagot was such a work as is forbidden in the law (Exod. xx.), unto which death was afterward threatened in the places before mentioned. And the resolution was, that he should be put to death, as a man that denied God, the creator of the world; though not in words, yet in fact. For he who did any work on the Sabbath (as Aben Ezra notes upon Exod. xx.), denied the work of creation; though he did not in downright terms deny God himself. For the Sabbath being a *sign* (as God calls it) that they were the worshippers of him who made all things; the contempt of that was a renouncing of their religion, and therefore deserved to be punished with death; the belief of the creation of the world being the very foundation of the Jewish religion; as the belief of its eternity was the foundation of the pagan. This made the breach of this precept, of keeping the Sabbath strictly (which is more frequently repeated than any other, for the reason forementioned), so heinous a crime, and so severely punished: for by this time a true worshipper of God was distinguished from a profane person and an idolater.

All the congregation shall stone him] This was a punishment inflicted for very enormous crimes (see Lev. xx. 2, xxiv. 12). And this man was condemned to suffer it because he was the first breaker of this sacred law. And he doing it presumptuously (as is supposed from the connection of this story with ver. 30, 31), in contempt of the law; and not desisting from his impiety, when he was admonished to forbear (as I said, ver. 33), it highly aggravated his guilt; being no less than "a reproaching of the Lord, and a despising of his word." Whence the

without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died; as the Lord commanded Moses.

37 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

38 Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribband of blue :

39 And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that

vulgar saying of the Talmudists, "He that denies the Sabbath, is like to him that denies the whole law."

Ver. 36.] Not on the Sabbath-day, as I said before; for that was unlawful (as Philo observes), but the next day after; or as soon as Moses had passed sentence upon him.

Ver. 37.] This was spoken, it is most likely, about the same time that the foregoing passage happened, and the commands mentioned in the beginning of this chapter were delivered. For this that follows, is a direction for the better observance of all the rest of God's commandments.

Ver. 38. *Fringes*] This is the best word we have in our language to express the Hebrew word *tzitzith*, which imports something of an ornament resembling a flower, as the word *tzitz* signifies. Of how many threads they consist, and after what fashion they are made by the Jews at this day, see Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica, cap. 9.

In the borders of their garments.] Or, (as it is in the Hebrew) "in the wings of their garments;" which had four skirts, as appears by Deut. xxii. 12, at the bottom of each of which they were to have a fringe: which seem to have been only threads left at the end of the web unwoven; at the top whereof they put a lace, as it here follows.

Throughout their generations.] To be a perpetual mark of their religion, and put them in mind of their duty.

A ribband] Or, a lace; which both bound the fringe fast at the top, and also made it more conspicuous and observable; which was the intention of it. For by this they were distinguished from all other people who were not Jews; as well as put in mind of the precepts of God, as it follows in the next verse.

Of blue.] Or, as some would have it translated, of purple. But the Hebrew writers say, *theketh* signifies that colour which we now call *ultramarine*; as Braunius hath observed (lib. i. De Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. cap. 13, and Bochart. Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 10, 11).

There is another very learned person, also, who hath more lately shown, out of an excellent MS. in his possession, what the Jews deliver concerning the way and manner of dying this colour: which being not easy to compass, the Jews at this day, instead of this colour, are contented to use *white* (see J. Wagen-seil upon the Gemara Sota, cap. 2, annot. 8).

Ver. 39. *It shall be unto you for a fringe.*] Or rather, "it (that is, the ribband) shall be unto you upon the fringe;" or, *to the fringe*; added to it, to make it the more noted; being of a distinct colour from the fringe, which was of the same colour. And the garment, the Jews say, in the selvage of which these fringes were, was their upper garment, called *talith*, being a kind of cloak.

That ye may look upon it, &c.] i. e. When they looked down, this fringe and lace which they saw there might put them in mind of the duty they owed to God; who commanded this, not for itself, but to remember them that they were a holy people, bound to God by peculiar laws, which they should be as careful to observe as to wear these fringes. Hence it

ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them; and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go a whoring :

40 That ye may remember, and do all my commandments, and be holy unto your God.

41 *I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God.*

was, that they who pretended to greater sanctity than others, enlarged these fringes (as our Saviour observes, Matt. xxiii. 5), i. e. extended them to a greater length, so that they swept the ground, which made them more observable, as Braunius notes out of the Gemara of Gittin. lib. i. De Vest. Sacerd. Hebr. cap. 3, n. 16, where he also observes, that their superstition grew so much, as with great subtilty to contrive that these fringes might be so wrought, as to denote the six hundred and thirteen precepts contained in the law of Moses; that so they might be put in mind "of all the commandments of the Lord" (see Buxtorf also in the place before named; and Bishop Montague, in his Apparatus, cap. 7, n. 32).

And do them;] Which was the end of remembering them, as that was of their wearing them; though the Jews proved so foolish as to pride themselves in the bare use of their ornaments: i. e. in their being a select people; which ought to have made them more careful to do the whole will of God.

That ye seek not after your own heart] Follow not your own thoughts and imaginations (as Maimonides expounds it, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 39), or rather, *your own desires*. Or the word *seek* may import *inventing* other ways of serving God, according to their own fancies.

Your own eyes.] Nor follow the example of others; as they were prone to do, it appears, by their making the golden calf, that they might have such a visible representation of God as other nations were wont to have.

After which ye use to go a whoring.] It appears by this, that the foregoing words have a peculiar regard to the worship of God (which he speaks of in the beginning of this chapter), from which, when they departed, they are said to go *a whoring from God*, unto whom they were espoused.

Ver. 40. *That ye may remember, and do all my commandments.*] He would not have them think there was any sanctity to be placed merely in wearing these fringes; but they were to be considered only as instruments, to call their duty to remembrance, and excite them to the performance of it. And so the Jews themselves sometimes call them, as Buxtorf observes in the place before named, "means and instruments of observing the precepts."

Be holy unto your God.] By observing all his commandments; especially keeping themselves from idols.

Ver. 41. *I am the Lord your God.*] Their sovereign and benefactor.

Which brought you out of —Egypt.] He remembers them of the most peculiar obligation they had upon them, to observe this law and all the rest of his precepts.

To be your God.] They were redeemed by him on purpose, when none else could deliver them, that they might acknowledge no other God, but only him to whom they owed their liberty, to serve him.

I am the Lord your God.] This seems to be repeated to encourage them to hope that he would still continue good to them, notwithstanding the rebellion of their fathers, for which he had condemned them to die in the wilderness; where he would preserve them (their children), and at last bring them into Canaan, if they would follow his directions.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.* 23 *Moses separateth the people from the rebels' tents.* 31 *The earth swalloweth up Korah, and a fire consumeth others.* 36 *The censers are reserved to holy use.* 41 *Fourteen thousand and seven hundred are slain by a plague for murmuring against Moses and Aaron.* 46 *Aaron by incense stayeth the plague.*

1 Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, and Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben, took *men* :

2 And they rose up before Moses, with cer-

tain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown :

3 And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto

CHAP. XVI.

We have nothing here said to direct us to the time and place when and where this new rebellion happened; but it is very probable (as I said, ch. xv. 1) that it was in some part of the second year after they came out of Egypt, before they removed from Kadesh-barnea.

Ver. 1. *Korah, the son of Izhar,*] By this it is evident that Korah was cousin-german (as we speak) to Moses and Aaron; for Izhar (Korah's father) was the second son of Kohath, as Amram (the father of Moses and Aaron) was his eldest son (Exod. vi. 18, 1 Chron. vi. 2).

Dathan and Abiram,] This Eliab was the son of Pallu, the second son of Reuben, as appears from ch. xxvi. 5, 8, 9.

On,] He also was descended from Reuben, as well as Dathan and Abiram (as the next words tell us, *sons of Reuben*), but of what family it doth not appear. Nor is this man anywhere again mentioned, no, not in the progress of this conspiracy; which inclines me to think, that though he entered into it, yet he afterward withdrew himself, or was so inconsiderable, that no notice was taken of him.

Took men:] The word *men* is not in the Hebrew; but simply *Korah took*. Which word *took* being the first word in the Hebrew text, the whole verse may be thus translated: "Korah the son of Izhar, &c., took both Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, and On the son of Peleth," &c. That is, he drew these into a conspiracy with him. Or, he betook himself to a party, as the Chaldee understands it, he divided himself; with an intention, that is, to make a sedition. But the sense is the same, if we follow our translation, *he took men*; that is, accomplices or associates with him in his rebellion: by which we may understand the two hundred and fifty mentioned in the next verse.

Ver. 2. *They rose up*] Made an insurrection: in which Korah seems to have been the ringleader, having drawn the rest into it; which he might the more easily do, because the Kohathites and Reubenites lay encamped on the very same side of the tabernacle (Numb. ii. 10, compared with ch. iii. 29), by which means they had opportunity often to conspire together. Whence R. Solomon makes this reflection, "Wo to the wicked, and wo to his neighbour!" The cause of the insurrection is generally thought, both by Jews and Christians, to have been, that Korah could not brook the preferment of Aaron and his family so high above the rest of the Levites, who were made only their ministers (ch. iii. 6, 9, viii. 19). For he thought this was too great a difference between the children of two brothers, who were of equal deserts. Nay, Aben Ezra thinks, that he wholly disliked the late exchange of the first-born for the Levites. And besides, it may be thought that he

stomached the late preferment of Elizaphan, the son of Uzziel, who was the youngest son of Kohath, to be chief of the family of the Kohathites (ch. iii. 30), which he thought rather belonged to himself, who was the son of the second son of Kohath. And finding himself too weak to make an insurrection alone, he persuaded Dathan and Abiram (of the tribe of Reuben), and those in whom they had an interest, to join with him, upon another pretence; that they were descended from the eldest son of Israel, to whom the chief authority in the nation belonged, which Moses had taken upon himself; and likewise preferred the tribe of Judah to the principal place in their encampment (ch. ii. 3), and also the seventy elders to be his assistants, without their advice, and leaving them out of the number.

Such as these may be thought to be the grounds upon which they proceeded: Korah seeking the priesthood, and the sons of Reuben the civil dignity. But it seems to me that the ground of the quarrel was wholly upon the account of the priesthood (as I shall show upon the next verse), and that they struck at Moses only as advancing his brother and his family by his own authority, and not (as they pretended) by God's direction. For as Dathan and Abiram did not appear openly when they had formed this faction (for we find them in their tents, ver. 12, and refusing to come to Moses when he sent for them), so, in the next verse, they seem to speak of nothing but the priesthood: and so Moses understood their meaning, ver. 5, 10, 15.

Before Moses,] In an open defiance of his authority; who, they pretended, had no power to make such alterations as he had done.

With certain of—Israel,] It is not said out of what tribe; but it is likely out of several: if not some out of every tribe, in whom they had any interest.

Two hundred and fifty princes, &c.] The LXX. divide their character into three parts. First, that they were "princes of the assembly, ἀρχηγούς συναγωγῆς, rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds," &c. And secondly,

Famous in the congregation,] Which they translate συγκλητικούς βουλῆς, "who used to be called to public consultations," when they were to deliberate about weighty affairs. And so several, both ancient and modern, translations, as Mr. Selden hath shown, lib. ii. De Synedriis, cap. 4, n. 10, where he saith, they were called, maxime puto, si non solum, deliberandi causa, "chiefly, if not only, to have their advice." And then lastly,

Men of renown:] Such who had got a great name (that is, fame and credit) among the people, upon these or other accounts. This made the insurrection the more dangerous, that such great persons were engaged and appeared in it.

Ver. 3. *They gathered themselves together*] The forenamed company came in a body.

them, *Ye take too much upon you*, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the LORD?

4 And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face:

5 And he spake unto Korah and unto all his company, saying, Even to-morrow the LORD will shew who are his, and who is holy; and will cause him to come near unto him: even

Against Moses] As an arbitrary disposer of all pre-
ferment.

Against Aaron,] Who was promoted by Moses to the office of high-priest; which he himself had discharged before Aaron's consecration; which, perhaps, they made a ground of their quarrel.

Ye take too much upon you,] In the Hebrew the words are *rab lachem*, "it is sufficient for you:" that is, you have domineered long enough; resign your places to others: for all of us, nay, every man in Israel, is as good as you.

Seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them,] Here seems to be the root of the quarrel. Before Moses' time every one might offer sacrifice in his own family (as I have often observed), which custom these men would have had still continued; being angry that this high office was confined to one family alone, who were to enjoy all the benefits of it; which were exceeding great. For the priests had a large share in most offerings; and some things wholly to themselves. This is the more probable, because it was so very hard to convince the people that God had settled this dignity, and all the profits belonging to it, in Aaron's family. For though God did a new thing, never heard of before, to demonstrate these people that rose against Moses and Aaron to be seditious, yet it was necessary still to do more. For after the earth had swallowed up Dathan and Abiram, and fire consumed Korah and his company, and a plague destroyed many more of them, the Lord did another miracle (ch. xvii. 8), in making Aaron's rod blossom and bud, and bring forth almonds in one night's time, when all the rest of the rods remained dry sticks: which makes it probable, as I said before, there were some in all the tribes who were engaged in this sedition; and were so deeply infected with the false notions of Korah, that it was necessary to give them all this satisfaction.

The Lord is among them,] The people need no other governor but him, who dwells among them in his tabernacle, where they can present their sacrifices to him themselves without your assistance.

Wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation,] Since God owns us all for his special and peculiar people, why do you take upon you such high places and dignity above us all? For Moses disposed and ordered all things; and Aaron, by his order, took upon him to be solely God's chief minister in his sanctuary.

Ver. 4. *When Moses heard it, he fell upon his face*,] With Aaron also, it is likely, as they did lately (ch. xiv. 5). And for the same end (see there), to deprecate God's displeasure (which they might justly think would now rise higher than ever), and to beg his direction what to do in such a dangerous state of things.

Ver. 5. *He spake unto Korah*] This shows that Korah was the head of this faction, and Dathan and Abiram did not at the first (I guess from hence) appear with him.

him whom he hath chosen will he cause to come near unto him.

6 This do; Take you censers, Korah, and all his company;

7 And put fire therein, and put incense in them before the LORD to-morrow: and it shall be that the man whom the LORD doth choose, he shall be holy: ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.

8 And Moses said unto Korah, Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi:

Saying,] Being risen up from prayer, he made this answer to the seditious people, by order from God, who, no doubt, directed him to this way of suppressing them.

Even to-morrow the Lord will shew, &c.] In the Hebrew the words are "to-morrow (or, in the morning) and the Lord will show," &c. That is, stay but till to-morrow, and it shall appear, without any further delay, whether you or we be in the right. He would keep them in suspense no longer, and yet gave them so much time to consider better, and repent. Some observe that the morning was the time of executing justice, and therefore here appointed.

The Lord will shew] By some visible token.

Who are his,] Or, "who appertain to him;" viz. as his ministers.

Who is holy,] Separated and solemnly consecrated, by his appointment, to the sacred office of priesthood.

Cause him to come near] Make it appear that they are the persons who ought to burn incense and to offer sacrifice. For to come near, is to perform these offices, as may be learnt from Lev. xix. 22, but especially from Lev. x. 3. And the very word *cohen* denotes it; for it signifies "a minister next to the king."

Him whom he hath chosen] They shall discharge the office of priesthood, whom God himself hath chosen to it, and nobody else.

Ver. 6. *This do*,] I put you to this trial.

Take you censers,] Perform the office of priests, unto which you pretend a right.

Korah, and all his company,] All the two hundred and fifty men, and whosoever else were in the faction of Korah: whom he orders, no doubt, by God's direction, to execute the office to which they aspired.

Ver. 7. *Put fire therein*,] As the priests were wont to do.

Before the Lord to-morrow,] At the altar of the incense, as some conceive, before the most holy place. So Menochius. But this is contrary to ver. 18, where we read they "stood in the door of the tabernacle," with their censers, fire, and incense. Nor would the sanctuary contain such a company; or, if it had been large enough, the people could not have seen either their offering or their punishment from the Lord for their sin. Therefore these words *before the Lord* signify with their faces towards the sanctuary, at the gate of which they stood; for what was done there is said to be *before the Lord* (Exod. xxix. 42).

The man whom the Lord doth choose,] This comprehends both the man and all his family: so the meaning is, the Lord would declare whether Aaron and his sons should execute the priesthood alone, or Korah and his company be admitted to it.

Ye take too much upon you,] It is the same phrase which we had before, ver. 3, *rab lachem*: you are high enough already; let the station wherein you are suffice you, and aspire not after greater dignity. The following words justify this interpretation.

Ver. 8,] By this and by the foregoing verse it appears, not only that there were some of the Levites in

9 *Seemeth it but a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto them?*

10 And he hath brought thee near to him, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee: and seek ye the priesthood also?

11 For which cause both thou and all thy company are gathered together against the Lord: and what is Aaron, that ye murmur against him?

this sedition, together with Korah at the head of them, but that they were the chief incendiaries (though others, as I said before, were drawn in to join with them), because Moses addresses himself only to them.

Ver. 9. *Seemeth it but a small thing unto you,*] Do you take it to be no honour to you.

Hath separated you] Made choice of you, above all other Israelites, to wait upon him in his family, as his domestic servants (Numb. iii. 12, viii. 6, 14).

To bring you near] Though not so near as the priests, yet nearer than all other men, being the sole attendants upon the priests (ch. iii. 6, viii. 10, 11).

To do the service] See ch. iii. 7, 8, particularly the Kohathites were chosen to do the service of the tabernacle, about the most holy things (ch. iv. 4, 19).

To stand before the congregation] See ch. viii. 11, 19.

Ver. 10. *And he hath brought thee*] Or, "though he hath brought thee" (speaking unto Korah) thus near to him, and all the rest of the Levites thy brethren (see ch. viii. 10, 11, 15, 19).

Seek ye the priesthood also?] Will it not content you that you alone are chosen to minister unto the priests (ch. iii. 6), but you must be advanced to minister unto God in their office?

Ver. 11. *Thou and all thy company are gathered together against the Lord:*] By whose order Aaron and his sons were appointed to serve him in the office of priests: as was declared when the Levites were taken to minister unto them (ch. iii. 3, iv. 15, 19, 20). And therefore, to rise up against them, was to rise up against the Lord, and oppose his authority, who made them his priests.

And what is Aaron,] Or, "and Aaron, what hath he done?" Wherein is he faulty?

That ye murmur against him?] For taking upon him the office of priesthood; into which he did not intrude himself, but was chosen and appointed by God to do him that service; who would have been angry with him if he had refused it.

Ver. 12. *Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram,*] To summon them to the place where Moses now was; which the Jews say was the court of judgment. This shows, that either these men (as I said ver. 2) did not openly appear with Korah and his company against Moses (ver. 3): or, if they did, they retired to their tents, before he rose up from his prayer, to give them an answer.

What became of On we are not informed: for he is neither mentioned here, nor in the following part of this narrative, concerning their sedition; nor any where else in the Holy Scripture.

We will not come up:] They bade the messenger who summoned them to appear before Moses, to tell him plainly that they denied his authority. For that is the meaning of this language, "He hath no authority to

12 ¶ And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab: which said, We will not come up:

13 *Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?*

14 Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey, or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? we will not come up.

15 And Moses was very wroth, and said unto

command us, who are none of his subjects; and therefore will not obey him."

Ver. 13. *Is it a small thing,* &c.] Though they would not come to him, yet they returned him this message: Have we not suffered enough by being brought out of a rich and plentiful country, abounding with all good things, into a barren wilderness, where we are ready to starve? Nothing could be more insolent and ungrateful, than to describe Egypt in the very same language wherein God himself had often spoken of the land of promise; particularly when he sent Moses to tell them, he would "bring them out of the affliction of Egypt," under which they groaned (Exod. iii. 16, 17).

Except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?] Unless we allow thee to make what laws thou thinkest good, and impose what thou pleasest upon us? A most rude and insolent speech; signifying that they had not shaken off the yoke of bondage, but only exchanged it: and instead of the rich and wealthy oppression of Pharaoh, were come under the poor and hungry tyranny of Moses. For so the next verse imports

Ver. 14. *Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land,* &c.] Or, certainly, this is not the good land into which thou didst promise to conduct us. It seems to be a sarcastical speech; upbraiding him as if he had put a cheat upon them, and fed them only with good words, to which they would no longer trust.

Or given us inheritance] But told us it shall be bestowed forty years hence, when we are all dead. This still shows they took him for a deluder of them with deceitful promises.

Wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?] Some of them spake this in the name of the rest, who were now with Dathan and Abiram; and the meaning is, Dost thou think to blind us so, that none of us shall discern this imposture? or, shall we suffer thee to lead us about like blind men, whither thou pleasest; sometimes towards Canaan, and now back again towards the Red Sea and Egypt?

We will not come up.] A peremptory resolution, not to own his authority, which they denied at the first (ver. 12).

Ver. 15. *Moses was very wroth,*] For such behaviour and language was so provoking, that it was no wonder it incensed the meekest man upon earth (ch. xii. 3). Yet the LXX. translate the words, as if he only took it very heavily, ἐβαρύνθησε σφόδρα, "it made him exceeding sad."

Respect not thou their offering:] He calls the incense which they were about to offer by the name of *mincha*, which commonly signifies a *meat-offering*; but sometimes any inanimate thing that was consumed in honour of God, as incense was; and must so signify in this place, for they offered nothing else. And when Moses desires it may not be accepted, he means a great deal

the LORD, Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them.

16 And Moses said unto Korah, Be thou and all thy company before the LORD, thou, and they, and Aaron, to-morrow:

17 And take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the LORD every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer.

18 And they took every man his censer, and put fire in them, and laid incense thereon, and

more, that God would give some sign of his dislike to it. Hence it seems plain to me that Dathan and Abiram, as well as Korah, quarrelled at the confining the priesthood unto Aaron's family; for Moses calls this *their offering*: by the acceptance or rejection of which, this controversy was to be decided.

[*I have not taken one ass from them.*] This seems to be an appeal to God against their unjust charge, that he acted arbitrarily, and did with them what he listed (ver. 13). From which he was so far, that he declares before God he had not *taken*, i. e. received by way of gift or reward (so the LXX. and the Vulgar understand it), the smallest thing (for such a single ass was), much less extorted any thing from them.

[*Neither have I hurt one of them.*] None can say that I have done any kind of evil to them; but contrarily, all good offices. For, that he did not seek himself appeared in this, that he had not advanced his own family to the priesthood, but left them in the number of the other Levites, upon the same level with Korah and his company.

Ver. 16. *Be thou and all thy company before the Lord, &c.*] He repeats what he had said to him before (ver. 6, 7), only adding, that he would have Aaron also there, together with them. So it follows, "Thou, and they, and Aaron, to-morrow."

[*Before the Lord,*] i. e. In the court of the tabernacle, see ver. 7, where, by an extraordinary commission from the Divine Majesty, this trial was to be made. And therefore Aaron himself did not now go into the sanctuary to offer incense (which was the proper and only place allowed by the law), but stood with them without; as in another great necessity he offered incense in "the midst of the congregation" (ver. 46, 47). Both which were done by a dispensation from him that made the law.

Ver. 17. *Take every man his censer,*] Let every man of them stand before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle, to do the office of priests; to which they pretended as good a right as Aaron and his sons.

Two hundred and fifty censers:] This shows that the incense being offered by so great a number (as it appears it was, ver. 35), they did not offer it in the sanctuary; which would not contain so many persons.

[*Thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer.*] This seems to signify, as if Korah was commanded to stand by Aaron, since he pretended to be his equal; which made the hand of God the more remarkable upon him, when he was struck with lightning, and no harm came to Aaron, who stood by him: but it may be doubted, what way Korah perished.

Ver. 18. *They took every man his censer,*] That is, the two hundred and fifty men did as they were commanded; but Korah went first to muster up as many as he could get together against Moses (ver. 19), and then seems to have gone to his tent (ver. 24). Herein these men submitted to the way of decision which Moses propounded, though they had so boldly de-

nied his authority. For they could not but think, that God, whom they owned to be among them (ver. 3), would approve of them, if they were in the right, and make good their allegation, that *all the congregation were holy*, by accepting their incense, as much as Aaron's: to whom they did not deny an equality with themselves; but only a superiority.

Put fire in them,] From the altar of burnt-offering, which stood in the court, at the door of which they were placed (Lev. i. 5), for Aaron durst not take it from any other place; his sons having lost their lives for offering with strange fire: the remembrance of which, it is likely, deterred these men from doing otherwise; who did not as yet put in the fire, but only took their censers, and put incense in them (which is all that is ordered in the preceding verse), and put fire in afterward.

Stood—with Moses and Aaron.] As if thy were nothing inferior to them.

Ver. 19.] The LXX. translate it, "Korah gathered all his congregation," i. e. all the men of his faction. But the Hebrew words import that he gathered all the congregation of Israel, at least all the great men; who are sometimes called by the name of *all the congregation* (ch. xiv. 1), whom he got together, that they might be witnesses, at least, of the issue of this trial; though their coming together with Korah and his company, rather than with Moses and Aaron, is too plain an indication that they were inclined, if not to throw off, yet to doubt of their authority.

[*Unto the door*] Where they themselves stood (ver. 18). And so did Moses and Aaron; but the Israelites that Korah had gathered together stood on his side, appears from the foregoing words, and from ver. 24.

[*And the glory of the Lord*] The Shechinah, or Divine Majesty, came forth out of the most holy place, where it usually resided.

Appeared unto all the congregation.] Openly showed itself in the sight of all the people; and, it is likely, in such an amazing manner, as it had done before, (ch. xiv. 10). But where it appeared, we are not told; I suppose in the cloud, which was just over the ark of the testimony (ch. ix. 15); not in the door of the tabernacle, for there Korah and his company stood (see Exod. xvi. 10). And the end of the Lord's appearing was to give sentence in this case; and to declare, by a visible token, whom he accepted as his priests. Thus the glory of the Lord appeared the first time that Aaron and his sons offered sacrifice (Lev. ix. 6, 23).

Ver. 20.] A little before they put fire in their censers.

Ver. 21. *Separate yourselves*] viz. From Korah and his company, and the people they brought along with them; who seemed to favour them (ver. 19).

[*That I may consume them*] As he did Korah and his companions.

Ver. 22.] O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall

one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation ?

23 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

24 Speak unto the congregation, saying, Get you up from about the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

25 And Moses rose up and went unto Dathan and Abiram ; and the elders of Israel followed him.

26 And he spake unto the congregation, saying, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these

wicked men, and touch nothing of their's, lest ye be consumed in all their sins.

27 So they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, on every side ; and Dathan and Abiram came out, and stood in the door of their tents, and their wives, and their sons, and their little children.

28 And Moses said, Hereby ye shall know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works ; for *I have not done them of mine own mind.*

29 If these men die the common death of all

Ver. 23. *They fell on their faces,*] To pray to God, as they had done before (ver. 4).

O God,] The most mighty.

The God of the spirits of all flesh,] Who hast created the souls of all mankind (so *flesh* often signifies *all men*, Gen. vi. 13), and therefore searches into their most secret thoughts and inclinations. So these words signify, ch. xxvii. 16.

Shall one man sin,] Korah, who was the chief incendiary and contriver in this sedition.

Wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation ?] Many of which he thought might, through weakness, be seduced into this faction, having no malice at all in their hearts : which God knew perfectly ; and therefore he begs of him that he would make a distinction between such as these, and the men that misled them.

Ver. 23.] He bade him rise up, having granted his petition.

Ver. 24. *Speak unto the congregation,*] Whom Korah had gathered together, and brought along with him to the door of the tabernacle (ver. 19).

Get you up from about the tabernacle of Korah, &c.] Which, it seems, was not far off ; or wheresoever it was, there a great number of people was gathered together to see what would be the conclusion of this contest. The word *tabernacle* is in the singular number ; but includes all the tents belonging to these men, as appears from ver. 26. Or, perhaps, they had set up one great tabernacle (for the word here is *mishean*, which may be thought to signify more than *ohel*, a tent, ver. 26), unto which abundance of people resorted, as the place that Korah and the rest had appointed for the general rendezvous (as we now speak) of all their party. For here Dathan and Abiram, it is evident (ver. 27), were with him ; but there is no mention at all of On ; which makes it probable he had forsaken them, as Moses wished all the people to do ; on which condition God promised to pardon them.

Ver. 25. *Moses—went unto Dathan and Abiram ;*] To try, I suppose, if he could reduce them to their obedience, and prevent their ruin. He seems to have had no hopes of Korah, but looked upon him as incorrigible.

The elders of Israel followed him.] Either the seventy elders, who were lately chosen out of the rest (ch. xi. 16), or the whole body of those who were called by that name, and were men of authority, attended upon him, to make this action more solemn ; and let Dathan and Abiram see how much Moses was revered by better men than themselves, who refused to come to him (ver. 12, 14).

Ver. 26. *He spake unto the congregation,*] It seems Dathan and Abiram refused to hear him, as they did to come to him : for here is no mention of any thing he spake to them ; but only to the congregation who were gathered about their tents.

Depart—from the tents of these wicked men,] I sup-

pose now they were gone to their own tents, where their families were ; from which he beseeches the people to remove with all speed. And he doth not mean merely that they should remove their persons from them, but their tents, and their goods, and cattle.

Touch nothing of their's,] Because all belonging unto them was under an anathema which God had passed upon them ; that is, was devoted to destruction, and therefore not to be touched (Deut. xiii. 17).

Lest ye be consumed] Destroyed with them : who had sinned so grievously, as to fall under the curse before mentioned.

Ver. 27. *So they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, &c.*] Where the greatest number of people were gathered together, as I observed, ver. 24. For here is the same word *mishean* again, in the singular number, denoting some spacious habitation, where perhaps they held their consultations, and unto which there was the greatest resort.

On every side,] From which we may conclude, that the people had come from all quarters of the camp to these rebels ; either to join with them, or out of curiosity to see how things would go.

Dathan and Abiram] With Korah also, it may be thought, because he is mentioned in the beginning of the verse. Yet this conclusion cannot be drawn from thence, for it is not said he was now there ; but that it was “the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram ;” where they used, I suppose, to meet.

Came out,] From the tabernacle before mentioned.

Stood in the door of their tents,] Of their own tents, where they commonly dwelt.

Their wives, and their sons, and their little children.] With their whole families. This was the highest degree of audacious and hardened infidelity ; whereby they declared that they feared not what Moses (who had given the greatest proof he was a man of God) could do unto them.

Ver. 28. *Moses said,*] Unto all the people of Israel ; or to the elders, and as many as could hear him.

Hereby ye shall know] I will now give you an evident demonstration.

That the Lord hath sent me] That I have been commissioned by God to do all the things with which those men find fault ; particularly to take upon me the government of them, and to put Aaron and his family into the priesthood, and make the Levites only their ministers, &c. (see ver. 2, 3, 13, 14).

For I have not done them of mine own mind.] In the Hebrew the words are, “and that not out of my heart.” It was none of my own device or contrivance ; I did it not out of an ambitious desire to be great myself, nor out of private affection to my brother.

Ver. 29. *If these men die the common death of all men,*] In the Hebrew it is, “as die all mankind :” that is, a natural death, as we now speak

men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; *then the Lord hath not sent me.*

30 But if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that *appertain* unto them, and they go down quick into the pit; then ye shall understand that these men have provoked the Lord.

31 ¶ And it came to pass, as he had made an end of speaking all these words, that the ground clave asunder that *was* under them:

32 And the earth opened her mouth, and

swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that *appertained* unto Korah, and all *their* goods.

33 They, and all that *appertained* to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them: and they perished from among the congregation.

34 And all Israel that *were* round about them fled at the cry of them: for they said, Lest the earth swallow us up *also*.

35 And there came out a fire from the Lord,

Or if they be visited after the visitation of all men;] i. e. Such judgments of God come upon them, as are usual and common in the world; viz. a pestilence, the sword, or famine.

Then the Lord hath not sent me.] Then look upon me as an impostor.

Ver. 30. *If the Lord make a new thing,* In the Hebrew the words are, "if the Lord create a creature;" i. e. do something that was never seen nor heard of in the world before. The Jews, in several of their books (particularly in Pirke Avoth), say, there are ten things which God created after the world was perfected: and they mention the *mouth of the earth* for one of them; that is, the gaping of the ground, to swallow up these wicked people: which is said to be *created*, as Ahen Ezra well observes, because by this miracle God altered the course of nature, and did a thing extraordinary.

The earth open her mouth, and swallow them up,] i. e. On a sudden; when there is no earthquake, but all is calm and still; and it swallow up none but them alone.

They go down quick into the pit;] Be buried alive, when they are in perfect health. By this place it is apparent, that the Hebrew word *sheol* doth often signify the *grave*; which Bellarmine and others most earnestly contend never signifies so, but *hell*; which, from hence, he asserts to be in the centre of the earth (lib. iv. De Christo, cap. 10), not observing, that if it signify *hell* in this verse, and ver. 33, then the houses of these men, and their household-stuff, and all that *appertained* to them, went down thither, which is very absurd. It is hard also, to think that all their little children went down into *hell* for their fathers' sin, though they did into the *grave*.

Then ye shall understand, &c.] You shall be sufficiently convinced that they have unjustly accused me, and brought this destruction upon themselves.

Ver. 31.] He had no sooner done speaking, but immediately what he said was verified, which made it the more remarkable.

Ver. 32. *Swallowed them up,]* viz. Dathan and Abiram before mentioned (ver. 27), who stood in the door of their tents outfacing Moses.

Their houses,] i. e. All their family; or, as Moses himself hath explained it (Deut. xi. 6), *Their households, and their tents, and all the substance that was in their possession.*

All the men that appertained unto Korah,] We are not told what became of Korah himself: for it is not said he was swallowed up, but all that *appertained* to him; i. e. all that were at that time in his tent: his whole family, except his sons, who escaped (ch. xxvi. 11), taking warning, I suppose, from what Moses said (ver. 26): which hath made some think that Korah was at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, who were the great abettors of his faction: who, if he had forsaken them at this trial that was made who were in the right, we may well think would have withdrawn themselves also, and not have stood

to it without their chieftain, as we find they did (ver. 35). Yet he is not mentioned there as perishing with them by fire from the Lord: and Moses seems to say (ch. xxvi. 10), that Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up *together with Korah*; who had as much reason, or more, perhaps, to think it necessary to be with that other company which he had gathered against Moses (ver. 19), and to encourage them to persist in their resolution, than to be with the two hundred and fifty men, who were men of such authority (ver. 2), that they may be thought to have needed none to support them. It may be added also, that the word *appertaineth* is not here in the Hebrew (which makes these words sound as if the meaning were only those that were of Korah's family), but simply *all the men* that were to Korah; i. e. were gathered to him, and were at that time with him: which seems to be an indication that they and he were swallowed up together. How many there were that stayed with him there is not certain; but the generality left him, ver. 27, where it is expressly said, "they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram," as Moses had commanded (ver. 24). Which may be taken for a further indication, that he was swallowed up in the tabernacle where he was, or in his own tent after he came out of that tabernacle. But those places, I observed before, may be otherwise understood: that place also, which is the main foundation of this opinion (ch. xxvi. 10), may likewise receive another interpretation, as I shall show when I come thither. And they that are of the other opinion, think his tabernacle, and his family, and all his household-stuff, might be swallowed up, though he himself was not with them, but was burnt by fire with the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense; for Moses bade him take his censer as well as them (ver. 17). Which, since they did, and put fire and incense therein, why should it be thought he did not do the same? It seems to me highly probable that he did, otherwise he would have seemed to distrust his cause: but it must be confessed that it is obscure which way he perished, and therefore it is not fit to contend about it.

All their goods.] All their household-stuff and cattle, and whatsoever was in or about their tents.

Ver. 33. *All that appertained]* See Deut. xi. 6.

Went down alive] As Moses had foretold (ver. 30).

The earth closed upon them:] This made it the more wonderful, that the earth, having swallowed them all up, had no cleft remaining in it, but closed up again and was as firm as before.

They perished] Were never more seen.

Ver. 34. *All Israel—fled at the cry of them:]* Though they were at a distance from their tents, (whence they had removed on all sides, ver. 27), yet they heard them shriek so loudly, as they sunk down into the ground, that it put them into a great fright, and made them fly still further off.

Lest the earth swallow us up also,] Some of them were conscious to themselves that they had favoured this

and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense.

36 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

37 Speak unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire yonder; for they are hallowed.

38 The censers of these sinners against their own souls, let them make them broad plates for a covering of the altar: for they offered them before the LORD, therefore they are hallowed: and

they shall be a sign unto the children of Israel.

39 And Eleazar the priest took the brasen censers, wherewith they that were burnt had offered; and they were made broad plates for a covering of the altar:

40 To be a memorial unto the children of Israel, that no stranger, which is not of the seed of Aaron, come near to offer incense before the LORD; that he be not as Korah, and as his company: as the LORD said to him by the hand of Moses.

41 ¶ But on the morrow all the congregation

wicked faction; and all of them knew how highly they had lately offended God, by their unbelief and murmuring (ch. xiv.), which might make them justly fear the same fate with their brethren.

Ver. 35. *There came out a fire from the Lord,*] From the glory of the Lord, which appeared unto all the congregation (ver. 19), as ready to decide the controversy: this fell out either at the same time the earth swallowed up Dathan and Abiram, or immediately after it.

Consumed the two hundred and fifty men] Which was a plain declaration that they usurped the office of priests; and, therefore, were thus punished by God himself for their presumption. It is not certain, whether they were devoured by the fire, or only struck dead, as men are sometimes on a sudden by lightning; and perhaps scorched, as they likewise sometimes are. The latter seems most probable from what follows (ver. 37), and from the like punishment "by fire from the Lord," which is said to devour Nadab and Abihu, and yet their bodies remained entire (Lev. x. 2, 4). This was the more astonishing, because Moses and Aaron, who stood with them at the door of the tabernacle (ver. 18), had no hurt.

Ver. 36.] Immediately after the death of those men.

Ver. 37. *Speak unto Eleazar*] Who it is likely stood by them, as next successor to Aaron, in the office which was disputed; and therefore, perhaps, employed in what follows rather than Aaron, that his succession might be confirmed. Though others will have it, that it was below the dignity of Aaron to perform such a mean office: and besides, he might have been in danger to be polluted by the dead bodies of the men that were burnt.

That he take up the censers out of the burning,] Out of the place where the men were burnt, as some understand it: or (which differs not much) from among the dead bodies, which were burnt: *burning* being put for *bodies burnt, as captivity* (ch. xxi. 1), for those that were carried captive, or made prisoners, as we there translate it. But there is no need of either of these additions; *burning* signifying the fire which burnt in them, which he orders Eleazar to throw out, that the censers might be brought away.

Scatter thou the fire yonder;] The men were burnt as soon as ever they put fire to the incense in their censers (ver. 18), which, flaming at the door of the tabernacle where they stood (near the altar from whence they took the fire), God commanded to be thrown away without the camp; into that place, I suppose, where they were wont to throw the ashes (Lev. vi. 11); or rather, into some unclean place, where they threw the dust scraped from the walls of leprous houses (Lev. xiv. 41). For it was to show that God abhorred their offering.

For they are hallowed.] Or had fire from the altar put into them; which some think sanctified them. But the plain reason is given in the next verse, be-

cause "they offered them before the Lord:" i. e. they had been employed to a holy use, and that by God's command (ver. 6, 17), and therefore God would not have them hereafter serve for any other.

Ver. 38. *These sinners against their own souls,*] Who have brought destruction upon themselves by their presumption.

Make them] Either Aaron or Eleazar was to cause them to be beaten into such plates as here follow.

Broad plates for a covering of the altar:] Of burnt-offering, which was covered with brass (Exod. xxvii. 12); but these plates were to be laid upon that covering which it had already, for the end mentioned in the conclusion of this verse. And hereby also the proper covering of the altar lasted the longer.

For they offered them before the Lord,] Presented them before the Lord, when they offered incense in them (ver. 35).

Therefore they are hallowed:] Or holy; that is, I will have them separated, for this reason, to my use alone, and no other. It is a thing worthy to be taken special notice of, that the impiety of the men that offered incense did not discharge their censers of the discriminative respect (as our famous Mr. Mede speaks) due unto things sacred; as these in some sort were, by being presented to the Lord, which made it unlawful to employ them to common uses. For as the Lord himself is that singular, incommunicable, and absolutely Holy One, and his service and worship therefore incommunicable to any other, so should that also which is consecrated to his service, be in some proportion incommunicably used, and not promiscuously and commonly, as other things are (see Book i. Discourse 2, p. 18).

They shall be a sign] That God accepts no sacrifice which is not presented by the hands of the sons of Aaron. This the Levites were to remember, who attended upon the priest, when they saw these plates laid upon the altar of burnt-offering every day.

Ver. 39.] By this it appears these censers were made of the same metal (though it was not said before) that Aaron's censor was of, and wherewith the altar was overlaid. He took them up out of the burning, no doubt, immediately upon the foregoing commands; and as soon as the mutiny was quite quelled, they were employed as Moses had directed.

Ver. 40. *To be a memorial,*] This explains what is meant by a sign (ver. 35), viz. to put them in mind; or rather, to keep in their memory.

That no stranger,] Though he were an Israelite, nay a Levite, if he were not (as it here follows) of the seed of Aaron, he was reputed a *stranger* to this office.

Come near to offer incense] Presume to execute the office of a priest in the sanctuary.

That he be not as Korah:] Destroyed in a dreadful manner. By this it appears that Korah perished as well as the two hundred and fifty men; and it is likely, as they did, by fire from the Lord.

of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of the LORD.

42 And it came to pass, when the congregation was gathered against Moses and against Aaron, that they looked toward the tabernacle of the congregation : and, behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the LORD appeared.

43 And Moses and Aaron came before the tabernacle of the congregation.

44 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

45 Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them as in a

moment. And they fell upon their faces.

46 ¶ And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the LORD; the plague is begun.

47 And Aaron took as Moses commanded, and ran into the midst of the congregation; and, behold, the plague was begun among the people: and he put on incense, and made an atonement for the people.

48 And he stood between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed.

As the Lord said to him] i. e. To Eleazar.

By the hand of Moses.] See ver. 36, 37.

Ver. 41. *But on the morrow*] An astonishing instance of the incurable hardness and insensibility of some men's hearts; which were not in the least altered by God's terrible judgments and singular mercies; but instantly forgot both.

All the congregation] Not merely the rulers of the people (as this phrase sometimes signifies), but all the people in general (ver. 47), who were incited, it is probable, by that lewd route which Korah had gathered together against Moses and Aaron (ver. 19), some of which were swallowed up, but most of them remained still alive to do more mischief.

Murmured against Moses] In such a mutinous and threatening manner, as demonstrated the contagious nature of a seditious humour, beyond all example: for from a discontented party, who grumbled that they were not preferred suitably to the opinion they had of themselves, it spread itself into the whole body of the people, and so infected them as to kindle a new flame, as soon as the former had been extinguished by such a terrible vengeance, as one would have expected should not have left the smallest spark of this mutinous humour in them.

Saying, Ye have killed the people of the Lord.] So they impudently call those men, whom God himself had declared, by a visible token, to be presumptuous sinners against their own souls. Some imagine they quarrelled with Moses and Aaron, because they had not prevailed with God to pardon them; which they could as well have done as procured this judgment upon them. But the displeasure which God here expresses against this new murmuring, shows this not to be a true excuse for them.

Ver. 42. *When the congregation was gathered against Moses*] Their murmuring presently proceeded to an insurrection.

That they looked toward the tabernacle] i. e. Moses and Aaron implored help from God, which is implied in their looking towards his dwelling-place.

The cloud covered it.] One would think by this that it had for some time withdrawn itself from the tabernacle, when the dead bodies of Korah's company lay at the door of it.

The glory of the Lord appeared.] To comfort them in this distress; and to show he was ready to support and vindicate them.

Ver. 43.] Perhaps for safety and security; or, to hear what directions God would give them.

Ver. 44.] Out of the tabernacle; before which he stood, waiting for the Lord's orders.

Ver. 45. *Get you up*] He speaks to Aaron and Eleazar, I suppose, as well as unto Moses.

That I may consume them] As he was inclined to do before (ver. 21), and now had a greater reason.

They fell upon their faces.] To beseech God not to punish the people as they deserved (ver. 22).

Ver. 46. *Moses said unto Aaron.*] By God's direction.

Take a censer and put fire therein from off the altar.] Near to which they now were (ver. 43).

Put on incense.] Upon the fire; but not till he came into the midst of the congregation (ver. 47).

Go quickly unto the congregation.] With the incense, which regularly was to be offered only at the golden altar within the sanctuary; but now, in this extraordinary case, by God's special order, Aaron is sent with it into the camp, that they might all be witnesses of his power with God, and that, by his authority, he was settled in the priesthood.

Make an atonement for them.] Which was usually performed by the blood of a sacrifice: but there was not time for that; and therefore now it was made by the incense, wherewith their daily sacrifices, morning and evening, were concluded; and was accompanied by the prayers of the people, while the priest, as he offered it, made intercession for them (Ps. cxli. 2). Thus, as St. Jerome glosses, Currens ira Dei, sacerdotis voce prohibebatur; "the Divine anger, coming with full speed upon them, was stopped by the voice of the priest:" which was a notable type of the power of our great high-priest and intercessor with God, the Lord Jesus.

For there is wrath gone out from the Lord.] Who would not wholly grant their prayer for a pardon (ver. 45), but inflicted some punishment upon them.

The plague is begun.] A pestilence, in all probability, of which several immediately died.

Ver. 47. *Aaron took as Moses commanded.*] A censer, and fire from the altar, with incense ready to be put upon it (ver. 46).

And ran] According to the command of Moses (ver. 46), who bade him *go quickly*.

Into the midst] Perhaps into the midst of each of the four camps, of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan (mentioned in the second chapter), it being broke out everywhere.

Behold, the plague was begun] He saw people die on all sides of it.

He put on incense.] Whereupon he put incense upon the fire which he brought along with him from the altar (ver. 46).

Made an atonement] Interceded with God for them, and obtained what he desired.

Ver. 48. *He stood between the dead and the living.*] This seems to intimate, that the plague began in the skirts of their camps, and was proceeding into the heart of them, where Aaron stood, as a mediator for those who were not yet smitten.

The plague was stayed.] A stop was put to its progress; which was a further evidence of Aaron's right

49 Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah.

to the priesthood, by God's appointment; who not only preserved him when he offered incense together with Korah's company (ver. 17), but now makes him an instrument of preserving others from destruction.

Ver. 49. *They that died—were fourteen thousand and seven hundred.*] Who, it is likely, were of the forwardest men to associate themselves with Korah (ver. 19).

Beside them that died about the matter of Korah.]

50 And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: and the plague was stayed.

Whose just number is not known; for besides the two hundred and fifty men (mentioned ver. 25), the whole families of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were swallowed up.

Ver. 50. *Aaron returned*] To carry back his censor.

The plague was stayed.] Or rather, "for the plague was stayed;" and so, having done his business, he returned to the tabernacle.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *Aaron's rod among all the rods of the tribes only flourisheth.* 10 *It is left for a monument against the rebels.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

2 Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of every one of them a rod according to the house of their fathers, of all their princes according to the house of their fathers twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod.

3 And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi: for one rod *shall be* for the head of the house of their fathers.

4 And thou shalt lay them up in the tabernacle of the congregation before the testimony, where I will meet with you.

CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses.*] Not long after the plague was stayed. For though there had been enough done to satisfy the people that Aaron was advanced to the priesthood by God's appointment, and not by Moses's affection to his kindred; yet their minds had been so poisoned by Korah and his accomplices, with the contrary opinion, that it was necessary to do still more to root it out. Which was the occasion of what follows.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Order them to bring what I require thee to take of them.

Take of every one of them] i. e. Of every tribe.

A rod] Or a staff, as the Hebrew word *matteh* is often translated: which some take for an ordinary walking-staff, or for the staff which was the badge of their authority, as princes of the several tribes; neither of which seems to me to be true. For what reason have we to think that every man's staff which he commonly used was made of the wood of an almond-tree? as these were, one may probably conclude from the eighth verse. And therefore, I take it, they were now all cut off from some tree of that kind, and it is likely from one and the same tree, that none might fancy there was any difference between them. For the miracle was great enough (which here follows), without supposing, as some do, that these rods were all of some other common wood; and yet Aaron's rod produced almonds, which were not the proper fruit of it: though it must be confessed, that if they were not of the wood of an almond-tree, the wonder was greater that his rod should bring forth almonds; and struck their minds more strongly.

According to the house of their fathers] In the Hebrew it is *father*, in the singular number; denoting the principal person or patriarch (as we call them), of whose house or family he was to take one rod.

Of all their princes] This explains the meaning more fully, that the prince of every tribe, who was the head of the house of their fathers, should bring these rods. Their names we have in the first chapter of this book (ver. 5, 6, ch. vii. 2, 12, &c.).

Twelve rods.] Besides Aaron's; for so many tribes

there were besides that of Levi. And too great a number of every tribe, in all likelihood, had joined with Korah in their discontented murmurings, at the confinement of the priesthood unto Aaron's family alone; to which they all fancied they had as much right as he. Which is the reason of taking a rod from every tribe; that they might all be convinced that none of them, but he and his family alone, were owned by God for his priests (see ch. xvi. 3).

Write thou every man's name upon his rod.] Either by an incision into the very wood; or with such ink as they wrote withal in those days (v. 22). This he did in the presence of the princes; that they might not afterward suspect any fraud, when they came to take their rods again; but be satisfied they were the very same which they saw noted with their names.

Ver. 3. *Write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi:*] Because God had made him the prince of that tribe, by giving him the high-priesthood. And he would have them see, that as no other person in any of the twelve tribes, so no other Levite ought to pretend unto that high office, which he had invested him withal, and him alone.

One rod shall be for the head] One rod was sufficient, because the head of the tribe comprehended the whole tribe, who were all excluded from the priesthood, by the exclusion of him who represented them.

Ver. 4. *Lay them up*] In the most holy place.

Before the testimony,] i. e. Before the ark; called in many places the *ark of the testimony* (Exod. xl. 3), because therein Moses put the testimony (or, two tables of stone), and the mercy-seat above it, ver. 20, 21, where the Divine glory resided. Therefore, to lay the rods *before the testimony*, was to lay them before the Divine Majesty; who intended by them finally to determine the present controversy.

Where I will meet with you.] There he promised to meet with Moses, Exod. xxv. 22, by whom he communicated his mind unto the people. For he neither met with them, nor with Aaron, there, any other way but by Moses. And therefore the Vulgar Latin here translates it, minding the sense rather than the words, "Where I will speak to them." And so the LXX. "By which I will be made known to thee there."

5 And it shall come to pass, *that the man's rod, whom I shall choose, shall blossom: and I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, whereby they murmur against you.*

6 ¶ And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, and every one of their princes gave him a rod apiece, for each prince one, according to their fathers' houses, *even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods.*

7 And Moses laid up the rods before the LORD in the tabernacle of witness.

And indeed *meeting with them* here, is nothing but declaring, or making known his mind to them all, by what was done there upon Aaron's rod. So it follows in the next verse. And for this reason the tabernacle of the Lord is called *ohel moed*, the "tabernacle of meeting;" not of men's meeting there (as is commonly supposed, by our translating it "the tabernacle of the congregation"), but of God's meeting there with men: for so the Lord himself gives the reason of the name, both here and in Exod. xxix. 42, xxx. 36, where I have noted the same out of Mr. Mede.

Ver. 5. *The man's rod, whom I shall choose, shall blossom.*] The rods being laid before me, I will tell you whom I have chosen to minister to me in the priesthood, by making the rod upon which his name is written to blossom, when all the rest remain as they were before, without any alteration. This was a kind of new choice (as the words import), whereby God confirmed the choice he had formerly made of Aaron to be high-priest.

I will make to cease from me the murmurings.] And hereby stop all their mouths from murmuring any more about this matter; unless they will oppose me directly, who declare beforehand how I intend to give judgment in this case, and put an end to this dispute.

Ver. 6. *Moses spake.*] Told them what God had said, that they might be all consenting to this way of decision.

Every one of their princes gave him a rod.] For they could not refuse such a fair proposal.

For each prince one.] Observing herein the commands of Moses; who wrote, no doubt, every man's "name upon his rod," as he was also commanded, ver. 2.

The rod of Aaron was among their rods.] Not one of the twelve, as the Jews fancy; but besides the twelve rods for the twelve tribes (as was directed, ver. 2, and obeyed by them, as the foregoing words tell us), his rod was put among them with his name upon it, as their names were upon their rods. And therefore the Vulgar translates it, having regard to the sense only, "there were twelve rods besides the rod of Aaron;" which the LXX. intended in their translation, Καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἀναμίστρον τῶν ῥάβδων αὐτῶν; "and the rod of Aaron in the midst of their rods." And if it were cut from the very same tree with theirs, the miracle became the more remarkable.

Ver. 7. *Moses laid up the rods.*] Who was by them to declare his choice (ver. 5).

In the tabernacle of witness.] In that part of the tabernacle where the ark was, which had in it the witness or testimony which God gave Moses (Exod. xxv. 21), who alone could go into that place.

Ver. 8. *On the morrow.*] It is likely God told him he would forthwith show whom he had chosen.

Moses went into the tabernacle of witness.] The most holy place, where the rods were laid up by God's order.

The rod of Aaron.] Which had his name written on it.

8 And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.

9 And Moses brought out all the rods from before the LORD unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod.

10 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Bring Aaron's rod again before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the rebels; and thou

For the house of Levi.] Or, "to the house of Levi," i. e. whom God had made head of the Levites.

Was budded.] In some places of the rod, I suppose, there was an appearance of buds coming forth; in others, the buds were fully thrust out; and in others, they were opened and shot forth into blossoms; and those blossoms, in other parts, knotted and grown into almonds. Μίστρον καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις βάλαν, &c., as Gregory Nyssen speaks in the Life of Moses (p. 185), "the greatest miracle even in the judgment of unbelievers;" who now acknowledged that which before they opposed (ver. 12, 13). For that in one night, a dry stick (as some suppose them all to have been) should produce buds, and flowers, and fruit, when all the rest, which perhaps were cut from the same tree, were as dry as they were before, could not but be very amazing; and, unless they would shut their eyes, make them see the distinction which the Lord made between Aaron, whose name that rod bore, and all the rest of the children of Israel whom the other rods represented.

The heathen did not think such things incredible, as Huetius hath shown in his *Quæstiones Ainetanæ* (lib. i. cap. 12, n. 24).

Ver. 9. *Moses brought out all the rods—unto all the children of Israel.*] Before whom they were exposed to open view, that they might see the difference God had made.

They looked, and took every man his rod.] Viewed them, and, taking them into their hands, examined them; and found they were the very same rods which they had delivered unto Moses with their names on them, without any alteration.

Ver. 10. *Bring Aaron's rod again.*] Which either Moses held in his hand, or delivered it to Aaron (as he did the rest to the several princes of the tribes), who showed it to the children of Israel, with the buds, blossoms, and almonds, upon it: after which God commanded it to be returned unto him.

Before the testimony.] To be laid up in the place where it was before it was thus changed (ver. 4, 7).

To be kept for a token against the rebels.] That it might be produced as a sufficient conviction of their impiety, if any presumed hereafter to rebel against Aaron's authority: or rather, that it might prevent all insurrections against it for the future. For it remained, we find, in the most holy place for some time; as appears both from the apostle (Heb. ix. 4), and from the reason of its being put here, that it might be preserved as a sign or proof of Aaron's authority, and suppress all opposition to it. But how long it continued we cannot tell (for it is not mentioned when the ark was brought into the temple of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 9), nor is it certain whether it continued in that verdure wherein it now appeared, with the buds, blossoms, and fruit, though it is highly probable it did; because it was to be a testimony that the honour of the priesthood should continue to Aaron's family alone, through all generations.

shalt quite take away their murmurings from me, that they die not.

11 And Moses did so: as the LORD commanded him, so did he.

12 And the children of Israel spake unto

There are those who take this rod which blossomed, and was laid up in the most holy place, to have been the rod of Moses, wherewith he wrought so many miracles in Egypt and at the Red Sea: concerning which the Jews tell very many incredible things; as that it came from a branch of the *tree of life*, which an angel gave to Seth, who planted it in the wilderness, where Moses found it grown to a tree, and cut this rod from it. For when they came to Marah, and could not drink the waters, because they were bitter, God showed them this tree, that with it he might make them sweet. Upon which tree he afterward placed the brazen serpent, by looking on which the people were healed, &c. Thus the cabalists generally tell this tale; but some of them much otherwise; who say it was given to Adam, and by him to Enoch, and so on till it came to Joseph, in whose house the Egyptians found it when he died, and brought it to Pharaoh; from whom Jethro stole it, &c., with a great deal of such-like stuff: which Abaribinel saith is to be understood mystically. But all the ground they have for their fancy, of the rod here laid up being Moses's rod, is from ch. xx. 8, 9, where it is said, that "Moses took the rod from before the LORD," wherewith he brought water out of the rock; and this rod is said (ver. 11), to be Moses's rod. Dr. Owen, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, follows this conceit, and endeavours to find many mysteries in it. But it is evidently false: for as there is not the least intimation here that it was the rod of Moses, but quite contrary, it is called the *rod of Aaron*, ver. 6, so it had not been a sufficient argument to convince the infidelity of the Israelites, if Aaron's rod had not been of the same kind with all the rest. For they might have ascribed what came to pass to the singular quality or virtue of that rod, especially if it were Moses's rod (wherewith wonders used to be wrought), and not to a special hand of God appearing to establish the authority of Aaron. And besides, a rod full of blossoms and fruit had been very unfit to be used to smite the rock withal; for which purpose that rod (which seems to have been his pastoral staff) wherewith he smote the rock in Horeb was most proper (Exod. xvii. 5, 6).

Thou shalt quite take away their murmurings from me,] i. e. Silence all their cavils against Aaron and his family; which the LORD here declares he would no longer bear, if they continued in them after this demonstration of his will and pleasure. For here were a great many miraculous things concurred together to convince them, that to oppose Aaron was to oppose God himself. The Jews reckon up eight. First, that Aaron's rod should bring forth buds, blossoms, and fruit, all in one night, when the other rods, which were of the same nature, brought forth nothing. And then, secondly, that the buds brought forth leaves; for so they interpret those words (ver. 8), the rod of Aaron was budded, i. e. brought forth leaves; for the next words speak of its budding, which followed after. And thirdly, that it thrust out leaves before the blossoms, which is contrary to the nature of the almond-tree. And next, that it put forth blossoms

Moses, saying, Behold, we die, we perish, we all perish.

13 Whosoever cometh any thing near unto the tabernacle of the LORD shall die: shall we be consumed with dying?

soms all the rod over; as they interpret those words, *bloomed blossoms*. And then, that a dry stick (as they understand it) should produce fruit, and this fruit almonds, which such trees (they think) as that rod was taken from, did not bear. And further, that it produced *ripe almonds*, as the Hebrew word *shekedim* imports. And lastly, that Moses showed the people all these at one view, the leaves, buds, blossoms, and fruit in perfection. By which multiplicity of miracles the dignity of Aaron was so demonstrated, that we do not find they at any time hereafter adventured to rise up against him. For, besides all those wonders now mentioned, it may be, that it was not the season of the year for almonds, nor so much as for the budding of that tree; which made it the more astonishing. But the greatest thing of all was, the continuing of this miracle to future ages; which might well make them afraid to open their mouths again in murmurings against Aaron.

That they die not.] Be not consumed in a moment, as God had more than once formerly threatened (ch. xvi. 21, 45) and now declared, if they did not mend their manners, and cease their murmurings about this matter, he would instantly execute.

Ver. 11. *Moses did so;*] Both brought the rod again to him, and laid it up before him; and told the children of Israel the reason of it; which occasioned what follows.

Ver. 12. *Behold, we die, we perish, &c.*] Moses having told them that he laid up the rod for this end, to be a witness against them, that (if they murmured any more) they deserved to be all cut off, as they should certainly be, it moved them to make this doleful complaint, wherein they seem to be convinced of their guilt, and to bewail their miserable state. For the sense of these two verses is, "Some of us died before, and now lately more have perished, and we are all in the same danger; surely we shall never have done dying, till we be all consumed."

Behold, we die,] This seems to relate to those judgments which had passed upon them heretofore.

We perish,] And this to what had very lately happened to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their company, and to those that murmured the next day after (ch. xvi. 49).

We all perish.] This will be the fate of the whole congregation.

Ver. 13. *Whosoever cometh any thing near unto the tabernacle*] Who was not a priest, and yet approached nearer than God allowed.

Shall die;] So Moses had threatened: and they now believed him, and were afraid withal they should some time or other incur God's displeasure by their rashness.

Shall we be consumed with dying?] They seem to be afraid, lest, for their late murmurings and insurrection after such a heavy punishment for that sin (ch. xvi. 41, 42), God should further plague them, as by this new sign he convinced them they justly deserved; and therefore beg of Moses to entreat God to spare them, and not to go on utterly to destroy them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 The charge of the priests and Levites. 9 The priests' portion. 21 The Levites' portion. 25 The heave offering to the priests out of the Levites' portion.

1 AND the LORD said unto Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy father's house with thee shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood.

2 And thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou with thee, that they may be joined unto thee, and minister

unto thee: but thou and thy sons with thee shall minister before the tabernacle of witness.

3 And they shall keep thy charge, and the charge of all the tabernacle: only they shall not come nigh the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, that neither they, nor ye also, die.

4 And they shall be joined unto thee, and keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congre-

CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Aaron.*] By the hand of Moses, it is most likely, unto whom God was wont to communicate all that he would have delivered, either to Aaron or to the people (ch. xvii. 4). And having done more miracles than one to establish Aaron in the priesthood, he now lets him know that the honour he had done him was an office of great weight and burden, wherein he was to behave himself with great care and circumspection; and withal, he again declares what the duty of the Levites was, together with the priests, from ver. 1, unto ver. 8. And from thence he proceeds to tell them what maintenance he had settled upon both, for their encouragement in doing their duty: as I shall observe in the proper places.

Thou and thy sons and thy father's house with thee] You and the Levites (whom he calls his father's house) who had the charge of the sanctuary.

Shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary.] If the sanctuary were profaned, through the negligence of the Levites, who were to keep strangers and people in their uncleanness, from entering into it; and if the priests were remiss, and did not take care to see the Levites do their duty, the punishment of such profanation, he tells them, should fall upon them.

Thou and thy sons with thee] i. e. Aaron and the priests alone.

Shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood.] Suffer the punishment of it: if they permitted any person who was not of the line of Aaron to offer incense, or perform any part of the priest's office; or if they themselves should minister in their uncleanness, or having any blemish, or did any thing contrary to the rules of their office.

This was some comfort to the people, who were afraid they should die for every error committed in their approaches to the sanctuary (ch. xvii. 12, 13), for which he assures them he would punish the priests and the Levites, and not them. And it also served to remove the people's envy to the priest, whose dignity they saw accompanied with such great danger.

Ver. 2. *Thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi.*] This also was a comfort to the Levites, and designed to make them more contented than they had been in their inferior offices, that the priests were to look upon them as their brethren.

Bring thou with thee.] Into the tabernacle.

Joined unto thee.] As assistants to thee there.

Minister unto thee.] In such things as I have mentioned (see upon ch. iii. 6).

But thou and thy sons with thee shall minister before the tabernacle of witness.] The words *shall minister* not being in the Hebrew, some think he still speaks of the Levites, and translate the words thus, "both to thee, and to thy sons with thee (they shall minister

as was said before) before the tabernacle of witness." But they that are of this opinion do not consider what is meant by the *tabernacle of witness*, which signifies the most holy place (see ch. ix. 15, and x. 11), before which the Levites did not minister; but before the "tabernacle of the congregation," as Moses expressly speaks, ch. iii. 7 (see there), where they attended upon the priests in the court of the sanctuary, in which the priests only could minister: as Aaron alone did, upon one certain day only, in the most holy place.

Ver. 3. *The charge of all the tabernacle.*] Of the outward part of it (see ch. iii. 7, 8), and carry the vessels belonging to the inward part, viz. the sanctuary (ch. iv. 15).

They shall not come nigh the vessels] They were not to touch them when they carried them (ch. iv. 15), nor to see when they were covered by the priests (ch. iv. 19, 20).

The altar.] I take this to be meant not only of the "altar of incense," but also of the burnt-offering: unto which they were not to approach, nor touch it, while they attended upon the priests, who only could minister there. This is justified from Exod. xxix. 37, where this altar is said to be *most holy*, and whosoever touched it is required to be *holy*.

That neither they, nor ye also, die.] They for presuming to go beyond the bounds of their office, and the priest for permitting them.

Ver. 4. *They shall be joined unto thee.*] He would have the priests look upon the Levites as part of that sacred body of men that waited upon God in the tabernacle, though in an inferior office. And, indeed, the very name of Levi imported as much: and denoted them to be adjuncts to some other persons. Accordingly we find, in aftertimes, that as the Levites were a guard on the outside of the temple, so the priests watched within it.

And keep the charge of the tabernacle] See ch. iii. 7, 8. The heaviest part of their service, which is called their burden, is mentioned particularly ch. iv. 3, 4, and the rest of that chapter.

A stranger shall not come nigh unto you.] This seems to relate both to the priests and to the inferior ministers: that none should presume to perform the office of the former, but only the family of Aaron; nor of the latter, who were not of the tribe of Levi. But the Hebrew doctors, particularly Maimonides, by *zar* (a stranger), understand in this place every one that was not of the seed-male of Aaron: so that the sons of his daughters should not minister. For the sons of Aaron, saith he (Biath Hammikdash, cap. 9), are appointed, and none other, to lay things in order for sacrifice (Lev. i. 5), and to burn the fat of the peace-offerings upon the altar (Lev. iii. 8). His daughters were incapable of it; and so were all those that descended from them. The same may be said of the Levites.

gation, for all the service of the tabernacle: and a stranger shall not come nigh unto you.

5 And ye shall keep the charge of the sanctuary, and the charge of the altar: that there be no wrath any more upon the children of Israel.

6 And I, behold, I have taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel: to you they are given as a gift for the Lord, to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.

7 Therefore thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priest's office for every thing of the altar, and within the veil; and ye shall serve: I have given your priest's office unto you as a

Ver. 5. *Ye shall keep*] That is, the priests were bound to do what follows.

The charge of the sanctuary.] Where, as they alone were to minister, so they were to take care of all the holy things therein contained (the shew-bread, lamps, &c.), and to cover them when they were to be removed (ch. iv. 5, 6, &c.).

The charge of the altar.] Of burnt-offering; where they only were to offer sacrifice, and to take care of every thing belonging to it (ch. iv. 3, 14).

That there be no wrath any more] That you may by your care and constant admonitions prevent the children of Israel from running into such profanations, much more from such intrusions into the sacred offices as may bring God's most high displeasure again upon them.

Ver. 6. *I have taken—the Levites from among the children of Israel.*] See ch. iii. 12, 41, 45, and viii. 6, 16, 18. The Levites are again called their brethren, that the priests might not despise them because they served in a lower condition, but treat them with kindness and brotherly affection.

To you they are given] See ch. iii. 9, but especially ch. viii. 19.

For the Lord,] To assist you in your ministry to the Lord.

To do the service.] This hath been repeated very often (ch. iii. 7, 8, iv. 3, 4, 23, &c., viii. 19, 22, 24), and here is mentioned again that the Levites might be possessed with this opinion, that they were but ministers to the priests, and therefore ought not to presume hereafter to aspire, as Korah did, to the office of priesthood.

Ver. 7. *Keep your priest's office*] Preserve it to yourselves, and suffer no other person to invade it.

For every thing of the altar,] These words and the following, briefly declare what is meant by the priest's office. First, to offer sacrifice at the altar of burnt-offering, and sprinkle the blood, &c.

Within the veil;] Next, to perform all the service of God, within the sanctuary. For in the Hebrew the words are, “and for within the veil,” which is a short form of speech, importing both all that was to be done in the sanctuary by the sons of Aaron, (as burning incense, putting on the shew-bread, and lighting the lamps), and likewise all that was to be done in the most holy place, by Aaron himself, on the day of atonement. For the word *paroceth* always signifies the *inner veil*, before the most holy place; the *outward veil* being constantly called *masack*; and therefore the exactest translation of the Hebrew words *lemibbeth laparoceth* is this, “for within the house (i. e. the holy place) for the veil;” i. e. within the veil, in the most holy place.

Ye shall serve:] In these places ye alone shall serve and employ nobody else.

I have given your priest's office unto you,] He would have the Levites to know, that Aaron and his sons had

service of gift: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

8 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Behold, I also have given thee the charge of mine heave offerings of all the hallowed things of the children of Israel; unto thee have I given them by reason of the anointing, and to thy sons, by an ordinance for ever.

9 This shall be thine of the most holy things, reserved from the fire, every oblation of their's, every meat offering of their's, and every sin offering of their's, and every trespass offering of their's, which they shall render unto me, shall be most holy for thee and for thy sons.

not arrogantly usurped this office of ministering alone at both the altars; but he had freely bestowed it upon them, and appropriated it unto them.

And the stranger] Though a Levite, if he be not of the family of Aaron.

That cometh nigh] Presumes to offer sacrifices at the altar of burnt-offering, or incense at the golden altar.

Shall be put to death.] This is repeated by reason of the late rebellion of Korah and his accomplices, who aspiring to the priesthood, came to a fearful end (see ch. iii. 10).

Ver. 8. Having told him in the foregoing part of the chapter (particularly in the foregoing verse) what should be the work of him and his sons, he proceeds to tell him what recompense he should have for his service at the altar of burnt-offerings and in the sanctuary. Of which he gives him a large account (from this verse to the twentieth), that he might want no encouragement to care and diligence in his employment.

I also have given thee the charge] He bids him observe the large grant which he now makes him, as well as the work he had laid upon him: for by giving him the charge of what follows, he means bestowing them upon him for his own use; with a charge to let none have them but himself.

Of mine heave offerings] See Lev. vii. 34, and below, ver. 11 of this chapter.

By reason of the anointing,] Because thou art consecrated, by being anointed with the holy oil to the office of a priest (Lev. viii. 12).

And to thy sons,] See Lev. vii. 34.

Ver. 9. *This shall be thine,*] He begins with those things which might be eaten only by the priests themselves.

Reserved from the fire,] From the altar of burnt-offering: for there were some things called *most holy*, which were their portion, that came not from thence, but out of the sanctuary; viz., the *twelve cakes*, which were taken off the table, and given to Aaron and his sons every Sabbath-day (Lev. xxiv. 5—9).

Every oblation of their's,] In the Hebrew, *all their korbans*: which is a larger word than *zebach*: comprehending not only such sacrifices as were killed at the altar (which are properly called *zebachim*), but all the *minchas*, or *meat-offerings* (as we translate it), which were of things inanimate; and the sacrifices of birds also, whose blood was never poured out at the altar. And therefore *korban* seems here to be a general word, comprehending all the particulars which follow; especially if all be translated exactly, as the words are in the Hebrew.

Every meat offering of their's, &c.] In the Hebrew the words are, “for all their meat-offerings;” which makes the sense plainer, if the whole be thus translated, “All their korbans (or oblations) for all their meat-offerings, and for all their sin-offerings, and for all their trespass-offerings;” of all which the priest

10 In the most holy place shalt thou eat it; every male shall eat it: it shall be holy unto thee.

11 And this is thine; the heave offering of their gift, with all the wave offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them unto thee, and to thy sons and to thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever: every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it.

12 All the best of the oil, and all the best of

the wine, and of the wheat, the firstfruits of them which they shall offer unto the Lord, them have I given thee.

13 And whatsoever is first ripe in the land, which they shall bring unto the Lord, shall be thine; every one that is clean in thine house shall eat of it.

14 Every thing devoted in Israel shall be thine.

15 Every thing that openeth the matrix in all

had a part. Concerning the *meat-offerings*, or rather the *bread-offerings* (for so *mincha* may most fitly be translated, the sacrifices being flesh, which were not eaten without bread and drink, that were their concomitants), see Lev. ii. 3, 10, vi. 15, 16, where the flesh of the sin-offerings, except those whose blood was brought into the most holy place, is given also unto them (ver. 26), and so are the trespass-offerings also, in the next chapter (Lev. vii. 6, 7). As for burnt-offerings, they were wholly the Lord's; and peace-offerings were not accounted things *most holy*, but reckoned among the *less holy*; as appears from ver. 11 of this present chapter.

Which they shall render unto me,] These words relate only to the trespass-offerings, immediately before named: which were attended with a recompense of the wrongs done, either unto the Lord (Lev. v. 15, 16), or unto their neighbours (Lev. vi. 5; Numb. v. 8, 9).

Most holy for thee and for thy sons.] To be used by none else; as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 10. *In the most holy place shalt thou eat it;*] i. e. In the place where they performed their sacred office (in that part of the tabernacle next the sanctuary), which is called *most holy*, in comparison with the rest which were further off, because none might enter into it but the priests alone: see note upon Lev. vi. 16, where it is said expressly, "it shall be eaten in the holy place, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation." And see ver. 26, and ch. x. 12, 13.

Every male shall eat it.] And none else, as the places before mentioned expressly limit it (Lev. ii. 3, 10; vi. 18, 29, vii. 6).

Be holy unto thee.] Peculiarly separated from the use of all other persons, but only Aaron and his sons.

Ver. 11. *This is thine;*] Now he mentions the *less holy* things, as before the *most holy*; which he bestowed upon him and his whole family.

The heave offering of their gift, with all the wave offerings] That is, the breast of their *peace-offerings* (which are here called their *gift*), which was *waved* before the Lord, and the right shoulder *heaved*; and then given to the priest for his portion (Lev. vii. 30—31). And so was the right shoulder of the ram, which was offered for the Nazarite (Numb. vi. 19, 20).

I have given them unto thee, &c.] These were not confined to the males only, but might be eaten by their daughters also (Lev. x. 14).

Every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it.] Not only their wives, and their daughters that were not married, but those who were divorced or widows, and returned to their father's house without children; or had children begotten by a priest (see Lev. xxii. 13), together with their servants also, whether bought with their money, or born in their house; though not hired servants, or mere sojourners (Lev. xxii. 10, 11). But these things were to be eaten in a clean place (Lev. x. 14), somewhere within the camp, as afterward in Jerusalem (Deut. xii. 6, 7, 17, 18); and no unclean person permitted to eat of them (Lev. vii. 20,

21, xxii. 4). And besides, when any Israelite killed on ox, a sheep, or a goat for his own use, he was bound to give the priest the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw; as the Jews understand, Deut. xviii. 3.

Ver. 12. *All the best of the oil, and—wine, &c.*] The Greek translates the Hebrew word *cheleb* (*fat*) by *μαρῶς*, "marrow," Gen. xlv. 18, but here *ἀπαργῆ*, "the first-fruits of the oil," &c. signifying these first-fruits were to be of the very best of all the things here mentioned; which were to be brought in the beginning of the vintage, and of the harvest: the precise quantity of which is nowhere determined; but, they say, it was at least the sixtieth part of the whole: see Exod. xxii. 29, xxiii. 19; Deut. xviii. 4, where he speaks of the first-fruits which every private man was to offer; beside which there was a first-fruit offered in the name of the whole congregation (Lev. xxiii. 10, 17). All which belonged to the priests as a reward for their services.

The firstfruits of them—have I given thee.] Our Mr. Thorndike thus distinguishes the two sorts of first-fruits mentioned here, and in other places; the one was to be taken by the priests at the barn and wine-press, as he thinks that here spoken of was: the other was to be brought to the sanctuary, viz. those mentioned Exod. xxii. and xxiii.; Deut. xxvi. 1, 2. The quantity of either of them being in the moderate account, a fiftieth part, as St. Jerome determines upon Ezek. xlv., which is agreeable to the Jewish constitutions in Maimonides, of First-fruits, cap. 2, and of Separations, cap. 3. But the Scripture (Ezek. xlv. 13) requires only the sixtieth part (see Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 210).

Ver. 13. *Whatsoever is first ripe in the land, which they shall bring unto the Lord, shall be thine;*] Some take this to signify the first-fruits of all other things besides corn, wine, and oil, mentioned in the foregoing verse. But it being a different word from that which we translate *first-fruits* (viz. *biccurim*, not *reshith*), it is most likely, he here intends, either the things *first ripe* (as we translate it) before the rest of the harvest and vintage, or those voluntary offerings of this sort which any one pleased to make; which seem to be intended in these words, "which they shall bring unto the Lord;" i. e. of their own good will, over and above the ordinary first-fruits.

The Jews generally understand by *biccurim* such things as are ripe before the rest, either in the field or elsewhere; whether they were wheat, barley, or any other sort of grain; or figs, grapes, pomegranates, olives, or dates; which they bound about with a rush, and said, "let this be for the first-fruits:" which every man might bring in what measure he pleased, none being appointed by the law.

Every one that is clean—shall eat] The whole family of the priests, if they were under no pollution (see ver. 11).

Ver. 14. *Every thing devoted in Israel shall be thine.*] Of those things which the Hebrews call *cherem* (a thing devoted), Moses speaks in Lev. xxvii. 21, 28. And they were either simply devoted, in such words

flesh, which they bring unto the Lord, *whether it be of men or beasts*, shall be thine: nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem.

16 And those that are to be redeemed from a month old shalt thou redeem, according to thine estimation, for the money of five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, which is twenty gerahs.

17 But the firstling of a cow, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy: thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their

fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto the Lord.

18 And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and as the right shoulder are thine.

19 All the heave offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever: it is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord unto thee and to thy seed with thee.

20 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy

as these, *let this thing be a cherem*; or with an addition (determining it to a certain use) "let this be a cherem offered by me for holy uses." The first sort was wholly the priests'; but the latter was employed about the temple, or the vessels of it, or the priests' garments. And these devoted things, which became the priests' portion, differed in this from freewill-offerings, that every thing which was offered as a *cherem* might be eaten only by the priests in the holy place; but other freewill-offerings by the whole family in any clean place.

Ver. 15. *Every thing that openeth the matrix*] That which first came out of the womb of any creature was to be the priests', if it were a male. If a female were the first-born, and a male followed next, that was not the priests', because it did not open the womb, as the Hebrews expound it (see Exod. xiii. 2).

The firstborn of man] See Exod. xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20.

Ver. 16. *Those that are to be redeemed*] viz. Of the first-born of men mentioned before (not of unclean creatures, which were to be redeemed by a lamb, Exod. xiii. 13), and that after they were eight days old (Exod. xxii. 30).

From a month old] Then the money was due, but they commonly stayed till the fortieth day, when the woman was purified.

According to thine estimation,] Some think this relates not to what follows, that the priest should set a value upon them (for that was a set rate, five shekels for every one), but to what goes before, that, after a child was a month old, the priest should appoint a day for the payment of the redemption-money; either immediately after the woman had lain in a month, or on the fortieth day, that she might be purified and the child redeemed both together. But it rather refers to what follows: for though the price be determined, yet so it is in another case (Lev. xxvii. 3, 4), and notwithstanding is said to be by the estimation of the priest; because he was to take this money, not according to the quality of the person, but as much of a poor man as of a rich, and not more of a rich man than of a poor.

For the money of five shekels, &c.] Which was the price set upon the first-born, when they were exchanged for the Levites (ch. iii. 46, 47). This redemption of every first-born was a matter of great importance, and therefore so often mentioned, as a very learned friend of mine, Dr. Alix, observes, in his Reflections on the last four Books of Moses, ch. 3. For as the separation of the tribe of Levi to God's service instead of the first-born, whom God spared and preserved in Egypt (of which we read in the third chapter of this book), made every Levite become a living memorial of that great miracle wrought at the Israelites' going out of Egypt; so this law concerning the redemption of the first-born made a further impression upon their minds, of that mighty hand of God

which compelled Pharaoh to let the Israelites depart out of his country.

Ver. 17. *The firstling of a cow, &c. thou shalt not redeem;*] For they were clean creatures; and only unclean beasts were to be redeemed (ver. 15).

They are holy:] Separated by my appointment for a holy use; viz. to be offered in sacrifice; not redeemed, nor put to any other use.

Sprinkle their blood upon the altar, &c.] Just as they did with their peace-offerings (Lev. vii. 31, 33).

Ver. 18. *The flesh of them shall be thine,*] The whole body of the beasts (not merely some part of them), after the fat was burnt, became the priests' entirely.

As the wave breast and as the right shoulder] As these parts of the peace-offerings were the priests' (see ver. 11), so that all their family, who were clean, might eat of the flesh of these firstlings, as they did of those parts of the peace-offerings.

Ver. 19. *All the heave offerings*] He repeats what he had said in the beginning of this discourse (ver. 8), that he had given him all the heave-offerings; which comprehend those mentioned ch. vi. 19, 20.

Have I given thee:] Settled upon the priests and their whole family for their support, by an unalterable law (see ver. 11).

It is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord, &c.] i. e. An everlasting covenant, never to be revoked (see upon Lev. ii. 13). And these things being to be eaten before the Lord, there was a place in the court of the women where they feasted upon them; as L'Empereur observes upon Middoth, cap. 2, sect. 6.

Ver. 20. *The Lord spake unto Aaron,*] See ver. 1.

Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land,] i. e. In the land of the children of Israel, whom he speaks of in the foregoing verse; where, having told him what reward he and his family should have for his service, he bids them be satisfied therewith, and not expect any more. And indeed it was so very liberal a provision, that their desires could not reasonably extend any further. For as they had two sorts of first-fruits (as I observed, ver. 12), so, after a tithe of that which was given to the Levites, there was another tithe of what remained to be spent in sacrificing at Jerusalem: that is, for the most part, upon the priests and Levites, unto whom, and unto the poor, it wholly belonged every third year (Deut. xiv. 22, 28, Exod. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 20). Add hereunto the first-born, all the sin-offerings, and their share in the peace-offerings, and the skins of the sacrifices (which alone, as Philo observes, were a great revenue), and it will appear it could not be so little as a fifth part of the fruit of the country that came to the priests for their maintenance, as Mr. Thorndike observes in the Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 211.

Neither shalt thou have any part among them.]

part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel.

21 And, behold, I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance, for their service which they serve, *even* the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.

22 Neither must the children of Israel hence-

When the land was divided, no fields, or vineyards, &c. were to be given to the priests, nor to any of the tribe of Levi. And, as the Jewish doctors say, they were to have no part among their brethren in the spoil. So Jarchi upon this place, and Maimonides, and others, who endeavour to answer the objection which may be raised against this from the thirty-first chapter of this very book, ver. 28, 29, where a tribute was taken of the prey they got from the Midianites, and given to Eleazar and the Levites. This tribute, say they, was offered because the spoil came by executing God's vengeance upon a land that was not theirs (ch. xxv. 17). But of the land of Sihon and Og (which God bestowed upon them, as he did the land of Canaan), nothing was given to the priests and Levites; for they were admonished to the contrary (as they understand them) by these words, "neither shalt thou have any part among them;" no, not of the spoil.

Certain it is, that of the land of the country they were to have no part, God having otherwise provided for them, that they might attend wholly to his service, and not spend their time in tilling the ground, or feeding cattle, which would have taken up their thoughts very much from their sacred employment. Yet the Levites had certain cities and their suburbs assigned to them, ch. xxxv. 2, &c. (which was executed by Joshua, as God commanded, Josh. xxi. 2, 3), whereby they were dispersed among the tribes of Israel, that they might the better instruct the people in the Divine law (Deut. xxxiii. 10; 2 Chron. xxx. 23; Mal. ii. 4, 5, &c.). By accident also the priests came to have some land (see Lev. xxvii. 20, &c., and my notes there).

I am thy part and thine inheritance] For they were maintained in his house, and lived upon his altar, and fed from his table; as it is explained in Josh. xiii. 14, "The sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance, as he said unto them:" which is given as the reason why Joshua gave them no inheritance. And see ver. 33, of that chapter, where the *Lord God of Israel* is said to be *their inheritance*; who, it appears by the foregoing part of this chapter, and other places, made such an ample provision for them, that if he had given them any part of the land of Canaan together with it, there had been too great an inequality between them and the rest of the tribes of Israel. For without any share in the land, their portion was far richer than that of any other persons whatsoever. I have said enough to prove this already; but it may not be amiss to set it before the reader again a little more distinctly. As they had yearly the first-fruits of the whole country, which were at least the sixtieth part of the fruits it produced; and the tenth part of the tithe given to the Levites (as it follows below, ver. 26), and all freewill-offerings; together with the money which arose out of persons and things devoted unto God: and all the firstlings of cows, sheep, and goats, and the redemption-money for the firstlings of such creatures as were unclean: so they had all the meat-offerings, offerings for sin, and trespass-offerings; together with the breast and shoulder of all peace-offerings, and the skins of all burnt-offerings; and the loaves made of the first dough, and the shew-bread, and (as Josephus and others ex-

forth come nigh the tabernacle of the congregation, lest they bear sin, and die.

23 But the Levites shall do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation, and they shall bear their iniquity: *it shall be* a statute for ever throughout your generations, that among the children of Israel they have no inheritance.

pound Deut. xviii. 3), a considerable part of every beast that was killed for private use; besides the cities and land about them which were assigned to the Levites: which, if well weighed, there will appear a vast difference between the priests and the rest of the people. For the first-fruits alone, if they were not less than the sixtieth part of the product of the country, might seem sufficient, especially if the firstlings be added, the priests not being the sixtieth part of the people; no, nor the hundredth part, as learned men have computed (see Bonfrerius).

Ver. 21. *Behold,*] Now he gives the Levites notice of the recompense he would make them for their service, as he had told the priests what they should have for theirs. And Aaron hath the delivery of this grant made to them from God, that they might see he did not mind himself, and the interest of his own family only.

I have given the children of Levi all the tenth] See Lev. xxvii. 30, and 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, where they are distinctly mentioned. Aben Ezra thinks the *tenth* rather than any other part was assigned, because it was a perfect number; ten being in simple numbers the highest to which we can arise, without repeating the numbers under it. For it is (as he speaks) the beginning of the second combination, and the end of the first, whereupon all numbers do depend: which our Mr. Mede hath expressed, in my judgment, far better; who looks upon it as God's favourable dealing with men, in requiring but the *tenth*, which is in truth the least part of their goods, according to the first division. For when we proceed beyond ten, we begin to make a new division, as eleven is ten and one, &c. But we need not have recourse to such niceties (see upon Genesis xxviii. 22).

For an inheritance,] Instead of a share in the land of Canaan, which other tribes had divided among them. And a larger inheritance this was than any other tribe possessed; for this was the smallest tribe of all, as appears by comparing the account which is given of them in the beginning of this book. For all the males of this tribe, from a month old and upward, were but two-and-twenty thousand (ch. iii. 29), whereas in the tribe of Judah alone there were above threescore and fourteen thousand men of war (ch. i. 26, 27), and yet the Levites had a tenth part of the product of the whole country; and the twelve tribes had only the other nine parts among them. Such a care had God of those who were peculiarly devoted to his service.

For their service which they serve, &c.] As a reward of their service, of which see ch. iv.

Ver. 22. *Neither must the children of Israel henceforth come nigh*] Or rather, "Therefore the children of Israel must not come nigh," so as to perform any of the offices belonging to the priests and Levites; who were appointed to do every thing belonging to the service of God there, and had their reward for it also appointed.

Lest they bear sin, and die.] Be punished with death; which is often threatened to such presumption.

Ver. 23. *The Levites shall do the service*] It was their work, and nobody's else; and therefore no other persons were to meddle with it: that is, they alone guarded the tabernacle, and afterward the temple;

24 But the tithes of the children of Israel, which they offer as an heave offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites to inherit: therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance.

25 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

26 Thus speak unto the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take of the children of Israel the tithes which I have given you from them for your inheritance, then ye shall offer up an heave

offering of it for the Lord, *even a tenth part of the tithe.*

27 And *this* your heave offering shall be reckoned unto you, as though *it were* the corn of the threshingfloor, and as the fulness of the winepress.

28 Thus ye also shall offer an heave offering unto the Lord of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave offering to Aaron the priest.

opened the gates of it, kept out all strangers (i. e. all but priests and Levites), carried the tabernacle, and its vessels, when they were to be removed, &c.

They shall bear their iniquity:] They shall die for it, if they permit any one else to come there and do their work (see ver. 1).

It shall be a statute for ever—they have no inheritance.] As all other persons were excluded from serving in the tabernacle, so they who served there were shut out from having any inheritance among their brethren. This was made an unalterable law, which provided another separate maintenance for them, by the tithes of all the land; as here it again follows.

Ver. 24. *But the tithes—which they offer as an heave offering]* That the people might not grudge to pay them the tithes for their service, he represents them as a heave offering which they offered to God, in gratitude to him of whom, as the supreme landlord, they held their land. Not that they were heaved up or waved before the Lord: but they were of the same nature with those things that were so offered to him, i. e. holy things, separate to his uses; all which are called by this name of *terumah* (ver. 8). And particularly all the offerings which God required to be freely brought, for the building him a sanctuary, are called by this name of *terumah*, or heave-offering (Exod. xxv. 2, see there).

I have given to the Levites to inherit:] The Israelites gave them to God; and he gave them to the Levites for their inheritance; who had as much right to them, as the other tribes had to their land. Which was the reason he ordered they should have no portion of the land of Canaan with the other tribes, as it here follows; “therefore have I said unto them, Among the children of Israel shall they have no inheritance;” for he had given them the tithes to inherit. But R. Solomon Jarchi observes also, that the Levites themselves had no right to them, till they had taken out the tenth part from their tenth, and given it to the priests; as is here immediately directed.

Ver. 25.] In all the foregoing part of the chapter (ver. 1, 8, 20), the Lord spake unto Aaron (though by Moses), but here his order is particularly directed to Moses; because that which follows would better come from him, than from Aaron; who was employed in acquainting the Levites with the donation God had made of the tithes to them (ver. 21), but it would not have been so proper for him to tell them what was to be given out of the tithes to himself and to the priests.

Ver. 26. *When ye take—the tithes]* In these words Moses confirms the report which Aaron had made to them, that the tithes of the land should be theirs, and their brethren the children of Israel have no right to them.

Then ye shall offer up an heave offering:] As the Israelites made their grateful acknowledgments to God by offering their tithes to him, for the use of his servants the Levites (ver. 24), so it was but fit that the

Levites should be so grateful as to offer to him the tithe of their tithes (as it here follows), for such uses as he should appoint.

Even a tenth part] For the tenth part which God reserved to himself out of the land which he gave the children of Israel, was a kind of rent paid to him their supreme Lord; and he, assigning this rent over to the Levites for their maintenance, thought good notwithstanding to reserve a tithe of this tenth part to himself; that thereby he might, as it were, hold his possession, and keep *seisin* (as the lawyers speak) of his own inheritance.

Ver. 27. *And this—shall be reckoned unto you,]* Be accepted by God, as the offerings heaved up to him in the sanctuary are (ver. 23), though it be but the hundredth part of the whole fruit of the land.

As though it were the corn of the threshing floor, &c.] As if you paid such a tithe, as the Israelites do to you, out of all their own fields and vineyards: that is, they were to believe their offerings of this small part to be as acceptable to God, as that of all the tribes of Israel; and that they should have the same right to what remained, when they had done this, as the people had to all the rest of the fruits of the earth, when they had paid the tenth part to the Levites.

Ver. 28. *Thus ye also shall offer an heave offering—of all your tithes,]* He would have them know that he ordered this, because he would not have the Levites alone offer nothing to him, from whom they received so much; but they also should make him a grateful acknowledgment as well as others.

Ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave offering:] It is called so often the “Lord's heave-offering,” that they might the more willingly pay it, out of a thankful sense of what they owed to him, the donor of all.

To Aaron the priest.] This tithe is thought by some to have been designed for the high-priest alone. Two great men in their time were of this opinion, viz. Nicolaus Lyra, and the famous Alphonsus Tostatus. And another very learned person of our own (bishop R. Montague), thinks it not altogether improbable, that such a provision as this might be made for the high-priest and his family, state, and dignity: he being a man of great power and might, only less than the kings of Israel; and the inferior priests having a noble maintenance without this, from the first-fruits and offerings of the people.

But there is nothing to support this, but the mere letter of the text; for Josephus expressly says the contrary (lib. vi. Archæolog. cap. 4), and so do the generality of the Jewish writers, and St. Jerome also, that all the priests had their share in this tenth part by the Levites: which, till it was paid, the Levites might not spend, to their own use, any part of their tithe. And to secure this, “the priest was to be with the Levites when they took tithes” (as we read Neh. x. 37, 38), to take care that they set out a tenth part of them for the priests. Where by “the priest the son of Aaron,” I cannot think is meant the high-priest himself (for that had been below his dignity),

29 Out of all your gifts ye shall offer every heave offering of the Lord, of all the best thereof, *even the hallowed part thereof out of it.*

30 Therefore thou shalt say unto them, When ye have heaved the best thereof from it, then it shall be counted unto the Levites as the increase of the threshing-floor, and as the increase of the winepress.

but some priest, I suppose, appointed by him, who took care of the concerns of the whole order of priesthood, and particularly of the high-priest's interest; who, it is probable, had a principal share among the rest in this revenue; perhaps a tenth part out of their tenth. But for this I have no authority: though I take it for certain, that when he saith this tenth should be given "to Aaron the priest," the meaning is, that, as it was not for himself alone, but all his sons had a share in it, so he himself was not excluded from an honourable portion of it.

It may seem strange, perhaps, that there is no particular portion set out for the high-priest by himself, if this be not it. But it is to be considered, that all the forenamed provision (from ver. 8, to ver. 20) was made for him in the first place, and for the priests together with him. For so the words run, "unto thee have I given them, and to thy sons" (ver. 8, 9, &c.). And he had this privilege also, that he did not minister by lot, as the other priests did in their several courses, but when he pleased; and might take to himself what sacrifices he thought good to offer (ver. 9, 10), as Maimonides tells us, in *Cele Mikdash*, cap. 5, where he speaks concerning the high-priest's prerogatives.

Ver. 29. *Out of all your gifts*] Not only out of their tithes, but out of all their other possessions which God gave them; their fields, for instance, which were in the suburbs of their cities.

Ye shall offer] Make a present to the priests.

Every heave offering] Some portion of every thing God gives you to possess.

Of the Lord,] As a thankful acknowledgment of the Divine bounty to you, upon whom he hath bestowed so many good things (see ver. 28).

Of all the best thereof,] And that not of the refuse, but of the best of the tithe, and other things that were given them: by which is not to be understood, that they were bound to pick out the very best, wheat snipose, and separate it from the worse (which would have been to have given them more than a tenth part), but they were to give the priests as good as they left for themselves. For that was the rule (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33). And it was but reason the priests should have this honourable provision made for them above the Levites, their vocation being more honourable, and their service more noble, in the very sanctuary itself: for which cause this tenth of the tithe of the land was assigned them; which, they being but few in comparison with the Levites, made the allowance to every one of them much greater than to any of the Levites. And yet, as an augmentation to it, they had the first-fruits and their fees, as I said before, out of the sacrifices and other things wholly to their own use.

31 And ye shall eat it in every place, ye and your households: for it is your reward for your service in the tabernacle of the congregation.

32 And ye shall bear no sin by reason of it, when ye have heaved from it the best of it: neither shall ye pollute the holy things of the children of Israel, lest ye die.

Even the hallowed part] The sacred part was the tenth part, which they might not use; it being taken by God for his part (Lev. xxvii. 30). By which all the rest was sanctified to the use of the owner, when this part was taken out of it, which may possibly be here also intended.

Ver. 30. *Say unto them,*] Tell them the reason why this tenth part must be separated from the rest.

When ye have heaved the best thereof from it,] Taken out the tenth part as an offering to the Lord.

Then it shall be counted unto the Levites as the increase of the threshing-floor, &c.,] Then the remainder may be as freely used by them as the corn or the wine of any man's land in Israel, when he had paid his tithe: but till then it was unlawful for him to enjoy it, because God was first to be served. This is made more plain in the next verse.

Ver. 31. *Ye shall eat it*] After the hallowed part was taken out (ver. 29) all the rest was theirs, to be enjoyed as men do that which is their own.

In every place,] This seems to be said to distinguish these from the holy things given by God to the priests; which, being offered at the altar, were to be eaten only in the holy place; but the tithes, though they were a kind of offering to the Lord, yet not being presented at the altar, might be eaten anywhere, after the tenth part was given to the priests.

Your households,] All their family, servants as well as others, might eat of them, whether they were clean or not. And more than this, they might sell them to strangers, to buy other necessities with the money they yielded, or exchange them for other commodities.

For it is your reward] See ver. 21.

Ver. 32. *Bear no sin*] Suffer no punishment.

By reason of it,] For eating it, with your households.

When ye have heaved from it the best of it,] When they had taken out the tenth part as sacred to God's uses (ver. 28), they might safely use the rest themselves as they pleased: for God had given it to them for their support, and therefore would not punish them for eating it, as he did those that did eat holy things which did not belong to them.

Neither shall ye pollute the holy things] Nor would there be any danger of polluting the holy things (which God had reserved to himself) by turning them to a common use, as there would have been if they had eaten the tithes, or other gifts, before the tenth part, which was God's, was taken out of them.

Lest ye die,] In the Hebrew it is, *nor shall ye die*; as those did who meddled with the holy things which God reserved for his ministers alone.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *The water of separation made of the ashes of a red heifer.* 11 *The law for the use of it in purification of the unclean.*

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

2 This is the ordinance of the law which the LORD hath commanded, saying, Speak unto the

CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1.] They were both concerned in what follows; Moses to deliver the command, and Aaron to see it executed.

Ver. 2. *This is the ordinance*] Or, "the constitution."

Of the law] Which is now passed into a law by God's command; who had ordered this water of purification to be made some time before, as appears from ch. viii. 7, but now sets down a rule for all posterity to observe in the making of it. It is the rather mentioned now, after the foregoing history, to free the people from that great fear they were in of perishing in their uncleanness (ch. xvii. 12, 13), by showing them a way how to be purified from the greatest pollution, before they approached to the tabernacle.

That they bring thee] At the common charge of the people, because it was for their common benefit.

A red heifer] The Hebrew word *parah*, which we translate heifer, signifies a young cow; as *par* signifies a young bullock, not above two or three years old at most, as Kimchi and others observe.

Without spot,] This the Jews refer to the word *red*, which goes before, and take it to signify perfectly red, without the mixture of any other colour: for as to any other imperfections, they are provided against in the next words, *without blemish*: insomuch that Maimonides, in his treatise on this subject, saith, that if this cow had two hairs black or white, it was unfit for this use. From whence other nations, particularly the Egyptians, derived the custom of sacrificing red oxen, as Plutarch tells us in his book *De Iside et Osiride*, τῶν βοῶν τοὺς κοκκίους κατεργεύουσιν, &c. And he saith they searched them so very narrowly, that if they found one hair black or white, they counted it ἀνόμιον, "unfit to be sacrificed:" see Bochartus, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 39, where he shows this was the most common colour among that sort of creatures in some countries.

No blemish,] See Lev. xxii. 20—22.

Upon which never came yoke.] Had never been employed in ploughing the ground, or any other work: for according to the common sense of all mankind, those creatures which had been made to serve other uses became unfit to be offered to God. Whence Diomedes promises Pallas a cow of a year old,

— ἥν οὐκ ἔω ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ,

"which no man hitherto had brought under the yoke" (Iliad, K). And so doth Nestor, Odys. 1, and the like Bochartus observes out of Virgil, Ovid, and others, in his Hierozoicon (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 33).

All this is very plain; but why a young cow, rather than a bullock (which is commonly appointed in sacrifices), and why one perfectly red, is not so easy to understand. If we had any reason to believe that those superstitions were among the Egyptians in the days of Moses, which were when Plutarch or Herodotus lived, we might very probably say (as

children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke:

3 And ye shall give her unto Eleazar the

some men of learning have), that this precept was given to preserve the Israelites from their religion. For they abhorred to offer a cow, whom they honoured as sacred to Isis. So Herodotus; they sacrificed males, both old and young, τὰς δὲ θηρίας οὐ σφιν ἱεῖσιν ἔστιν, "but it is not lawful for them to offer females" (lib. ii. cap. 41). And therefore God, it might be thought, ordered a cow to be burnt rather than a bullock: and for the same cause one perfectly red, because that was a colour odious and abominable to the Egyptians; who fancied Typhon (the author of all evil in their account) to be of that colour; and therefore offered him red oxen, as hateful to them as red men and asses were. Thus Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus. In opposition to which, it may be thought that a cow of this colour was acceptable to God, because hated and abhorred by those idolaters: but I look upon what such late writers say as of no authority in this matter. And as there is no proof of any such customs among the Egyptians in Moses' time, so there is a high probability that the whole fable of Typhon was framed out of the story of Moses, as Bochartus hath most ingeniously endeavoured to make out, by many observations out of that book of Plutarch, and other authors (Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34, p. 340, 341, &c.).

But supposing the antiquity of those superstitions among the Egyptians to have been as great as some fancy them, I cannot think, that if Moses had had any respect to them, he would have ordered such a great number of sacrifices as we read of in his law, without the least consideration of the colour of any one of them, and only mention the colour of this cow, which was no sacrifice. I rather think this perfect red colour was chosen because of its rarity; it being hard to find a cow without any the least mixture of other hair. And though it were not a sacrifice, yet being designed to the same end, there was a respect herein to that great expiation which was made by the sacrifice of Christ: with whose blood, though the apostle did not compare the blood of this heifer (because it was not offered), yet he doth compare it with the ashes of this burnt heifer, put into the water of purification. See Heb. ix. 13, where, after the blood of bulls and goats, he mentions "the ashes of this heifer sprinkling the unclean." For they were a more extraordinary sort of purification than any under the law, of which we nowhere read but in this place; nor of any command for the repeated burning of such an heifer to ashes (as there is for the anniversary sacrifice on the day of atonement), but only of the use of the water made of these ashes as oft as there was occasion. But of this it will be more fit to treat in the following part of the chapter.

Ver. 3. *Ye shall give her*] They who brought her in the name of the whole congregation were to bring her to Moses, as the foregoing verse directs: and he and Aaron were to deliver her to Eleazar.

Unto Eleazar the priest.] It is commonly thought that Aaron might not be employed in the following work, because it would have defiled him, and made

priest, that he may bring her forth without the camp, and *one* shall slay her before his face.

4 And Eleazar the priest shall take of her blood with his finger, and sprinkle of her blood directly before the tabernacle of the congregation seven times :

him unfit to minister before God for a season; which he was bound to avoid, even when natural affection seemed to require it (Lev. xxi. 11, 12): yet a vulgar priest was not intrusted with this service, but it was committed unto the very next person to Aaron, who was to be his successor, because it was of very great weight and importance.

That he may bring her forth without the camp,] As a thing exceeding unclean; more impure than any common offering for sin. For the greater the impurity was that was laid upon any sacrifice, the further still off from the sanctuary it was carried. The bullock, for instance, which was offered for a sin committed by the priest, or the whole congregation, was in part offered at the altar, but the far greater part was to be burnt without the camp (Lev. iv. 12, 20). And so was the bullock and goat, offered for all the sins of the people on the great day of expiation (Lev. xvi. 27): and the scape-goat, which was designed for the same purpose, was not so much as burnt, but banished into a land not inhabited, nobody knows whither. All which more particularly represented Christ in his sufferings, as the apostle observes, Heb. xiii. 11, 12, and so did this in part; having something of the nature of a sacrifice in it. For though it was not a sacrifice brought to be slain at the altar, yet it was intended to be used to the same purpose, for the cleansing of the people from the greatest legal defilement.

And one shall slay her before his face.] Some person appointed by Eleazar (for it was not necessary a priest should do it) was to kill her without the camp. Where it is plain from ver. 5, 8, 9, there were more than one concerned in this office. But it could not be slain unless Eleazar was there; and it was to be done in his presence, who was the chief of the priests, to show that it was intended for God's service, though not offered as sacrifices were at the tabernacle before the Lord. And this is the reason, perhaps, why the care of this heifer is committed to Eleazar, and not to Aaron, because he officiated only at the tabernacle.

Ver. 4. *Eleazar—shall take of her blood with his finger,]* As they did in expiatory sacrifices (Lev. iv. 6).

Sprinkle of her blood] In the sprinkling of the blood, as the Jews observe, consisted the very essence of an expiatory sacrifice. Therefore, though this was not a sacrifice, yet it had something of that nature in it, and may be called a *piaculum*, an expiatory thing; though nothing was called *korban*, "a sacrifice," but what was offered at the altar, as our Dr. Outram hath most judiciously observed against Abarinel, who calls this red cow an offering for sin.

Before the tabernacle] This rite of sprinkling the blood was never used but in sacrifices slain at the altar, in the presence of God; and in this red cow, which was slain in the prospect of the sanctuary; towards which the priest was to look steadfastly while he sprinkled it; otherwise, the Jews say, it was in vain: which shows that the validity of this act, and of the purification to be made by it, was to be expected from the sanctuary. For the blood of that heifer, whose head was cut off to cleanse a city near to which a man was found slain by an unknown person, was not sprinkled; being slain, not in sight of the sanctuary, but in a valley near that city (Deut.

5 And *one* shall burn the heifer in his sight: her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn:

6 And the priest shall take cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the burning of the heifer.

xxi. 3, 4, &c.). And in this the Jews were so curious, that after the temple was built, this blood being to be sprinkled directly before the porch of it, they took care the gate Shushan, which was before it, should have lower battlements than any other gate of the temple had, that the priest might see the face of the porch of the house of God.

Seven times.] This signifies the perfection of the expiation that was to be made by this red cow, on whose ashes the Jews thought so much depended, that they took care the priest, who was to see her burnt, should be put apart in a chamber of the temple (called "the house of stone"), that they might be certain he was free from all pollution by a grave, or a dead corpse. For the ashes of this burnt cow being the great and only cleanser for that defilement, they took suitable care that he should not be defiled who went to burn her. See Dr. Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. 17, sect. 2, where he describes, out of Maimonides, and others, how solemnly the priest was attended when he went about this work. And the apostle had reason to mention the ashes of this heifer, wherewith the water was made for sprinkling the unclean, as the principal thing that "sanctified to the purifying of the flesh," i. e. taking away bodily defilements: with which he compares the blood of Christ, as infinitely more powerful for the "purifying of the conscience from dead works" (Heb. ix. 13, 14). In which words, *dead works*, there is a respect (as our Dr. Jackson observes) to the main intention of these ashes, which were for the purification of those defiled by dead bodies. And he seems to me also not to be led by fancy, but by a solid judgment, when he considered these ashes also as a notable figure of the everlasting efficacy of Christ's blood, of which the apostle there discourses. For, if the frequent occasion for the use of the water of purification had not spent all the ashes of the heifer now slain and burnt by Eleazar, they might have been preserved for this purpose, without any danger of putrefaction, for a longer time than the law of ceremonies lasted. For ashes, being well kept, never perish; and therefore are an emblem of immortality. But it must be considered, that the frequent use of these ashes might exhaust the whole stock of them made at this time, and make it necessary the priests should burn another heifer for the same end; as the Jews say they did, though so rarely (as I shall note below), that this burning of a red heifer was not reiterated, if we may believe them, till the destruction of Solomon's temple. Which makes them a more notable figure, though not a perfect one (for no such can be found), of the power of Christ's blood to purify us for ever, without the repetition of it continually; which was the imperfection of the legal sacrifices, that they must be often offered.

Ver. 5.] There was a great pile of wood (to which they set fire immediately after he had done sprinkling), in which this heifer was more entirely burnt than any public expiatory sacrifice before mentioned, ver. 2, (for here the remainder of the blood is ordered to be burnt), because this was of all other things the most unclean, and to be utterly consumed at a distance from the sanctuary.

Ver. 6. *Cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet,]* These three things composed that instrument which the

7 Then the priest shall wash his clothes, and he shall bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be unclean until the even.

8 And he that burneth her shall wash his

priest made use of for sprinkling of leprous persons, or houses, when they were to be cleansed (Lev. xiv. 6, 7, 49, 50, &c., where see what I have noted). And the apostle mentions two of them, as used by Moses himself, when he sprinkled the hook of the covenant, and all the people, with the blood of the sacrifice (Heb. ix. 19); which, though not mentioned in Exodus, yet the apostle knew was the ancient way of sprinkling. And therefore these things which were used of old as cleansers, either of inward or outward filth, are ordered here to be thrown into the fire, while the heifer was burning in it, whose ashes were to be the great means of men's purification from the highest pollutions.

Cast it] He speaks as if these three things being bound together became one.

Into the midst of the burning.] To denote the great virtue which the water, made of the ashes of all these things, should have to cleanse those who were sprinkled with it; one of these things (viz., hyssop) being ordered to be dipped into the water for that purpose (ver. 18).

Ver. 7. The priest shall wash his clothes, &c.] Though we do not find that Eleazar was employed, either in killing or in burning this heifer, which was only to be done in his presence, yet, having touched her blood, he became unclean; and therefore was to use these ceremonies for his cleansing, before he returned to the camp; as Aaron did when he had offered the great sacrifice of expiation, on the day of general atonement (Lev. xvi. 24).

Shall be unclean until the even.] So as not to come into the camp, I suppose, much less to the sanctuary, until sun-set; which was but a short time, considering the greatness of this heifer's impurity; this being the common time of remaining unclean for the smallest defilements (Lev. xi. 24, 25, 27, &c.).

Ver. 8.] This was a general manner among the Jews, that the bodies of those beasts whose blood was carried into the holy place, polluted those that touched them: which is justified by Lev. xvi. 28. And therefore he that burnt this heifer, whose blood was sprinkled towards it, was to do the same as he that carried the scape-goat into the wilderness was also bound to do (Lev. xvi. 26).

Ver. 9. A man that is clean] Free from any legal defilement.

Shall gather up the ashes] They were the principal ashes, though the ashes of the cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet wool, were also mingled with them; which, being taken up, were pounded and sifted, as the Jews tell us.

Lay them up without the camp in a clean place.] The Jews say that the heifer, in aftertimes, being burnt on the pitch of Mount Olivet, which was over against the temple, they laid up some part of the ashes in a place near that mount, for the sprinkling of the people; and another part was delivered to the twenty-four courses, for the sprinkling of the priests; and another third part laid up for a memorial in the enclosure of the court of the temple (see Dr. Lightfoot in the place before named). But there is no certainty of this, and it contradicts in part what is here commanded, that they should be laid up without the camp (see ver. 12).

It shall be kept] Laid up, *eis διαθήσιν*, as the LXX. translate it, to be reserved and kept for the use

clothes in water, and bathe his flesh in water, and shall be unclean until the even.

9 And a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and lay them up without the camp in a clean place, and it shall be kept for

of those who had defiled themselves by the dead; unto whom it was delivered when they had occasion for it. And this word *reserved*, or *kept*, imports, that these ashes were not for the use of that generation only, but for all posterity. And as manna (which was commanded in the same form of speech to be kept or reserved in the ark) was a type of Christ, as he was the food of life, or the bread that came down from heaven: so were these ashes kept as an emblem of the everlasting efficacy of his sacrifice. For there is no bodily substance under heaven (as Dr. Jackson speaks, book x. chap. 55) which can be so true an emblem or model of incorruption, as ashes are; for being the remainder of bodies perfectly dissolved or corrupted, they are not capable of a second corruption.

For the congregation] This one heifer, being slain, and its blood sprinkled, and body burnt, afforded ashes enough to season as many vessels of water as the whole people of Israel should need. Wherein it was a notable representation of Christ's blood, shed for the whole world, "to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Yea, they were sufficient for all the people, for many generations, though they had frequent occasion to use them for legal purification; wherein still they more lively represented the virtue of Christ's one sacrifice, which continues for ever. For the Jews say, this red heifer was killed but nine times, while their state lasted. First, by Eleazar here in the wilderness; which was not repeated till after the destruction of Solomon's temple, i. e. not during the space of more than a thousand years. The second time it was burnt by Ezra, after their return from the captivity of Babylon; and but seven times more, till the destruction of the second temple. Since which they have not adventured to make these ashes, but expect it to be done the tenth time by the king Messias, who, indeed, came to put an end to this and all other legal rites; not after the legal manner, but by offering himself *once for all*, instead of all other sacrifices or ways of purification.

For a water of separation.] To be put into spring water (which was always accounted more pure than other), by which those persons were to be cleansed, who for their pollutions were separated from the congregation; and those things also which had been defiled were restored to their common use. Ashes, all know, are of great use in scouring things polluted; and the ancient gentiles used them much in their lustrations, as appears from Virgil, Ovid, and many other authors. But the water into which they put them was prepared with magical rites, and, for the most part, was drawn out of some pretended sacred fountain; and sometimes it had a burning torch, taken from the altar, quenched in it; and in some places they put sulphur, and spittle, and other cleansing things, into it. In which, I suppose, at first they imitated this rite prescribed by Moses; but in process of time added many superstitions of their own to it.

It is a purification for sin.] In the Hebrew the words are *it is sin*; and we add, a purification, to explain the sense. For it was not a proper sacrifice for sin (as this phrase for sin sometimes imports, Lev. iv. 24), but had something of that nature in it (as I observed before), and may be properly said to purify or cleanse men from their sin, i. e. from such legal defilements as are mentioned afterwards. And

the congregation of the children of Israel for a water of separation: it is a purification for sin.

10 And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: and it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among them, for a statute for ever.

11 ¶ He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days.

12 He shall purify himself with it on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall be

clean: but if he purify not himself the third day, then the seventh day he shall not be clean.

13 Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel: because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean; his uncleanness is yet upon him.

14 This is the law, when a man dieth in a tent: all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days.

it may, in a less proper sense, have the name of a *sin-offering*, inasmuch as the body of it was burnt without the camp (as the great sin-offering was on the day of atonement), and its blood sprinkled seven times towards the sanctuary, though not shed at the altar; whereby it became a more complete representation of the sacrifice of Christ, especially if we consider, that this "purification" here mentioned doth not signify only one, or a few acts of purification, but a *continued purification*; the ashes being to be laid up as a treasure or storehouse (to use Dr. Jackson's words) for making as many purifications, or waters of sprinkling, as the Israelites should have occasion to use. For therein consisted the excellence of this purification, that the ashes were not to be made by burning a heifer every time the people had occasion for them; but the ashes of this one sacrifice (as we may call it) was sufficient for the use of many generations. Accordingly the apostle saith our Lord Christ, *καθαρσίων πορσίμμενος*, "having made a purification of our sins (Heb. i. 3), sat down at God's right hand;" which word *purification*, in that place, doth not signify one act or operation, but implies that by this one act of sacrificing himself, he was consecrated to be a perpetual fountain of purification, being still "the propitiation for our sins."

Ver. 10. *He that gathereth the ashes—shall wash his clothes, &c.*] This is one of the strange things which the Jews say Solomon himself did not understand (and Maimonides professes he could find no reason of, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 47, and the author of Sopher Cosri also ascribes purely to the will and pleasure of God, of which he could give no account, par. iii. sect. 53), that the same thing should both cleanse and pollute, as these ashes did, which polluted him that gathered them, and made those that used them clean from the highest legal pollutions. But this is not strange to those who consider that all those great sacrifices which were offered for sin (which I mentioned, ver. 7), though they purified those for whom they were offered, were very impure themselves, because the sins of men were laid upon them, as all our sins were upon Christ; who, therefore, is said to be "made sin for us (2 Cor. v. 21), that we might be made the righteousness of God," i. e. freed from all sin.

It shall be unto—the stranger, &c.] All proselytes to their religion were to have the benefit of this purification, as well as the Jews, by an unalterable law; by which was figured the propitiation Christ made for the sins of the whole world.

Ver. 11.] This long uncleanness by touching a dead body, was the ground of those strict injunctions to the priests about mourning for their dead relations; which is forbidden, lest they should be hindered too long in their ministration (see Lev. xxi.). He that touched the carcass of any unclean creature, was defiled only until the even (Lev. xi. 24), nor was he longer who touched the bed of him that had an issue, or his seat, &c. (Lev. xv. 5—8).

Ver. 12. *He shall purify himself with it*] With the "water of separation," mentioned ver. 9. Which seems here to be designed chiefly, if not only, for the purging of this great impurity, by touching any man's dead body.

On the third day,] Then he was to begin his purification, by being sprinkled with it; which makes it probable that these ashes were kept in more places than the Jews mention *without the camp* (as afterward near Jerusalem), and, it is most likely, in all the cities of the country. For it had been too hard for all the people, nay, impossible for those who were remote, to go to Jerusalem the third day after they were defiled to fetch these ashes; which, therefore, were kept in several clean places, where everybody might easily have them to put into water, and be sprinkled with it. For as there was no sacrifice, so no priest required to make this purification; but any clean person might sprinkle the water (ver. 18, 19).

On the seventh day he shall be clean;] Then his purification was perfected; but not without a new sprinkling on this day (ver. 19).

But if he purify not himself the third day, &c.] If he did not begin his purification on the third day, his sprinkling on the seventh would not make him clean. But it is very probable, that, though he omitted it on the third day, yet, if he purified himself on the fourth or fifth, or any day following, that being reckoned as if it had been the third, when he had made up the number seven, his cleansing might be completed.

Ver. 13. *Purifieth not himself,]* With the water of separation, in the manner before prescribed (ver. 12).

Defileth the tabernacle] If he approach unto it without this purification.

That soul shall be cut off] He was to die for it if he did it presumptuously.

Because the water—was not sprinkled upon him,] Because he neglected the means of his purification.

He shall be unclean;] Remain in his uncleanness.

His uncleanness is yet upon him.] Not to be purified now by this water of separation, but cut off from the body of the people. This still concerns those that came to the tabernacle presumptuously, being unpurified. If they did it ignorantly, a sacrifice was admitted for their atonement (Lev. v. 3, 6, 17, 18).

Ver. 14. *This is the law,]* Concerning such defilements as these, by the dead bodies of men.

When a man dieth in a tent;] Wherein they now lived during their stay in the wilderness; and the same law obliged them, when they came to dwell in houses, in the land of Canaan.

All that came into the tent,—shall be unclean seven days.] The meaning seems to be, that every person who came into the tent while the dead body lay there (or before the tent was purified), as well as they who were in it when the person died, should be unclean. For all the goods of the house were not made unclean but only all open vessels.

15 And every open vessel, which hath no covering bound upon it, is unclean.

16 And whosoever toucheth one that is slain with a sword in the open fields, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days.

17 And for an unclean person they shall take of the ashes of the burnt heifer of purification for sin, and running water shall be put thereto in a vessel:

18 And a clean person shall take hyssop, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that

touched a bone, or one slain, or one dead, or a grave:

19 And the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he shall purify himself, and wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and shall be clean at even.

20 But the man that shall be unclean, and shall not purify himself, that soul shall be cut off from among the congregation, because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the Lord: the water of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him; he is unclean.

21 And it shall be a perpetual statute unto

Ver. 15. Every open vessel,—is unclean.] Because the air in the house, which was supposed to be tainted by the dead body, came as freely into such vessels as it did to the dead body. Tho. Aquinas fancies, that this law was made to prevent idolatry: for the ancient idolaters thought, that if a mouse, or a lizard, or such-like thing, which was dedicated unto their idols, fell into a vessel, or into water, they became thereby very acceptable to their gods. And he saith this superstition continued till his days; in which some women were wont to leave their vessels uncovered on purpose, in observance of the nocturnal deities, whom they called Janos (see *Prima et Secunda Quest. 102, artic. 5*). To abolish which superstition God required, he thinks, all vessels left uncovered, where the dead lay, should be polluted; i. e. not acceptable unto God, nor employed to holy, no, nor common uses. If such customs had been in Moses's days, this might be better applied to what we read in *Lev. xi. 32, 33*.

Ver. 16. Whosoever toucheth one that is slain with a sword] Or killed any other way, it appears by the words following.

Or a dead body,] Of a man that falls down dead of a sudden, or is executed for his crimes.

Or a bone of a man,] Taken out of a grave, or the grave itself where the dead body lies; as the next words are.

Shall be unclean seven days.] As long as if he had touched the dead body itself.

Ver. 17. For an unclean person] i. e. For the cleansing of one defiled any of these ways.

They shall take of the ashes of the burnt heifer] It is not said what quantity, therefore, I suppose, whether it were little or great it would serve the turn. It is observable, that the ashes of the burnt heifer are here called *chattah* (*sin*), which shows they had the virtue of a sin-offering in them (see *ver. 9*).

Running water shall be put thereto in a vessel.] The ashes being put into a vessel, they were to put pure spring, or at least river water upon them; which became the water of separation.

Ver. 18. A clean person] It is not said a priest; and therefore I suppose any other person, who was not unclean, might do this: as any such person might slay the heifer, and burn her (*ver. 3, 5*). But in this the Jews were so curious, that their tradition made this extend, not only to a person that was at present clean, but that never had been defiled by a dead corpse in all his life; and therefore tell us what devices they had to keep persons thus clean, for this very end and purpose (see *Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, ch. 17, sect. 2*).

Shall take hyssop,] When the priests sprinkled the lepers, or their houses, with the blood of a bird killed over running water, he dipped hyssop, cedar-wood, and scarlet-wool in them (*Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 7, 49, 50,*

&c.). But here the sprinkling being made by some neighbour, hyssop alone sufficed; which every one knows was a cleansing herb, and easily procured: instead of which the gentiles, in their superstition, used branches of laurel, or of olive; as we learn from *Juvenal and Virgil*.

Sprinkle it upon the tent, &c.] For the purifying of all the things, and all the persons above mentioned (*ver. 14—16*).

Ver. 19. The clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean] Here he explains what was not so distinctly delivered, *ver. 12*. And I suppose both persons and things were to be sprinkled on both days, because he saith in general, *upon the unclean*; which seems to relate to all that is mentioned in the foregoing verse.

On the seventh day he shall purify himself, &c.] This seems to be meant of the clean person who sprinkled the unclean, and by coming near them, was in some sort defiled. But he was not to be purified by the water of separation; but only by washing his clothes, and bathing himself in water; and his uncleanness lasted but till the even, as it here follows in the rest of this verse (see *ver. 21*).

Ver. 20. The man that shall be unclean,] By a dead body, a bone, or a grave, &c.

Shall not purify himself,] By the water of separation appointed for that purpose.

That soul shall be cut off] As a contemner of this law of God.

Because he hath defiled the sanctuary] This and the following words are only a repetition of what was said *ver. 13*, for the greater confirmation of it.

Ver. 21. He that sprinklesh the water of separation shall wash his clothes;] Be reputed unclean, until he hath washed his clothes; which I suppose comprehends his body also, *ver. 19*.

He that toucheth the water of separation] As a man might chance to do, when he mingled the water and ashes together (*ver. 17*).

Shall be unclean until even.] And wash his clothes, it must be supposed from the foregoing words. For mere staying till even purified nobody, without some rite of cleansing. And there was more reason for him that touched the water, immediately to wash his clothes, than for him who only sprinkled with it.

Ver. 22. And whatsoever] Or, whosoever.

The unclean person toucheth shall be unclean;] He doth not mean, by the unclean person, him who was made unclean by touching the water of separation (for his uncleanness was so slight, that any one would think he should make nobody unclean by his touch), but the unclean person spoken of all along in this chapter; who was defiled by touching a dead body. He whom such a person touched was made unclean, and therefore was to wash his clothes, and not be thought clean until the even.

them, that he that sprinkleth the water of separation shall wash his clothes; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be unclean until even.

The soul that toucheth it] Or toucheth him.

Shall be unclean until the even.] Not only he whom the unclean person touched, but he who touched the unclean person, or any unclean thing, was to be unclean till the even, and wash his clothes (as I said before) for his cleansing. No other cleansing was necessary for such kinds of uncleanness as these. For sacrifices were required only for the uncleanness of lepers, and of a childbed woman, and of a flux of blood, or seed: all others were purged without sacrifice.

22 And whatsoever the unclean *person* toucheth shall be unclean; and the soul that toucheth *it* shall be unclean until even.

By this nice care, which is here taken, about the smallest bodily defilements, God intended (I make no doubt) to make them sensible how necessary it was to preserve inward purity; without which they could not be acceptable to God, though they approached to his sanctuary. For these laws, extending to what was done at home, as well as abroad, were a plain instruction, both that it was not sufficient to be pure in the eyes of men, and that nothing could be concealed from the Divine Majesty, who sees what passeth in secret.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *The children of Israel come to Zin, where Miriam dieth.* 2 *They murmur for want of water.* 7 *Moses smiting the rock bringeth forth water at Meribah.* 14 *Moses at Kadesh desireth passage through Edom, which is denied him.* 22 *At mount Hor Aaron resigneth his place to Eleazar, and dieth.*

1 THEN came the children of Israel, *even* the whole congregation, into the desert of Zin in the first month: and the people abode in Kadesh; and Miriam died there, and was buried there.

2 And there was no water for the congregation: and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron.

3 And the people chode with Moses, and

CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *Into the wilderness of Zin*] From Rithmah, or Kadesh-barnea, they came at last into this wilderness, after many removals to other stations, of which Moses gives an account in the thirty-third chapter, from ver. 19, to ver. 36. For God led them, by the cloud, quite back again to the Red Sea (ch. xiv. 25), and from thence brought them into this wilderness of *Tzin*; which is quite different from that mentioned Exod. xvi. called *Sin*; for this lay on the confines of Idumea, as appears from ver. 14, 15.

In the first month.] Of the fortieth year after they came out of the land of Egypt. For Moses gives an account of the transactions only of the first two years after they came from thence, and of the last: the rest he passeth over in silence, being spent in tiresome journeys; whereby all above twenty years old were consumed, by one disease or other. In those travels he shows how, at several removals (mentioned ch. xxxiii.) they were led back from Kadesh-barnea unto Ezion-Geber (that is, from the north to the south of the shore of the Red Sea), in which journey they compassed the land of Edom many days (Deut. ii. 1), that is, many years. For, from the time they left Kadesh-barnea till they returned back again was thirty-eight years (Deut. ii. 14).

The people abode in Kadesh.] Not in Kadesh-barnea, which was their fifteenth station, and in the confines of the south part of Canaan (ch. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3), but another Kadesh on the confines of the land of Edom, towards the Red Sea (ch. xxxiii. 36; Deut. ii. 3; Judges xi. 17).

Miriam died there.] Four months before her brother Aaron (ch. xxxiii. 38), and eleven months before Moses; being elder than either of them. For she was near a hundred and thirty years old, as may be gathered from Exod. ii. 4, 7, where it appears she was not a child when Moses was born.

Was buried there.] In Kadesh, where she died. But we read of no mourning for her, as there was for Aaron a little after (ver. 29).

Ver. 2. *There was no water*] The water which hitherto followed them from the rock in Horeb now failed. Which happening just at the death of Miriam the Jews have a foolish conceit, that as her piety procured it for them, so she being dead, it was taken from them, and was restored again for the piety of Moses and Aaron. It is more reasonable to think, that God suffered the water to be discontinued for a time, that he might try the faith of this new generation, whether they were any better than their rebellious fathers, and withal, to convince them that the water out of the former rock was not contained in it, if he had not produced it, who could bring forth water out of any other place as well as that. Or, they being now going towards Canaan, and near a country where water might be had for money (or they might have found it by digging for it), God thought fit to let the miracle cease; that they might see he would shortly provide for them otherwise. For it is very likely, that, in their last station, where they were before this, at Ezion-Geber (ch. xxxiii. 36), the water that had followed them in all their journeys thither fell there into the Red Sea, and so was swallowed up; they being, as I said, to return towards Canaan, by places where water might be procured without a miracle. For being upon the edge of the land of Edom, when Aaron died, in their next removal (ver. 28, ch. xxxiii. 37), we read expressly that they presently after came to a "land of rivers of water" (Deut. x. 7). And, indeed, not long after they removed from Mount Hor, when Aaron died, we find, in the next chapter to this, that they came to Obodh (ch. xxi. 10), which signifying *bottles*, it is no unreasonable conjecture, that here they met with water, with which they filled their empty bottles. And, next to that station, they came to Ije-Abarim (ver. 11), "heaps of fords;" or, as the Chaldee expounds it, "the ford of those that pass over;" and then to the valley of Zared (ver. 12), or to the brook Zered, as it is in Deut. ii. 13, 14. And then to the river Arnon (ver. 13), and thence to Beer, where they digged a famous well (ch. xxi. 16—18), which, perhaps, they might have done before in other places, if they had made experiment; for Kadesh

spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord!

4 And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?

5 And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink.

6 And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the assembly unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and they fell

where they now were, was in the border of a country inhabited.

They gathered themselves together against Moses] Just as their fathers had many times done; particularly upon such an occasion as this (Exod. xvii. 2, 3).

Ver. 3. *The people chode with Moses,*] Instead of condoling with him, and comforting him, for the death of his sister and their prophetess (as Abarinel observes), they came in a rude manner to scold at him.

Would God that we had died when our brethren died] By a sudden death, rather than linger away by thirst. They allude to the strokes upon their brethren, ch. xi. 1, 33, xiv. 37, xvi. 32, 35, 46, which one would have thought should have affrighted them from uttering such very discontented language (ch. xix. 2). But nothing will alter those, who will not lay to heart, and preserve in mind, God's mercies and judgments.

Ver. 4.] The very words of their fathers, presently after they came out of Egypt (Exod. xvii. 3).

Ver. 5. *Wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt,*] They speak as if it had not been their own desire, but that they were persuaded to it by Moses to leave Egypt; who was sent to tell them God heard their sighing, groans, and cries, and would deliver them (Exod. ii. 23, 24, iii. 17). But in a discontented fit, nothing of this was remembered.

To bring us in unto this evil place?] They do not speak of returning to Egypt, as their fathers did (ch. xiv. 3, 4), but they repented that they were come out of it. So shamefully forgetful they were of all God's benefits, who had in a wonderful manner redeemed them from the heaviest slavery, and hitherto provided for them miraculously in the wilderness, which was a better place than such an ungrateful people deserved!

It is no place of seed,] i. e. Of corn.

Or of figs, &c.] Now they complain for want of other things, as well as water: wherein they still imitate their unbelieving fathers (ch. xvi. 14).

Ver. 6. *Moses and Aaron went—unto the door of the tabernacle*] To pray to God to pardon their sin, and to supply their wants.

Fell upon their faces,] As they had often done before, on other such-like occasions; particularly ch. xiv. 5.

The glory of the Lord appeared] Unto all the people, it is likely; as it had done several times, to silence their murmurings (see ch. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, 42).

Ver. 7. *The Lord spake unto Moses,*] From that glory which appeared upon the tabernacle.

Ver. 8. *Take the rod,*] That famous rod wherewith Moses had wrought so many miracles in Egypt, and at the Red Sea, &c.

Gather thou the assembly together,] This word *edah* signifying sometimes only the assembly of the elders, not of the whole people, it would be uncertain which of them he is bid to gather together (for it is a dif-

ferent word from that which we translate *assembly*, ver. 6), if the tenth verse had not determined that it was the *kahal*, or congregation of the people, as the word *edah* also signifies just before (ver. 8).

7 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

8 Take the rod, and gather thou the assembly together, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes; and it shall give forth his water, and thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock: so thou shalt give the congregation and their beasts drink.

9 And Moses took the rod from before the Lord, as he commanded him.

ferent word from that which we translate *assembly*, ver. 6), if the tenth verse had not determined that it was the *kahal*, or congregation of the people, as the word *edah* also signifies just before (ver. 8).

Thou, and Aaron thy brother,] For the people were gathered together against Aaron, in a mutinous manner, as well as against Moses (ver. 2).

Speak ye unto the rock before their eyes;] To the first rock you meet withal (saith Nachmanides), and that is within their sight. For this is not the same rock out of which the former water flowed, as the Jews fancy; but quite different. Their very names are different; that being called Tzur, this Selah. That was in Rephidim, this in Kadesh; two very distant places. Thus Chaskuni; some think this the same with that in Exodus; "but it is not the same history. For the former was in Horeb, this in Kadesh; which is in the extremity of the land of Edom." But whether God pointed him to a rock, which was then in their sight (as he did at Horeb, Exod. xvii. 5, 6), or left him to choose any stony place, is not certain. But it is a mere fancy of some of the Jews, that, because God here bade them speak to the rock, Moses offended God in *smiting it*. For to what purpose should he take the rod, if he was not to smite the rock with it, as he had done formerly? Just such another conceit there is in Schalsechelet Hakkabala; where R. Gedaliah saith, that he had given an account of this sin in another book, which he gathered out of various writers, and found there were twenty-eight different opinions about it: but he preferred this before any of them; that whereas God bade Moses gather the *edah* together, that is, the assembly of the people (ver. 8), he gathered the *kahal*, i. e. the congregation of the princes and elders (as he will have it), whose faith needed no confirmation (see Hottinger in his *Smegma Orientale*, cap. 8, p. 451).

It shall give forth his water,] The Jews puzzle themselves about this expression, which sounds, they think, as if the water was contained in the rock; and Moses only made a gap for it to gush out: but it seems to be spoken in opposition to the waters issuing out of the former rock, which had supplied them hitherto, but now ceased to flow; it being as much as if he had said, This shall give forth water as that did before: now it shall be called the water of this rock; not that of Horeb.

Bring forth to them water] Renew the former miracle.

Give the congregation and their beasts drink,] So that they and their cattle (which they fear will perish, ver. 24) shall be as plentifully provided for as ever.

Ver. 9.] From hence some conclude, that this was the rod of Aaron which blossomed; because he is said to take it "from before the Lord," where Aaron's rod was laid up (ch. xvii. 10). But this rod is so expressly called *Moses's rod*, ver. 11, which was the

10 And Moses and Aaron gathered the congregation together before the rock, and he said unto them, Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?

11 And Moses lifted up his hand, and with

his rod he smote the rock twice: and the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts also.

12 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not, to sanctify

instrument of bringing the former water out of the rock in Horeb, that I cannot but think this was the very same rod; which being there called "the rod of God" (Exod. xvii. 9), as it is at the first mention of it (Exod. iv. 20), it is very probable, that by God's order it was laid up somewhere before him in the sanctuary; though not before the ark of the testimony. For having been employed in doing so many wonders, it was not seemly it should lie in his own tent, as a common staff; but in the house of God, as a sacred wand. This, indeed, is nowhere mentioned, no more than many other things, which notwithstanding are plainly intimated.

Ver. 10. *Moses and Aaron gathered the congregation*] As God had commanded, ver. 8.

He said unto them,] Moses, who was the chief actor, said unto them.

Hear now, ye rebels;] The Talmudists fancy that this is the great sin for which Moses and Aaron were denied to go into Canaan, because he called God's people *rebels*: from whence they have framed this maxim, "He that treats the church contemptuously, which ought to be honoured, is as if he blasphemed the name of God." But they subvert the truth, who build it upon no better foundations. For Moses, the great minister of God, only uses God's own language to their fathers, ch. xvii. 10, where he bids him lay up Aaron's rod, "as a token against the rebels." And if this were a sin, Moses committed it again not long after this, and in a higher strain (which nobody can think he would have done, if it had cost him so dear), when he saith, Deut. ix. 24, "Ye have been rebellious against the Lord ever since I knew you."

Must we fetch you water out of this rock?] In these words, also, some of the Jews (particularly Nachman) think they find the sin of Moses and Aaron; who here (they fancy) ascribe to themselves that which they ought to have acknowledged the work of God alone. But this is without any ground; for the plain meaning of the words is quite contrary; "Is it in our power to bring water out of a rock?" So the Vulgar Latin translates it; it being a speech of those that wonder, like that 1 Kings xxi. 19, "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" As if Moses had said, "Strange! that you should think it possible for us to bring you water out of a rock, which is the work only of an omnipotent power!"

Ver. 11. *He smote the rock twice:*] It seems the water did not gush out at the first stroke; which made him repeat it.

The water came out abundantly.] So that their present necessity was supplied; and they also filled their vessels when they left this place, to serve them till they met with the convenience of water; as they did, I showed upon ver. 2.

Ver. 12. *The Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not.*] Here interpreters have been much troubled to find what it was for which God was offended at Moses and Aaron: for though the text tells us expressly it was for their unbelief (whereby they gave great scandal, and did not sanctify him as they did formerly, before the Israelites), yet it doth not clearly appear wherein this unbelief declared itself. Abarinel hath collected several opinions of the Jewish doctors about this matter, which are no less than ten; after which he delivers his own, which seems to me as unsatisfactory as the

rest were to him: for it is far-fetched, with too much nicety and subtilty, and relies also upon uncertainties. The plainest account of it, I think, is this, which none of them take notice of; that the water now ceasing at the same time that Miriam died, Moses was very sad both for her death, and, perhaps, for the ceasing of the water; and being unexpectedly assaulted by the people, who ought to have had a greater reverence for him, in a time of mourning especially, it was the occasion of a greater commotion of anger and indignation than was usually in him: which gave him such a disturbance in his mind, and so disordered his thoughts that when God bade him take his rod, and go and speak to the rock, he fell into some doubt, whether God would grant them the favour he had done before; either, because they were so wretched a people, that it was not fit God should do any thing for them; or because he thought, perhaps, water might be otherways procured for them. And because of this doubting, I suppose, it might be, that upon the first striking of the rock no water came forth (God also, perhaps, so ordering it, that he might try him); and hereupon his diffidence increased into unbelief, and a settled persuasion they should have no water. His anger also at such a rebellious generation, it is likely, made him the more distrustful, that God would do nothing for them. For both these are mentioned by the Divine writers that touch upon this history, that he *did not believe*; and that his spirit was so provoked, that "he spake unadvisedly with his lips" (Ps. cvi. 32, 33), which was when he spake those words, ver. 10, "Must we fetch you water out of this rock?" i. e. "is that a likely matter?" They being words of the same sort with those of Sarah, Gen. xviii. 13, "Shall I of a surety have a child, who am old?" that is, "I cannot believe it." And when he saw the water did not come out at the first stroke, he might be so rash as to say, "Now it is plain God will give you none, but let you perish:" or words to that effect.

I know nothing more probable than this; unless the reader likes the opinion of Joseph Abto better, which is the ninth opinion mentioned by Abarinel. That Moses and Aaron, having had such long experience of God's goodness to this people, and of his readiness to help them, ought not to have gone and made their complaints to God about the want of water (ver. 6), but immediately, of themselves, gone to the rock (being confident of God's power and mercy, which had never failed them), and called for water to come out of it. For now the tabernacle was built, and they had God dwelling among them (which they had not when he smote the rock at first), which ought to have bred in them the highest assurance that God would supply them. Dr. Lightfoot hath another conjecture (which I shall propound, that the reader may judge which is most likely), that Moses and Aaron began to distrust God's promise of entering into the promised land, at the end of forty years; imagining, that, if they brought water again out of the rock, it must follow them as long as the other had done. For this he makes the sense of their words, "What, ye rebels! must we bring water out of a rock, as we did at Horeb? Are all our hopes and expectations of getting out of the wilderness come to this? We never fetched you water out of a rock but once; and that was because ye were to stay a long time in

me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.

13 This is the water of Meribah; because the children of Israel strove with the Lord, and he was sanctified in them.

14 ¶ And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom, Thus saith thy

the wilderness, &c. Now that is gone, must we fetch water out of another rock? O ye rebels, have ye brought it to this pass by your murmurings, that we must have a new stay in the wilderness. Are we to begin our abode here again, when we thought we had been at the end of our travels? At this rate we shall never get out." Whereupon he presently smote the rock twice in a fume; whereas God bade him only speak to it (ver. 8).

To sanctify me] i. e. Openly to assert me to be the Holy One of Israel, faithful to my promises (as well as infinite in power), of which they had given the Israelites occasion to doubt, by declaring some distrust of what God said to them (ver. 8). For these words plainly show that their sin did not consist only in an inward diffidence, but in such outward expressions of it in their anger and impatience, as might be apt to breed unbelief in the Israelites; who were already too prone thereto. And it is no improbable conjecture of a Jewish doctor (in his book of the Death of Moses), that the Divine Glory not appearing now upon this rock, as it did at Horeb (Exod. xvii. 6), which perhaps they expected; it gave some occasion to their unbelief: which, he thinks, was not so great a sin in itself, as to have deserved the following punishment, had not God, in passing this sentence, had a respect to the excellency and dignity of their persons; in whom a fault of this nature was far more grievous than in an ordinary man.

Ye shall not bring this congregation into the land] They brought them into the land of Sihon, and of Og; but not into Canaan, which was properly the land promised to them.

Ver. 13. This is the water of Meribah;] Called Meribah-kadesh, Deut. xxxii. 51, to distinguish it from that Meribah mentioned Exod. xvii. 7, where the Israelites are guilty of the same crime.

Because the children of Israel strove with the Lord,] Expostulated with him most undutifully, and accused him of unkindness to them (ver. 3, 4).

He was sanctified in them.] The Hebrew doctors differ very much in their opinions about this also, whether he was sanctified in the waters, or in the people of Israel, or in Moses and Aaron. Some fancy it is meant of the waters; viz. that God did himself great honour in bringing waters again out of a rock: and therefore the name of the place was called Kadesh, from his being sanctified there. Thus Chas-kuni. But it seems to have been called so before this, being a place well known to the Edomites (ver. 16). The common opinion is, that he speaks of Moses and Aaron: for God's name, saith R. Solomon, is much revered when he doth not spare even his holy ones (Lev. x. 3). But Nachmanides expounds it of the Israelites, before whose face (as he expounds sanctified in them) God's power, and faithfulness, and goodness appeared: and who alone are mentioned in this verse; not Moses and Aaron. But all three opinions in the issue concur in this one, that God made his power, &c., appear in the eyes of all the Israelites, by bringing water out of a rock; and at the same time demonstrated his holiness and impartial justice in punishing his greatest friends for their unbelief.

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brother Israel, Thou knowest all the travel that hath befallen us:

15 How our fathers went down into Egypt, and we have dwelt in Egypt a long time; and the Egyptians vexed us, and our fathers:

16 And when we cried unto the Lord, he heard our voice, and sent an angel, and hath brought us forth out of Egypt: and, behold, we are in

Ver. 14. Moses sent messengers] By God's order, as his words seem to import, in Deut. ii. 2—4.

From Kadesh] On the confines of the king of Edom's country.

Unto the king of Edom,] When the Israelites came out of Egypt, Moses speaks of Edom as governed by dukes (Exod. xv. 87), for the successors of Esau at first had no higher title (Gen. xxxvi. 15, &c.). Not long after, it seems, their posterity became kings; and now (nine-and-thirty years after the Israelites' coming out of Egypt) they were still under kingly government. And this king, to whom Moses now sends messengers, the great primate of Ireland takes to have been Hadar, the last of those that Moses mentions, Gen. xxxvi. 39, who, for his inhumanity to the children of Israel, was shortly after punished with death; and the kingdom turned again into the government by dukes. For Moses (as he thinks) writing the book of Genesis in the latter end of his life (or then adding what was necessary to what he had written before), reckons immediately after Hadar several dukes reigning all at one time, in several parts of the country which they had shared among them (see Usser. Chronolog. Sacra, cap. 11).

Thus saith thy brother Israel,] In the language of those times, all that were near of kin called one another brethren: and these two nations descended from two twin brothers.

Thou knowest] For they could not but have received intelligence before this time of such public things.

All the travel that hath befallen us:] How we, and our fathers before us, have travelled from place to place, without any certain habitation (see Ps. cv. 13).

Ver. 15. How our fathers] After several removals from one part of Canaan to another.

Went down into Egypt,] Which was so public a thing (they being invited by Pharaoh, who sent carriages for them), that the Edomites could not be ignorant of it.

We have dwelt in Egypt] See Exod. xii. 40, 41, and what I have observed there.

The Egyptians vexed us] See Exod. i. 11—13, &c.

Ver. 16. When we cried] See Exod. ii. 23—25, iii. 7, 8.

Sent an angel,] See Exod. iii. 2, &c. Maimonides here by angel understands Moses himself; for the prophets are sometimes called angels, i. e. messengers sent from God (Judges ii. 1). This he asserts in the first part, and more than once in the second part, of More Nevochim. But it is very unreasonable to think, that Moses would thus magnify himself to the king of Edom, who understood not such language; and could not but be the more moved to hearken to his embassy, if he believed the Israelites were under the conduct of a heavenly minister, who, as other Jews think, was Michael, the prince of the heavenly host, whom they commonly understand by the angel here mentioned. But many great men, particularly Masius, think this is short of the truth, unless we understand by Michael, the eternal Son of God, who was, as he speaks, "the perpetual prince and director

Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border :
 17 Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country : we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells : we will go by the king's high way, we will not turn to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy borders.

* 18 And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword.

19 And the children of Israel said unto him,

of the people of God." For though he was then properly made the *messenger* of the Father, when he took on him our flesh, and dwelt here among us, yet from the beginning it was his constant care to reconcile men to God, and preserve religion among them. So that he might be called the *angel of God* before he became a man, because God the Father by him communicated with men about all things necessary for their good. And the Jews seem to have had some obscure notion of this: for what else could Moses Gerundensis mean, when he saith, the angel whom Moses saw in the bush was the same whom Jacob calls the *God of Bethel*, and whom he calls the *angel Redeemer*? of whom Moses, he saith, speaks in this place, and in Deut. vi. 12. "The Lord brought us out of Egypt." Certain it is, that thus the ancient Christians understood such places, taking the *angel* here spoken of to be the eternal Logos, or Word, as St. John calls the eternal Son of God: whose sense no man, I think, hath better explained than our Mr. Thorndike, who, though he confesses it to be plain by the Scriptures, that it was always an angel that appeared under the Old Testament, who is sometimes called by the proper name of God (Jehovah), yet this is no prejudice to what the fathers of the church teach, concerning the appearing of the eternal Word; who was that Lord who then assumed some angelical nature, wherein he might appear, to deal with men for a short time; after which he dismissed it, when he had done that business for which he assumed it.

Hath brought us forth] See Exod. xiii. 22, xiv. 19. *We are in Kadesh.*] Near to Kadesh; for it is not likely they were admitted into the city itself, which gave its name to the adjacent country.

A city] Or town; for it doth not seem to have been a walled place.

In the uttermost of thy border.] In the confines of the king of Edom's country; and belonging, it is likely, to his dominion.

Ver. 17. *Let us pass—through thy country;*] In our way to the land of Canaan; which God hath promised to give us.

We will not pass through the fields, or—vineyards,] They engaged not to turn aside, as they went along, into any private man's grounds (see ch. xxi. 22).

Neither will we drink of—the wells.] Which any private person had digged for his own use; but only of the rivers, which are common to all creatures.

We will go by the king's high way,] Keep in the common road, which is made for all passengers, by the king's allowance.

We will not turn to the right hand nor to the left,] Out of the road, but go straight on.

Until we have passed thy borders.] Got to the other side of the country of Edom.

Ver. 18. *Edom said unto him,*] This sounds as if the whole country had joined in the following answer.

Thou shalt not pass by me,] Go through our country (ver. 20).

Lest I come out against thee with the sword.] The king bids them not attempt it, for he would oppose

We will go by the high way: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it: I will only, without *doing* any thing *else*, go through on my feet.

20 And he said, Thou shalt not go through. And Edom came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand.

21 Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him.

22 ¶ And the children of Israel, *even* the

their passage with all his forces. He was afraid, no doubt, lest they should seize his country, or spoil it, and therefore would not trust their declarations which they made to the contrary.

Ver. 19. *The children of Israel*] Who were sent upon this message (ver. 14). Or else some new ambassadors, whom Moses despatched with new entreaties after he understood his denial.

Said unto him,] Gave him new assurances of their honest intentions.

We will go by the high way.] Believe us, we will not step out of the common road.

If I and my cattle drink] Out of the wells before mentioned (ver. 17), which private men had digged, and therefore had a propriety in them.

Then I will pay for it.] For water was commonly sold in those dry countries, where it was very scarce.

I will only, without doing any thing else,] The Hebrew words *ein dabar* (which we translate, "without doing any thing else"), literally signify in our language, *it is no word*, i. e. not mere fair promises, but we will perform what we say.

Go through on my feet.] Go through, as fast as we can travel on foot.

Ver. 20. *Thou shalt not go through.*] He persisted in his resolution; and would not rely on their most solemn asseverations. Yet he consented (as appears by Deut. ii. 28, 29) to furnish them with necessary provisions, both of meat and drink, for their money.

Edom came out against him] For fear they should press into his country, he raised a great and powerful army to oppose them; and showed himself ready to fight them if they moved that way.

Ver. 21. *Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border.*] Which Grotius censures in his second book *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, cap. 2, sect. 13, as contrary to the law of nations; by which the highways, as well as the sea and the rivers of all countries, ought to be free for all that have a mind to pass through them upon just occasions. And he gives many examples of such permission out of heathen story; and therefore looks upon the denial of this as just ground of war with Sihon and Og (mentioned in the next chapter, where I shall consider it), as it might have been with Edom and Moab, had not God prohibited it. Nor doth the fear, he thinks, which the Edomites, it is likely, had of letting such a vast number of people pass through their country, alter the case; for no man's fear is to take away another man's right; and there might have been means contrived to remove this fear, by letting them pass through in small companies at a time, or unarmed. He had better have said, in my opinion, by giving hostages on both sides for the performance of conditions: for it might have put the Israelites in as great fear to have gone through in small parties, or if they should have disarmed themselves. But, when all is said, it seems not clear that all men have such a right, as that great man thinks they may claim. For no man can challenge a passage through a private man's ground without his leave; and every prince hath the same dominion in

whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto mount Hor.

23 And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in mount Hor, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying,

24 Aaron shall be gathered unto his people : for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah.

25 Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor :

26 And strip Aaron of his garments, and put

all his territories that a private man hath in his land. There are many examples also, as Gronovius hath observed, of countries which have suffered extremely by granting this liberty (which show that princes have reason to deny it for their people's security), and the examples of those who have granted it, are examples of fact rather than of right; and of such as were not in a condition to refuse what was demanded (see Selden's *Mare Clausum*, lib. i. cap. 20).

Wherefore Israel turned away from him.] By God's command ; who ordered them also to buy what they wanted of the Edomites (Deut. ii. 5, 6). For they stayed some time in Kadesh, by their consent, before they removed ; that they might furnish themselves, as they offered, with necessities, (Judges xi. 17).

Ver. 22. *The children of Israel.*] For they might not divide into several bodies, lying in several places : but all march together, when the cloud moved, in the order God appointed (ch. x. 13, 14, &c.).

Journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto mount Hor.] Another place upon the edge of the Edomites' country, ch. xxxiii. 37, where they pitched in a part of that mountain which was called Mosera (Deut. x. 6). Whether Mount Hor gave the name of Hori to him, who was the ancestor of Seir, and the first planter of the country, which was afterward conquered by Esau (Gen. xxvi. 20, 30, Deut. ii. 12), or had its name from him, cannot be determined. But Hori, we are sure, was the first possessor (of whom there is any memory) of this mountain Hor, which was afterward called Seir (from one descended from him), and afterward Edom.

Ver. 23. *The Lord spake—in mount Hor.*] At the foot of the mount, as appears from ver. 25.

By the coast of—Edom.] See ch. xxxiii. 37.

Ver. 24. *Aaron shall be gathered unto his people :* Shall die (ver. 26).

For he shall not enter into the land] See ver. 12. A manifest token that the earthly Canaan was not the utmost felicity at which God's promises aimed ; because the best men among them were shut out of it.

Because ye rebelled] By this word *rebelled*, it appears there was something of obstinacy in their unbelief, mentioned ver. 12.

Ver. 25. *Take Aaron and Eleazar his son*] Speak to him in my name. For it is expressly said (ch. xxxiii. 38), that they went up "at the commandment of the Lord."

Bring them up unto mount Hor :] This shows that they pitched their tents at the bottom of it in a place called Mosera. See Deut. x. 6, where this seems also to have been the name of the whole hill, as well as Hor.

Ver. 26. *Strip Aaron of his garments.*] i. e. Of his priestly robes (as Josephus rightly expounds it, *ἐν ἀρχιερατικῇ στολῇ*), mentioned Exod. xxviii. 2, 3, &c., wherewith he was clothed when he was anointed to the office of high-priest (Lev. viii. 7—9), which he put on, I suppose, in the camp, and went up in them to Mount Hor, that he might die gloriously ; not in his robes, but immediately after he put them off to be

put upon Eleazar his son : and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.

27 And Moses did as the LORD commanded : and they went up into mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation.

28 And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son ; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount : and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount.

29 And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel.

put upon his son. For this stripping him of his robes was in effect the divesting Aaron of his office, that it might be conferred upon his son ; which was done as follows.

Put them upon Eleazar his son :] Which was the investing him with the office of high-priest in which he now succeeded in his father's stead, and was by this ceremony admitted to it. The Talmudists say the manner was, first to put on the breeches, then the coat ; which being bound about with the girdle, then the robe, upon which was the ephod, and then the mitre and golden crown (see Selden *De Successione Pontif.* lib. ii. cap. 8).

Aaron shall be gathered unto his people and shall die there.] This was said before, in short, ver. 24, but now the time of his death is expressly declared (immediately after he laid down his office, and had the satisfaction to see his son inaugurated in his room), and the place of it, upon Mount Hor. Of this phrase, *gathered to his people*, see Gen. xxv. 8, 17.

Ver. 27. *In the sight of all the congregation.*] That they might all be witnesses of the succession of Eleazar to the office of his father.

Ver. 28. *Moses stripped Aaron of his garments.*] This Moses did as the minister of God ; who now translated the priesthood to another.

Aaron died there in the top of the mount :] And was buried also there (Deut. x. 6). For great and heroic persons were in ancient days usually buried in high places. So Joshua was (ch. xxiv. 30, 33), and Eleazar (Judges ii. 9), and Cadmus and Harmonia ; who lived near the time of Joshua, as Bochartus observes in his *Canaan*, lib. i. cap. 23.

Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount.] After they had seen him laid in his grave by those that attended them.

This fell out in the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt, on the first day of the fifth month ; when Aaron was a hundred and three-and-twenty years old, as we read ch. xxxiii. 38, 39, in the new moon of the month, which the Athenians called Hecatombæon, the Macedonians Lous, and the Hebrews called Sabba, as Josephus glosses. But that last word should be *Ab*, not *Sabba*, as Jacobus Capellus observes (in his *Histor. Sacra et Exotica* ad An. 2542), which answers, he thinks, to the nineteenth of our July. And so the Hebrews say in Seder Olam, "Aaron died on the first day of the month Ab ;" upon which there is a fast in their rituals in memory of it.

Ver. 29. *When all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead.*] i. e. Understood (as the word *see* is used Gen. xlii. 1), that God had taken him out of the world, as Moses and Eleazar told them ; who also came down from the mount with him.

They mourned for Aaron thirty days.] Till the end of the month. For so long their mourning seems, in those days, to have been continued for great persons (as it was for Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 8), though a week sufficed for private persons.

All the house of Israel.] Both men and women.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Israel with some loss destroy the Canaanites at Hormah.* 4 *The people murmuring are plagued with fiery serpents.* 7 *They repenting are healed by a brassen serpent.* 10 *Sundry journeys of the Israelites.* 21 *Sihon is overcome,* 33 *and Og.*

1 AND when king Arad the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south, heard tell that Israel came by the way of the spies; then he fought against Israel, and took some of them prisoners.

2 And Israel vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities.

CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *And when king Arad the Canaanite,*] In the Hebrew the words are thus placed, *when the Canaanite king Arad*: and so they are in the LXX. and the Vulgar: and Arad may as well signify a place as a person: nay, there seems more reason to translate the words thus, "the Canaanitish king of Arad:" because there was such a city in Canaan, mentioned Josh. xii. 14, and Judges i. 16. One of the sons of Canaan being called Arad (as both the LXX. and the Vulgar translate the Hebrew word *Arad*, Gen. x. 18), who it is likely gave his name to this part of the country; the chief city of which was also called after him.

Which dwelt in the south,] In the south part of the land of Canaan, towards the eastern angle of it, near the Dead Sea (see ch. xxxiii. 40).

Heard tell that Israel came by the way of the spies;] Which were sent by the king Arad (as many suppose) to bring him intelligence which way the Israelites marched. For it being eight-and-thirty years since the spies sent by Moses went that way; or rather, they going so secretly, that it was not known which way they went, it is thought not probable that Moses speaks of them in this place. But there is no necessity of taking the Hebrew word *Atharim* to signify spies; but it may as well be the name of a place, as the LXX. understood it, by whom it is translated *Ἀθάρια*. And, if the situation would agree to it, one might probably conjecture the place was so called from the spies that went from thence by Moses's order to survey the country. For that was a thing so memorable, that, as it could not well slip out of the minds of the people of Canaan, so they found, I make no question, after they were gone, which way they came into their country (though for the present they passed unobserved), and ever after called it "the way of the spies."

Then he fought against Israel,] He marched out of his country with an army; and fell upon the Israelites as they passed that way.

Took some of them prisoners.] He attacked, it is likely, at first, only the skirts of their camp, where he surprised some of them, and carried them away captive, as the words are in the Hebrew.

Ver. 2. *And Israel vowed a vow*] It was resolved, it seems, that they should engage them; but the Israelites being afraid of them, because they were unexperienced in war, implore the Divine aid by this solemn vow.

If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand,] Give us the victory over them.

Then will I utterly destroy their cities.] They vow to reserve none of the spoil to their own use; but devote it all to destruction. For such was the nature of this vow called *cherem* (see Lev. xxvii. 29).

3 And the LORD hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they utterly destroyed them and their cities: and he called the name of the place Hormah.

4 ¶ And they journeyed from mount Hor by the way of the Red sea, to compass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way.

Ver. 3. *The Lord hearkened*] He approved their vow. *Delivered up the Canaanites;*] The Israelites vanquished their army.

They utterly destroyed them] Utterly devoted them to destruction, according to their vow. For they did not now actually destroy them, they remaining when Joshua came to Canaan, who executed this *cherem*, or curse, upon them (ch. xii. 14), which, if it had been executed now, they must have entered into the land of Canaan at this time; from whence we cannot imagine they would have returned, to march further about before they got into it; but have gone on to prosecute their victory, by subduing the country, as they had begun.

Hormah.] From the *cherem* (or *herem* as some write it) which was pronounced against it; which, when it was put in execution, this name became more proper to it (Judges i. 17).

Ver. 4. *They journeyed from mount Hor*] Where their camp was pitched, when the king of Arad assaulted them; and whither they returned, after they had overthrown him.

By the way of the Red Sea,] Towards Ezion-Gaber, as we read Dent. ii. 8.

To compass the land of Edom;] Which extended itself into the Red Sea.

The soul of the people was much discouraged] The word we translate *discouraged*, signifies two things; to faint, and to breathe short, through the anguish and bitterness of one's spirit (Exod. vi. 9). And secondly, to be angry at, or at least impatient, by reason of some trouble. And so it may be best taken in this place (as Buxtorfius observes, in *Histor. Serp. Anei*, cap. 1), not simply for their being tired, with a tedious, long, and troublesome march; but that accompanied with no small indignation and wrath: which did not only burn within, but broke out into words of great impatience, as appears by what follows. Whence the Hebrew words *ketzar-ruach* (short of spirit) signify *angry*, or *hasty*, Prov. xiv. 29, and in Job xxi. 4, we translate it *troubled*, and Zech. xi. 8, *loathed*; where it had better been translated, "I was angry with them." Now that which made the people thus fret, or faint (if we will have it so interpreted), was the way wherein they were now led, which was about the land of Edom. For when they were come towards Canaan, in the middle of the fortieth year (at the end of which they were promised to enter in and possess it), they are carried back again towards the Red Sea, whither God had sent their fathers after they had brought a false report upon the land (ch. xiv. 25). This made them think, perhaps, that they should never come to Canaan; or, at least, it was tedious to march such a great way about, after they had been kept so long from their inheritance, and were lately in such hopes of it, when Moses demanded a passage into it through the country of Edom.

5 And the people spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our soul loatheth this light bread.

Ver. 5. *The people spake against God, and against Moses.*] This shows they were in a very great rage, which made them so forgetful of their duty, as to charge God himself with ill conduct: whereas their fathers were wont only to murmur against Moses and Aaron.

Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt?] The Hebrew word *heelithunu* (made us to go up) is a strange word (as Dr. Lightfoot calls it) in this language; declaring the great fume they were in when they uttered it.

To die in the wilderness?] As if they had said (so Abarbanel explains it), What can we expect or hope for but death from this long stay in the wilderness?

For there is no bread, neither is there any water;] For we want the most necessary things for the support of life (as he also well explains it), which they spake in a rage; for they had both, by a miraculous providence over them. They themselves immediately confess they had manna; and that they lately received water out of a rock. But nothing would satisfy, unless they were brought to a country where bread and water were to be had without a miracle. For the meaning of their complaint was, that God did not deal with them as he did with other people, who (to speak in our phrase) do not live from hand to mouth, as the Israelites did, who had bread given them only to suffice for one day, and no more; and that such bread as they despised. It is likely, also, they began now to want water again, which did not follow them, as formerly, out of the rock; and what they had in their vessels, perhaps, was near spent.

Our soul loatheth this light bread.] As for the bread God bestowed upon them, they were so far from being satisfied with it, that they loathe it, and call it by the scornful name of *light bread*. So we translate the Hebrew word *hakkikil*; which, being the doubling of a word which signifies *light* or *vile* in that language, imports as much as very despicable, exceeding vile; or, as the LXX. translate it, *very empty*; having no substance in it to fill their stomachs. So Abarbanel expounds this passage, "We are tired with long journeys, which require more solid bread than this to support us."

Ver. 6. *The Lord sent fiery serpents among the people.*] So most of the Jews translate this place; taking *serpim* for an adjective (as grammarians speak), and consequently rightly translated *fiery*. But there are those who take it to signify a peculiar sort of serpents; being added to *nechashim* (serpents) by way of apposition (as they speak), and signifying such serpents as the Greeks call *πυρρῆρες* and *καυαίνες*, which Pliny reckons among the sceleratissimi serpentes, "most pernicious serpents" (lib. xxiv. cap. 13). Or, as others will have it, those called *δαῖδες*, because they made great inflammations in men's bodies, and an unquenchable thirst, being also of a flame colour. But the famous Bochart hath alleged a great many arguments to prove that they were a sort of serpents called *hydrus*, because in winter they lived in fens and marshes; which being dried up in summer, they were called *chersydrus*, because then they lived in dry places, and in the hot season had a most sharp, stinging poison, which, as Nicander saith, made such inflammations as brought upon him that was stung by them, *ἀπυρὰ πύρρα*, *innumerable griefs*. See Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 13, where he

6 And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died.

7 ¶ Therefore the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned, for we have spoken against

shows also they were flying serpents, of which the prophet Isaiah speaks, ch. xix. 29, xxx. 6; and that now was a hot season, wherein they were wont to be most venomous. For Aaron dying the first day of the fifth month (which answers to the nineteenth of our July), and they mourning for him thirty days; after which followed their encounter with the Canaanites, and then this murmuring, and this punishment; it must fall out in the latter end of August, when the dog-days were going out (see Vossius De Orig. et Progressu Idolol. lib. iv. cap. 56).

They bit the people;] This Aben Ezra and others think was a punishment suitable to their sin, which was evil-speaking against the Lord, by calumniating his providence. For Solomon compares a calumniator to a serpent, which bites if he be not charmed (Eccles. x. 11).

It is a strange fancy of Fortunatus Licetus, that Moses here speaks of a disease bred in the body which in children is called *dracunculus*, and not of the biting of serpents from without (lib. De Ortu Spontaneo Viventium, cap. 51). For which there is no ground at all; and, on the contrary, nothing more certain, than that, in Arabia, and Egypt, and other countries of Africa, there are such serpents as are here described. Yet Bartholinus seems to think that this opinion may be defended against Ezekiel de Castro, who confuted it (see Epistol. Medic. Centur. i. Epist. 32).

Much people of Israel died.] The whole wilderness, through which the Israelites marched so many years, was full of fiery serpents and scorpions, as Moses's words import, Deut. viii. 15, which makes it the more wonderful, that we never hear of their being bitten and killed by them until now. But it is to be considered that they were protected by the cloud from this, and from all other dangers (as the Hebrews well observe), which now withdrew its shadow from them, and let in the serpents upon them. Or rather (as Moses here expressly saith), God, who had hitherto kept them off, now sent them, and, perhaps, brought them from remote parts of the wilderness to infest the whole congregation.

Ver. 7. *The people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned.*] It doth not appear whether they were immediately sensible of their sin, and confessed it, upon the biting of the serpents and the direful effects of it, or stayed till there had been a great mortality among them. It is likely they instantly made their addresses to him; but before a remedy was found out, by erecting the brazen serpent, many of them perished.

For we have spoken against the Lord,] They make a particular acknowledgment of their guilt, as a token of the sincerity of their repentance.

Proy unto the Lord, that he take away the serpents from us.] In the Hebrew the words are, "take away the serpent," in the singular number; about which the Jews make a great many curious observations, as if there was one evil angel that governed them all. And if there be any truth in this observation, we Christians cannot but think these words point to "the old serpent the devil," who lost his sting by the lifting up of Christ on the cross; as the brazen serpent, it here follows, was lifted up for the cure of the biting of those serpents. But the simple truth is, that in this language the singular number is often used collec-

the LORD, and against thee; pray unto the LORD, that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people.

8 And the LORD said unto Moses, Make thee

tively for the plural; as in Exod. viii. 6, "The frog came up and covered the land," i. e. a vast multitude of frogs. And so Moses speaks in the place just now named, Deut. viii. 15, where he calls this wilderness wherein they travelled, "a place of a fiery serpent and scorpion;" i. e. saith Jonathan, full of such creatures.

Moses prayed for the people.] Here R. Bechai and others observe the great meekness and charity of Moses, and thence draw this instruction: that *he of whom any one asks pardon for an offence, ought not to be hard-hearted, but ready to forgive.* Thus Abraham prayed for Abimelech, Gen. xx. 17, Job for his friends, ch. xlii. 10. It would be a sin to do otherwise (1 Sam. xii. 19, 20, 23).

Ver. 8. *The Lord said*] In answer to his prayer.

Make thee a fiery serpent.] The figure of one of those serpents which bite the people. Abarbinel thinks that upon Moses's prayer the serpents were removed; but still there remained many among the people sorely afflicted by the venomous effects of their biting, for whose cure God graciously gave this direction.

It is something strange, that any learned Christian should so much admire the Egyptian learning as not to forbear the mention of their *incantations* of serpents, when they speak of this relation which Moses makes concerning the brazen serpent which God ordered him to set up. Yet Sir John Marsham (in his *Chronicon*, sect. 9), when he comes to treat of this station of the Israelites at Tsalmona, hath a long discourse to show how famous the Egyptians and other nations were in this sort of magic; and thus concludes it, that Moses, putting this brazen serpent upon a perch, non tam serpentes igneo incantabat ne nocerent, quam eorum venenum extinguebat, "did not so much charm these serpents that they should not hurt, as extinguish their venom." This seems to me a scabby intimation, that Moses had their practices in his mind, but went beyond them. He should have said, Moses abominated their wicked arts (if they had any such in those days), and directed the Israelites to look up to God for healing. So the Jews themselves, particularly Aben Ezra, who takes notice that some superstitious people fancied that this serpent was a *talisman*, made to receive I know not what influence from the stars. But God forbid, saith he, God forbid we should have any such thought! This was made by the Divine order; the reason of which let us not scrupulously search: they thought, that is, there was something extraordinary in it, as Jonathan plainly declares in his paraphrase of the last words of this verse: "he shall be healed if he direct his heart to the name of the Word of the Lord:" where no Christian can forbear to think of our blessed Saviour, the eternal Word, who was prefigured (as I shall show in the following verse) by the erecting of this serpent here mentioned upon a pole, that all might look upon him and live.

Set it upon a pole.] So high that every one in the camp might see it. For the word signifies such a *pole* as made their ensign or banner, to which all the army was to resort. Concerning this word *nes*, see Bootius, lib. ii. cap. 4.

When he looked upon it,] The Jews generally have so much understanding as to say, that the mere beholding of it did not cure them; but that they were to look up to God (as the Scripture speaks) when

a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live.

9 And Moses made a serpent of brass, and

they beheld it, and expect a cure from him. So the author of the Book of Wisdom, ch. xvi. 7, "He that turned himself towards it was not healed by the thing which he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all." And therefore he calls it, in the foregoing verse, "A sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of the law."

Shall live.] Be cured, and restored to perfect health: which the Jews think the greater miracle, because naturally it would have made the inflammation greater. So Nachmanides: This rather would have increased the disease; for they who are bit by venomous beasts (according to the prescriptions of physicians), must not see the image of the beast by whom they are bitten: but this was commanded by God, that the Israelites might know both their disease and their medicine came from God, who made that whose aspect was hurtful to be the means of their cure.

Ver. 9. *Moses made a serpent*] Whence this place seems to have been called Zalmonah (ch. xxxiii. 41), which imports an *image*, similitude, or resemblance of a thing represented by it. And another place thereabouts, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, called Maaleh Akabbim, seems to have had its name from the same thing, it signifying "the going up of scorpions," Josh. xv. 3.

Of brass.] Polished, that it might resemble a serpent of a flaming colour; and being very glittering, it might be the better seen far and near. So several of the Hebrew writers, particularly Nachmanides and Abarbinel, who observe, that God did not bid him make a serpent of brass, but only a *saraph* (ver. 8), i. e. a resemblance of a flaming serpent: which could not be made so well of any other metal as of brass; those *saraphs* (which we render *fiery serpents*) being fiery red, like copper or brass: of which there was a good store not far off from this place; for the next station to Zalmonah, where they now were, was Punon, or Pinon, as Moses tells us, ch. xxxiii. 42, a place belonging to the Edmonites (who had an ancient duke of this name, Gen. xxxvi. 41. 1 Chron. i. 52) famous for mines of brass, as Bochartus shows out of several of the fathers; who speak of χαλκῶν μέταλλα ἐν παλαιῶι. From whence Moses, perhaps, had this brass (Hieroicoon, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 13).

Put it upon a pole,] As he had been directed in the foregoing verse.

If a serpent had bitten any man,] Which was not present death, but conceived an inflammation, and such ulcers (as some conceive) as were incurable.

When he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.] Though naturalists say the sight of brass was hurtful to those who were bitten, yet hence they received their cure: as the sight of Christ crucified naturally filled his crucifiers only with anguish, when they beheld him whom they had pierced, and were convinced he was their Messiah; but by the grace of God, became their only salvation through faith in him.

The Hebrews cannot but acknowledge a mystery in this brazen serpent, as Moses Gerundensis calls it; which our Lord Christ himself hath explained in his discourse with Nicodemus (John iii. 14): "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish," &c. Where he doth not compare himself to the brazen serpent

put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.

10 ¶ And the children of Israel set forward, and pitched in Oboth.

11 And they journeyed from Oboth, and

(for what likeness can there be found between the serpent and the Seed of the woman; or how should light be shadowed by darkness? as Dr. Jackson speaks), but he compares the lifting up of this serpent on the pole, with his lifting up, or crucifixion on the cross; for so he himself expresses his death, and the manner of it (John xii. 32), "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." And their looking on the serpent in the wilderness, as evidently represented men's believing on Christ; and their cure, the powerful virtue of Christ's death to preserve all those that believe on him from perishing (as he speaks in the place named before), and procure for them everlasting life. For by his death, our Saviour "destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil" (as the apostle's words are, Heb. ii. 14), which was notably represented in this brazen serpent put upon a pole; which was not a figure of Christ, but of the old serpent himself (the devil), as wounded, bruised, and dead, by the lifting up of Christ upon the cross; where he entirely disarmed him of all his power to hurt us.

I cannot tell whence Justin Martyr concluded this brazen serpent to have been made in the form of a cross, as he saith it was in his Second Apology; unless we conceive it to have been made with wings at the bottom of its neck, which might give it that figure. But his observation in his book against Trypho (p. 322, 338) seems very considerable; that there must be some mystery in it, that God, who forbade all manner of images, should now command one to be made: of which, he saith, one of the Jews confessed he could never hear a reason from their doctors; who cannot understand it, till they believe in Christ and him crucified; whose victory over the devil, by his cross and passion, was herein most lively represented. I shall only add, that this "lifting up the brazen serpent," was a thing so public and so well known to all neighbouring nations, that the fame of it, in all likelihood, went into India; where they still set up an idol in form of a withered serpent upon a perch six or seven feet high, which they solemnly worship; and carrying it along with them in their travels, set it up every morning for the company to pay their adoration to it. So Tavernier relates in his travels to that country, p. 28. And see the present Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's excellent treatise of Idolatry, p. 351, &c., with Huetius's Demonstr. Evang. p. 96, and his Questiones Alnetanæ (cap. 12, n. 25), where he shows the talismans, in all likelihood, were an imitation of this serpent: of which the Jews were so fond, that they burnt incense to it in the days of Hezekiah, and had done so we know not how long (see 2 Kings xviii. 4). Which may make it the less wonder, that the poor Indians should worship a serpent upon a pole, when they that should have understood better committed such a foul idolatry, as to do Divine honour to the figure of the greatest enemy of God and of mankind.

• Ver. 10. *The children of Israel set forward.*] After they had been at two other places; which Moses now omits for brevity's sake, because he intended hereafter to give an exact account of all their removals at one view; which he doth in the thirty-third chapter of this book (see ver. 41, 42).

Pitched in Oboth.] Where, it is probable, they

pitched at Ije-abarim, in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising.

12 ¶ From thence they removed, and pitched in the valley of Zared.

13 From thence they removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wil-

found water; of the want of which they complained (see ch. xx. 2).

Ver. 11. *Journeyed from Oboth, and pitched at Ije-abarim.*] Not that Mount Abarim where Moses died (ch. xxvii. 12), but another place in the confines of Moab, as it here follows (see what I have observed, ch. xx. 2).

In the wilderness which is before Moab.] Called the wilderness of Moab, Deut. ii. 8.

Toward the sunrising.] On the east part of it, as Jephthah observes, a great many years after this, that "they came by the east side of the land of Moab" (Judges xi. 18).

Ver. 12. *From thence they removed.*] As they were about to remove from this last place, they received a command from God not to meddle with the country of Moab (Deut. ii. 9), which is the reason (as Abarbanel observes) that Moses here sets down briefly, whence and whither they went, and where they pitched; that it might appear they did not transgress that command.

Pitched in the valley of Zared.] Or, as some translate it, in Nachal-Zared; which is called Dibon-Gad, ch. xxxiii. 45. For this place had two names (as the same author observes), and it was just eight-and-thirty years since the spies went up to survey the country, from Kadesh-barnea till their passing this brook, as we translate it, Deut. ii. 14. But I take Dibon-Gad rather to have been a place which lay upon the brook Zered.

Ver. 13. *Pitched on the other side of Arnon.*] The Hebrew word *meheber* may be translated *on this side*, or, *on the other side*. And some think they were now on this side of the river, and not yet gone over it. Nor did they immediately come hither from their former station; but first to Almon-Diblathaim (ch. xxxiii. 46), which is also called Beth-Diblathaim in the wilderness of Moab, Jer. xlviii. 22, and Diblah, Ezek. vi. 13. And then, passing by Ar, in the confines of Moab, and approaching to the country of the children of Ammon, God commanded them not to invade the Ammonites, being descendants from Lot, as well as the Moabites (Deut. ii. 18, 19, 37), but to pass over the river Arnon (Deut. ii. 24), to that side of it which belonged to the Amorites. For this river, at that time, divided the Moabites from the Amorites, as it here follows.

In the wilderness that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites.] Runs by the wilderness of Kedemoth, unto which the Amorites extended their dominion (Deut. ii. 26).

For Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.] This river flowed from the mountains of Arabia, where it had its rise, and fell into the Dead Sea (as Josephus saith, lib. iv. Antiq.) ὁρίζον τὴν τε Μωαβίτην καὶ Ἀμορίτην, "bounding the country of the Moabites, and of the Amorites;" the country of Moab lying on one side of it, and that of the Amorites on the other. For though the Moabites formerly possessed the country on both sides of Arnon, as far as Heshbon, yet the Amorites had driven them out of that part of it which lay next to them; and made the river the boundary of their two kingdoms (ver. 26, 27). This Moses recites the more exactly, that it might appear the Israelites invaded none of the Moabites' possessions, but what was now pos-

derness that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.

14 Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord, What he did in the Red sea, and in the brooks of Arnon,

15 And at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab.

16 And from thence *they went* to Beer: that

is the well whereof the Lord spake unto Moses, Gather the people together, and I will give them water.

17 ¶ Then Israel sang this song, Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:

18 The princes digged the well, the nobles of the people digged it, by the direction of the lawgiver, with their staves. And from the wilderness *they went* to Mattanah:

essed by the Amorites: by which Jephthah defended the right of the children of Israel, in future times, against the Ammonites, who pretended this country belonged to them (Judges xi. 13—15, &c.)

Ver. 14. *In the book of the wars of the Lord.*] A proof of this Moses thought good to allege out of an authentic record in those countries, containing the history of all the wars that had been in those parts; which are here called the wars of the Lord, because he is the great Governor of the world (as Abarinel interprets it), “from whom and by whom are all things, who putteth down one, and setteth up another (as the Psalmist speaks) at his good pleasure.” This book, he thinks, was written by some of the wise men of those nations (and so thinks Nachmanides), who, looking upon this conquest made by Sihon as a very memorable thing, put it down in their Annals; which, after the way of those countries, were written, he thinks, in a poetical manner. There are those who are of opinion, that this book was written by Moses himself; who left in it directions to Joshua how to proceed in the wars of the Lord, when he conquered Canaan. So Dr. Lightfoot conjectures: and Bonfrerius doth not much differ from him. But I take the former account to be the more probable, that Moses justifies what he writes concerning this conquest out of their own books; which he quotes just as St. Paul, in the New Testament, doth one of the Greek poets.

What he did in the Red sea.] These are the words of the book, out of which he quotes a small fragment: and the marginal translation of them is most proper, *Vaheb in Supheh*, only the word *eth* is omitted; which makes the sense to be this, “against Vaheb in Supheh;” that is, he came (some such word must be understood) against *Vaheb* (a king of the Moabites), and overthrew him in *Supheh*, a place in the frontiers of Moab (see Deut. i. 1). Others understand by *Vaheb* the place where Sihon gave the Moabites this blow; which he did by falling upon them on a sudden, with a terrible fury. So Nachmanides understands these words *besuphak*; he stormed the city, and made a furious assault, when they thought not of it: for *Supheh* signifies a whirlwind, or stormy tempest (Isa. v. 28).

In the brooks of Arnon.] The same Nachmanides takes the word *veeth*, which we translate *and in*, to signify rather *and with*; and these being still the words of the book before mentioned, the sense is this: In the same manner he smote the brooks or torrents of Arnon; upon which he fell like a tempest, and carried all before him.

Ver. 15. *At the stream of the brooks*] None, I think, hath given a better account of these words than the same Nachman, who by esched hannechalim (which we translate the “streams of the brooks”), understands either a cliff from whence the torrents flowed (as Ashdod and Happisgab, Deut. iii. 17, are the hills from whence the springs gushed), or the valley through which the torrents ran; where they made a great broad water, which is here called an *effusion*

of torrents, as R. Levi ben Gersom interprets the Hebrew words, esched hannechalim.

That goeth down to the dwelling of Ar.] Which extends itself as far as Ar, a city of Moab (ver. 28). R. Levi ben Gersom takes the word *shebet* (which we translate *dwelling*) to signify a place as well as Ar, towards which these torrents bent their course.

Lieth upon the borders of Moab.] Which leaneth or belongeth unto Moab, being in the border of that country.

Thus far are the words of the book of the wars of the Lord: and the meaning of them is, that the king of the Amorites took all these places by a sudden, furious invasion; which Moses therefore punctually recites, to show that the country of the Moabites now reached no further than Arnon: all the brooks, or torrents, and all the effusions of water as far as Arnon (i. e. all the country about them), being taken from them by the Amorites, in whose possession it now was, and, perhaps, had been a long time. And therefore the Israelites took nothing from the Moabites when they conquered this country (as was said before), nor from the Ammonites neither; part of whose country the Amorites also had got from them (Deut. iii. 11), and the Israelites took from the Amorites, when they conquered Sihon and Og; and it fell to the share of the Gadites (Josh. xiii. 25).

Ver. 16. *They went to Beer.*] A place which took its name from the pit, or well, which was here digged by God's order, as the next words tell us.

That is the well whereof the Lord spake unto Moses.] That is, saith Abarinel, that place was remarkable for the well that God gave us, of his own accord, without our petition; which he prevented by bidding Moses dig it for us.

Gather the people together, and I will give them water.] Which they now again wanted, being removed from the river Arnon; but did not murmur about it, as they had done formerly: and therefore God most graciously, when he saw their distress, provided it for them.

Ver. 17. *Then Israel sang this song.*] This extraordinary kindness of God, which prevented their prayers, and gave them water out of his own good pleasure alone (as Abarinel speaks), transported them with such joy, that it made them express their thankfulness in this song.

Spring up, O well.] As soon as they saw Moses and the princes thrust their staves into the earth, and the water began to bubble up, they said, with a loud voice, *Come up, O well*; that is, let waters flow abundantly to satisfy us all.

Sing ye unto it.] Or, as it is in the margin, *answer unto it*. The manner of the Hebrews was anciently to sing their songs of praise alternately, as appears from Exod. xv. 20. And so one company having said, *Spring up, O well* (which it is likely they repeated often), they called to the rest to answer to them; which they did, I suppose, in the following words.

Ver. 18. *The princes*] i. e. The seventy elders, and heads of the tribes.

19 And from Mattanah to Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to Bamoth:

20 And from Bamoth *in the valley*, that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh toward Jeshimon.

21 ¶ And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying,

22 Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn into the fields, or into the vineyards; we will not drink of the waters of the well: *but*

Digged the well,] Very easily, only turning up the earth with their staves.

The nobles of the people digged it,] The other side of the choir, perhaps, took up the song again, repeating the sense of what the former company had said.

By the direction of the lawgiver,] Or, "together with the lawgiver," who began the work, and whose example they followed.

With their staves,] With no more labour but only thrusting their staves into the ground and turning up the earth. For, as R. Levi ben Gersom takes it, the ground here being sandy and very soft, was easily penetrated, though they were not likely to find water in it. But they believing Moses, and following his direction, God sent it copiously unto them; and with no more pains than a scribe takes when he writes with his pen. For so he translates the Hebrew word *mechokek* (which we render *lawgiver*) a scribe, or doctor of the law.

From the wilderness] Mentioned ver. 13.

They went to Mattanah:] This and the place following are otherwise named in the thirty-third chapter, as the forenamed ben Gersom understands it. But others think these were no stations (which alone Moses gives an account of in the thirty-third chapter), where the Israelites pitched their tents, but places through which they passed, till they came to the station from whence they sent to Sihon for leave to pass through his country.

Ver. 19. *From Mattanah to Nahaliel, &c.]* This, as well as the place next mentioned in this verse, seems to have been on the borders of Moab.

Ver. 20. *From Bamoth in the valley,]* Rather "from Bamoth (which signifies a very high place) to the valley." Or, as it may be translated, "from Bamoth, a valley (that is, there is a valley) in the field of Moab, &c.," unto which they came next; for some such thing must be understood.

That is in the country of Moab,] Or near to it.

To the top of Pisgah,] Or, *to the beginning* (as the Hebrew word *rosh* may be interpreted) of the high Mount Pisgah; that is, they pitched at the foot of it, where the mountain began: which mountain was a part of the mountains of Abarim, as appears from Deut. xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1.

Which looketh toward Jeshimon.] Or, "towards the wilderness." For so R. Levi ben Gersom interprets it; to a land that was *shemumoh*, untilled and desolate, viz. to the wilderness of Kedemoth: where they pitched and settled their camp; and from thence sent messengers to Sihon.

Ver. 21. These messengers were sent from the wilderness of Kedemoth, which was in the skirts of his country (Deut. ii. 26), or lay just upon it: for there was a city of this name in that country, which was given to Reuben, in the division of the land (Josh. xiii. 18).

Ver. 22. *Let me pass through thy land:]* They do not seem to desire a passage through the midst of his country, but only the extreme parts of it; which would have shortened their journey to the fords of Jordan.

we will go along by the king's *high way*, until we be past thy borders.

23 And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border: but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness: and he came to Jahaz, and fought against Israel.

24 And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for

We will not turn into the fields, &c.] This is the very same civil message which they sent to Edom (ch. xx. 17). By whose example they pressed Sihon to grant them, at least, as much as the Edomites and Moabites had done (see Deut. ii. 28, 29).

Ver. 23. *Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass]* This shows that they asked only to pass through the skirts of his country (see Deut. ii. 30).

Sihon gathered all his people together,] He not only refused to grant their request; but came in a hostile manner, with all the forces he could raise, to oppose their passage over Arnon.

Went out against Israel into the wilderness:] From whence they sent their friendly message to him, ver. 21, which Moses, in Deut. ii. 26, calls, "words of peace."

He came to Jahaz,] A city, it is probable, belonging to the Moabites; whither the Israelites, perhaps, retreated, when Sihon denied them a passage through his country. For Isaiah plainly mentions Jahaz, as a place either in the country of Moab, or near it (ch. xv. 4), and Jeremiah also, calling it Jahazah (ch. xlviii. 21).

Fought against Israel.] Who had orders from God, not to decline the battle (as they did with the Edomites and the Moabites), and were assured of victory (Deut. ii. 31). For they were Amorites, whose country God promised to Abraham (Gen. xv. 21), being part of the Canaanites, whom they were commanded to destroy; for they were descended from one of the sons of Canaan (Gen. x. 16): which made this war with them to have a just ground; not because they denied the Israelites a passage through their country, against the right of nations, as Grotius thinks (which was but the occasion, not the ground of the war), but because they were one of the seven nations condemned by God to destruction, whose land he bestowed upon the Israelites (Josh. iii. 10), and because Sihon came out armed against them, beyond the bounds of his own dominions; and fell upon them, when they had given him no provocation.

Ver. 24. *And Israel smote him]* Utterly overthrew his army; and, putting them all to the sword, made themselves masters of his country.

Possessed his land] For they destroyed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children (Deut. ii. 33, 34).

From Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon:] This is a brief description of the extent of Sihon's country; which reached from the river Arnon, the bound of the Moabites' country on the south (ch. xxii. 36), unto Jabbok, which was the bound of the Ammonites' country on the north (Deut. iii. 16, Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 10). But they meddled with no place that lay upon the river Jabbok, which belonged to the Ammonites; for that God had forbidden (Deut. ii. 37). By which Jephthah (as I observed), two hundred and sixty years after this, justified the title of the Israelites to all the country here mentioned; which they took not from the Ammonites, or Moabites, but from the Amorites, who

the border of the children of Ammon *was* strong.

25 And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all the villages thereof.

26 For Heshbon *was* the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Arnon.

27 Wherefore they that speak in proverbs

were the owners of it when they conquered it (Judges xi. 13, 15, 22, 23.) For Sihon had got half of their country, as well as part of the country of Moab, as appears from Deut. iii. 11, and from Josh. xiii. 25, where it is plain, Joshua gave the Gadites half of the country of the children of Ammon, which was now taken from the Amorites, who had dispossessed them. Josephus describes it as lying between three rivers, like an island: for the banks of Arnon were the bounds of this region on the south side; and Jabbok on the north, which running into Jordan lost its name; and the western tract of it was washed by Jordan itself: and on the east part it was surrounded with the mountains of Arabia.

The border of the children of Ammon was strong.] This is not mentioned here as a reason why the Israelites did not set upon their country (for they were expressly forbidden to do it, Deut. ii. 19), but why Sihon conquered none of the Ammonites' country beyond Jabbok (as he did all from Arnon thither), because their frontiers on that side of the country were very strong, by the fortifications, which it is likely they had made upon the river.

Ver. 25. *Israel took all these cities.*] All the cities of that country which lay between Arnon and Jabbok: some of which are named, ver. 30.

Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.] Having destroyed the former inhabitants, as I noted before, Deut. ii. 34.

In Heshbon.] Even in their royal city.

In all the villages thereof.] In Hebrew *the daughters*; as villages and castles are called, which depend upon the metropolis, as daughters on their mother.

Ver. 26. *Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites.*] He had made this the seat of his kingdom, after his conquest of this country: which Moses observes (together with what follows), that it might appear to posterity, they invaded no part of the Moabites' territories, or of the Ammonites', but what was in the quiet possession of the Amorites, who had taken this country from them, and, perhaps, in a just war, and long enjoyed it.

Who had fought against the former king of Moab, &c.] It is not certain that this Sihon, whom the Israelites now vanquished, had dispossessed the Moabites of this country; but more likely some of his ancestors, who were all called by the name of Sihon (as the kings of Palestine were all called Abimelech, Gen. xx. 2, xxvi. 1, and the kings of Egypt called Pharaoh), who had fought not with the present king of Moab, but with one of his predecessors, and conquered him and his country.

The former king of Moab.] These words are not to be understood as if he fought with the king of Moab who immediately reigned before Balak, but, as I said, with some of his predecessors. So the LXX. τὸ πρότερον, *that heretofore was king of Moab*: and in the Hebrew the words are literally, "the king of Moab, the first;" perhaps, of the present race.

Ver. 27. *They that speak in proverbs*] In the Hebrew the words are, "wherefore the proverbialists;"

say, Come into Heshbon, let the city of Sihon be built and prepared:

28 For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon: it hath consumed Ar of Moab, *and* the lords of the high places of Arnon.

29 Woe to thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh: he hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters, into captivity unto Sihon king of the Amorites.

that is, the poets, whose composures, in those days, were very sententious.

Soy.] Have this song in their mouths: which seems to have been composed by some of the Amorites, upon the victory which Sihon got over the Moabites; particularly upon the taking of Heshbon, which, I suppose, he besieged immediately upon the routing of their army. This Moses thought good to insert in his history, as an evidence that this country belonged to the Amorites when the Israelites subdued it. Thus he quotes a common saying about Nimrod, to justify what he writes of his greatness (see Gen. x. 9).

Come into Heshbon.] The words either of Sihon calling to his people, or of the Amorites exhorting one another to go to Heshbon, and help to repair the ruins that had been caused in it by the war, that it might become the royal city of their country. For that is the meaning of the following words.

Let the city of Sihon be built and prepared.] Let that place which Sihon hath chosen for his seat be built up again, and made fit for his reception.

Ver. 28. *For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon.*] Now the poet rises into a rapture, and prophesies the conquest of the whole country by the army of Sihon marching out of Heshbon. For in the prophetic language, the desolations made by war are compared to fire and to the flames, which consume all they come near, (Amos i. 7, 10, 12, 14, ii. 2, 5).

A flame from the city of Sihon.] This is but a repetition (as the manner is) of what was now said in other words; expressing the certainty of this passage.

It hath consumed Ar of Moab.] He speaks as if he already saw the thing done which he foretold, though it never came to pass. For they did not conquer Ar, which remained in the possession of Moab in Moses's time, as appears from Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29. But, in his poetical heat (or fury, as they speak), he exults, as if they had actually taken the capital city of Moab. For so Ar was; and afterward called Rabbath, and Rabbath-moba, i. e. the great city of Moab, to distinguish it from Rabbath-Ammon, i. e. the great city of the Ammonites. For so we find in Stephanus (De Urbibus), Παρθαβουμα (it should be Παρθαβουβα, as Bochartus hath truly corrected it, in his preface to his Phaleg), which he calls πόλις πρώτη Παλαιστίνης ἢ νῦν Ἀρεόπολις. For Ar, as I said, was the old name of it (Deut. ii. 29; Isa. xvi. 1), from whence came the name of Ἀρεόπολις, which it retained in later ages.

The lords of the high places of Arnon.] The masters or owners (as the word *baale* may be translated) of the high places, &c., i. e. those that dwell in the strongest forts of the country; or, as some fancy, the priests of the places are here meant; or, rather their temple where Baal was worshipped. For we find a place in this country called Bamoth-Baal (Josh. xiii. 17), "the high places of Baal." And it is evident, this poet triumphs in this ἔκτασιον over their gods and their religion, as well as over them.

Ver. 29. *Woe to thee, Moab!*] He goes on to foretell the calamity of the whole country.

30 We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah, which *reacheth* unto Medeba.

31 ¶ Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.

32 And Moses sent to spy out Jaazer, and

Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh.] So he calls the Moabites, who served (as the Chaldee translates it) or worshipped Chemosh as their god: for so we read he was, Jer. xlviii. 7, 13; 1 Kings xi. 7; Judg. xi. 24, which St. Jerome thinks differs from Baal-Peor only in name (see Vossius De Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 8). Some take Chemosh to be Saturn; particularly Scharastanius: the manner of whose worship see in Dr. Pocock's excellent annotations in Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 316. I shall only add, that as the Moabites are called the *people of Chemosh*, because they worshipped him as their god, so the Israelites are called the *people of the Lord*, and the *people of God*, because they worshipped the Lord alone (Jud. v. 11; 1 Sam. xiv. 13). For in the days of paganism, as Mr. Mede observes, every country, nay, every city, had its proper and peculiar gods, which were deemed as its guardians and protectors; from whence the nations themselves are expressed by the name of their gods. That is evident from this place; but it is not so plain, that when God threatens to deliver up Israel to serve other gods, he means giving them up into the hands of the people of strange countries; which he takes to be intended in Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 64; Jer. xvi. 16, &c. (see book iv. p. 977). And so he thinks the words of David may be expounded, (1 Sam. xvi. 19). "They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go serve other gods;" i. e. banished me into the country of idolaters. See book iii. p. 823, where this is more largely explained.

He hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters into captivity] This is a manifest triumph over their god Chemosh, who was not able to save his worshippers (whom he calls his *sons* and his *daughters*, i. e. his children) who were under his protection. No, he could not so much as preserve those that escaped the fury of the sword, but they were afterward taken captive, to make up part of the triumph of Sihon king of the Amorites.

Ver. 30. *We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon.*] The Hebrew words *vanniram abad Heshbon ath Dibon*, may as well, if not better, be translated, *their light is perished* (or taken away) from *Heshbon unto Dibon*. So Forsterus in his Lexicon, and the Tigurin version, and others. That is, their glory is gone from one end of the country to the other: for Heshbon and Dibon were two famous places in this territory (Josh. xiii. 17). And some think this is the place called Dibon-Gad, ch. xxxiii. 45, which was the more noted, because there Nebo, one of their gods, was worshipped: for in Isaiah xv. 2, Dibon is mentioned as one of their high places; and there Nebo is lamented, i. e. their god which was there worshipped; whence Hesychius saith, *Δειβών* (which, no doubt, is this Dibon) *τόπος ἱερὰ ἱδρύεται ἐν τῷ Μοαβίτῳ*, "a place where the Moabites had a temple" (see Selden De Diis Syris, Syntagn. 2, cap. 12).

Nophah.] Another place in that country, as appears by the words following.

Which reacheth unto Medeba.] That is, the territories of Nophah extended as far as Medeba, which was certainly a place in the country of Moab (Isa. xv. 2). But the word *reacheth* is not in the Hebrew;

they took the villages thereof, and drove out the Amorites that *were* there.

33 ¶ And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he, and all his people, to the battle at Edrei.

34 And the Lord said unto Moses, Fear him

and the words without it may be thus truly translated, "and as far as Medeba." For so the Hebrew participle *asher* is sometimes used, to signify simply *and*, as Eccles. vi. 12, *asher mi, and who can tell, &c.*, so here *asher ad, and unto, &c.*

And here I think fit to note, that it is likely these verses were some part of the history of those countries: for a poetical way of writing was in use before prose, as Strabo tells us, lib. i. Geograph. p. 18, where he saith, *οὐ πῶς λόγος ὁ γε κατεσκευασμένος μῦθος τοῦ ποιητικοῦ*. Πρώτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ, &c. "All set or artificial speech, (whether historical or rhetorical) was but an imitation of poetical compositions," the ancients knowing no other: Cadmus, and Pherecydes, and Hecataeus, being the first who brought in this form of writing now in use (see Salmasius in Solinum, p. 841, and Ouperus in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 55). However, this is certain, that they who would instruct the people put their lessons into verse, as Strabo there shows; where he says, p. 15, *οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλοσοφίαν τινα λέγουσι πρώτην τὴν ποιητικὴν εἰσαγάσαναι*, &c., "the ancients call poetry the first philosophy, forming our lives from tender years, teaching good manners, governing the passions and actions with pleasure:" for which cause the Greeks instituted their children in their cities by poetry, *ὡς ἀρχαγωγίας χάριν δι' αὐτοῦν φιλοῖν ἀλλὰ σωφρονισμοῖ*, "not merely for the sake of bare delectation, but to form them to sobriety."

Ver. 31.] This he mentions again to make it the more observed, that this was the country of the Amorites, into which the children of Israel entered, not of the Moabites, who had been expelled out of it, as was notoriously known, there being a song in everybody's mouth which continued the memory of it.

Ver. 32. *Moses sent to spy out Jaazer.*] Another city formerly belonging to Moab, but now in the possession of the Amorites, which the Israelites did not take at the first; but after they had conquered all the country before mentioned, they sent some men to bring them intelligence which way it was best to attack that city also, and the country about it. It was not far from Mount Gilead (2 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6; 1 Chron. xxvi. 31), and both of them were famous for good pasture, and therefore given to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, who had much cattle (ch. xxiii. of this book, 1, 2, 4, 35, 36). After the ten tribes were carried captive from their own land, it fell into the hands of the Moabites again, as may be gathered from Jer. xlviii. 32.

Took the villages] As well as the city itself.

Drove out the Amorites] If it had not been possessed by them, they would not have meddled with it.

Ver. 33. *They turned*] Or *returned* (as the LXX. have it) from Jaazer.

Went up by the way of Bashan.] A famous mountain (Psalm lxviii. 15) lying more northerly than the country of Sihon, and belonging also to the Amorites, where was very rich pasture, and an excellent breed of cattle (Deut. xxxii. 14; Psalm xxii. 12), and stately oaks (Ezek. xxvii. 6).

Og the king of Bashan] The whole country of which he was king had its name from that mountain,

not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon.

and was called "the kingdom of Og in Bashan," Deut. iii. 10, where he is said, as well as Sihon, to be "a king of the Amorites" (ver. 8), and (ver. 11) that he was "of the remnant of the giants," or of the Rephaim, who were a mighty people in that country of Bashan (see Gen. xiv. 5), which in after ages was called Batanæa.

Went out against them,] To oppose their passage.

He, and all his people,] With all the men of war in his country.

To the battle at Edrei.] A city near that country, afterward called Adara, as St. Jerome tells us in his book *De Locis Hebraicis*. He offered the Israelites battle, which, by God's order, they accepted.

Ver. 34. The Lord said unto Moses,] That he might report it to the people.

Fear him not:] They had reason to be courageous (and not affrighted, because he was a giant), having lately overcome a mightier king than he, of which God puts them in mind in the end of this verse.

35 So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him alive: and they possessed his land.

For I have delivered him into thy hand, &c.] For their greater encouragement he adds his promise, on which he bids them rely, as if they saw it already done, that he would give them the victory over Og and all his forces, and bestow upon them his country. This history Moses reports more at large, Deut. iii. 1—3, &c.

Ver. 35. So they smote him,] After they had overthrown him and his army, they pursued the victory till they had destroyed all the people of the country; some part of which held out longer than the rest (as appears from ch. xxxii. 39, &c.), but at length was wholly subdued by Jair, the son of Manasseh, who had all the region of Argob given him for his pains (ch. xxxii. 41, Deut. iii. 14).

They possessed his land.] Wherein were sixty walled cities, besides a great many small towns (Deut. iii. 4, 5; Josh. xiii. 30). All which was given to the half tribe of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 13; Josh. xiii. 29, 30; 1 Kings iv. 13).

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Balak's first message for Balaam is refused.* 15 *His second message obtaineth him.* 22 *An angel would have slain him, if his ass had not saved him.* 36 *Balak entertaineth him.*

I AND the children of Israel set forward, and pitched in the plains of Moab on this side Jordan by Jericho.

2 ¶ And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites.

3 And Moab was sore afraid of the people, because they *were* many: and Moab was distressed because of the children of Israel.

4 And Moab said unto the elders of Midian, Now shall this company lick up all *that are*

CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. The children of Israel set forward,] In what month of the fortieth year this which follows fell out we cannot tell, but it is likely in the seventh; when they removed from the mountains of Abarim (ch. xxi. 20, xxxiii. 48).

Pitched in the plains of Moab] Which had formerly belonged to the Moabites, from whom it took its name: but had been taken from them by the Amorites; and now was in the possession of the Israelites.

On this side Jordan] Unto which river this plain extended: and they pitched near to it, from Beth-Jesimoth unto Abel-Shittim (ch. xxxiii. 49), where they stayed, till under the conduct of Joshua they came to Jordan, and passed over it (Josh. iii. 1).

By Jericho.] Rather against Jericho, as the LXX. translate it: for Jericho was on the other side of Jordan, directly opposite to the place where they now pitched. And therefore the Vulgar Latin translates, or rather paraphrases it, "where Jericho is situated beyond Jordan:" i. e. passing the ford, they came directly to Jericho.

Ver. 2. Balak] Who was king of the Moabites at this time; and descended, it is likely, from the ancient kings of that country (ch. xxi. 26).

Saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites.] To Sihon and Og, the "two kings of the Amorites," (as they are called, Deut. iii. 8), who were such near neighbours to Balak, that he not only *saw*, but considered (as the word implies) what a speedy conquest the Israelites had made of their country.

Ver. 3. Moab was sore afraid of the people,] Lest

they should expel them out of their country, as they had done the Amorites: for they knew nothing of God's command to the Israelites, not to disturb them in their possessions. Some imagine, but I see no good ground for it, that they were afraid the Israelites should get possession of the land of Canaan, unto which they thought themselves perhaps to have a better title; being descended from the eldest daughter of Lot, who was the son of Abraham's elder brother; for Abraham was the youngest son of Terah. But nobody can see any right that this descent gave Lot or his children; there being no promise made of it by God to any person, but Abraham and his posterity.

Because they were many:] Too strong for the Moabites to deal withal; having conquered those who had been too hard for them, and taken a great territory from them (ch. xxi. 26).

Moab was distressed] As Moses in his song, after they had passed the Red Sea, foretold they would be (Exod. xv. 15).

Ver. 4. Moab said] By messengers, which were sent (it is most likely) by the king and the princes of the country.

Unto the elders of Midian,] Who were their neighbours and confederates. The title of *elders*, it appears by this, was given in other nations, as well as among the Israelites, to the greatest persons in their countries: or the Israelites, after their manner, so called men everywhere, who were in high authority. For these persons who are here called *elders*, are called *kings*, ch. xxxi. 8, and *princes*, Josh. xiii. 21. In like manner they, who in the seventh verse of this chapter are called "the elders of Moab," are

round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of the Moabites at that time.

5 He sent messengers therefore unto Balaam the son of Beor to Pethor, which is by the river of the laud of the children of his people, to call

in the next verse called "the princes of Moab." Which, it is evident, was the ancient language among the Egyptians (Gen. i. 7, unless we suppose Moses, as I said, to have spoken in the language of the Jews), and, it is very likely, was also the ancient language of Phœnicia, and the countries thereabouts; and perhaps in much remoter parts. For it is a known story, that when the Phœnicians fled before Joshua, and forsook the land of Canaan, they fixed in Afric; where they left this name of *elders* among the Carthaginians (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 14, p. 537, &c.).

[*Midian*.] This is not the country wherein Jethro was a prince; for that was not far from Mount Sinai, as appears from Exod. iii. 1, whereas this was remote from that place, adjoining to the Moabites, and near to Palestine: though it is very probable the people of both these countries were descended from Abraham, by one of the sons he had by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2).

[*Now shall this company*.] The army of Israel encamped in the plains of Moab (ver. 1).

[*Lick up all that are round about us*.] i. e. Devour us and all our neighbours (or our whole country), unless we join together to oppose them.

[*As the ox licketh up the grass*.] They use this metaphor, to signify how easily the Israelites would conquer them, without a timely, resolute, and unanimous opposition; and likewise what a universal desolation they would make. For the words are in the Hebrew, *the green of the field*, i. e. not only the grass, but the leaves of trees, which oxen eat, as Bochartus observes out of the Scripture, as well as other authors (Isa. xxvii. 20). And to *lick up* is not lightly to touch with their tongue, but to eat and consume (see Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 31).

[*Balak—was king*.] He was mentioned before, ver. 8, but here recorded to have been king of the country; who endeavoured to secure himself, by the assistance of his neighbours and allies; unto whom he sent this embassy, to advise with them what course it was best for them to take for their common safety.

Ver. 5. [*He sent messengers*.] The result of the treaty with Midian was, that with joint consent they should send ambassadors, of each nation, and of the same quality, on the following message, ver. 7. And this counsel, it is likely, was given by the Midianites; for Balak saith nothing of it by his messengers: but it was resolved on when they came there, as the most effectual means for their security. This, I think, the word *therefore* imports.

[*Unto Balaam*.] A famous soothsayer, or diviner, as he is called in Josh. xiii. 22. That is, one who pretended to foretell future things, and discover secrets, &c. though not by good and allowable arts, but such as were absolutely prohibited to God's people (Deut. xviii. 10). He had been formerly a good man, and a true prophet, till, loving the wages of unrighteousness, he apostatized from God, and became a *kosem*, which we translate a *diviner*: that is (saith Aben Ezra) an astrologer; who, observing when men were under a bad aspect of the stars, pronounced a curse upon them; which sometimes coming to pass, gained him a great reputation. But this is not the import of that word, as I shall show in its proper place. Let it suffice now to observe that the Jews are so much

him, saying, Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me:

6 Come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite

of this opinion, that he had been a better man than he was now, that they take him, as St. Jerome observes, to be the same person who, in the book of Job, is called Elihu. But Origen and some others think he was no prophet, but only one of the devil's sorcerers, of whom he went to inquire; but God was pleased to put the devil by, and give what answer he thought fit: which Balaam himself plainly discerned, and therefore calls himself, "He who heard the words of God," &c. On which side the truth lies, we shall be able to judge, when we come to consider what passed between God and him, in the following history.

[*Son of Beor*.] Who was also called Bosor, as some gather from 2 Pet. ii. 15, though that place may have another interpretation.

[*Pethor*.] A city in Aram, or Mesopotamia (ch. xxiii. 7; Dent. xxiii. 4). This was the ancient name of the place; which in aftertimes the Syrians called Bosor, by an easy change of two letters, which is very usual. So Grotius understands those words (2 Pet. ii. 15). Βαλαάμ τοῦ Βοσόρ, "Balaam (not the son, but) of the city of Bosor."

[*Which is by the river of the land of the children of his people*.] i. e. Near to Euphrates; which is commonly in these books called by the name of the river (Gen. xv. 18, and many other places). This determines Aram (which was the name of several countries thereabouts) to signify that which is called in Scripture Aram Naharaim; that is, the Aram which lay between the two famous rivers of Euphrates and Tigris. The former of which was called, by way of eminence, *the river* (though the other also was eminent), because it was nearest and best known to the Israelites. And Ptolemy mentions a city called Pachoria in his time, upon this river, which some take to be Pethor. And it is very probable that Abraham, before he came into Canaan; lived hereabout (Gen. xxiv. 4, 10; Josh. xxiv. 2). And here Jacob also served for his wife, and begat all the patriarchs, except Benjamin (whence the Israelites acknowledged their father to have been a poor Aramite, or Syrian, as we translate it, Dent. xxvi. 5), by which means some relics of true religion still remained in this country, though mixed with a great deal of superstition.

[*To call him*.] To invite him to come to them.

[*There is a people come out from Egypt*.] Which all the power of Pharaoh could not hinder.

[*They cover the face of the earth*.] Are exceeding numerous.

[*They abide over against me*.] Lie encamped not far from me, and are ready to invade my country.

Ver. 6. [*Come now*.] They were to speak in the name of the king of Moab (whose words these are said to be, ver. 7), there being no king, perhaps, at this time in Midian, but several little princes, who are called kings (ch. xxxi. 8).

[*Curse me this people*.] It seems they had an opinion in those days, which prevailed much in aftertimes, that some men had a power, by the help of their gods, to blast not only particular persons, but whole armies; so that they should not be able to effect their designs. This they are said to have done, sometimes only by bare words of imprecation; of which there was a set form among some people, which Æschines calls *δοροζομένην ἄραν*, "the deter-

them, and *that* I may drive them out of the land: for I wot that he whom thou blestest *is* blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.

7 And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the rewards of divination in their hand; and they came unto Balaam, and spake unto him the words of Balak.

minate curse." Sometimes they also offered sacrifices, and used certain rites and ceremonies, with solemn charms: a famous instance of which we find in the life of Crassus; where Plutarch tells us, that Atteius, tribune of the people, made a fire at the gate, out of which Crassus was to march unto the war against the Parthians: into which he threw certain things to make a fume, and offered sacrifices to the most angry gods, with horrid imprecations upon him; which, he saith, according to ancient tradition, had such a power, that no man, who was loaded with them, could avoid being undone.

They are too mighty for me:] I am not able to deal with them without thy help.

Peradventure] But I hope, &c. For the Hebrew word *יָסֵן* is not a particle of doubting, but of hoping: "Non est particula dubitantis, sed bene ominantis et sperantis;" as Forsterus observes (Isa. xxxvii. 4; Zeph. ii. 3).

Drive them out of the land:] I hope, by the conjunction of thy curses with my sword, I may be able to destroy them; or at least to drive them out of this country.

He whom thou blestest is blessed, &c.] The ancient prophets had such power with God to obtain great blessings from him, for others, as appears by the story of Abraham and Abimelech (Gen. xx. 10), and of Jacob, who blessed Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii. 7), and afterward all his own sons. And no doubt their imprecations were as powerful, when there was a just cause for them; according to what we read, 2 Kings ii. 24. And it is likely, while Balaam (who was a prophet, as appears by what follows, and is so called by St. Peter), continued a good man, he blessed and cursed no other way, but by prayer to God, and by imprecations in his name: which was imitated by other great men, particularly by king Cambyses in his speech to the Persians, recorded by Herodotus, in Thalia, cap. 65, where he saith, "If you do what I require, then let your land bring forth plentifully; and your wives and your flocks be fruitful, and yourselves enjoy your liberty: but if ye do not, τὰ ἐναντία τούτοις ἀρέσκει ὑμῖν γενέσθαι," "I imprecate the quite contrary things to these to fall upon you." But when Balaam degenerated into a false prophet, and became a diviner, then he used spells and enchantments (as is plain by this history), and such rites and ceremonies as were the invention of wicked spirits; which Pharaoh's magicians, the Jews fancy, made use of to stop the Israelites at the Red Sea (see Exod. xiv. 3).

Ver. 7. The elders of Moab, and—of Midian] I take these two nations to have been ancient confederates; but the Jewish tradition is, that they had been always at enmity, and now reconciled by a common danger; just as two mastiffs (so they explain it), who are continually fighting, when they see the wolf set upon one of them, join together for their defence; because, if he devour the one, the other will not long survive him.

Departed with the rewards of divination] It was the custom among God's people, when they came to consult with a prophet, to bring him a present; as appears from 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8. And, indeed, from ancient time men were not wont to approach great persons without one (see Gen. xliii. 11, 25, 26).

8 And he said unto him, Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me: and the princes of Moab abode with Balaam.

9 And God came unto Balaam, and said, What men are these with thee?

10 And Balaam said unto God, Balak the son

They came unto Balaam,] Delivered their message; having first, as the manner was, made him a present.

Ver. 8. Lodge here this night,] That was the time, it seems, wherein he was wont to receive answers to his inquiries; either in a dream, or by apparitions, or some other way. There are those who think he now began to betray the naughtiness of his heart, in taking time to advise about this matter; which, if he had been a faithful servant of God, he would instantly have rejected with disdain. And it is likely enough, by what follows, that he was as desirous of their money, as they were of his imprecations.

I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak] You shall have my answer, according to the directions which the Lord shall give me. By this I take it to be evident, that he was not a stranger to the true God, with whose name it is certain he was acquainted: and, it is probable, had received revelations from him, till he became a covetous mercenary prophet, and addicted himself to superstitious rites and ceremonies; making use of *teraphim*, perhaps, which had been of ancient practice in his country, and worshipping God, perhaps, by other images. See Gen. xxxi. 19, 24, 30, 49, where it is evident that Laban had still communication with the Lord, though he used *teraphim*, and calls them his gods. Which perhaps put that idle conceit into the head of some of the Jews, that it was one and the same person, who is there called Laban, and here Balaam: who falling, as I said, into idolatrous practices, was forsaken by God, and delivered up to the impostures of evil spirits; though he still continued to inquire of the Lord, who was pleased, at this time, to make his mind known to him, for the preservation of his people Israel.

The princes of Moab abode with Balaam,] As did those of Midian also; who are mentioned in the foregoing verse. Though some of the Jews have a fancy that the elders of Midian went away (which they give as the reason that they are not here mentioned) as soon as they heard Balaam say, he would address himself for advice unto the Lord; who they knew would be favourable to Israel. And on the other side, some Christians have been of opinion, that he addressed himself to the Lord, only to try if he could draw him by his charms to take part with the Moabites: just as the Romans, when they laid siege to a city, endeavoured, by all means they could invent, to persuade the tutelal gods of that place to forsake it, and come over to their side: which rite is described by Macrobius.

Ver. 9. God came unto Balaam,] As he is said to have done unto Abimelech in a dream, Gen. xx. 3, where I observed that Maimonides makes a distinction between God's *coming* to a person, and his *speaking* to him; but that cannot be made use of here; for God did both *come* and *speak* to Balaam, as appears from ver. 32, 35, where we read, the angel of the Lord spake to him. And here it will be fit to note, that all nations, of whom we have any knowledge, have been possessed with this opinion, that God was wont to appear frequently unto men; especially, cum recensitas a Deo essent (as Seneca speaks in Epist. xc.), "when they were newly come out of his hand:" and that he also was pleased to reveal his mind and will unto them, by some means or other;

of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, *saying,*

11 Behold, *there is a people come out of Egypt, which covereth the face of the earth: come now, curse me them; peradventure I shall be able to overcome them, and drive them out.*

12 And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people: for they are blessed.

13 And Balaam rose up in the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak, Get you into

your land: for the LORD refuseth to give me leave to go with you.

14 And the princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam refuseth to come with us.

15 ¶ And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they.

16 And they came to Balaam, and said to him, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, Let nothing, I pray thee, hinder thee from coming unto me:

17 For I will promote thee unto very great

particularly by his angels, whom he sent on messages to them, as long as there was any goodness left among them. This is most admirably expressed by Catullus:

"Præsentem namque ante domos invisere castas
Sæpius, et sese mortali ostendere cœtu
Cœlicolæ, nondum spreta pietate, solebant."

See Huetius in his *Quæstiones Alnetane*, lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 1, 2. And indeed no account can be given, how it came into the head of Homer, and other poets, to bring in the gods appearing so oft as they do, upon every occasion, if God had not been wont, in ancient time, to manifest himself, not only to the Israelites, but to other nations also, especially before the distinction of this people from them. So he did to Abimelech, Laban, &c., as well as to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For, as Dr. Jackson hath well observed (in his first book upon the Creed, ch. 11), if they had never read nor heard of any such thing, all the wits in the world, had they beat their brains never so much, could not have thought of bringing the gods in a visible shape upon the stage, or interlacing their poems with their frequent apparitions: nor can any other account be given, how this came to be the common belief of the world, from one end of it to the other, that the gods revealed their mind to men; the philosophers, as well as ordinary people, in the east, west, north, and south, making no doubt of it: for Abaris Hyperboreus, and Zamolxis Geta, were no less famous in the north, than the Egyptian prophets were in the south.

But when mankind degenerated, and corrupted themselves by all manner of wickedness, then God forsook them, and permitted evil angels to take the place of the good, and plunge mankind further into all manner of filthiness; especially into abominable idolatries. So that Balaam, who, I question not, had at first familiarity with God and his holy angels, abusing this honour God had done him, in making him a prophet, by employing it to serve his vile covetousness, God gave him up to the delusion of evil spirits; of whom he learnt enchantments. But at this time God was pleased again to appear to him himself, for the good of his people Israel, and to overrule all his bad inclinations: inasmuch that Moses says at last he did not go, as he had done, to *seek enchantments* (ch. xxiv. 1), but gave up himself wholly, for the present, to the conduct of God's Spirit, as I shall there observe.

And said,] By an angel, as Maimonides interprets it (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 41).

What men are these with thee?] He asks this question, partly to prove Balaam, whether he would tell him the truth of their business; and partly to make way for the following direction.

Ver. 10. *Balaam said unto God,*] To whom (it appears by this) and to the way wherein God communicated himself, he was not a stranger.

Balak—hath sent unto me,] This shows the embassy was sent principally in his name; the Midianites only joined in it (ver. 5).

Ver. 11.] This verse contains only a brief report of the message that was sent him; to which he desired God would tell him what answer he should return.

Ver. 12. *God said unto Balaam,*] By an angel (ver. 9, and ver. 35).

Thou shalt not curse the people:] He not only forbids him to comply with Balak's desire, but gives him such a reason as was likely to prevail with him, if his prohibition was not sufficient; that it was impossible, with all his enchantments, to reverse the blessing which God had bestowed upon this people.

Ver. 13. *Get you into your land:*] He seems resolved to obey God, rather than comply with them; and therefore despatched them, as soon as he could, with the following answer.

The Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with you.] He acquaints them only with half of God's answer; for he omits the reason, which was the principal thing: though it may be thought to be implied: that if the Lord, on whose pleasure he pretended to depend, refused to let him go, it was in vain to attempt to curse them.

Ver. 14. *The princes of Moab rose up,*] They did not stand to dispute the matter with him, or to importune him; which shows that he had given them a peremptory denial.

Balaam refuseth to come with us.] They report his answer as imperfectly as he did God's; saying not a word, that the Lord refused to let him come. They were loath, perhaps (as the manner of such persons is), to deliver unwelcome news to their master.

Ver. 15.] He being ignorant of the true cause of his refusal, imagined that Balaam thought himself slighted; and expected a greater number of persons, and of greater quality, should have been sent to him. For prophets, in ancient time, were men highly esteemed; as not only sacred persons, but who had a great interest in God; of whom they could obtain whatsoever they desired. God himself thought this sufficient to keep Abimelech from injuring Abraham, to acquaint him that he was a prophet (Gen. xx. 3). And therefore they were called *men of God*; being thought, by the very gentiles, to be full of some *numen* or other; whereby they became "interpreters of the gods" (as they called them), who ministered *ἐν μέσσοις θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*, "between the gods and men:" inasmuch that women, when they became prophetesses, had very great authority; as we find in Deborah, who calls herself a *mother in Israel* (Judges v. 7): and therefore all such persons were under the special protection of Heaven (Ps. cv. 15).

Ver. 16. *Thus saith Balak*] They seem to speak of their master in a higher style than the former ambassadors did, ver. 7, where it is only said, "They spake unto him the words of Balak."

Let nothing—hinder thee from coming] Yet they submissively beseech him, in their master's name, not to suffer any thing to keep him from coming to him; for he thought, perhaps, that Balaam might be detained by other more profitable employments.

honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me: come therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people.

18 And Balaam answered and said unto the servants of Balak, If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the LORD my God, to do less or more.

19 Now therefore, I pray you, tarry ye also here this night, that I may know what the LORD will say unto me more.

20 And God came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the men come to call thee, rise up, and go with them; but yet the word which I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.

Ver. 17. *I will promote thee*] He imagined, it is probable, that Balaam looked upon the rewards of divination, which he sent him, as not sufficient encouragement; and there he promises him to advance him to some high preferment in his court.

I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me.] And moreover, he promises to bestow an estate, as great as he would desire, to support his new dignity.

Come therefore,] They add importunity to their earnest request.

Curse me this people.] Having heard (as David Chytraeus understands this) that the Israelites conquered their opposers by prayers, rather than by arms (as they had done Pharaoh and the Amalekites), the king of Moab thought he might prevail against them by the same means.

Ver. 18. *Balaam—said unto the servants of Balak,*] To the messengers whom he had sent, who, it appears by them, were principal officers in his court (ver. 15). For the servants of Pharaoh are called "the elders of his house," Gen. i. 7.

I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God,] This is not the language of one who is a stranger to the true God; for no prophet in Israel ever spake of him in more familiar terms than these, the *Lord my God*. And for the present, the command of God seems to have suppressed his covetous and ambitious desires, so that he durst not yield to them; though it appears, by what follows, he was strongly inclined to follow them.

Ver. 19. *Tarry ye also here this night,*] Take a lodging with me, as your predecessors did (ver. 8).

That I may know what the Lord will say unto me more.] Whether the Lord will alter his mind, as he hoped he might; otherwise he would have rested in the first answer he received from God, and not tried again if he could prevail by his importunity to get leave to go; as these great promises of riches and honour made him desire.

Ver. 20. *God came unto Balaam at night,*] Notwithstanding which God was pleased again to visit him with his presence; at least by one of his angelic ministers.

If the men come to call thee,] Press thee again to comply with them.

Rise up, and go] Since thou hast such a mind to go, follow thy inclinations. These words seem to be spoken angrily, though not sarcastically, as some would have them, like those, 1 Kings xxii. 15.

The word which I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.] Some take these words to be not so much a command as a prediction; that he should not be able to say a word but what he was ordered by God.

Ver. 21. *Balaam rose up—and saddled his ass,*]

21 And Balaam rose up in the morning, and saddled his ass, and went with the princes of Moab.

22 ¶ And God's anger was kindled because he went: and the angel of the LORD stood in the way for an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him.

23 And the ass saw the angel of the LORD standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand: and the ass turned aside out of the way, and went into the field: and Balaam smote the ass, to turn her into the way.

24 But the angel of the LORD stood in a path of the vineyards, a wall being on this side, and a wall on that side.

Commanded his ass to be made ready; for he had servants to wait upon him (ver. 22). And great persons in those countries were wont to ride upon asses; of which we find examples before this, in Abraham (Gen. xxii. 1), and in Moses (Exod. iv. 20), and, in aftertimes, the judges of Israel were thus mounted (Judges v. 10), and their children (ch. x. 4, xii. 14).

And went with the princes] They set out, perhaps, together; or he desired them to go a little before, and he would follow them. For it appears by the following part of this relation, that he did not make a part of their train; but travelled, at least some part of the way, with his two servants alone.

Ver. 22. *God's anger was kindled because he went:*] This may seem strange, since he had a permission to go along with them: but the meaning is not, that God was displeased because he did as he was permitted; but because he went so readily (without offering to stay at home, as he had been commanded at first), and because he carried along with him an evil mind, desirous to get the money and the honour that was proffered him; and consequently with an inclination to curse Israel, and with hopes that he might, by some means or other, compass that wicked end. This is plainly signified by the angel's words, ver. 35, where he permits him still to go on, but with a caution not to attempt to speak a word otherwise than he bade him. This is more plainly evident from Deut. xxiii. 5.

The angel of the Lord] The same angel, which is thought to have spoken to him, ver. 12, 20.

Stood in the way] In the very path wherein his ass was going.

For an adversary against him.] To stop his proceedings, that he might not go on in his sin, and perish, as R. Solomon glosses.

Now he was riding] He was in his journey upon the road, but separated from the rest of the company; having only his own two servants with him, who waited on him.

Ver. 23. *The ass saw the angel*] The Lord, saith the same R. Solomon, let the ass see what his master could not, his mind being blinded by his converse with demons: or rather, God deprived him, for the present, of the power of seeing what stood just before him.

His sword drawn] Threatening to kill him if he went forward.

The ass turned aside] Out of the road wherein they were travelling.

Went into the field:] Which lay on the side of the highway.

Balaam smote the ass,] As the manner is still, when such creatures are unruly.

Ver. 24. *The angel of the Lord stood in a path of the*

25 And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord, she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall: and he smote her again.

26 And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place, where *was* no way to turn either to the right hand or to the left.

27 And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord, she fell down under Balaam: and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with a staff.

vineyards,] It is uncertain whether the ass turned into the way again, or went on in the field, till they came to these vineyards.

A wall being on this side, &c.] In a very narrow passage.

Ver. 25. When the ass saw the angel,] Which opposed him here again, as he had done in the broad highway.

Thrust herself unto the wall,] To avoid the angel. *Crushed Balaam's foot]* The angel and his drawn sword, which it is likely he brandished, took up so much of the way on both sides, that there was not room for the ass to pass without going too close to the wall.

He smote her again.] Being very angry at her untowardness.

Ver. 26. The angel—stood in a narrow place,] Through which Balaam was to pass.

Where was no way to turn] Where the angel took up the whole passage, and left no space on either side for the ass to go.

Ver. 27. When the ass saw the angel] And no way to avoid him.

She fell down under Balaam.] Being unable either to turn back, the way was so narrow, or to go forward, because the angel filled up all the passage.

He smote the ass with a staff.] Harder than he had done before.

Ver. 28. And the Lord] By his angel, as Bochart interprets it.

Opened the mouth of the ass,] Which naturally is a dumb creature, having no organs of speech; but, by an extraordinary power of God, who made man's mouth, had her tongue so moved to the palate, teeth, and lips, and the air was so compressed within her mouth, as to form words as plain as we speak.

She said unto Balaam,] That an ass should, by the power of God, be made to speak, one would think should not seem incredible to Christians, when heathens did not disbelieve such things, but received them as undoubted truths. Witness what they say of the ass upon which Bacchus rode, and the ram of Phryxus, and the horse of Achilles and Adrastus, and the bull of Europa, and the lamb in Egypt when Borchoris reigned there, and the elephant of Porus in India; all which are reported to have spoken: and vast numbers of other instances are heaped up by two eminently learned Frenchmen, Bochartus in his *Hieroicozon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 14; and Huetius in his *Alnetanæ Questiones*, lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 26; which things are alleged out of their books, not to prove all such stories to be true, but that they thought them true, and thought it did not exceed the power of their gods to effect such things. Nor could they except against the Bible, because of the strange things there reported, the like wonders being commonly believed among themselves; which, if they were devised by the gentle writers, it was, in all likelihood, out of this sacred history; that they might not seem to come behind the Jews

28 And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times?

29 And Balaam said unto the ass, Because thou hast mocked me: I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee.

30 And the ass said unto Balaam, *Am* not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since *I was* thine unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay.

in any thing which might give credit to their own religion.

If Maimonides had been acquainted with such things as these, he would not have said, that all this which happened to Balaam in the way to Balak, was done in a prophetic vision (par. ii. More Nevochim, cap. 42), which is the conceit of R. Levi ben Gersom also, who compares this with what we read, Hosea i. 3, &c., concerning the prophet's taking a wife of whoredoms, &c., and denies the literal sense, merely because he could not imagine how an ass should be made to speak; no, nor could he, or any man else, tell how such a representation could be made to the prophet's imagination in a vision, but by the power of God; to whom the one was as easy as the other.

What have I done unto thee,] There was some cause; for his foot was crushed, and he fell with her: but the ass could not help it.

Ver. 29. Balaam said unto the ass,] One would have expected that he should have been astonished, and struck as dumb as the ass naturally was, to hear her speak so plain, and expostulate with him: but he was in a rage, or rather fury; so that for the present he did not consider any thing, but her untoward crossness. St. Peter observes so much, when he saith the dumb ass rebuked "the madness of the prophet;" where the word *παροργισια* is unusual in the Greek language, signifying that he was *beside himself*, not knowing what he said or did; partly out of anger, and partly because he was possessed with an eager desire and hope to serve Balak, and get the riches and honour he promised him, now that he had got leave of God to go to him.

Because thou hast mocked me.] Or, as the Arabic version, printed at Paris, translates it, *thrown me in the dirt*. But they seem to have read the word otherwise than it is in the Hebrew; where it signifies either mocking, or exposing to scorn and laughter.

I would there were a sword in mine hand,] This shows the height of his rage, to be thus crossed in his designs; and, as the Jewish doctors take it, the height of his folly also; that he should pretend to be able to destroy the whole congregation of Israel with his enchantments, who needed a sword to kill a poor ass.

Ver. 30. Am not I thine ass,] This does not prove that the ass understood what Balaam said, and thereupon returned this pertinent answer; but that the same Power which made the ass speak at first, continued to form such an answer as might convince Balaam of his error.

Upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine] The Hebrew words will not bear this sense; but are exactly rendered in the margin of our Bibles, *ever since thou wast*, that is, a rider; ever since thou beganst to ride, as Aben Ezra expounds it. Whence many render it, "from thy youth;" which may be supposed to be a long time; Balaam, in all likelihood, being now no young man, but for many years a famous prophet.

Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?] Hast thou not

31 Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand: and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face.

32 And the angel of the Lord said unto him, Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times? behold, I went out to withstand thee, because *thy way is perverse before me*:

33 And the ass saw me, and turned from me these three times: unless she had turned from me, surely now also I had slain thee, and saved her alive.

34 And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, I have sinned; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me: now therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again.

had sufficient experience, in so many years as I have served thee, of my sure going? As much as to say, Thou shouldst have thought some unwonted cause had forced me to do three times what I never did before.

He said, Nay.] He could not but allow the truth of what was spoken by the ass.

Ver. 31. *The Lord opened the eyes of Balaam,*] He was not blind before; but his eyes were held as the eyes of the men of Sodom were, who could not see Lot's door, though they found their way to their own home (Gen. xix. 1).

He saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way,] He understood the true cause of the ass's turning aside and falling under him.

He bowed down his head,] He first bowed his head, and then his whole body, in token of his most profound reverence.

Ver. 32. *Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times?*] This serves to teach us, saith Maimonides, not to use cruelty towards beasts, but to treat them gently and mercifully (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 17), or rather as another of them makes the angel to say to Balaam, If I am commanded to reprove thee for thy injustice to thy ass, how much more for thy wicked intention to destroy a whole nation? But the drift of this speech seems to be, to reprehend the brutish stupidity of the prophet, in not apprehending some extraordinary hand of God, which turned his ass aside so oft, and at last made her speak.

I went out to withstand thee,] I was the cause of thy ass's turning out of the way, and falling down, by my standing in the path to oppose thee, and stop thy proceedings (ver. 23).

Because thy way is perverse before me.] His intentions and purposes were not sincere and honest; for pretending to obey God, he designed, if he could, to serve Balak. The word we translate *perverse* signifies *perplexed* and *intricate* in the Arabian language; and so Bochartus thinks it should be translated here.

Ver. 33. *The ass saw me, and turned from me*] I was merciful unto thee, in letting the ass see me, which saved thy life, as it here follows.

Unless she had turned from me, surely now also I had slain thee,] It had cost thee thy life if the ass had gone forward, and thy life alone; for I would not have done any hurt to her.

Ver. 34. *I have sinned,*] It is not certain that this refers to any sense he had of the perverse disposition of his heart; for it may have respect only to his outrageousness against his ass, which he confesses was without cause.

For I knew not that thou stoodest in the way] Or rather, "but I knew not," &c., for this seems to be said

35 And the angel of the Lord said unto Balaam, Go with the men: but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak.

36 ¶ And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he went out to meet him unto a city of Moab, which is in the border of Arnon, which is in the utmost coast.

37 And Balak said unto Balaam, Did I not earnestly send unto thee to call thee? wherefore camest thou not unto me? am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?

38 And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to say any thing? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.

in excuse of himself, from his ignorance that the ass was turned out of the way by the angel.

If it displease thee, I will get me back] He would not understand the angel right, who did not find fault with his going to Balak, but with his going with such bad intentions.

Ver. 35. *Go with the men.*] As God had before bidden him (ver. 20), and did not send the angel to forbid what he had allowed.

The word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.] These words are something different from those in ver. 20, importing both that he should not presume to speak a word but what he ordered, and that he should not forbear to speak what he bade him.

So Balaam went with the princes] Whom he overtook after this stop, either at the place where they lodged, or where they stayed for him; but he did not tell them what he met withal in the way.

Ver. 36. *When Balak heard that Balaam was come,*] By some messenger sent before to acquaint him with his coming.

He went out to meet him] Partly out of joy, and partly out of respect to him.

Unto a city of Moab,] This city seems to have been Ar (ch. xxi. 15).

Which is in the utmost coast.] He did him the honour to meet him at the very entrance of his country; and did not think it sufficient to send some of his court to receive him.

Ver. 37. *Did not I earnestly send unto thee to call thee?*] After this compliment was paid to Balaam, the king could not forbear to let him know, he did not think himself well used by him, whom he had earnestly entreated to come to him, and at the first he would not.

Wherefore camest thou not] As soon as I sent for thee.

Am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?] Dost thou doubt of my power to make thee a great man, if thou gratifiest me in my desire? And his readiness he showed by this honourable reception of him.

Ver. 38. *Lo, I am come unto thee.*] Say no more of that; but be satisfied that I am now come.

Have I now any power at all to say any thing?] Yet he would not have him expect that he should do all that Balak desired, or he himself was inclined to do; for he was under a higher overruling Power, which he could not gainsay.

The word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.] He seems to acquaint him that he had received such a command from God (ver. 35), and he must be obedient.

39 And Balaam went with Balak, and they came unto Kirjath-huzoth.

40 And Balak offered oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the princes that were with him.

Ver. 39. *Balaam went with Balak.*] This did not discourage the king of Moab from carrying Balaam along with him into his country; where he hoped he might be persuaded to do as he would have him.

They came unto Kirjath-huzoth.] The royal city, it is likely; for it signifies in our language the *city of streets*; that is, a large city, which had many streets and (consequently) inhabitants in it.

Ver. 40. *Balak offered oxen and sheep.*] In thankfulness that he had procured Balaam's assistance, as he hoped, against his enemies.

And sent to Balaam.] They were such sacrifices as the Jews called *peace-offerings*; of which the offerers had a share for themselves and for their friends: and the sacrifices being over, Balak invited Balaam to come to the feast he made thereupon.

And to the princes.] The princes, I suppose, of Midian, and of Moab, who were sent on the embassy to him, and had succeeded in it (ver. 7, 15).

Ver. 41. *On the morrow.*] Having rested one night

41 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into the high places of Baal, that thence he might see the utmost part of the people.

after his journey, Balak would have him go about his business, and see what he could do for him.

Balak took Balaam.] Into his chariot.

Brought him up into the high places of Baal.] All nations worshipped their gods in high places; and Baal was the god of this country; who was worshipped in more high places than one; unto all which he brought Balaam, that he might see where he could take the fullest view of the Israelites, and which of them would be fittest for his purpose. These high places were full of trees, and very shady (as I observed, Lev. xxvi. 30), which made them the fitter both for the solemn thoughts and prayers of such as were devout, and for the filthy inclinations and intentions of the wicked. Baal was the name of several gods, both male and female, as our Selden shows in his *Syntagma ii. De Diis Syris*, cap. 1. And I suppose Chemosh, the god of Moab, is here called by this name (signifying a *lord*), though that great man seems to take it for Baal-Peor (cap. 2, of that book).

He might see the utmost part of the people.] i. e. All their armies, to the very skirts of their camp.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1, 13, 28 *Balak's sacrifice.* 7, 18 *Balaam's parable.*

1 AND Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams.

CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *Build me here.*] Upon one of the high places; which Balaam, it is likely, pitched upon as fit for his purpose.

Seven altars.] The number *seven* was much observed, we find among the Hebrews, by God's order (see Lev. iv. 6), but we never read of more than one altar built by the patriarchs, when they offered their sacrifices; nor was more than one allowed by Moses. Therefore in this there was something of the heathen superstition; who, worshipping the sun (who is principally meant by Baal), offered also to all the seven planets: unless we allow the conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, who imagines, that as Moses erected twelve pillars, according to the number of the children of Israel, when he entered them into the covenant of God (Exod. xxiv. 4), so Balaam ordered seven altars to be erected, according to the number of the principal houses of Moab (Myrothec. Sacr. Elæochrysm, par. ii. cap. 59). But there is no ground for the conceit of Abarinel, who, in his preface to Leviticus (sect. 4), saith, Balaam ordered this in emulation of the seven acceptable altars to God, built by seven men famous for piety; viz. Adam, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. There is more certainty in this, that these altars were erected in honour either of the Most High, or of the greatest of their gods: for according to the account which both Festus and Servius have given us of the ancient times, they sacrificed to the celestial gods only upon altars (which were so called, because they were *ær altæ*, built high and lofty"), whereas to the terrestrial they sacrificed upon

2 And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram.

the earth; and to the infernal gods, in holes digged in the earth.

Prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams.] To offer one of each upon the several altars, as it follows ver. 2. This number was used by pious persons, both in these days (Job xli. 8), and in aftertimes (1 Chron. xv. 26).

Ver. 2. *Balak did as Balaam had spoken.*] Caused the altars to be built (which was done, either of stones, or of turf), and the sacrifices to be brought.

Offered on every altar a bullock and a ram.] Kings, in ancient times, were priests also; as appears by Melchizedek: but perhaps Balak only presented the sacrifices to be offered for him, and for his people; and Balaam performed the office of a priest. The only doubt is, to whom these sacrifices were offered. I suppose each of them had their several intentions: Balak supplicating Baal by them; and Balaam making his prayer to the Lord, though with such superstitious ceremonies, it is likely, as were used by the worshippers of Baal; in one of whose high places these sacrifices were offered. But it may also be supposed, that Balaam telling Balak he could not effect any thing without the Lord, the God of Israel, persuaded him to join with him at present in his worship, that they might prevail with him to withdraw his presence from the Israelites: for there is no reason to think, that Balaam would go to inquire of the Lord, when he had sacrificed to other gods; and it appears evidently from ver. 4, that he pretended to sacrifice unto God; and would not have presumed surely to tell him so, if he meant otherwise.

3 And Balaam said unto Balak, Stand by thy burnt offering, and I will go: peradventure the Lord will come to meet me: and whatsoever he sheweth me I will tell thee. And he went to an high place.

4 And God met Balaam: and he said unto him, I have prepared seven altars, and I have offered upon every altar a bullock and a ram.

5 And the Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak.

Ver. 3. *Balaam said unto Balak,*] When he had laid the pieces upon the altars.

Stand by thy burnt offering,] Attend thy sacrifice, and pray to God to accept it. By this it appears, that these sacrifices were of a different nature from those mentioned in ch. xxii. 40, being burnt-offerings which were wholly consumed. And one of them seems to have been offered particularly for Balak, which he calls *his burnt-offering*; as the rest were for the princes of Moab, who, it is likely, stood by them representing all the people.

And here it is to be observed, that, in old time, before the law of Moses was given, burnt-offerings served for all purposes in Divine worship; whether they gave thanks for blessings, or deprecated evil things, or prayed for good. Thus Noah, when he returned thanks to God for his perservation in the ark, "offered burnt-offerings" (Gen. viii. 20). And when Job besought God to pardon his sons (ch. i. 5), and his friends (ch. xlii. 8), he offered sacrifices of this sort: and so did Balak and Balaam here use them, to procure blessings upon Moab, and a curse upon Israel.

I will go:] By myself, into some private place, to consult with God, and to exercise his enchantments (as may be gathered from ch. xxiv. 1), whereby he thought he might prevail for such a power as he desired, of cursing the people of Israel.

Peradventure the Lord will come to meet me:] He durst not be confident, because he had lately opposed his proceeding (ch. xxii. 31), in a rightful manner.

Whatsoever he sheweth me:] Whatsoever he reveals to me, either by word or otherwise.

I will tell thee.] Deal faithfully with thee, and conceal nothing from thee.

He went to an high place.] Or rather, *into a valley*: for he was now in a *high place* when he sacrificed, and did not go into another high place, but down into the plain (as the Hebrew word properly signifies), where he might, in some solitary retirement, address himself to God, and expect his presence with him. So we translate it in the margin, *he went solitary*. Therefore, if we retain the other translation, it must be understood of some part of the *high place*, where he might be solitary, viz. into the *grove*, which high places seldom wanted. In these high places they built their temples, and had their oracles: as we learn from Justin, lib. xxiv. cap. 6, where he saith, the temple of Apollo positum est in monte Parnasso, &c., "was seated upon the mountain Parnassus:" and from Pausanias, who, speaking of the cave of Trophonius in Boeotia, saith, ὅτι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν τῷ ὄρει, "the oracle is in a grove upon a mountain." The like might be observed of other oracles: which may countenance this conjecture, that some such pretended oracle might be in this high place, where Balaam went for direction from God.

Ver. 4. *God met Balaam:*] Appeared unto him, as he had been wont to do in other places, ch. xxii. 9, 20, where the word Elohim is constantly used, as it is

6 And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt sacrifice, he, and all the princes of Moab.

7 And he took up his parable, and said, Balak the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountains of the east, saying, Come, curse me Jacob, and come, defy Israel.

8 How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? or how shall I defy, whom the Lord hath not defied?

9 For from the top of the rocks I see him,

here and everywhere else, till we come to ver. 16, which strengthens the opinion, that the Lord hitherto spake to him only by an angel.

He said unto him,] i. e. Balaam said unto God, when he saw him appear.

I have prepared seven altars, &c.] This shows he sacrificed unto God, and not unto Baal: and he represents it to God that he might be moved thereby to condescend to his desire. For sacrificing was a form of supplication, as we find in other places, particularly 1 Sam. xiii. 12, and that which he begged of God was, in all likelihood, that he would give him power to curse Israel.

Ver. 5. *The Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth,*] Told him what he should say. And therefore (saith Maimonides), he spake by the Spirit of God: which he makes account was the second degree of prophecy. Whence that description Balaam gives of himself, "He hath said, who heard the words of God" (par. ii. More Nevochim, cap. 45).

Thus thou shalt speak.] He commanded him to speak unto Balak, at his return to him, as he was instructed, and no otherwise. The words he bade him speak, are those that we read below (ver. 7, 8, &c.).

Ver. 6. *Lo, he stood by his burnt sacrifice,*] He found him in the very same posture wherein he left him (ver. 3), which shows Balaam did not go far, nor stay long before he returned; and that Balak was earnest in his supplications.

He, and all the princes] Who were concerned in the good success of his negotiation.

Ver. 7. *He took up*] A Hebrew phrase for speaking aloud.

His parable.] Or, prophetic speech; which was sometimes delivered in *parables*, properly so called: that is, not in plain words, but in apt figures and resemblances (concerning which see Maimonides, par. ii. cap. 43). But here the word *parable* signifies (as it doth in the book of Job) a weighty speech expressed in sublime and majestic words, Job xxvii. 1, xxix. 1.

Balak—hath brought me from Aram,] See ch. xxii. 5. *Out of the mountains of the east,*] The country of Mesopotamia lay eastward of Moab: and that part of it towards Arabia was stony and mountainous (see Bochartus in his Phaleg, lib. ii. cap. 6).

Curse me Jacob, and come, defy Israel.] Two different expressions for the same thing; only the latter word (which we translate *defy*) imports something of fury; because he would have had him curse them in such a prophetic rage as should have the most direful effects upon them.

Ver. 8. *How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? &c.*] As much as if he had said, Balak desires of me that which is impossible. In the Jerusalem Targum this verse is thus paraphrased: "How shall I curse the house of Jacob, when the Word of the Lord hath blessed them? or how shall I diminish the family of Israel, when the Word of the Lord hath multiplied them?"

and from the hills I behold him: lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.

10 Who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth *part* of Israel? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!

11 And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed *them* altogether.

Ver. 9. *For from the top of the rocks*] Upon which he then stood, when he spake these words.

I see him,] As Balak desired he might (ch. xxii. 41), though for another purpose; that he might curse them.

From the hills I behold him:] The same thing again, in other words, according to the manner of the eastern people. And both these may relate, not only to the present view he had of the camp of Israel, but to their future settlement in their own land; wherein they were represented to him as dwelling securely, under the special protection of the Almighty.

The people shall dwell] In the land of Canaan.

Alone,] Not mingled with other nations, but separated from them by different laws, religion, and manners. It seems also to import their security and safety, by the situation of their country, and God's care of them.

Shall not be reckoned among the nations.] Be a peculiar people by themselves; and therefore not liable to the power of my curses, like other nations. All this came to pass, partly by the natural situation of their country, which was surrounded with high mountains, and rocky precipices, so that the coming to it was very difficult; but more especially by their rites and customs; and particularly by their diet, which restrained them from common conversation with other nations, because they could not eat of their food (swine's flesh, for instance, which was a delicate dish among the gentiles, was an abomination to the Israelites). By which means they were the better secured from learning the religion of the gentiles, having so little communication with them, that they were called by Diodorus Siculus, and others, *an unsociable people*, and thought to have an enmity to the rest of the world.

Ver. 10. *Who can count the dust of Jacob,*] This may refer either to their present, or their future increase; which was so great, that they might be compared to the dust of the earth, or the sand on the sea-shore, which is without number. Hereby he confirmed the promise made by God to Abraham, Gen. xiii. 16, and to Israel, ch. xxvii. 14, where he saith expressly, "Thy seed shall be made as the dust of the earth."

The number of the fourth part of Israel?] Any one of their camps, every one of which was grown to a vast number: for the whole host of Israel was divided into four camps, under the standard of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan (as we read in the second chapter of this book), one of which camps lay more plainly before him than the rest, viz. that on the west, under the standard of Ephraim.

Let me die the death of the righteous,] By the *righteous* he means Israel, who were now a people free from idolatry, which was the great crime of those days; and he desires either to be as happy as they in the other world, or that he might not die an immature and violent death, but enjoy such a long life here as was promised to them. The author of *Sepher Cosri*

12 And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth?

13 And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence.

14 ¶ And he brought him into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah, and built seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar.

takes it in the former sense; alleging this place as a proof that a future state was believed in ancient times, though not so clearly expressed in the prophetic writings, as other things are: for there is a certain prayer, saith he, of one that prophesied by the Holy Ghost, who desired that "might die the death of the righteous" (par. i. sect. 115).

And let my last end be like his!] Or, "let my posterity" (for so the word we here translate *last end* often signifies, Ps. cix. 13, Dan. xi. 4), or, "those that come after me," be like unto his descendants.

Ver. 11. *What hast thou done unto me?*] This is very surprising.

Behold, thou hast blessed them altogether.] Thou hast not only frustrated my desires in not cursing them, but, quite contrary, hast pronounced great blessings upon them. For so the Hebrew words signify, "Blessed them with blessings."

Ver. 12. *Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth?*] He had told him so before, more than once (ch. xxii. 23, xxiii. 3), and now makes him judge, whether it was safe for him to disobey the Lord to comply with his desires.

Ver. 13. *Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place,*] He thought Balaam gave him a reasonable answer; and, therefore, gently entreats him to make a trial, whether God would be pleased to be more favourable to his desires if he sought him in some other place. For whatsoever Balaam thought of this matter, Balak was possessed of a superstitious fancy, that the very place or prospect had been a cause concurrent to produce the contrary effect to what he desired, and therefore entreated he would come with him to another, where he might not see too many of them at once.

From whence thou mayest see them:] It seems this was thought necessary to make their curses effectual; that they should have a sight of those whom they cursed, and that they should look upon them.

The utmost part of them,] The skirts of their camps.

And shalt not see them all:] He imagined, perhaps, that Balaam was affrighted at the sight of their multitude, and therefore durst not meddle with them.

Curse me them from thence.] He seems to desire him to curse only that small parcel of the Israelites whom he saw in the utmost part of the camp, hoping he might by degrees get them all, in like manner, destroyed.

Ver. 14. *He brought him into the field of Zophim,*] Or, as some translate it, unto *Sede-Zophim*; a place by the very name apt to enchant a superstitious mind with expectation of success, as Dr. Jackson speaks. It is thought by some to be so called from the *watchers* that were placed here, which the word *Zophim* imports.

To the top of Pisgah,] A very high mountain in the country of Moab, from whence one might see a great way, and take a view of all the parts of Canaan (Deut. iii. 27, xxxiv. 1, 2, &c.). But on that side of

15 And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt offering, while I meet the *LORD* yonder.

16 And the *LORD* met Balaam, and put a word in his mouth, and said, Go again unto Balak, and say thus.

17 And when he came to him, behold, he stood by his burnt offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath the *LORD* spoken?

18 And he took up his parable, and said,

it whither Balak brought him, Balaam could not see much of the camp of Israel. It is likely he thought by bringing him to a place so exceeding high, he should be nearer heaven, and so procure a more favourable audience than before.

Built seven altars, &c.] As he had done before at Balaam's desire, in another high place (ver. 1, 2), for there only he imagined their sacrifices would be acceptable. From hence Conradus Pellicanus concludes Balaam to have been a worshipper of the true God (as Jethro was), because he still continues to offer only such clean creatures as were wont to be sacrificed to him by his own people.

Ver. 15, *Stand here by thy burnt offering.*] The same direction which he had given before (ver. 3).

While I meet the Lord yonder.] In a place to which he pointed. Balaam made a peradventure of it before, whether the *LORD* would come to meet him or not (ver. 3), but now he confidently expects it; though he endeavoured (it appears from ch. xxiv. 1), still to compass his bad ends by his enchantments.

Ver. 16, *The Lord met Balaam.*] This is never said before, but only that God met him (by his angel, as the Jews interpret it), which I take to be much short of what is here said, that the *LORD* himself now met him; that is, there was a glorious appearance of the Shechinah to him (though not in such lustre, I suppose, as when it appeared to Moses), which so amazed him, that after this he never went so much as to inquire what he should say or do: for, though he doubted, perhaps, of what the angel said, yet now he was fully assured the Israelites must be blessed.

And put a word in his mouth.] Instructed him what he should say to Balak.

Go again unto Balak, and say] viz. All that we read ver. 18—20, &c. which is a great deal more than he had said before.

Ver. 17, *He stood by his burnt offering, &c.*] See ver. 6.

What hath the Lord spoken?] He was more solicitous to know his doom than he was before, when he asked no such question; and plainly demonstrated that he believed Balaam went to inquire of the *LORD*.

Ver. 18, *Took up his parable.*] See ver. 7.

Rise up, Balak, and hear;] If this word *rise up* hath respect to the outward reverence which was wont to be shown to all messages brought from God (which was expressed by *rising up* to receive them, as appears from the story of another king of Moab, Judges iii. 20), then, after the sacrifice was ended at which they stood, Balak sat down until Balaam could be ready to acquaint him with the mind of God. But it may have respect only to the mind, and signify, *stir up thyself* to attend; awaken thy thoughts, and listen to what I say.

Hearken unto me,] The same thing repeated with more earnestness: for to *give ear*, as the word is in the Hebrew, imports something more than merely to *hear*; viz. diligent and earnest attention of mind to what is spoken.

Rise up, Balak, and hear; hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor:

19 God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?

20 Behold, I have received *commandment* to bless: and he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it.

21 He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel: the

Ver. 19, *God is not a man, that he should lie;*] Do not imagine that God is like to one of us: he can by no sacrifices, or prayers, or other means, be induced to break his word; and therefore it is in vain for me any longer to importune him to curse Israel, when he hath said he will bless them.

Neither the son of man.] An usual variation of the expression of the same thing (Ps. viii. 4).

That he should repent;] Alter his mind, when he hath absolutely resolved any thing. Balak seems to have fancied, that by the change of the place where he sacrificed (ver. 13), he might procure a change of the Divine counsels.

Hath he said, and shall he not do it?] What should hinder? for he wants no power to execute his will; and he cannot be moved to revoke his word by better information; nor can any thing happen which he did not foresee, to make him do otherwise than he intended.

Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?] This is the same with the former, after the prophetic manner of speaking, *Omnia per juga repetendo* (as Conradus Pellicanus glosses) ad exaggerationem: only the foregoing words may be thought to refer to his threatenings, and these to his promises.

Ver. 20.] In these words he applies the general proposition, in the foregoing verse, to this particular case: God hath ordered me to pronounce a blessing upon Israel, for he himself hath blessed them; and I can neither reverse that blessing, nor go against his order.

Ver. 21. *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel:*] Both the word *aven* (which we translate *iniquity*) and the word *amal* (which we translate *perverseness*) signify frequently in Scripture the highest wickedness, viz. idolatry. And so Onkelos here understood it, when he thus paraphrased these words: "I see that there are none who worship idols in the house of Jacob, nor any servants of trouble and vanity (so they called idols) in Israel." And accordingly the Vulgar Latin expressly translates this verse thus, "There is no idol in Jacob, nor is there any image seen in Israel:" which seemed so clear a truth to Johannes Forsterus, a famous professor of the Hebrew tongue in the beginning of the Reformation, that, in his explication of both these words in his Lexicon, he saith, "From this place all the prophets borrow these phrases, and translated them to express impiety, i. e. idolatrous worship, devised according to men's own humours and desires, and by the instinct of the devil: for Moses was the fountain of all the prophets." Thus he writes upon the word *יָרָא*, and he repeats it again upon the word *לָרָא*. So that this is the reason Balaam gives why God had blessed, and he could not curse them, because they were free from idolatry; unto which, unless they could be seduced, there was no hope that God would deliver them unto the power of their enemies: for which reason Balaam afterward counselled this prince to entice them to this sin by

LORD his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them.

22 God brought them out of Egypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn.

beautiful women, as the only way to move God to be angry with them.

There are indeed a great many that take these words in the common sense, for all manner of sin, which God is said not to see in this people, i. e. so as to mark it out for punishment; for though they were many ways great offenders, yet he had such an indulgent kindness to them, that he would not correct them for every sin which they committed. But this returns to the former exposition; that they were safe as long as they kept themselves from the great transgression, that is, idolatry.

The Lord his God is with him,] They worshipping God alone, were therefore under his special care and protection. Onkelos renders it, "the Word of the Lord his God is his help." And so the Jerusalem Targum.

The shout of a king is among them,] God being their king, he prophesies that they should always triumph over their enemies: for he alludes to the shouts which are made when a king or great captain returns victorious with the spoils of those he hath vanquished. So the meaning of the whole verse is this, in brief: Since they do not worship idols, but cleave to the Lord their God, and serve him alone, he is present with them, not only to preserve them from their enemies, but to give them glorious victories over them.

Ver. 22. *God brought them out of Egypt;]* That they might be his worshippers and servants, which if they continue he will not desert them. For God brought them forth from thence that they might be his peculiar people, and he their King and their God, as he often saith himself, Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 23, xxv. 38; Numb. xv. 41, all which places are observed by the author of *Sepher Cosri* (par. ii. sect. 50).

He has as it were the strength of an unicorn,] Some would have this referred to God, who brought them out of Egypt by a mighty power; because he speaks in the plural number of those to whom the former sentence belongs. But this is no good reason; for the Scripture frequently varies the number, when the same person is spoken of. And in ch. xxiv. 8, it is expressly said, "God brought him (i. e. Israel) out of Egypt; and he hath the strength," &c., which every one allows is spoken of the Israelites, who are said to have the *strength* of this creature, with whom they are compared; or rather the *height*, as the Hebrew word certainly signifies, Ps. xcv. 4, "The strength of the hills (or rather, the heights of the hills, as it is in the margin) is his also;" and Job xxii. 25, "The Almighty shall be thy defence, and thou shalt have plenty of silver." So the sense led our interpreters to translate the Hebrew word *mayn*, which may be literally here rendered *great heaps* of silver. These are the only places where this word is found. The only difficulty is, what creature it is which is here called *reem*; which we translate (as many others have done) an *unicorn*: which, though most now take to be a fabulous creature that is not in being, yet Tho. Bartholinus, in his *Anatomical Histories* (Centur. ii. Histor. 51), tells us, that an ambassador from the king of Guinea to the duke of Courland, assured him, at Copenhagen, that there is a beast in Africa of the bigness of an ordinary horse, very swift and fierce, which hath a horn in its forehead about three spans in length; the dead carcass of which he had seen, though never one alive. But if this be supposed to be true, it is not the creature here meant; for it is plain by

23 Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel: according to this time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought!

the Scripture that the *reem* hath two horns, Deut. xxxiii. 17), where we read of the *horns of the unicorn* (as we translate it), to which the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh are compared (see also Ps. xxii. 27). Therefore the famous Bochartus, after a long discussion of other opinions, thinks it most probable that the *reem* is a kind of goat, which the Arabians called *algazel*, and is now called *gazellas*; which is a tall creature (some of them as high as a stag) with long and sharp horns. So that Balaam foretells the Israelites should be as eminent among other people as the *reem* was among other kinds of goats. Unless we will think it refers to what the Arabians observe, that it is proper to this animal to carry his head very high, and to erect his ears, which is an excellent emblem of the people of Israel; who being lately oppressed in Egypt, were asserted by God into a state of liberty, and raised to a great height of glory, in order to be advanced unto a higher (Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 27). At this Onkelos seemed to have aimed, when he translates these words thus, "fortitude and exaltation are his;" taking *reem* not for a proper name but for an appellative, as if it were derived from *ranam*, which signifies to exalt. I shall only add, that there is one who refers these words neither to God nor to the Israelites, but to Egypt before mentioned; as if the sense was, Though the Egyptians were as strong as a *unicorn*, they were not able to detain the Israelites any longer in bondage to them; but God brought them thence with a mighty hand and outstretched arm: so Joseph. Hispanus (lib. iii. Ikanrim, cap. 8).

Ver. 23. *Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel:]* Neither I, nor anybody else, have power to hurt them, by all the secret arts of sorcery and soothsaying which are practised in the world. It is not proper here to mention the various sorts of them; but it is manifest, from ancient history, that these *curious arts* (as St. Luke calls them) had got a kind of sovereignty in the eastern nations, who for many ages were much addicted to them. One of our own church hath said many excellent things concerning the original of this sorcery and idolatry, which commonly accompanied each other; to whom I refer the reader (see Dr. Jackson's *Original of Unbelief*, &c., cap. 19). The Vulgar Latin takes these words as if they were spoken in praise of the Israelites, that there were no enchantments or divinations used among them, nor any other diabolical arts, which were forbidden by their law in several places. From these they being as free as from idolatry (mentioned ver. 21), they were secure of God's favour to them. And so we acknowledge, in the margin of our Bibles, the words may be translated, "There is no enchantment in Jacob, or among them:" from which God intended in all ages to preserve them by the prophets he raised up to them. And thus R. Solomon expounds this verse, either to signify that they could not be cursed, because they were not given to enchantments and divinations; or that they needed not to make use of diviners and magicians, having all that was needful for them to know revealed to them by God's prophets, and by *urim* and *thummim*, &c.

According to this time it shall be said—What hath God wrought!] The LXX. translate the first words *κατά καιρὸν*, "when time shall be;" or, upon all occasions: not only now, but in future ages, men shall

24 Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain.

25 ¶ And Balak said unto Balaam, Neither curse me at all, nor bless them at all.

26 But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that the Lord speaketh, that I must do?

27 ¶ And Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I

pray thee, I will bring thee unto another place; peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence.

28 And Balak brought Balaam unto the top of Peor, that looketh toward Jeshimon.

29 And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams.

30 And Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar.

relate with admiration what God hath wrought for this people; not only in bringing them out of Egypt, but in conducting them into Canaan; in drying up Jordan, as he did the Red Sea; and subduing the Canaanites, as he overthrew Pharaoh and his host, &c. If there be any difference between Jacob and Israel, the former signifies this people when they were in their low estate, and the latter, when they were eminently exalted: in both which God did wonderful things for them, which astonished all that observed.

Ver. 24. *Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion.* The Hebrew word *labi* certainly signifies a lioness, which is no less, but rather more fierce than a lion, and so represented by Herodotus (lib. iii. cap. 103), and many other authors mentioned by Bochartus in his *Hieroicoicon* (par. i. lib. iii. cap. 1).

Lift up himself as a young lion. The Hebrew word *ari* is used in general for any lion whatsoever, without respect unto age. They that would have it signify a younger sort, take it for a lion full grown and adult (as they speak), of a middle age, between *cephir*, which signifies a young lion, and *sachel*, which signifies an old. And the Israelites are here said to rise up, and to lift up themselves, like to these fierce creatures, to signify their assailing their enemies with an undaunted courage.

He shall not lie down until he eat of the prey. Which lions rend and tear with their claws and teeth, irresistibly and speedily. So the Hebrew word *tereph* (which we render *prey*) imports; the flesh of beasts torn in pieces.

Drink the blood of the slain. He alludes to the ravenousness of lions; and signifies the entire and perfect victory the Israelites should win over their enemies. For this prophecy hath a peculiar respect to the conquest of the Canaanites under the conduct of Joshua.

Ver. 25.] It seems he thought his blessings to be as powerful as his curses; and therefore desires him to forbear both, if he could not have what he desired.

Ver. 26.] As I cannot do any thing against the mind and will of God, so I must do as he bids me (ver. 3, 12).

Ver. 27. *Come,—I will bring thee unto another place;* Still he fancies, according to the superstition of those days, there might be something unlucky in the place, that made his prayers unsuccessful; which might prove acceptable in another. For, as the Syrians imagined in future ages, that some gods were powerful in the hills who could do nothing in the plains (1 Kings xx. 23, 28), so, it seems, there was such a conceit at this time in these countries, that some gods delighted more in one hill than they did in another; for he still brings Balaam to another high place. Such a conceit we see remains to this day in the Romish

church, where the lady and the rood of one place are thought far more powerful, and therefore more frequented than those of another.

Peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them. He said nothing of God's permission before (ver. 13), but now was convinced his consent was to be gained; and would not despair of it, but thought it possible that very thing might seem right and good in his eyes (as the Hebrew phrase here is) in a new place, which displeased him in both the former.

Ver. 28. *Unto the top of Peor.* This was the most famous high place in all the country of Moab; where, as Mr. Selden conjectures, Baal had a temple, and was worshipped; and thence called Baal-Peor. So Theodoret and Suidas βίηλ ὁ Κρόνος, Φεγγορ δὲ ὁ τρώτος ἐν τῷ ἱμαῳ. "Beel signifies Saturn, and Phegor (or, as we pronounce it, Peor) the place where he was worshipped." Just as the Greeks called Jupiter by the name of Olympius, and Mercurius of Cyllenius, &c. And, in all likelihood, by Beth-Peor (Deut. xxxiv. 6), which in English is the house of Peor, in the land of Moab, is meant the temple of Baal which stood upon the mountain, for so the word *Beth* signifies frequently among the Hebrews, not an ordinary house, but the house of some god; as Beth-Ashtaroth (1 Sam. xxxi. 10), and Beth-Baal (1 Kings xvi. 32). And there is often mention of Beth-shemesh in the holy writings (Joshua xv. 10, Judges i. 33, and many other places), which signifies "the temple of the sun;" from whence the word *Baiaqula*, among the Arabians upon the Red Sea, which Stephanus (De Urbibus) expounds, ὁ οἶκος τοῦ ἡλίου, "the house of the sun" (see Syntagma l. De Diis Syris, cap. 5).

Looketh toward Jeshimon. See ch. xxi. 20.

Ver. 29.] He orders the very same sacrifices he did at first, without any difference (ver. 1), either not knowing any other method of obtaining their desires, or thinking it in vain to devise any other.

Ver. 30. *Balak did as Balaam had said.* He was wholly governed by Balaam in this; and though he changed the place, made no alteration in the sacrifice, which was as complete and perfect as any in those times offered.

Here is no mention made of the time when these things were done; but we may be certain all the three forementioned solemn sacrifices, in the three several places, were not offered upon one and the same day. And superstitious people, as all histories tell us, having been as curious in the choice of days as well as places, it is probable that Balak picked out some day or hour which he thought might be more lucky to him than the foregoing.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Balaam, leaving divinations, prophesieth the happiness of Israel.* 10 *Balak in anger dismisseth him.* 15 *He prophesieth of the Star of Jacob, and the destruction of some nations.*

1 AND when Balaam saw that it pleased the LORD to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness.

2 And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes; and the spirit of God came upon him.

CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *When Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord*] Of which he had given him a double proof, ch. xxii. 5, &c., 16, &c.

He went not, as at other times,] See ch. xxii. 3, 15. *To seek for enchantments,*] This implies that he had hitherto, in the process of his business, used some wicked arts to effect his ends, or desired to be directed to them; but being not able to obtain any thing, but commands cross to all his designs, he gave himself up wholly to the conduct of God's Holy Spirit, and did not so much as offer to seek for enchantments. In the Hebrew the words are, *to meet with enchantments*; unto which he hoped to be directed, that he might be able to curse Israel: for though he addressed himself to the true God (whom he calls the Lord, ch. xxiii. 26), yet it was in a superstitious way; with such rites and ceremonies of worship, as were not of God's appointment; but either devised by evil spirits, or very grateful to them; whereby he hoped to be shown by what means he might disable Israel, and deliver them into the hand of Balak. For the ancient magic derived from Zoroaster was nothing else, as Plato pretends (in Alcibiade i.) but the knowledge of Divine things, and the right way of worshipping God: and Apuleius saith the same of it, that it was diis immortalibus accepta, colendi eos ac venerandi pergnara, &c., "a science acceptable to the immortal gods, very skilful how to worship and honour them; being pious, and knowing in Divine things;" which sufficiently betrays this Divine knowledge (as they call it) to be impious; for Zoroaster instructed his disciples in the worship of the fire, as an emblem, at the best, of the sun; which they looked upon as a visible image of this invisible God, and upon that account worshipped it. After his time, it is manifest, this heavenly knowledge, as they esteem it, degenerated into more uncouth rites, and wicked arts, whereby they pretend to be able to make the gods do what they pleased. Pliny mentions an herb (lib. xxiv. cap. 17), which he saith the magicians used, quum Deos velint evocare, "when they would call out the gods," and draw them to their purpose. In which power they so gloried, that the witch in Apuleius threatened the gods themselves with the greatest mischief; and boasted she could deprive the stars of their light; and by her charms control, not only the moon, but the sun himself, and the gods of all sorts. And as for mankind, nothing is more known than those magical words, *devenere, defigere, obligare*; which are proper to the black art, as Salmasius observes (upon Solinus, p. 1091), which, by incantations, deprecations, direful execrations, herbs, fascinations, so confounded the mind of him who was thus devoted (as they term it), that he could remember nothing of what he was about, nor discharge any

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3 And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said:

4 He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open:

function of nature. The several species of it are mentioned by Maimonides, who saith the Zabii pretended to exercise this power, not only over particular persons, but over whole provinces, by certain words, and actions, and things, which nobody can understand to have any virtue in them (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37).

He set his face toward the wilderness.] He stirred not from the place where the sacrifice was offered as he had been wont to do, but only looked towards the wilderness, where the Israelites lay encamped (ch. xxii. 1).

Ver. 2. *Balaam lifted up his eyes,*] To look round about him.

He saw Israel abiding in his tents, &c.] In the order God had appointed in the second chapter of this book, ver. 52, where he commands them "to pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and by his own standard throughout their hosts."

The spirit of God came upon him.] From whence Maimonides concludes, he was a prophet of the second rank who spake by the Holy Ghost (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 45).

Ver. 3. *He took up his parable,*] He pronounced what follows with a loud voice, that all might hear. For so the Hebrew words may be interpreted, "he lifted up his parable" (see ch. xxiii. 7).

Balaam—hath said,] Though the Spirit of God came upon him, which suggested the words mentioned, ver. 5—7, &c., yet it did not alter the temper and disposition of his mind; which was no less vain and ambitious than it was covetous, and possessed with a hatred of the Israelites; as appears by the counsel which he gave, at last, how to ruin them: this vanity seems to be expressed in these, and in the following words, wherein he magnifies himself more than the Spirit of God.

The man whose eyes are open] Who when he was awake received revelations from God, which was an extraordinary favour; for commonly he appeared to men in a dream. Others translate it, "whose eyes were shut," i. e. who was in a trance or ecstasy, so that he saw nothing with his bodily eyes, but only with his mind. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases these words (which shows he looked upon them as a boasting of himself), "The man said, who was honoured above his brethren; to whom that was revealed, which was hidden from all the prophets."

Ver. 4. *Which heard the words of God,*] Mark what he saith, who delivers the words which he received from God.

Which saw the vision of the Almighty,] With whom he was so familiar, that he himself, at last, appeared to him in a vision (ch. xxiii. 16), as at first he appeared to him by an angel (ch. xxii. 35).

Falling into a trance,] There being in the Hebrew only the word *nophel*, which signifies falling, we supply the sense by adding *into a trance*; lest any one

3 M 2

5 How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!

6 As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees beside the waters.

7 He shall pour the water out of his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters, and his

should think he fell to the ground, or fell asleep; which seems not to be the meaning; but that he was in a rapture, perceiving nothing by his outward senses. Yet the forementioned Targum takes it as if he had fallen flat on his face; and the LXX. translate it, "he saw the vision of God in sleep;" according to that, Gen. xv. 12, "a deep sleep fell upon Abraham;" where the word *naphela* is thought by some to give a good explication of *nophel* in this place.

Having his eyes open.] His mind being then possessed with a clear apprehension of things, which God revealed to him, when his senses were all locked up, and could discern nothing.

Ver. 5. *How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel.*] The same thing expressed in different words; which was an usual elegancy in those countries: wherein he declares his admiration of the beautiful order in which he saw them pitched in the plains of Moab.

Ver. 6. *As the valleys are they spread forth.*] This refers either to the tabernacles, which extended themselves on either side of a wide space, which, like a valley, lay between; or rather, to the Israelites themselves, whom he compares to the fruitful valleys which abound with water: for the Hebrew word signifies either valleys or brooks.

As gardens by the river's side.] Which were far more green and flourishing, cool and pleasant, than those that lay in dry places.

As the trees of lign aloes.] Growing in those gardens, or by the river's side; which perfumed the air by their sweet odours. For there are two sorts of *aloes* observed by the ancients; the one a tree which was very odoriferous, called *αλάμος* Ἰνδικός, and *Ερυθραίος*, growing in India and Arabia; and the other a plant or herb, out of which was pressed a purging juice: the former is often joined with myrrh in the Holy Scripture, and was burnt as a perfume, and called by the ancients *ἐλαστός* (as Salmasius observes in his Exercit. Plin. upon Solinus, p. 1053, 1054, &c.), which is the *lign* or *wood-aloes* here spoken of. And Plutarch, in his Symposiacs (lib. vi. cap. 7), saith, some were wont to colour their wine, *ἢ ἀλόαις, ἢ κυρραμύοις*, "either with aloes, or with cinnamons" (which is meant of this *wood-aloes*), which gave the wine a pleasant taste.

Which the Lord hath planted.] Which grew naturally of themselves (solo Dei nutu, as Bochartus glosses), without any labour, care, or art of men used about them.

As cedar trees beside the waters.] The cedar was one of the most goodly trees in those countries, upon many accounts, particularly for its fragancy; the Greeks being wont to burn the wood of it upon their altars, as the same Salmasius there observes (p. 951, 952). By all these metaphors, Balaam sets forth the present and future prosperity of the Israelites, and their fame, which spread itself into all nations round about: and seems to be represented by the sweet odours here mentioned.

Ver. 7. *He shall pour the water out of his buckets.*] I take this to be meant of God's pouring down rain abundantly, out of the clouds, upon the valleys, gar-

king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.

8 God brought him forth out of Egypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn: he shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them through with his arrows.

9 He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a

dens, and trees, unto which the Israelites are compared; signifying that they should be exceedingly blessed by him: for they stood in need of nothing more than rain in those countries.

His seed shall be in many waters.] Or, "by many waters;" i. e. be sown in a ground well watered, and consequently bring forth a plentiful crop (Isa. xxxii. 20). There are those who refer both these to their numerous posterity; procreation of children being sometimes expressed in Scripture by the metaphors of waters, and fountains, and cisterns, as every one knows. And both the LXX. and Onkelos interpret this of one particular person that should arise of their seed. For thus the former of them renders this part of the verse; "There shall come a Man out of his seed, who shall rule over many nations." And the latter of them paraphrases in this manner; "There shall be a great King, who shall be anointed of his children, and shall have dominion over many people;" which the Jerusalem Targum saith expressly is Christ: for thus this verse begins in that paraphrase: "A king shall arise out of his sons, and their Redeemer from among them," and thus concludes; "and the kingdom of the king Messias shall be magnificently exalted."

His king shall be higher than Agag.] This seems to have been the name of all the kings of the Amalekites (for we read of one called Agag long after this time, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 9), as Abimelech was the name of the Philistine kings, and Pharaoh of the Egyptian. And at this time, no nation thereabouts was in greater reputation than the Amalekites (ver. 20), who thought themselves able to obstruct the Israelites' passage into Canaan; and gave a very early proof of the high opinion of their own power and prowess, by attacking the Israelites as soon as they came out of Egypt. Balaam therefore foretells the king of Israel should be the greatest of all other (for he was acquainted with none higher than Agag); which some think hath a peculiar respect to their first king Saul, who subdued the Amalekites, and took Agag captive. But his successor was far greater than he; and the Jews themselves think this hath its full completion in the Lord Christ.

His kingdom shall be exalted.] They shall increase and multiply, till their kingdom be greatly enlarged; as it was in the days of David and Solomon, who were but shadows of the great king Messiah.

Ver. 8. *God brought him forth out of Egypt.*] All the power of Egypt could not detain them in slavery; but they came out from thence with a strong and high hand (Exod. xiii. 9, xiv. 8), and are grown a mighty people. See the foregoing chapter (ver. 22), where this hath been explained.

He shall eat up the nations.] Utterly destroy the seven nations of Canaan.

Shall break their bones.] So that they shall never recover their strength.

Pierce them through with his arrows.] Having given them their deadly wound: or, as some translate the Hebrew words, "break their arrows in pieces;" i. e. quite disarm them.

Ver. 9. *He couched, he lay down.*] He prophesies that the Israelites, having conquered the Canaanites,

great lion: who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.

10 ¶ And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together: and Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast altogether blessed them these three times.

11 Therefore now flee thou to thy place: I thought to promote thee unto great honour; but, lo, the Lord hath kept thee back from honour.

12 And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy messengers which thou sentest unto me, saying,

13 If Balak would give me his house full of

should settle in their land, and take their rest, and live securely: which he speaks of with such confidence, as if it were already done.

As a lion, and as a great lion:.] See ch. xxiii. 24, the signification of *ari* and *lahi*.

Who shall stir him up?] Give them any disturbance. It is observed of lions, that they do not betake themselves to remote or secret places, when they go to sleep; but lie down anywhere (as Oppianus describes them, lib. iii.), as if they understood, that, let them sleep where they pleased, nobody durst meddle with them (see Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 2), and therefore being applied to the Israelites, signifies such an absolute and secure possession of the land of Canaan, that none should have the boldness to assault, or give them any disquiet: which came to pass chiefly in the days of David and Solomon.

Blessed is he that blesseth thee, &c.] These are the very words wherewith Isaac concluded his blessing of his son Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 29), which God now confirmed from the mouth of one of their enemies, who spake, at this time, by his Spirit.

Ver. 10. *Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam.*] He could no longer forbear to express his indignation, to be thus treated by Balaam (whom he had sent for a great way, and entertained for some time), and therefore stopped him from proceeding, for the present, any further in his prophecy.

And he smote his hands together:.] A token of vehement anger (Ezek. xxi. 17).

Balak said unto Balaam.] It is likely he was so full of wrath, that he could not speak presently, but expressed it only in his looks and actions.

I called thee to curse mine enemies, &c.] Thou hast not said one word to my purpose, but all quite contrary.

These three times.] Though I have been at great expense, and built altars, and offered many sacrifices, in three several places; but at what distance of time, one from another, doth not appear.

Ver. 11. *Therefore now flee thou to thy place:.*] Get thee home immediately, and stay not a moment longer here; for that is imported in the word *flee*, which indicates that he could not endure the sight of him, while he remained thus angry: and, as he banished him his presence, so he commanded him to make all possible haste out of his country.

I thought to promote thee unto great honour:.] And to bestow as much wealth upon him as he desired; which is included in the word *honour* (ch. xxiii. 17).

Lo, the Lord.] Whom thou pretendest to obey.

Hath kept thee back from honour.] By not permitting thee to comply with my desire. It is uncertain whether these words were spoken in anger and scorn, or seriously and in good earnest; believing he was

silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine own mind; but what the Lord saith, that will I speak?

14 And now, behold, I go unto my people: come therefore, and I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days.

15 ¶ And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said:

16 He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open:

hindered by the Lord's will and pleasure from cursing Israel; which he had more reason to believe, than he had to hope he might obtain liberty to curse them (ch. xxiii. 27), and therefore was, without all reason, in this passion against Balaam.

Ver. 12. *Balaam said unto Balak.*] Prayed Balak to hear him patiently a few words before he departed.

Spake I not also to thy messengers—saying.] Did not I, before I saw thee, tell those that came to invite me to thee, the very same which I told thee afterward.

Ver. 13. *If Balak would give me, &c.*] So he told his messengers (ch. xxii. 18).

Of mine own mind:.] According as I please.

What the Lord saith, that will I speak:.] So he told Balak himself (ch. xxii. 38). All which he recalls to his mind, to show him that there was no cause for his anger, he having performed as much as he undertook; which was to follow God's directions, as he had done strictly. And it is likely, that by this just representation of what had passed between them, he brought Balak to a cooler temper, so that he suffered him to go on, to deliver what follows.

Ver. 14. *And now, behold, I go unto my people:.*] And now I will obey thee, as well as God, and be gone to my own country.

I will advertise thee, &c.] But before I go, permit me to give thee some advice. So the Hebrew word *jaatz* constantly signifies, "to give counsel." And so the Vulgar here translates it; but took it for the wicked advice, which we read, in the next chapter, was executed after Balaam's departure, and of which he was certainly the author (ch. xxxi. 16), and therefore thus translates the next words, "What thy people shall do unto this people." But the Hebrew text and the LXX. are directly contrary unto this; being as we translate the words, "What this people shall do to thy people." Therefore Onkelos, to take in the foregoing sense, without altering the latter part of the verse, puts in one word, and makes the whole run thus: "I will give thee counsel what to do, and (will show thee) what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days." And the Jerusalem Targum more largely and plainly, "I will advise thee what thou shalt do to this people; make them to sin: otherwise thou shalt not have dominion over them; but this people shall not domineer over thy people in the latter end of days."

In the latter days.] In future ages. This shows the foregoing words do not speak of what Moab should do to Israel by his advice; for that was done as soon as he was gone.

Ver. 15. *Balaam, the son of Beor hath said.*] This was the preface to his foregoing prophecy (see ver. 3).

Ver. 16. *He hath said, which heard the words of God, &c.*] This verse also is the same with the fourth, only a few words added, "And knew the knowledge

17 I shall see him, but not now : I shall behold him, but not nigh : there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of

Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth.

18 And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also

of the Most High;" which he adds, to show his intimate acquaintance with the supreme Lord of the world. For he speaks of God in the very same style which Moses doth, calling him both *El* and *Schaddai*, and *Elijon*, and *Jehovah*; which demonstrates that he was not a stranger to the true God, though corrupted with bad affections, and addicted also to foul superstitions.

Ver. 17. *I shall see him,*] Or, *I do see him* (for the future tense is often used for the present); that is, he saw the person of whom he was going to speak, represented to him in a vision.

But not now :] He saw him not as in being, now at present, but to come in future times.

I shall behold him, but not nigh :] The same thing in other words; but more plainly telling them, they must not expect this person in their time, nor in the next generation, but in remoter ages.

There shall come a Star out of Jacob,] A star denotes a great person; and being understood to be spoken of Christ, it denotes his celestial original. And both Onkelos, and Jonathan, and the Jerusalem Targum take the Messiah to be here meant; and so doth R. Moses Haddarsan, and Bereschith Rabbath, and a great many Christian interpreters (as Huetius observes, in his *Demonstr. Evang. propos. vii. sect. 9*), particularly Eusebius and Cyril of Alexandria: who, in his eighth book against Julian confutes his exposition of these words, which is this: *Τὸν δὲ τῷ Δαβὶδ προσήκει καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, προδρόμους ἐστὶ πῶν*. "That this belongs to David, and to his successors, is sufficiently manifest." To which St. Cyril replies, that if Balaam had spoken of David, and the kings of Israel, he would have said, "There shall arise stars out of Jacob," &c., whereas he speaks of one alone, *ὅσον ἐν ἀστροῖς ἐκπύρην*, "as very illustrious among the stars;" which, it is evident, can be none but Christ. Unto which I shall add the words of a later writer of the Jewish nation, R. Isaac, in his *Illumin. Fidei*, set forth not long ago by the learned Wagensell, where he argues, this cannot be understood of David, or any other king of Israel, because none of them ever reigned all over the earth (i. e. over all the children of Sheth, whom none of them destroyed), but it is meant, he concludes, of the Messiah; who is compared to a star, because of the perennity of his kingdom, and the splendour of his dominion, and his great acts throughout the world, p. 72 and 80, where he makes this a prophecy of one kingdom alone to be in the world, viz., that of the Israelites, who are called "the people of the saints of the Most High," Dan. vii. 87, which is true enough, if he had understood the right meaning of Israelites; who are those, not after the flesh, but after the spirit.

It is not fit to conclude this without one observation more: that so long ago as the time of the Emperor Adrian, this was understood by the generality of the Jews to be a prophecy of the Messiah. For they followed one whose name was *Chocob* (i. e. a star), to whom the famous R. Akiba (a doctor, who, they say, had four-and-twenty thousand scholars) applied these words of Balaam, and calling him *Barchocob*, i. e. "the son of a star," anointed him their king, and carried a sword before him, crying, "Behold the very king Messiah!" This is reported by the Jews themselves in Tzenach David, and several other books: all which, I think, doth not hinder, but that king David may be hereby signified in the first sense; though as

a type of the Messiah, the great son of David, in whom it was completed.

A Sceptre shall rise out of Israel,] This some think may first have a respect to David, and then to the Messiah, the king of Israel. But the Chaldee paraphrast refers the whole to Christ, whose words are these, "A king shall arise out of the house of Jacob, and the Messiah shall be anointed of the house of Israel." Nor is it any wonder that Balaam should prophesy of him so many years before he was born; and so plainly, that Moses himself doth not speak in plainer terms: but it is to be looked upon as the effect of God's infinite goodness, who would not have those, that were not of the seed of Abraham, to be wholly ignorant of what he intended to do for all mankind. And this was necessary to be plainly told them, because otherwise they would not have understood it.

Smite the corners of Moab,] The latter part of this prophecy, Huetius thinks, belongs to David, as the former part to Christ: which was the opinion of Maimonides, who divided the prophecy between them. And this was indeed literally fulfilled in David, who subdued the Moabites entirely, as we read 2 Sam. viii. 8; Ps. lx. 8, cviii. 9. Some translate these words, "he shall smite through the princes of Moab." So the LXX., *τοὺς ἀρχηγούς Μοαβ*: which doth not alter the sense. And it is no unusual thing with the prophets when they intend to speak of something nearer to them, to be transported by the Spirit of God, to speak of things a great deal more remote. As Balaam, first foretelling a great Ruler should come out of Jacob, first speaks of the greatest of all, above fourteen hundred years after this time; and then of David, who reigned about four hundred years after this.

Destroy all the children of Sheth.] They who interpret this of David, take Sheth to have been some great person in that country, or some place of great note, the inhabitants of which are here threatened to be destroyed. But these are mere conjectures, which have no foundation in history; whereas, if we understand it of Christ, and translate the first word, *not he shall destroy*, but (as Castalio and others do), *he shall rule over*, that sense is very remarkable; it being a prophecy, that, in the times of the Messiah, there shall be no longer such a distinction as God now made between the Israelites and other nations by the peculiar laws he gave them at their entrance into Canaan), but all mankind, who are equally descended from Seth, shall be united under his government. And thus not only Lyranus, and Abulensis, and others interpret it, but Onkelos also, whose words are, "He shall have dominion over all the sons of men:" for he thought it reasonable, by the *children of Sheth*, to understand all mankind who were propagated from him, who succeeded in the place of Abel that was killed; all the seed of Cain perishing in the flood.

Ver. 18. *Edom shall be a possession,*] So it was in the days of David (2 Sam. viii. 14).

Seir also shall be a possession] This was a famous mount in the country of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 8), and being the strongest part of the country, may signify here, that no place should be able to hold out, though never so strongly fortified by nature or art. And so we read they all became David's servants, 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Chron. xviii. 13.

For his enemies;] i. e. For the Israelites.

Israel shall do valiantly,] For they subdued in those

shall be a possession for his enemies; and Israel shall do valiantly.

19 Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city.

20 ¶ And when he looked on Amalek, he took up his parable, and said, Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.

days many other countries; as we read in the fore-named chapters (2 Sam. viii. 1 Chron. xviii.).

Ver. 19. *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion.*] This may relate to Christ as well as to David, in whom it was literally fulfilled. And so Balaam-Hatturim observes, that (ver. 16), it is said of Balaam that he "knew the mind of the Most High," for he prophesied of the Messiah, when he said, "out of Jacob shall one come that shall have dominion." The word *verd*, as the Masora notes, is used only here, and in Psalm lxxii. 8, where the Psalmist describes, the universal kingdom of Christ in these words, "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the end of the earth.

Shall destroy him that remaineth of the city.] Not only rout them in the field, but take their defended cities: and it is likely, he particularly aims at some great city, and best fortified, which was the metropolis, and the strongest hold in the kingdom; such a one there was in Edom, as the Psalmist suggests (Ps. lx. 9).

Ver. 20. *When he looked on Amalek,*] On the country which the Amalekites inhabited.

He took up his parable.] See ver. 3.

Amalek was the first of the nations;] The most eminent among the neighbouring nations, or one of the most noble, as Bochart renders it, gens una è nobilissimis.

But his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.] This God commanded Saul to execute (1 Sam. xv. 3), according to the doom passed upon them, after their fight with Israel (Exod. xvii. 14, 16), and he lost his kingdom for doing his work imperfectly; which the Vulgar Latin takes to be the meaning of the seventh verse of this chapter. Onkelos paraphrases the whole verse in this manner: "Amalek was the beginning of the wars with Israel, therefore his end shall be to perish for ever." The Jerusalem Targum more plainly, "The Amalekites were the first people that made war against Israel; and in the latter days they shall make war against them," &c.

Ver. 21. *He looked on the Kenites,*] He standing now upon the top of Peor, which was, it is likely, the highest place of the country (for which reason Balak brought him thither, after he had tried other high places, ch. xxiii. 28), might see a great way, and possibly behold the very rocks wherein the Kenites dwelt. But what people are meant by this name, is not clearly evident: for there were a people called Kenites, who were part of the nation that inhabited the land of Canaan (Gen. xv. 19): these cannot be here intended; for they were too far off from this place. And as for the Kenites mentioned in Judges i. 16, iv. 11, who dwelt among the Israelites when they came into Canaan, they had as yet no fixed state, but were with them in the wilderness. Therefore it is likely, they were some of the kindred of Jethro (originally derived from the same family that he was of), who remained in Midian; and adjoined so close to the country of the Amalekites, that they are said to dwell among them (1 Sam. xv. 6). For it is plain, the word *Keni* in Hebrew is the name of a people, not of a particular person: and there might be a great many of them; some in Canaan, others in Midian; and of these

21 And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable, and said, Strong is thy dwellingplace, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock.

22 Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.

23 And he took up his parable, and said, Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!

24 And ships shall come from the coast of

latter, some went with the Israelites into Canaan when they conquered it, and others remained still in their own country; they seem all to have been descended from one Ken, or Kain, mentioned Judges iv. 11, (as Scaliger conjectures in his Elenchus Trihæres, cap. 23) Jethro's posterity being but one family of this people.

Strong is thy dwelling place.] They were but a small people, who dwelt upon steep mountains.

Thou puttest thy nest in a rock.] This is but a further description of their country in other words: for *nest* signifies their habitation; only it seems to import that their dwelling was little, in craggy mountains, where they looked upon themselves as very safe and secure, the access to them being very difficult: and from hence, I suppose, they were called Shelanites (as both the Jerusalem Targum and Onkelos here term them instead of Kenites), i. e. peaceable people; because nobody meddled with them, nor they with any body.

Ver. 22. *The Kenite shall be wasted,*] By little and little diminished.

Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.] Till at last they were all carried away by the Assyrians, when they overran Syria (2 Kings xvi. 9).

Ver. 23. *He took up his parable, and said,*] Having rested awhile, he sighed, and said aloud (see ver. 3).

Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!] What miserable times will those be, when the Assyrians shall overrun a great part of the world! how few will escape their devastation! or, who would not desire rather to die, than live in those days!

But some, I observe, refer this not to what goes before, but to what follows; which relates to the desolations made by the following empires, especially the Roman.

Ver. 24. *Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim.*] Whether this prophecy hath respect (in the word Chittim) to the Greeks or to the Romans, or to both, it was plainly fulfilled, as the learned Huetius observes. But it must be noted, that not only St. Jerome, but Onkelos, and Jonathan, and the Jerusalem interpreter, and the Arabic, understand by Chittim the country of Italy, or some part thereof. And Bochartus proves, by many arguments, that the people of that country did descend from Chittim (see Gen. x. 4). Yet it is not likely that Chittim, being the son of Javan who peopled Greece, went so far at first from the rest of his brethren; but his children peopled some part thereabouts: from whence, in aftertimes, when they were increased, they sent colonies into Italy; particularly Macedonia is called by the name of Chittim, in the Book of Maccabees (1 Mac. i. 1, viii. 5); and therefore I take the Greeks under Alexander to be here intended in the first place, and then the Romans in the next; each of them fulfilling the several parts of this prophecy.

Shall afflict Asshur.] This was done by Alexander, who overthrew the Persian empire, which ruled over the Chaldeans and Assyrians. So Theodoret understands the word Chittim, to signify Alexander and his Macedonians, whose country was anciently called

Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.

Maxæria, as Hesychius tells us, they being a mixture (as Mr. Mede probably conjectures in his forty-eighth Discourse, p. 377), of the sons of Madai and Chittim. The Romans, indeed, afterward overthrew the Greek empire, but we do not read that they made war against the Assyrians till the time of Trajan, who subdued them, and reduced them into a province, as Dio relates (lib. lxxviii.).

Shall afflict Eber.] This was done by the Romans, not by the Grecians. For we are to understand by Eber, the Hebrew nation, called the *children of Eber*, Gen. x. 21. So the LXX. translate it, *τοὶ Ἑβραῖοι*: the name of Hebrews being as plainly derived from Eber, as that of the Jews from Judah. Now they were not afflicted by Alexander in his conquests, but rather kindly treated by him: and therefore this cannot be meant of the Greeks; unless we will think it fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, who descended indeed from the Macedonians, but did not come from that country; nor did he afflict them long, much less make them desolate, as the Romans under Vespasian and Titus did; which seems to be here intended.

He also shall perish for ever.] This doth not refer to Eber, but to the nation that afflicted him, viz. the Roman empire; which he prophesies shall not always afflict others, but at last be utterly destroyed itself. Aben Ezra, indeed, refers it to the kingdom of the

25 And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his place: and Balak also went his way.

Seleucidæ, or the Greek empire: but R. Isaac, before mentioned, thinks the destruction of the Romans is intended in this prophecy; only he fancies it is to be accomplished by a Christ not yet come.

Ver. 25. *Balaam rose up, and went*] As Balak had commanded him (ver. 11).

And returned to his place:] Unto his country, viz. Mesopotamia. But he was detained by the Midianites in his passage thither: among whom he was slain, as we read in the thirty-first chapter: for men are said to do that which they design and endeavour to do (Exod. viii. 18; Numb. xiv. 40). If this be not the meaning, then, after he came to his own country, he returned to the Midianites, at their entreaty, or by his own inclination; and (either as he was going home, or when he came back) gave that impious counsel which was executed not long after this, as we find in the next chapter: for that he was the author of it, we are assured by three Divine writers (see 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude, ver. 11; Rev. ii. 14).

It is a strange exposition which Baal Hatturim gives of his going to his place; that is, saith he, *he went down into hell*. But it may serve to confirm the common interpretation of that which is said of Judas, Acts i. 25.

Balak also went his way.] To Kiriah-Huzoth, I suppose, mentioned ch. xxii. 39.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 Israel at Shittim commit whoredom and idolatry. 6 Phinehas killeth Zimri and Cozbi. 10 God therefore giveth him an everlasting priesthood. 16 The Midianites are to be vexed.

1 AND Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab.

2 And they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods: and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods.

CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *Israel abode in Shittim.*] A place in the plains of Moab (where they lay, while the forementioned things were transacted, ch. xxii. 1), called Abel-Shittim, ch. xxxiii. 49, but it is usual to cut off the former part of a place's name, for shortness' sake: as in this very book (ch. xxxii. 38), Baal-meon for Beth-Baal-meon, as it is called, Josh. xiii. 17, and Hermon commonly for Baal-Hermon; and Nimrim for Beth-Nimrim. To which may be added, Salem for Jerusalem (Ps. lxxvi. 3). This station was the last which the Israelites made, while they remained in the wilderness; in which the rest of the things that follow, to the end of the book of Deuteronomy were done.

The people began to commit whoredom] Both bodily and spiritual; into which they fell not long after Balaam was gone from Balak: though not all the people fell into this guilt, but a great many of them: as appears from what follows (ver. 4—6).

With the daughters of Moab.] And of Midian also, as we learn from ver. 6, 17, 18. But those of Moab are here alone mentioned; because, it is likely, they began this wicked practice. I see no ground for what Greg. Nyssen saith, that the Israelites having vanquished the Moabites in a battle, fell in love with the captives which they had taken, being overcome by lust, when they had been victorious in war; as he speaks, lib. De Vita Mosis, p. 186. It is something more probable, that the prophecy of Balaam being spread abroad among the Moabites concerning the

great blessings God designed to bestow upon the Israelites, particularly that of the Messiah, it might excite in the women of Moab a desire to have children by the men of Israel, that they might partake in their blessings; unto which they might think they had some title, being descended from the eldest daughter of Lot, the son of Abraham's brother. This might pass for truth, if it were not very evident from the following story, that the daughters of Moab exposed themselves, by Balaam's counsel, to the lust of the Israelites, that by this means they might seduce them to idolatry, and so make them lose the blessings intended for them. For that this was done by Balaam's advice, there is no doubt (see ch. xxxi. 16). And the Jews have also a conceit that he ever had been an enemy unto Israel, being one of Pharaoh's privy-council, who advised him to drown their children; as the tale is told in the Talmud, in the title Sanhedrin, cap. ult. But this is to make him to have been now of a greater age than we have reason to believe (viz. two hundred and ten years old, according to their own computation), and quite contrary to what others of them say, that he lived but half his time, according to the Psalmist (Ps. lv. 23).

Ver. 2. *And they*] That is, the daughters of Moab. *Called the people*] Invited them to a feast: for the ordinary charms unto idolatry, were good victuals and bad women.

Unto the sacrifices of their gods:] To eat of the sacrifices which had been offered to their gods, particularly to Baal-Peor. These feasts upon their sacrifices were very magnificent among the heathen, being

3 And Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor: and the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel.

4 And the LORD said unto Moses, Take all

the heads of the people, and hang them up before the LORD against the sun, that the fierce anger of the LORD may be turned away from Israel.

accompanied with music and dancing, and sometimes pompous processions, which enticed youthful minds to partake of them. Here the Israelites, casting their eyes upon the daughters of Moab (which doubtless on this occasion appeared in the best dress and richest ornaments), were smitten with their beauty, and courted their enjoyment; who would not yield to this motion, but upon condition that they would first worship their gods; whereupon, pulling a little image of Peor out of their bosom, they presented it to the Israelites to kiss it, and desired them to eat of the sacrifices that had been offered to him. Thus the Jewish doctors tell the story. And indeed it hath been observed by the writers of the church, that women have been the most dangerous seducers of men from the true religion; being from the beginning the spreaders of the old heresies. For Simon Magus advanced his heresy, Helena meretricis adjutus auxilio, "being assisted by the help of the harlot Helena." Nicolaus of Antioch also, choros duxit fœmineos. The famous Marcion sent before him some Roman ladies to prepare his way. Apelles, Montanus, Arius, Donatus, did all take the same course; as St. Jerome shows in his book *Adversus Pelagianos*.

The people did eat.] Which was an act of idolatry (as to eat of the Lord's sacrifices was an act of Divine worship), whereby they owned themselves the servants of the gods of Moab (see Exod. xxxiv. 15).

Bowed down to their gods.] This was still a more plain act of idolatrous worship, expressly forbidden by God in the second commandment.

Ver. 3. *Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor:*] This seems to signify, that they were devoted to the service of this idol in great affection; with which they performed the forenamed actions. The Jews commonly take this Baal-Peor to have been no better than a Priapus; and the worship of him to have consisted in such obscene practices, or postures at least, as are not fit to be named. Particularly their great commentary upon Numbers saith, that the Israelites being unwilling to enjoy their women upon those terms, they told them they needed only to uncover their nakedness before Baal-Peor, which was all the worship required of them: unto which they easily submitted. This Maimonides relates for a truth, that his worship consisted in revealing their secret parts before him (*More Nevochim*, par. iii. cap. 45). But Solomon Jarchi goes further, making this worship to consist in actions as ridiculous as they were beastly. All which seems to me very unlikely, and so it doth to several men of great judgment, particularly Mr. Selden; who thinks, with great probability, that Peor (as I observed before, ch. xxiii. 26), being the name of a mount in the country of Moab, the temple of Baal stood upon it (by whom some understand Saturn, others the sun, which is most likely), and thence he was called Baal-Peor, because there he was especially worshipped; as Jupiter was called Olympius, because he was worshipped in a famous temple, which stood on the mountain Olympus. And every one knows, that anciently they chose the highest mountains, before all other places, for the Divine service; insomuch, that at Jerusalem the temple was set upon the hill of Sion, which the Psalmist saith God preferred before all other places (*Ps. lxxviii. 68*). Or Peor, perhaps, was the name of some great prince (as the same Mr. Selden conjectures), translated into the number of the gods: for the Psalmist saith (*Ps.*

cvi. 28), that when they worshipped Baal-Peor, *they ate the sacrifices of the dead*; which seems to signify, that in him they worshipped some dead man, who perhaps was the first institutor of this worship, whatsoever it was. Another great man of our own nation hath said much to strengthen this opinion; having shown at large, that the ancient heathens were wont to deify the souls of men, and canonize them after death: and these were called Baalim, being accounted an inferior sort of deities, who they fancied were ministers for them to their celestial gods (see Mr. Mede, book iii. p. 724, &c.). Yet it must be acknowledged, that there are others of great note who take all for truth which the Jewish writers report concerning the filthy worship of Baal-Peor, and imagine that fornication was a part of it; as in future times it was both among the Greeks and Romans, in the worship of some of their gods. For what the Jews found then practised, they fancied was done in these early days; but it was observable, that the more ancient the books of the Jews are, which speak of this matter, the less they say of the impurities in the service of Baal-Peor. For example, the Jerusalem Talmud had none of that lewd stuff in it, which Solomon Jarchi, upon this place, took out of the Babylonian; which was composed long after the former.

The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel.] As appeared immediately, by the severe punishment he inflicted on them, both for their idolatry and for their fornication.

Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up] The plain meaning seems to be, that he should take, i. e. cause to be apprehended, "the heads of the people," i. e. the rulers of thousands and hundreds, and other principal persons in their tribes, who had been guilty of the foul idolatry before mentioned; and by *hanging them up*, put a stop to the people's lewdness, when they saw these great men made public examples of God's displeasure. For it is very likely, more of the princes of the people were guilty besides Zimri; especially if it be true, which the Samaritan Chronicle affirms, that the daughters of the chief men of Moab were sent finely dressed to allure the Israelites; and one of the king's daughters among the rest. But, though the LXX. and the Vulgar, and Symmachus, thus understand it, that he commanded the heads of the people to be hanged up; yet a great many other ancient translators, and many famous doctors, take the word *otham* (*them* whom he commanded to be hanged up) not to refer to the heads of the people, but to such as had joined themselves to Baal-Peor: and they interpret the foregoing words, as if he had bid him "take unto him (i. e. to his assistance) the heads of the people," as they think he did, as is related in the next verse. The judges indeed, there mentioned, seem to be distinct from "the heads of the people;" and Moses did not take them to his assistance, but commanded them to do their duty. Yet it must be acknowledged that there is a great current of interpreters which runs the other way; as if Moses was commanded to order the judges to assemble and call before them such as were suspected; and having examined the fact, accordingly proceed against them, and punished such as had offended. Thus the Samaritan copy reads it expressly, and so Onkelos, and the paraphrast called Uzzielides, and the Jerusalem Targum, and the Arabic translation of Saadia Gaon: and both the Talmudists and Karaites

5 And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that were joined unto Baal-peor.

6 ¶ And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.

agree in this sense, as Mr. Selden shows at large, lib. ii. De Synedriis, cap. 1, n. 10, and Joh. Coch upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 4, sect. 4, where he observes that Aben Ezra, and Solomon Jarchi thus interpret it, and takes the meaning to be certain, that the heads of the people should divide themselves into several courts of judgment, and examine who had committed idolatry; and after conviction cause them to be hanged. For there is great reason to think the constitution of judges, by Jethro's advice, continued all the time they were in the wilderness; who might easily find out the guilty in their several divisions.

Before the Lord] i. e. Before the sanctuary; as men who had forsaken the worship of their God, and by his sentence were adjudged to die.

Against the sun,] Openly, that all the people might see, and fear to sin. So both R. Solomon and Aben Ezra expound it. For this was a peculiar mark of the Divine displeasure against idolaters and blasphemers, that they should be hanged up, and publicly exposed, after they had suffered death. For none were hanged alive among the Hebrews; but first stoned (which was the common punishment of the forenamed offenders), and then hanged up in the eyes of all; as R. Solomon expounds this phrase *against the sun*.

That the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away] By their zeal to vindicate the Divine honour.

Ver. 5. *Moses said unto the judges*] Some take these for the seventy elders, mentioned ch. xi. 25.

Slay ye] By hanging them up, as some understand it. But the Hebrew word imports killing with the sword; which they commanded their officers to do, with the assistance of such as abhorred the wickedness of their neighbours.

Every one his men] The seventy elders, being appointed to be coadjutors to Moses in the government, made a division of the people, it is most likely, into so many districts: and each of them having the charge of one, all the people therein are called *his men*; of whom he was to give an account.

That were joined unto Baal-peor.] Who were so well known, that there was no danger of slaying the innocent.

Ver. 6. *And, behold,*] This which follows is the more wonderful, if the judges had already begun to execute the foregoing command; and argues Zimri to have been very impudently wicked, who thought himself so great a man, that no judge durst meddle with him.

One—brought unto his brethren] In the camp of Israel, or into the tent where his own family dwelt.

A Midianitish woman] By which it appears that both nations, Moab and Midian, were in this plot against Israel.

In the sight of Moses,] A high contempt of his authority: and of God's also, whose servant Moses was.

In the sight of all the congregation] This seems to be a further aggravation of his sin, that he was not content to go to the women who invited them (ver. 2), but brought one of them along with him into the camp of Israel; and this he did before the face of all

7 And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from among the congregation, and took a javelin in his hand;

8 And he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel.

the people, as well as of Moses; and that when they were mourning for this sin, as it here follows.

Who were weeping before the door] This shows, that though there were great numbers engaged in this defection, yet the generality of the people clave unto the Lord, and bewailed the wickedness of their brethren, most earnestly imploring God's mercy towards them.

Ver. 7. *When Phinehas,*] A man of great authority, being next to the high-priest, whom he succeeded in his office, as he did Joshua (if we may believe some writers) in the government of all Israel.

He rose up] His spirit (as St. Luke speaks of St. Paul) was stirred in him; and being inspired with a holy zeal was moved to do what follows.

From among the congregation,] Who were weeping at the door of the tabernacle; or rather, from among the judges with whom he was assembled, being one of them: so Jonathan; he rose up "from the midst of the Sanhedrin." For, as Bonav. Cornel. Bertramus thinks, Eleazar, after the death of Aaron, appointed his son Phinehas to be prince of the Levites; which he thinks appeared, not only from his rising up here, from the midst of the judges of Israel, but from the embassy, wherein he was employed by Joshua, unto the Reubenites, &c., beyond Jordan, Josh. xxii. 14, and from 1 Chron. ix. 20, where he is said to be ruler over the Korahites;" which signifies, he thinks, such a pre-eminence as Eleazar himself had over the Levites, while his father Aaron lived (De Reub. Jud. cap. 15). And indeed the Psalmist saith, that Phinehas stood up "and executed judgment" (Ps. cvi. 39), which seems to import that he acted as a judge, but by an extraordinary motion: which made him kill the offenders with his own hands, without a judicial process against them.

Took a javelin in his hand;] Or a sword, as Josephus calls it; which he snatched out of the hand of Moses, as the tradition is in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 47.

Ver. 8. *He went after the man of Israel into the tent,*] It is an unusual word in the Hebrew which we translate *tent*; importing a private, secret place like a cave, as *kubba* or *kubba* is thought to signify, which the Arabians call *alcobba*; from whence comes the word *alcave*; which signifies, as Bochartus observes, *conclave camerati operis, quo lectus circumdatur*; "a room of arched work, which encloses a bed in it" (see his Hierozoicon, par. i. p. ult.).

Thrust both of them through,] This he did, saith Philo, *προσθάζωντος Μωϋσως*, "by the command of Moses;" but should rather have said, by a Divine investigation; which he followed, when the rest of the judges were afraid (as some conceive) to meddle with so great a man as Zimri was. And upon this fact, the Jews ground that which they call the *judgment of zeal*, which authorized them, who were full of zeal, to punish such as blasphemed God, or profaned the temple, &c., in the presence of ten men of Israel, without a formal process against them. Thus Matthias killed a Jew who sacrificed after the manner of the Greeks (1 Macc. ii. 24); and three hundred others were killed by their countrymen, as is related

9 And those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand.

10 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

11 Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away

in the book commonly called the Third Book of Maccabees. And upon the pretence of such zeal, St. Paul intended to be killed, &c. as Grotius observes (lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 20. sect. 9. and see Selden De Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. iv. cap. 4). But this judgment (as they call it) seems not to be well grounded upon the fact of Phineas, who was a public person, and had an extraordinary motion, not to be imitated by private men; nor was it followed till the latter times of the state of that nation.

Through her belly.] The Vulgar hath it, "through her secret parts." And so the Jews in Pirke Eliezer (cap. 47), and in other books, such as Pesikta and Siphri; where they make many miracles to have concurred in this fact; particularly, they say, that the relations of Zimri going to fall upon Phineas for killing their prince, the angel of the Lord smote them, and cut them off.

So the plague was stayed.] It seems a pestilential disease (as Josephus calls it) swept away many of the offenders, who could not so speedily be punished by the judges: but it stopped immediately upon this pious act of Phineas.

Ver. 9. *Those that died—were twenty and four thousand.*] There were but twenty and three thousand who died of the plague itself, as the apostle tells us (1 Cor. x. 8), but there were a thousand more taken off in the plague time, or during the plague, as the Hebrew words may be read: for, in the twenty and four thousand, Moses comprehends all those who were killed by the sword, in the day of the plague (as the phrase is ver. 18), whereas St. Paul reckons those only who died of the pestilence, as many have observed, particularly Bochartus (lib. ii. Hieroz. cap. 34. par. i.). It is probable, that from hence it was, that the author of the Samaritan Chronicle took up a conceit, that the king of Moab sent twenty-four thousand damsels to seduce the Israelites; as Hottinger reports his words, in his Smegma Orientale (cap. 8. p. 418).

Ver. 10.] After the plague was stayed, it is likely, Moses went into the tabernacle to give God thanks for his mercy to his people; and then he spake to him what here follows.

Ver. 11. *Phineas,—hath turned my wrath away.*] Though they wept and mourned before the door of the tabernacle, yet that did not prevail so much for mercy as this heroic act of justice.

While he was zealous for my sake.] With a fervent and courageous affection vindicated the Divine honour, by a speedy punishment of those notorious offenders.

That I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy.] Did not proceed to destroy them by the pestilence, when I was so highly incensed against them. For it is observed by Herodotus himself in his Euterpe, that τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλας εἶναι καὶ τιμωρίας παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "for great crimes there are as great punishments sent from God;" which is necessary for the public good: for naless, by such means, a stop be put to open impurities, to murders, and such like crimes, not only all civil society will be overturned, but nations become so wicked, that they will be fit for nothing but to be rooted out, by the Divine vengeance, as the Canaanites were. Thus

from the children of Israel, while he was zealous for my sake among them, that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy.

12 Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace:

13 And he shall have it, and his seed after

Cicero discourses (Philip. viii.). In corpore, si quid ejusmodi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, &c. "In the body, if there be any thing which hurts the rest of the body, it is necessary to cut it off, or to burn it, that some one member, rather than the whole body perish; and so it is in the body of the commonwealth:" ut totum saluum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur; "that the whole may be preserved, let that which is infectious be lopped off."

Ver. 12. *Wherefore say,*] Unto Phineas, or unto all the people.

Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace.] The word *peace*, in Scripture, comprehends all manner of blessings; and therefore this is a solemn promise and engagement to make him and his family prosperous: the particular blessing which he entails upon him, following in the next verse. But some will have this to signify, that he should be the great reconciler of God to his people, and make peace between them hereafter, as he had done at present. Philo seems to think this and the priesthood to be two distinct things; when he saith, "God crowned his piety διτταῖς δωρεαῖς, εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἱερωσύνῃ, with two gifts, peace and the priesthood." And the Jews make peace to consist in a long life of prosperity; which was fulfilled in Phineas' person, who lived till the latter times of the judges (Judg. xxi. 28). Pirke Eliezer interprets it, "He gave him the life of this world, and of the next."

Ver. 13. *He shall have it, and his seed after him,*] It shall continue in his family.

Even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.] This is the particular happiness which God settled upon him and his posterity, as long as their state lasted; which was with some limitation, it appears by this, that after some successions in the line of Phineas, the priesthood came, for a time, into the family of Eli, who was descended from Ithamar the youngest son of Aaron: the reason of it is not mentioned in the Scripture; but some great sin, it is reasonable to suppose, provoked God to set aside the line of Eleazar for some years, till Eli's sons also became so wicked, that the priesthood was taken from them, and restored in the days of Solomon to the posterity of Phineas, with whom it continued as long as the priesthood lasted. What sin this was, and when committed, we do not know. Some of the Hebrew doctors are so bold as to say, it was because Phineas would not absolve Jephthah from his vow, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. i. De Success. in Pontif. cap. 2). But as there is no ground for this and such-like fancies, which others of them have, so it is more probable that some of Phineas' successors offended, rather than he himself; his posterity for four generations holding the priesthood, before it was translated to Eli, as Josephus and others (mentioned by Selden in the place before named) make account.

Egidius Camartus, in his book De Rebus Eliæ, cap. 3. sect. 5. and Cornel. Bertram, cap. 15. De Repub. Jud. imagine, that in those confused times, none of the priests were found fit to administer the affairs of the nation, but Eli alone; and therefore he was appointed by God to it, as appears from 1 Sam. ii. 30. But L'Empeur, in his annotations upon Bertram, well observes, that it being the constant course of God's proceedings, to continue his mercies

him, *even* the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel.

14 Now the name of the Israelite that was slain, *even* that was slain with the Midianitish woman, *was* Zimri, the Son of Salu, a prince of a chief house among the Simeonites.

15 And the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain *was* Cozbi, the daughter of Zur;

to the Israelites, according to his promise, while they were obedient, but to take them away when they became disobedient; it is highly reasonable to conclude there was some great offence given to God by some of the race of Phineas, which was the cause that they lost this dignity; but so constant was God to his promise, that he preserved his line in a continued succession of twelve persons, from Phineas to Azariah, who "executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem," as we read 1 Chron. vi. 4. to the 10th: from which time, to the captivity of Babylon, there were nine more, as we read there in the following verses: and after the end of the captivity, unto the time of Antiochus Eupator, the Jews reckon fifteen more, the last of which, Onias, was killed by Lysias; and after him there were eight of the family of the Asmonæi; the last of which, Aristobolus, was killed by Herod, who after that made whom he pleased.

Because he was zealous for his God.] God, who searches the hearts, saw that this motion proceeded not from any private passion, but out of pure love and fervent affection to him, and from indignation to see his Divine Majesty so affronted. For zeal is a mixed affection of love and anger.

Made an atonement.] Procured a pardon for all his brethren, ἀποκατεστά και ἐξελουργη ποιού (as Philo expresses it), "by his uncommanded and spontaneous diligence" to vindicate God's honour, flowing from his sincere devotion to God's service.

Ver. 14. *The name of the Israelite that was slain.*] God would have his name stand upon record, partly to make it infamous, and partly to do honour to Phineas, who durst venture to set upon a man who had so great an interest in his tribe, as is mentioned in the next words.

Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince] Not the chief of the whole tribe, but of a great family in that tribe.

Of a chief house among the Simeonites.] In the Hebrew the words are, "of a house of a father." For the tribes were divided into families, and these into houses, every one of which had a head or chief (see the first chapter of this book, ver. 2), and Zimri was one of those principal persons, though not prince of all the Simeonites.

Ver. 15. *The name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur.*] This is set down also, to show how little Phineas feared the great men, either in Israel, or elsewhere: for Zur is reckoned afterward as one of the kings of Midian (ch. xxxi. 8), or princes (Josh. xiii. 21).

He was head over a people, and of a chief house in Midian.] The Hebrew word *umnoth* (which we translate *people*) signifies *nations*; so that if we translate these words exactly, they sound thus, "he was head of nations, of a house of a father in Midian;" that is, chief of divers families, who all sprung from the same father or original in that country.

he *was* head over a people, and of a chief house in Midian.

16 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 17 Vex the Midianites, and smite them:

18 For they vex you with their wives, where-with they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of a prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain in the day of the plague for Peor's sake.

Ver. 16. Some time after this, though not long (as appears from ch. xxxi. 1, 2), but a little before Moses' death.

Ver. 17. *Vex the Midianites.*] Among whom this pernicious contrivance was hatched: for Balak being so incensed against Balaam, that he bade him begone, in all haste out of this country (ch. xxiv. 11), Balaam would not stay to propound unto him this mischievous advice which was in his head, but went to the Midianites, and there discovered it; which was the same thing, he knew, as if he had acquainted Balak with it, there being a great friendship between the two nations (ch. xxxii. 4). It is likely, also, that the Midianites were the first that advised Balaam should be sent for, which made their guilt the greater: but the Moabites did not escape, though (for Lot's sake, perhaps, Dent. ii. 9.) their punishment was deferred till future times, as Balaam prophesied (ch. xxiv. 17), and they were also excluded, by a law made immediately after this, from the society of the Israelites, for this very fact (ch. xxiii. 3, 4).

Smite them.] With the sword: as we find they did, ch. xxxi.

Ver. 18. *For they vex you with their wives.*] Have sorely distressed you by their subtle devices.

Wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor.] Drawn you in to commit foul idolatry. Here Peor, which was a mountain in Moab, where Baal had a temple (as I observed, ch. xxiii. 28), is used for the idol itself, which was there worshipped, being a contraction of Baal-Peor: and so it is, ch. xxxi. 18. Josh. xxii. 17.

In the matter of Cozbi.] And into lewd filthiness with idolatrous women.

The daughter of a prince of Midian.] By whose consent, no doubt, she went upon this wicked design; that, by her noble garb and attendance, she might the more powerfully entice the great men of Israel to idolatry.

Their sister.] Whom the whole family were content to prostitute, that they might compass the destruction of the Israelites: but by *sister* may be meant one of the same country or nation; the same kind of language being used among them that was among the Jews; who called one another brethren and sisters (being descended from the same stock), as Christians did all those that were of their religion.

Which was slain.] When so many thousands fell by the pestilence.

For Peor's sake.] For worshipping Baal-Peor; into which they were inveigled by the women, who invited them to a feast, and there, by their charms, excited another fleshly appetite in them, which they would not let them satisfy, unless they would both eat of their sacrifices and worship their idol: and perhaps they told them it was not lawful for them to consent to their desire, unless they would be of their religion.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *The sum of all Israel is taken in the plains of Moab.* 52 *The law of dividing among them the inheritance of the land.* 57 *The families and number of the Levites.* 63 *None were left of them which were numbered at Sinai, but Caleb and Joshua.*

1 AND it came to pass after the plague, that the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying,

2 Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, throughout their fathers' house, all that are able to go to war in Israel.

3 And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying,

4 Take the sum of the people, from twenty years old and upward; as the LORD commanded Moses and the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt.

5 ¶ Reuben, the eldest son of Israel: the child-

ren of Reuben; Hanoch, of whom cometh the family of the Hanochites: of Pallu, the family of the Palluites:

6 Of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Carmi, the family of the Carmites.

7 These are the families of the Reubenites: and they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and seven hundred and thirty.

8 And the sons of Pallu; Eliab.

9 And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. This is that Dathan and Abiram, which were famous in the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against the LORD:

CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *After the plague,*] Mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 9. 17. though some fancy it refers unto all the plagues that had swept away all the former generation, except two persons. It is likely this may be done in the eighth month of the fortieth year, after they came out of Egypt.

The Lord spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar] As God had formerly joined Aaron with Moses (Numb. i. 1. 17. ii. 1. iv. 1. &c.), so now Aaron being dead, he joins his son Eleazar with him, to show that he succeeded not only in his place and office, but also in his authority.

Ver. 2. *Take the sum of all the congregation*] They had been twice numbered before this; once, before the building of the tabernacle, in the first year after they came out of Egypt, when they paid every man half a shekel towards it (Exod. xxx. 11. 13. xxxviii. 25), and again, when they were to be encamped, in the second month of the second year (Numb. i. 1. 2. &c.). And now, all those men who had been then numbered (thirty-eight years ago) being dead (as appears from ver. 64. of this chapter), God commands them to be numbered a third time; partly, that he might demonstrate his faithfulness to his word, in multiplying them vastly, notwithstanding all their provocations (for their number was within eighteen hundred and twenty as many as they were at the last muster), and partly that the land they were now going to possess, might be the more easily divided among the tribes in just and equal proportions.

From twenty years old and upward, &c.] All this is explained in the first chapter, ver. 2. 3.

Ver. 3. *Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them*] With the heads of the several tribes; who, it is likely, were to assist in this numbering, as they did in the former (Numb. i. 4. 16. 17).

In the plains of Moab] See ch. xxii. 1.

Ver. 4. *Take the sum of the people,*] These words are not in the Hebrew; but some words of this kind are to be understood, that they spake with them about numbering the people, "from twenty years old and upward," as it here follows.

As the Lord commanded Moses] He bade them proceed according to the directions God had formerly given, in the second month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt (Numb. i. 1).

Ver. 5, 6. *Reuben, the eldest son of Israel:*] This numbering being performed as the former was, Moses uses more concise language in the account he gives of it; as he doth in the foregoing verse, and in this, and those that follow; where he sets down the number of every tribe, and the families from whence they sprung, without saying, "Those that were numbered of the tribe of Reuben were," &c. as he doth, Numb. i. 21, &c.

The children of Reuben; Hanoch,] The four sons of Reuben (whose families here follow) are mentioned both in Genesis xvi. 9. and in Exodus vi. 14. and are here mentioned again; because he intends to set down the names both of the children and grandchildren of one of his sons, which he did not before.

Ver. 7. *These are the families of the Reubenites:*] The word we translate *families*, rather signifies *nations* (*gentes*) or *kindreds*, as we translate it, Ps. xxii. 27. For all that sprung from those seventy persons who came with Jacob into Egypt, are called by this name of *mispeoth*, which the LXX. here translate *δῆμοι*, *people*; which were divided into *houses*, as the Hebrews call them, and those houses into particular persons: this is plain from Josh. vii. 14. where, for the discovery of him that had sinned in the accursed thing, God commanded the Israelites to be brought by their *tribes*, and then that tribe by the *families* belonging to it; and that family which the Lord took by *households*; and that household man by man.

They that were numbered of them, &c.] This being compared with Numb. i. 21. it appears that this tribe was less than it was eight-and-thirty years ago, by near three thousand men: for some whole households had been destroyed, as it follows, ver. 9.

Ver. 8. *The sons of Pallu;*] He speaks in the plural number, when there was but one son of Pallu, which is very usual in the Scripture language (see Gen. xix. 29. xxi. 7. xlvii. 7. and in this very chapter, ver. 42).

Eliab,] He doth not say from him came the family of the Eliabites; for he made only a household in the family (as we call it) of the Palluites.

Ver. 9. *The sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram.*] The same must be observed of these, that families did not spring from them; but they were households belonging to the family of the Palluites.

This is that Dathan and Abiram,] They are here again mentioned; partly to set a new brand upon

10 And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died, what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men: and they became a sign.*

11 Notwithstanding the children of Korah died not.

12 ¶ The sons of Simeon after their families: of Nemuel the family of the Nemuelites: of Jamin, the family of the Jaminites: of Jachin, the family of the Jachinites:

13 Of Zerah, the family of the Zarhites: of Shaul, the family of the Shaulites.

14 These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty and two thousand and two hundred.

15 ¶ The children of Gad after their families: of Zephon, the family of the Zephonites: of Haggi, the family of the Haggites: of Shuni, the family of the Shunites:

16 Of Ozni, the family of the Oznites: of Eri, the family of the Erites:

17 Of Arod, the family of the Arodites: of Areli, the family of the Arelites.

18 There are the families of the children of Gad according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.

19 ¶ The sons of Judah were Er and Onan: and Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.

20 And the sons of Judah after their families were; of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites: of Pharez, the family of the Pharezites: of Zerach, the family of the Zarhites.

21 And the sons of Pharez were; of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites.

22 These are the families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand five hundred.

them, for their insolent rebellion against Moses, and partly to show how the Reubenites came to be so diminished.

Famous in the congregation,] See ch. xvi. 2.

Who strove against Moses—in the company of Korah,] They joined with Korah, who seems to have been the chief incendiary; for he is mentioned first in ch. xvi. 1.

When they strove against the Lord,] Who had appointed Aaron alone to be the high-priest, and his sons to minister in the priest's office; which these men would have usurped, ch. xvi. 11. where it is said expressly, "they were gathered together against the Lord."

Ver. 10. *The earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah,]* These words seem to import, that Korah was swallowed up with Dathan and Abiram, as I have observed upon ch. xvi. 32 (see there). But it must be acknowledged, that these words may receive another interpretation, and that very natural, in this manner: "The earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up" (viz. Dathan and Abiram, and the rest, mentioned ch. xvi. 32), and then the next words *with Korah*, may be thus translated, "and as for Korah (who was the great incendiary), when that company died," i. e. he died when the company which offered incense died: for there is in many places a defect of a word, to be supplied from the word that follows. This is a very easy construction, and agrees with the Psalmist, Ps. cvi. 17. where he mentions only Dathan and Abiram's company as swallowed up; and then adds (ver. 18), "A fire was kindled in their company (i. e. in the other company of rebels), and the flame burnt up the wicked;" viz. Korah, and those that were with him.

What time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men,] See ch. xvi. 35. If the interpretation now mentioned of the foregoing words be admitted, then Korah must be added to the number of the two hundred and fifty men; which Moses takes occasion to explain in this place.

They became a sign,] A monument of God's displeasure against those that affront his ministers; to give warning unto all posterity not to follow their pernicious courses.

Ver. 11. *The children of Korah died not,]* As those of Dathan and Abiram did; but their family continued famous in David's time: for perhaps they left their father, and "departed from the tents of those wicked men;" as Moses by God's command exhorted the congregation (ch. xvi. 21. 26), and they obeyed (ver. 27).

Ver. 12, 13. *The sons of Simeon after their families: &c.]* His sons are reckoned up here just as they are Gen. xlv. 10. and Exod. vi. 15. only one of them, viz. Ohad, is here omitted; because, either he had no children, or his family was extinct before this time. The first of them also, viz. Nemuel, is there called Jemuel; and Jachin, in 1 Chron. iv. 21. is called Jarib: there being some reason, in process of time, for such alterations.

Ver. 14. *These are the families of the Simeonites, &c.]* There was a wonderful decrease of this tribe in the space of thirty and eight years: for they were fewer by above thirty-seven thousand than they were at the last numbering (see ch. i. 23). Many of them, it is probable, being in the same crime with Zimri, and the plague falling most heavily upon this tribe, whom Moses in Deut. xxxiii. doth not bless.

Ver. 15–17. *Gad]* They are reckoned here next to the Simeonites, because they lay encamped next to them, under the standard of Reuben (Numb. ii. 10, 11, &c.).

Zephon,] They are reckoned up in the same manner, Gen. xlv. 16. only he that is here called Zephon, is there called Ziphon; and Ozni is there called Ezbon; and Arod called Arodi.

Ver. 18. *Gad]* This tribe also was less by above five thousand than before (ch. i. 25).

Ver. 19. *Sons of Judah were Er and Onan,]* These were his eldest sons, but died without issue before the children of Israel went down into Egypt, as it here follows (see Gen. xxxviii. 1, 2, &c.).

Ver. 20.] Now he reckons those of his sons who made families, which were three: as we read also, Gen. xlv. 12.

Ver. 21.] Here he numbers two of Judah's grandchildren, as he did one of Reuben's, ver. 6. only with this difference, that these two made families in Israel, which his grandson did not; they being substituted instead of Er and Onan, who died without children. Or rather, the family of Pharez growing very great, there was a subdivision made of it into the other families, who were all still Pharezites (for Pharez had no other children but these two, to make a family of that name), but called by these two names of Hezronites and Hamulites, because the Pharezites were grown too big to be one family, and therefore parted into two.

Ver. 22. *Judah]* This tribe was very numerous before, above all the rest; and now this new generation, which sprung up instead of the old (who were all destroyed except Caleb), exceeded them two

23 ¶ *Of the sons of Issachar after their families: of Tola, the family of the Tolaites: of Pua, the family of the Punites:*

24 *Of Jashub, the family of the Jashubites: of Shinron, the family of the Shimronites.*

25 *These are the families of Issachar according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and four thousand and three hundred.*

26 ¶ *Of the sons of Zebulun after their families: of Sereḏ, the family of the Sardites: of Elon, the family of the Elonites: of Jahleel, the family of the Jahleelites.*

27 *These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.*

28 ¶ *The sons of Joseph after their families were Manasseh and Ephraim.*

29 *Of the sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites: and Machir begat Gilead: of Gilead come the family of the Gileadites.*

30 *These are the sons of Gilead: of Jeezer, the family of the Jeezerites: of Helek, the family of the Helekites:*

31 *And of Asriel, the family of the Asrielites:*

and of Shechem, the family of the Shechemites:

32 *And of Shemida, the family of the Shemidaites: and of Hepher, the family of the Hepherites.*

33 ¶ *And Zelophehad the son of Hephher had no sons, but daughters: and the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah.*

34 *These are the families of Manasseh, and those that were numbered of them, fifty and two thousand and seven hundred.*

35 ¶ *These are the sons of Ephraim after their families: of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthalhites: of Becher, the family of the Bachrites: of Tahan, the family of the Tahanites.*

36 *And these are the sons of Shuthelah: of Eran, the family of the Eranites.*

37 *These are the families of the sons of Ephraim according to those that were numbered of them, thirty and two thousand and five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph after their families.*

38 ¶ *The sons of Benjamin after their families: of Bela, the family of the Belaïtes: of Ash-*

thousand. So faithful was God to his promise, that this should be a most powerful tribe (see Numb. i. 27).

Ver. 23. *Issachar*] He and Zebulun are mentioned next, because they lay encamped together, under the standard of Judah (see Numb. ii. 5—7).

Tola] A wonderful fruitful family, and very valiant: there being of this one family twenty-two thousand and six hundred men in the days of David (1 Chron. vii. 2).

Pua] He is called Phnvah, Gen. xli. 13.

Ver. 24. *Jashub*] Who is called Job in the same place.

Ver. 25.] This tribe also was exceedingly increased; being near ten thousand more now than they were at their first numbering (ch. i. 29. ii. 6).

Ver. 26. *Zebulun*] There is no change in their names; which are the same, without any alteration, as when they went into Egypt (Gen. xli. 14).

Ver. 27.] This tribe likewise was increased above three thousand since the former numbering (see ch. i. 31). And so the whole camp of Judah was mightily augmented, as that of Reuben was diminished.

Ver. 28. *Joseph*] See Gen. xli. 20.

Ver. 29. *Manasseh: of Machir, &c.*] This was the only son; but those descended from him, by a usual manner of speaking, are called Manasseh's sons also, being his grandsons. Some think indeed that Manasseh had other sons, which they gather from Gen. i. 22. but, if he had, their families were extinct; but none but Machir and his posterity had any inheritance in the land of Canaan, Josh. xvii. 1, 2. where the grandchildren are called his children.

Machir begat Gilead] They were not a distinct family from the Machirites, but the very same; Machir having no son but Gilead. Therefore that family, which at first was called Machirites, was afterwards called Gileadites: or it was indifferently called either by the one or the other.

Ver. 30. *Jeezer*] Called Abiezer, Josh. xvii. 2.

Jeezerites] The posterity of Gilead grew so numerous, that his sons made families, and not only households; so that the name of Gileadites being too general to distinguish them all, they were called, at length, by the name of his sons.

Ver. 31, 32. *Asriel*] This, and all the rest that follow, are mentioned as the sons of Gilead; for each of whose children there was a lot in the land of Canaan (Josh. xvii. 2).

Ver. 33. *Zelophehad the son of Hephher had no sons, but daughters*] Whose case is considered in the next, and in the last chapter of this book; where they are ordered to have an inheritance among their father's brethren, but to marry into their own tribe. And their posterity, I suppose, were called after their grandfather's name, Hephherites: for such a family there was, as Moses tells us in the foregoing verse.

Ver. 34.] If this be compared with ch. i. 35. it will appear that this tribe was increased above twenty thousand: which is the greatest increase of any other; and made good the prophecy of Jacob concerning the children of Joseph (Gen. xlix. 22).

Ver. 35. *Ephraim*] He is mentioned after Manasseh, because he was his younger brother, yet, in their encampment, this tribe had the standard under which Manasseh marched (Numb. ii. 18, &c.)

Shuthelah] He is mentioned first also in 1 Chron. vii. 20. where the next son Becher is called Bered; and Tahan called Tahath. For time is wont to make great alterations in the names of persons and places.

Ver. 36. *Sons of Shuthelah: of Eran, the family of the Eranites*] He had, it seems, but one son, whose children (after the usual manner of speaking before noted) were called the sons of Shuthelah; though they made a distinct family, under the name of Eranites.

Ver. 37.] Though this proved a very numerous tribe in future times, yet, for the present, they were fewer by eight thousand than they were in the former numbering (ch. i. 33), which makes Moses' prophecy, a little after this, the more remarkable, Deut. xxxiii. 17, where he makes the Ephraimites ten to one, in comparison with the Manassites.

Ver. 38. *Benjamin*] This tribe also was under the standard of Ephraim, and therefore mentioned here together with him and Manasseh. When they went into Egypt, the sons of Benjamin were no less than ten (Gen. xli. 21), half of which either had no children, or they were all extinct before this time; for here are only five named.

bel, the family of the Ashbelites of Ahiham, the family of the Ahihamites :

39 Of Shupham, the family of the Shuphamites : of Hupham, the family of the Huphamites.

40 And the sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman : of Ard, the family of the Ardites : and of Naaman, the family of the Naamites.

41 These are the sons of Benjamin after their families : and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and six hundred.

42 ¶ These are the sons of Dan after their families : of Shuham, the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan after their families.

43 All the families of the Shuhamites, according to those that were numbered of them, were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.

44 Of the children of Asher after their families : of Jimna, the family of the Jimnites : of Jesui, the family of the Jesuites : of Beriah, the family of the Berites.

45 Of the sons of Beriah : of Heber, the fa-

mily of the Heberites : of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites.

46 And the name of the daughter of Asher was Sarah.

47 These are the families of the sons of Asher according to those that were numbered of them ; who were fifty and three thousand and four hundred

48 ¶ Of the sons of Naphtali after their families : of Jahzeel, the family of the Jahzeelites : of Guni, the family of the Gunites :

49 Of Jezer, the family of the Jezerites : of Shillem, the family of the Shillemites.

50 These are the families of Naphtali according to their families : and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and four hundred.

51 These were the numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty.

52 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

53 Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance according to the number of names.

Bela,] The two first, Bela and Ashbel, are there named as they are here : but the next, Ahiham, is there called Ehi, and in 1 Chron. viii. 1, Ahara ; such alteration doth time make in names.

Ver. 39. Shupham,] He is called Muppim in Gen. xvi. 21. and Hupham is there called Huppim.

Ver. 40. Sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman,] Though five of his sons were dead without issue, yet two of his grandsons, descended from his eldest son, made distinct families in Israel. And the son of one of them was called after the name of his uncle, the youngest son of Benjamin (Gen. xvi. 21), whose name was Ard ; and in 1 Chron. viii. 3, (by a small transposition of letters) is called Adar.

Ver. 41.] This tribe was grown to be ten thousand more than they were at the last numbering (ch. i. 37).

Ver. 42. These are the sons of Dan] Thus he speaks, though he had but one (see ver. 8).

Shuham,] Called Hushim, by a transposition of letters, Gen. xvi. 23. Just as the same tree is called *almugim* 1 Kings xii. 8, and *algumim*, 2 Chron. ii. 8. And the same city in which Joshua was buried, called Timnath-Serach, Josh. xxiv. 30, and Timnath-Cheres, Judg. ii. 9. And, to come still nearer, the same man is called Rechum, Neh. xii. 3, and Cherim, ver. 15, of the same chapter.

Dan,] That is, from these Shuhamites came all the rest of the families of this tribe, which are not here mentioned ; but into which this family was subdivided when it grew very great, as it appears from the next words.

Ver. 43. All the families of the Shuhamites,] This shows there were more than one of them who had names from some of the children of Shuham.

Were threescore and four thousand and four hundred,] A vast number to spring from one man ; when Benjamin, who had ten sons, wanted almost twenty thousand of this number : which is seventeen hundred more than were in this tribe at the last numbering (ch. i. 39).

Ver. 44. Asher] They all retain the same names which they had when they went into Egypt (Gen. xvi. 17). Only he that is here called Jesui, is there called Ishui ; and another son there mentioned is

here omitted ; his family, I suppose, being quite extinct.

Ver. 45. Beriah:] Instead of him, whose family was quite lost, the youngest son of Asher (Beriah) had two families sprung from him.

Ver. 46. Sarah.] Or Serah, as she is called, Gen. xvi. 17. He doth not say that a family sprang from her, which Corn. Bertramus (cap. 6. De Republ. Jud.) seems to think probable, instead of some that were lost ; but she was a woman, it is likely, as eminent in this tribe as any of her brethren for some virtue or other : insomuch, that the cabalists, in the ancient book Zohar, parting the heavenly region, where the souls of holy women are, into four palaces, make four great women to be a kind of presidents for them, viz. Pharaoh's daughter, who educated Moses ; and this Serah, the daughter of Asher ; with Jochabed, the mother of Moses, and Deborah, the famous prophetess (see Selden, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4).

Ver. 47.] This tribe also fructified exceedingly, wanting but a hundred of twelve thousand more than they were at the last numbering (ch. i. 41).

Ver. 48, 49. Naphtali, &c.] There are four of them whose names were not at all changed since they went into Egypt (see Gen. xvi. 24).

Ver. 50.] They wanted eight thousand of their number (Numb. i. 43). These two tribes, Asher and Naphtali, are mentioned together with Dan, because they were encamped under his standard (Numb. ii. 25, 26, &c.).

Ver. 51.] That is, the whole number amounted to this sum ; which was but eighteen hundred and twenty less than they were when they were last numbered, thirty-eight years ago (ch. i. 46). So great was the goodness of God, and such his faithfulness to his word, that, when he destroyed all the former generation (who were above twenty years old), he multiplied their posterity so fast, in that space of time, as to make them equal, in a manner, to those that went before them.

Ver. 52.] After the people were thus numbered, and every family, and the persons it contained, exactly known, then the Lord ordered as follows.

Ver. 53. Unto thee] i. e. These families before named.

51 To many thou shalt give the more inheritance; and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him.

55 Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit.

The land shall be divided] i. e. The land of Canaan, into which they were going.

For an inheritance] Not to be alienated from those families.

According to the number of names.] Of the persons in the several families, from twenty years old and upwards (ver. 2). So that minors, who had not attained the age of twenty years when this account was taken, the Jews say, were not to have any share in the land, though they were come to that age at the time of the distribution of it among them. But those minors had possessions, as heirs of their fathers, according to the families.

Ver. 54. *To many (thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few—the less inheritance:]* That is, order Joshua to assign them a share in the land, proportionable to the number of persons in every tribe: some of which were far greater than others, and therefore to have more land, proportionable to the largeness of their families. But this was not measured merely by the number of acres, as we speak, but by the goodness of the soil: for a little ground, in a rich country, would maintain more persons than twice as much in a barren. So Josephus, lib. v. Antiq. cap. 1, where, after he had said that Joshua made a distribution of the land, *κατὰ μεγέθους ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν*, “according to the bigness of each tribe;” he adds, that in doing this, *τιμητοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ μετρητοῖς τοὺς πλῆρους οἶκους δειν*, “it was necessary to consider rather the value than the measure of every portion;” and gives this reason why the tribe of Benjamin had so narrow a portion allotted them, because the ground was so very fertile about Jerusalem. *Στενυτάτος ὁ πλῆρης οἶκος διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν*, “This lot was very strait, because of the goodness of the soil.”

To every one shall his inheritance be given] That is, to every family.

According to those that were numbered of him.] According to the account that had been now taken; not considering who might be born after this (and thereby increase a family), or die (and thereby diminish it) before the division of the land was made. For several died, we may well think, in the wars with the Canaanites, and others were born before the country was conquered.

Ver. 55. *The land shall be divided by lot:]* When it was divided into so many equal shares as there were tribes (a due respect being had to their number), they were not to choose which share they would have; but that was to be determined by lot. The manner of which they say was this: two urns being placed before him that drew the lots, in one of which were scrolls of parchment, containing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, and in the other, the portions of land; he first put in his hand into the urn wherein were their names, and drew out one, suppose that of Judah; and then he put his hand into the other urn, and drew out the portion that fell to his share. Or, perhaps, there was only one urn, wherein were the several portions of land; and they began suppose with the eldest son of Israel, viz. Reuben; and pulling out a scroll, said, “This is the portion of Reuben;” and so with the rest. But which soever way they proceeded there were two distribu-

56 According to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few.

57 ¶ And these are they that were numbered of the Levites after their families: of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites; of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites: of Merari, the family of the Merarites.

tions made, one of the whole country into twelve parts; and another of each of those parts among the several families that were in each tribe (see Selden De Successionibus ad Leges Hebr. cap. 21, 22.)

According to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit.] This seems to justify what I now said, that they first named the tribe whose lot they would draw out; and that contained his inheritance. But, after all this, it might happen that some of their lots were too scanty for their number, and others too large: in which case, Eleazar, and Joshua, and the rest appointed for this office (ch. xxxiv. 17, &c.), ordered some portion to be taken from those who had too much, and given to those who had too little for their families. This appears from Josh. xix. 9, where a portion out of the lot of Judah is ordered for Simeon; because the one was too large, and the other too small: and the same may be said of Dan. ver. 47.

Ver. 56. *According to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided]* The first words, which we translate “according to the lot,” being, in the Hebrew, *al pi hagoral*, which literally signify “according to the mouth of the lot” (which is no more than “as the lot shall declare”), the Jews have a conceit, that the land was divided, not merely by lot, but by *urim* and *thummim*, which Eleazar the priest then put on (as the Talmud describes it in Bava Bathra); and two urns standing before him, in one of which were the names of the twelve tribes, and in the other the names of the portions of land, he looked by the Holy Ghost upon the *urim* and *thummim*, and said, Let such a tribe come up; which being done, he said again, Let such a portion of land come up for this tribe; by which means all the people (before whom this was done) were satisfied that their portion was allotted to them by God; and all cause of murmuring and contention taken away. Thus R. Solomon and others mentioned by Buxtorf in his Hist. Urin et Thummim, cap. 3, and Martinus Mauritius in his late Treatise De Sortitione Veter. Hebr. cap. 29. sect. 4, 5, where he observes, how ancient the way of dividing goods and lands by lot was in other countries. But there was no need of this solemnity; the division of the land by God's order, after the manner of lots, sufficiently showing, it was not by man's directions but by God's that such a share fell to them.

Between many and few.] Every tribe having its land assigned them by the lot, it was then divided among the several families, in the same manner (as these words seem to signify), and then every household had their share allotted them, according to the number of persons that were in them; which if they were many, had a greater share; if few, a less. By which means every man had reason to rest satisfied, because such was his lot; that is, such was the good pleasure of God, who directed the lots; as we learn from Josh. xviii. 6. 8. 10. where we read expressly, that in the division of the land, he “cast lots for them before the Lord in Shiloh,” that he might order every one his portion.

Ver. 57. *Levites]* It was fit an account should be taken of this tribe also, that it might be seen how God had blessed them, as well as the rest of the tribes of Israel, with a numerous issue; though he had cut off,

58 *These are the families of the Levites: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korathites. And Kohath begat Amram.*

59 And the name of Amram's wife was Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom *her mother* bare to Levi in Egypt: and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister.

60 And unto Aaron was born Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

61 And Nadab and Abihu died, when they offered strange fire before the Lord.

62 And those that were numbered of them were twenty and three thousand, all males from a month old and upward: for they were not

numbered among the children of Israel, because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.

63 ¶ *These are they that were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest, who numbered the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho.*

64 But among these there was not a man of them whom Moses and Aaron the priest numbered, when they numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai.

65 For the Lord had said of them, *They shall surely die in the wilderness.* And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

in the space of thirty-eight years, all the former generation, from twenty years old and upward.

Of Gershon,] The principal families in this tribe were three, descended from the three sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari; whose names were not at all altered since their coming out of Egypt until this time (Gen. xlv. 11. Exod. vi. 16).

Ver. 58. *These are the families of the Levites:*] The three forenamed were the principal families, divided into those lesser families which here follow.

Libnites,] Descended from Libni the eldest son of Gershon; who had another son, whose family is here omitted (viz. Shimi), though mentioned Exod. vi. 17. But in this place Moses doth not give a full account of all the families of the Levites, nor is it given in exact order, because they were to have no inheritance in the division of the land; which was the reason that all the families of the other tribes are set down so punctually.

Hebronites,] From Hebron, one of the sons of Kohath (Exod. vi. 18. Numb. iii. 19).

Mahlites,—Mushites,] From the two sons of Merari, who were called Mahli, and Mushi (Exod. vi. 19. Numb. iii. 20).

Korathites,] From the great-grandchild of Levi (Exod. vi. 21. Numb. xvi. 1).

Kohath begat Amram.] Who was grandchild of Levi, and brother to the father of Korah (Exod. vi. 18).

Ver. 59. *Jochebed,*] See Exod. vi. 20.

Whom her mother (viz. Levi's wife) bare to Levi] See this there explained.

Miriam their sister.] Who was born before Moses, if not before Aaron (Exod. ii. 4).

Ver. 60.] See Exod. vi. 23, where he tells the name of their mother.

Ver. 61. *Nadab and Abihu died, when they offered strange fire before the Lord.*] See Lev. x. 2, and the third chapter of this book, ver. 4. But Eleazar (who was the eldest next to them) was now alive, and

made high-priest; and it is likely Ithamar also, being under twenty years old, when the people murmured upon the report of the spies; and so not cut off with that wicked generation (ch. xvi. 29).

All this is here recounted, to show that the tribe of Levi was preserved, by the blessing of God, as well as the rest of the Israelites; though they were to have no inheritance in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 62. *Twenty and three thousand,*] So they were a thousand more than at the last numbering (ch. iii. 39).

They were not numbered among the children of Israel.] But by themselves, for the reason following.

Because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.] For God was their inheritance, as he told them. ch. xviii. 20, &c. And therefore they were ordered not to be numbered thirty-eight years ago, no more than now (Num. i. 49, &c.). The Jews are something curious in their observations upon these words, "among (or in the midst of) the children of Israel:" from whence they conclude, that the Levites might have lands out of the bounds of the land of Canaan, though not within it, among their brethren.

Ver. 63.] By a special command of God (ver. 1, 2, &c.).

Ver. 64.] See the first chapter of this book, ver. 1, 2, &c., so exactly were God's threatenings fulfilled, as well as his promises.

Ver. 65. *They shall surely die in the wilderness.*] He had pronounced this irreversible sentence upon the whole congregation, ch. xiv. 23, 28, 29, where he swears they should not enter into the land of Canaan, because they had brought or entertained an evil report of it (see also Deut. ii. 14, 15).

Save Caleb—and Joshua] Whom God promised to spare, because they were of another spirit (ch. xv. 24, 30, 38). And their survival was as remarkable an instance of the truth of God's word, as the death of all the rest.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *The daughters of Zelophehad sue for an inheritance.* 6 *The law of inheritances.* 12 *Moses, being told of his death, sueth for a successor.* 18 *Joshua is appointed to succeed him.*

I THEN came the daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of

Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of Manasseh the son of Joseph: and these are the

CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *Then came the daughters of Zelophehad, &c.*] Who are mentioned before (ch. xxvi. 33), just as they

are here; only their genealogy is here more fully set out, that their father was the grandson of Manasseh the son of Joseph, from whom he was lineally descended, but left no sons behind him. Now these

names of his daughters; Mahlah, Noah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Tirzah.

2 And they stood before Moses, and before Eleazar the priest, and before the princes and all the congregation, by the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying,

3 Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the LORD in the

company of Korah; but died in his own sin, and had no sons.

4 Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son? Give unto us *therefore* a possession among the brethren of our father.

5 And Moses brought their cause before the LORD.

6 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

young women hearing Moses say (as he doth in the foregoing chapter), that the Lord commanded the land of Canaan should be divided among those that were now numbered: and observing that only males from twenty years old were numbered (ver. 2), presently apprehended, that they, being females, were excluded from having any inheritance among the Israelites (and so the family of the Hephherites, ch. xxvi. 32, would be extinguished). This was the ground of what follows: whereby it appears, that every body was immediately acquainted with the laws which Moses received from God; and that there was a faithful register kept of every one that was born in every family and tribe, to prevent all disputes about the true heirs to men's estates.

Ver. 2. *Stand before Moses.*] To represent before him, and the rest of the judges, who were now assembled, the case which I have mentioned.

Before Moses, and before Eleazar, &c.] These made up the greatest court of judicature that at any time sat. For by *princes* are meant either the heads of the tribes, or the highest of the judges appointed Exod. xviii. called "the heads of the people," ver. 25. And by "all the congregation" is meant the seventy elders mentioned in this book (ch. xi. 24). For they are called *col ha edah* (the whole congregation, and sometimes only *edah*, the congregation), as R. Solomon observes (see Bertram De Republ. Jud. p. 72). Now at the head of all these sat Moses, and next to him Eleazar the priest.

By the door of the tabernacle.] Near to which this august assembly, it is likely, was wont to sit when they met together; that Moses might presently, if there were occasion, go and consult with God himself in any difficult matter that came before them. And thus Mr. Selden observes, out of Maimonides, that in future times the great Sanhedrin followed the tabernacle, sitting sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, according as that was settled. As (after they came to Canaan) it was first at Shiloh, then at Mizpeh, and afterward at Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, the house of Obad-Edom; till at last it was fixed in Jerusalem (lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 15. n. 4). As concerning that which the Talmudists say, concerning the proceedings in this case of Zelophehad's daughters, nothing certain can be determined. But they give this account of it: that they first brought this cause into the courts appointed by the advice of Jethro (Exod. xviii. 21), and began with the rulers of ten, who knowing not what to say to them, they went to those of fifty, and from thence to the centurions, and at last to the chiliarchs: none of which durst adventure to give judgment, but referred the cause, by reason of its difficulty, to Moses; who brought it to the Shechinah, as they speak, i. e. to the Divine Majesty (Seld. ib. cap. 16. n. 1).

Ver. 3. *Our father died in the wilderness.*] Among the rest mentioned ver. 64, 65, of the foregoing chapter. They seem to have drawn up their cause in the form of a petition; or, as Mr. Selden speaks, in the legal phrase, presented a libel to the court, containing the entire matter of their petition, and that artificially enough.

He was not—in the company of Korah.] They use the very words of Moses concerning that rebellious company (ch. xvi. 11), and instance in this sin rather than any other; either to show that their father had a due regard to the authority of Moses (who they hoped therefore would be the more favourable to his posterity), or rather, to insinuate, that he was not guilty of such a crime, as might make men justly forfeit what they had for their children, as well as for themselves. For all the family of Dathan and Abiram perished; and it is taken notice of as a singular mercy, that the children of Korah did not (ch. xxvi. 10, 11).

But died in his own sin.] i. e. For his own sin: which God had declared should not affect the children (ch. xiv. 31). For to that general sin, in which all the people were engaged, these words seem to refer. And so it was *his own sin*, not with respect to the rest of the people (for they were all alike guilty), but with respect to his children; it being a personal guilt, in which they were not concerned.

The Jews commonly say that Zelophehad was the man that was stoned for gathering sticks on the sabbath-day: for which they have no authority, but a fancy of R. Aquiba, who is sharply reproved for it by another considerable rabbi, who saith it is a rash judgment; for if it were true, since the Scripture conceals it, he ought not to have revealed it: but hath reproached a just man, for any thing that appears (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1. sect. 2).

And had no sons.] As was found when the people were numbered (ch. xxvi. 33).

Ver. 4. *Why should the name of our father be done away.*] One family of the tribe of Manasseh, viz. the Hephherites, being in danger to be wholly extinguished. R. Judah will have the word *name* in this place to signify as much as *hereditary possession*; and so he thinks it signifies, Deut. xxv. 6, as Mr. Selden observes out of Pesikta (lib. De Successionibus, cap. 14).

Because he hath no son?] Merely for want of issue male, when he hath left many daughters.

Give unto us therefore a possession.] Let us come in for a share among those that are descended from Manasseh: which if they did, the name of their father could not be thereby preserved, but by the son of one of these daughters taking upon him, not the name of his father that begat him, but of his mother's grandfather, viz. Hephher; which was ordered afterward by a general law (Deut. xxv. 6).

Ver. 5. *Moses brought their cause before the Lord.*] This was too difficult a cause (though there seemed to be a great deal of reason on their side) to be judged by the great court before mentioned; and therefore it was referred to Moses alone, as other weighty causes used to be (see ch. xv. 32. xxv. 4): for neither Eleazar, nor any other person (before whom it was brought, ver. 2), are here mentioned as the judges of this matter. And he durst not judge it, though the equity appeared very plain, without bringing it before the Lord for his direction, which he could have upon all important occasions (Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89).

Ver. 6.] This shows that the cause was devolved

7 The daughters of Zelophehad speak right: thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them.

8 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter.

9 And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren.

10 And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren.

11 And if his father have no brethren, then

ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it: and it shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgment, as the LORD commanded Moses.

12 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mount Abarim, and see the land which I have given unto the children of Israel.

13 And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered.

14 For ye rebelled against my commandment in the desert of Zin, in the strife of the congregation, to sanctify me at the water before thy

upon Moses alone; for the LORD tells him, and no other person, how it should be determined.

Ver. 7. *The daughters of Zelophehad*] The LORD approves of their claim, and gives a sentence in their favour.

Give them a possession] Because the word for *them* in the Hebrew is of the masculine gender, some think it signifies, they were to be considered as if they had been sons.

Cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them.] So that they were to enjoy what would have fallen to his share had he been alive; ob idutatum defuncti patris personam, as the lawyers speak; "because they stood in the place of their dead father, and represented his person." And accordingly they put in their claim at the division of the land, and had their portion therein, according to this decision (Josh. xvii. 2, 3, &c.). How the portion was divided among them, according to the Hebrew doctors, Mr. Selden shows at large in his book *De Successionibus in bona defuncti*, cap. 23.

Ver. 8. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Upon this occasion he passes this special case into a general law, to be hereafter observed.

If a man die, and have no son, &c.] It being but reason, as Maimonides observes (*More Nevochim*, par. iii. cap. 42), that what a man leaves should come to his family, and to those who are of next kin to him: for the nearer any person is to us, we are inclined, by natural affection, to have the greater regard to him. But all this is to be understood of land: as for money, and moveable goods (which were of his own getting), the father might dispose of them, by his will, to whom he pleased.

Ver. 9. *If he have no daughter, &c.*] Unless his father was alive, who, undoubtedly, the Jews say, was the next heir; but not mentioned, because it was not necessary; or, as some say, because it was too sad a thing to speak of a father's burying all his children without issue. See Selden, *De Succes.* in *bona defuncti*, cap. 12, where he observes, that, according to the rule, ver. 11, it must come to the father, because he is *nearest of kin* to it. And therefore the Jews interpret this, as if Moses had said, "If he have no daughter, ye shall give his inheritance to the next of his kindred (to his father for instance), and afterward ye shall give it to his brethren," i. e. the children of his father. And the same is to be said of the grandchildren; unto whom the brethren of a father dying without issue are heirs. For the grandfather stands in the same relation to a father that a father doth to his son.

Ver. 11. *If his father have no brethren, &c.*] To his brother's children, or to those who are descended from them, or from his father's brethren. But no consideration was to be had of his mother's kindred (as the Jewish lawyers say), who could never be capable of

the inheritance: which they gather, not only from these words, which determine the inheritance to *his family* (i. e. the family of the father before mentioned, not to the family of the mother), but from the frequent mention of the father of *mishepachoth*, which we translate *families*, or rather kindreds of the fathers, in the books of Moses, Chronicles, Ezra, and others. From whence this solemn maxim of the Talmudists, "The family or kindred of the mother, is never called by the name of kindred;" that is, it hath not the effect of a kindred in successions to inheritances. Which is the same with that in the ancient book Siphri, "Families follow the fathers;" as Mr. Selden observes in the place before mentioned; who in the next chapter (cap. 13), gives an example, drawn up by Maimonides, of such a succession out of the Holy Scriptures. Amram had two sons, Aaron, and Moses, as we read Exod. vi. 20. If they had both died without issue, Miriam their sister had inherited. And if she had died in like manner, the inheritance of the family would have reverted to Kohath, the father of Amram: or he being dead, to his three sons, the brethren of Amram, viz. Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, as the heirs of Kohath. And there would have been no consideration of primogeniture; both because none of them was the first-born, and because the inheritance was not in the possession of their father, at the time of his death, &c.

A statute of judgment.] A law whereby to determine such matters in future times, and to be observed inviolably; so that no father should have power to make any other settlement; but if either by word or writing he declared his will to be that his son should not inherit, his act was null and void: as the Jewish lawyers resolve from these very words, "a statute or decree of judgment," i. e. as I said, a rule whereby to judge of succession into inheritances. If therefore a man made a will, wherein he declared his daughter or brethren, &c. should not inherit, in case he had no son, it was void, because contrary to this law (see Selden, *De Successionibus*, cap. 24).

Ver. 12. *Get thee up into this mount Abarim.*] Either these words were spoken after all that follows here, and in the book of Deuteronomy, or they were repeated again when he had repeated his laws, and enforced them by many excellent discourses, and taught them that famous song, Deut. xxxii. where, in the conclusion of it (ver. 49), it is said, that every day he bade him go up this mount Abarim. And there we learn also, that Abarim was a long tract of mountains, one of which was called Nebo; and the very top of it called Pisgah (see Deut. xxxiv. 1).

See the land] Take a full view of it, as he did from that high neighbouring mountain (Deut. iii. 17. xxxiv. 1—4).

Ver. 13.] Upon Mount Hor, as we read in this book, ch. xx. 23, 24.

eyes : that is the water of Meribah in Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.

15 ¶ And Moses spake unto the LORD, saying,

16 Let the LORD, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation,

17 Which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in ; that the congregation of the LORD be not as sheep which have no shepherd.

18 ¶ And the LORD said unto Moses, Take

thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him ;

19 And set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation ; and give him a charge in their sight.

20 And thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient.

21 And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the LORD : at his word

Ver. 14. *For ye rebelled against my commandment*] See ch. xx. 1. 12. 24, where all this verse is explained.

Ver. 15.] He did not speak those words which follow, immediately after God bade him go up Mount Abarim and die ; but first desired he might be permitted to go over Jordan, &c. (Deut. iii. 24—26). Unless we can think that he made the prayer there mentioned as soon as the sentence was passed upon him, at the waters of Meribah, which doth seem not so likely.

Ver. 16. *Let the Lord, &c.*] As 'soon as he found that God was resolved he should not conduct the people into Canaan, he was concerned for nothing, but for a fitting person to take that charge upon him. For he had a most generous public spirit, wholly intent upon the good of this people.

The God of the spirits of all flesh.] Who hast not only made the souls of all men, but knowest their dispositions (see ch. xvi. 23), and understandest who are fit for this weighty employment.

Set a man over the congregation.] To be chief ruler and governor of the people in my place.

Ver. 17. *Which may go out before them, &c.*] If the latter part of these words be not a mere repetition of the former (as is usual), then the one relates to the conduct of war, and the other to the management of all their civil affairs. And both of them seem to be a metaphor from shepherds watching over their flocks.

That the congregation—be not as sheep which have no shepherd.] Having none to govern and to take care of them. This is a description of the most miserable condition a people can be in, and became a proverb among the Hebrews (1 Kings xxii. 17. Zech. x. 2. xiii. 7. Matt. ix. 36).

Ver. 18. *Take thee Joshua*] Who had been a long time servant unto Moses, and attended upon his person (Exod. xxiv. 13), well known to Moses, and perfectly acquainted with his administration.

A man in whom is the spirit.] Of courage and prudence, and the fear of God, with all other gifts necessary in an excellent governor : among which Onkelos reckons the spirit of prophecy ; which is not unlikely.

Lay thine hand upon him.] Which was a ceremony usual in blessing (Gen. xlviii. 14, &c.) and in setting men apart and consecrating them to an office (ch. viii. 10). Upon which followed a more abundant measure of the Spirit, as appears from Deut. xxxiv. 9.

Ver. 19. *Set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation.*] Being all assembled for this purpose, that all might acknowledge him for the designed successor of Moses, and be witnesses of all that Moses commanded him.

Give him a charge] He told him before them all what God expected from him ; and bade him be not afraid to execute it. See Deut. xxxi. 7, 8, where he sets down the words of this charge ; unto which God presently after added one of his own (ver. 14, 15, 23).

Ver. 20. *Put some of thine honour upon him.*] Communicate some of thy authority to him at present ; and not let him be any longer as thy minister, but as an associate in the government. The word we trans-

late *honour* being *glory* in the Hebrew, it made Onkelos and other Hebrew doctors imagine these words have respect to that splendour which shone in Moses' face after he came down from the mount : some of which they suppose was imparted unto Joshua, to make him appear more venerable in the eyes of the people. And R. Menachem observes, that it is not said, impart *thy glory*, but of *thy glory* to him. From whence came that ancient saying, "the face of Moses shone like the sun, but Joshua's only like the moon." This might have passed for truth, or at least that hereby was meant some great increase of illustrious gifts of mind, which procured him such reverence as Moses had, if it had been said that God put some of Moses' glory upon him ; whereas Moses is commanded to do it, which makes the first sense most reasonable.

That all the congregation—may be obedient.] That the people may begin to submit to his authority, and learn to obey his commands, as well as thine.

Ver. 21. *He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, &c.*] For the encouragement of Joshua to undertake this charge, he assures him he shall never want direction from God what to do when he was in any doubt, but, in the manner he prescribed, most certainly receive it. And what is here said concerning him, belongs to all their succeeding governors. And it is observed by Maimonides, and other Jewish doctors, that the high-priest stood before the kings of Israel out of great respect to them : but no king is said to stand before the high-priest, but only in this case, when he was to consult the holy oracle ; that it might appear the honour was given not to the priest, but unto the Divine Majesty, whom he consulted by the priest.

Who shall ask counsel for him, after the judgment of Urim] Because the word *thummim* is here wanting, some understand these words as if he had said, the high-priest shall ask counsel for him, by the "illumination of the Spirit of God." So Conradus Pellicanus. But the word *thummim*, in all likelihood, is here to be understood, though not expressed, being always joined with *urim* (except in this and one other place, where *urim* only is named, after a short manner of speaking), in Exod. xxviii. Deut. xxxiii. Ezra ii. Neh. vii. For they were inseparable from "the breast-plate of judgment," as it is called Exod. xxviii. 30 (see there), with which the high-priest appeared before God when he consulted him in great affairs concerning the public safety, more especially in times of war ; of which we have many instances in Judg. i. 1. xx. 18. 1 Sam. xiv. 18. xxviii. 6. David, indeed, is said to consult God by the *ephod*, but it must be observed that the *breast-plate* was annexed to it ; which Abiathar brought along with him when he fled from Saul, who commanded the priests to be slain, 1 Sam. xxii. 2. 9. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. v. 19. And it is further to be noted, that though David thus frequently consulted God this way, being engaged in wars, yet we never read that Solomon asked counsel by it, being a peaceable king.

shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, *both* he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation.

22 And Moses did as the Lord commanded him: and he took Joshua, and set him before

Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation:

23 And he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses.

Grotius also observes, that Joshua now, and the kings of Judah afterward, therefore *stood before* the priest, that they might be near to the urim and thummim, which he had upon his breast; without which he could not receive any answer (De Imperii Sum. Potest, &c. cap. 6).

Before the Lord; The high-priest never inquired by urim and thummim, but standing before the Lord; that is, before the ark, where the Shechinah was.

At his word shall they go out, and—come in. That is, saith Grotius, in the place forenamed, at the word of the Lord, “by the judgment of urim,” which goes just before. Others, “at the word of the priest:” which comes to the same. And this the Hebrew doctors understand concerning the people of Israel making war; which is wont to be meant in Scripture by the words *going out* and *coming in*. And they distinguish between the war that was made by the Divine commandment (against the seven nations of Canaan, and against Amalek), and that which was voluntary against any of their neighbours, or others, as there should be reason. In the former case, they think there was no need to ask whether they should make war or not, because it was commanded; and Joshua and the kings afterward did it when they pleased. But in the other, they were not to make war without this Divine order (see Selden, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 12. n. 4). But it is plain from Judg. i. 1. that they consulted the Lord also in the first sort of war (with the people of Canaan), how to manage it to the best advantage.

Both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation. By the first word [*he*] the Jews understand Joshua, and all the succeeding princes of Israel, who were bound to advise with God by *urim* and *thummim* before they made war. And by the next words [*all the children of Israel with him*] they understand the priest that was particularly anointed to go with the people to war (Deut. xx. 2). And by the last words [*the whole congregation*] they understand the seventy elders, or the great Sanhedrin. So Maimonides, Abarinel, and a great many others, expound these words (as Mr. Selden shows in the same place), from which they have framed this general maxim, that no private man might consult this oracle, “but the king, and the head of the great Sanhedrin, and he that was appointed by all the people in their name.” And that *col ha edah* [all the congregation] signifies frequently the great assembly of the elders and judges (see also Bertram. De Repub. Jud. p. 72).

Here the Jews start a difficulty, as they account it, why we never read in the whole book of Joshua, that he consulted the Lord after this manner; but as soon as ever he was dead they did (Judg. i. 1). From whence Abarinel concludes, that Joshua was bound to do this only at the first entrance upon his office, that all Israel might know he was Moses’ successor, and that God was with him: but that afterward the spirit of prophecy rested upon him, and conducted him without this oracle. But if nothing was done that is not recorded in the Scripture, he might as well have said that Joshua never consulted the oracle at all, for we do not read he did, though he be here so ordered. R. Levi ben Gerson, therefore, seems to me to speak more reasonably, when he says that those words in the beginning of the book of Judges do not import that they did not consult God by *urim* in the life of Joshua, but only that after his death the children

of Israel would not adventure to proceed in the war of Canaan without the same direction.

And there is something else which they might have observed from this verse, with great reason, which is, how much inferior Joshua was to Moses, though he succeeded him in the conduct of the people. For Moses never made use of the urim and thummim to consult God by the high-priest, but went directly and immediately to God himself; whereas Joshua was not admitted to such familiarity; nor had he such frequent revelations from God as Moses had. Yet sometimes God vouchsafed him the honour to speak to him, as we find in the beginning of Joshua, ch. iii. 7. iv. 1. 15, &c. And there was a most illustrious appearance of God to him before Jericho (ch. v. 13, &c.).

Ver. 22.] According as he was ordered, ver. 18, 19. In this we see the great integrity, the sincere humility, and self-denial of Moses, that he readily submitted to have the government of Israel translated from his own family and tribe unto another, who was of the tribe of Ephraim, whereby his own children were reduced to a mean condition, being not so much as priests, but mere Levites. This demonstrates he acted not from himself, because he acted not *for* himself; but was contented to have the supreme authority placed where God pleased, both in church and state, and to leave his own family in an inconsiderable employment. This shows him to have had a principle which raised him above all other lawgivers, who always took care to advance their own families, and establish them in some share of that greatness which they themselves possessed. This likewise demonstrates, that the future rulers of this nation had no temptation to advance the credit of Moses beyond what it really was, since they were not descended from him, but were of other tribes.

Ver. 23.] He did all things which the Lord required to create him his successor, as the Jews speak: for thus (by *laying on of hands*) they in aftertimes made a man a member of the Sanhedrin, both of the great and of the small; which continued to the time of the destruction of the second temple; as Mr. Selden shows (lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 7. n. 1).

And this solemn designation of Joshua to the government by the Divine authority, was a clear indication that God continued to be their king, as he became in a special manner when he brought them out of Egypt (as I observed upon Exod. iii. 10), and he still reserved it to himself to appoint governors under him out of what tribe he pleased; as he did Joshua at this time out of the tribe of Ephraim; and not Caleb, who was of the tribe of Judah, and also a man as valiant as he was virtuous (Josh. xiv. 11). For there was no tribe that could lay claim unto this dignity without the gift of God. And this is one of the principal reasons, why the government of this people, before they had kings, was, as Josephus calls it, *Θεοκρατία* (that is, “the empire of God”), because he stirred them up judges to rule them when he pleased; which being of his immediate appointment, are so far acknowledged by him, that when they were weary of Samuel’s government and desired a king, God declared, that it was not Samuel, but himself, whom they rejected. And another reason was (as our Mr. Thorndike observes), because God, by his oracle of urim and thummim, prescribed how they were to proceed in their public affairs (Review of the Rites of the Church. p. 133).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Offerings are to be observed. 3 The continual burnt offering. 9 The offering on the sabbath, 11 on the new moons, 16 at the passover, 26 in the day of first fruits.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, My offering, and my bread for my sacrifices made by fire, for a sweet savour unto me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in their due season.

3 And thou shalt say unto them, This is the offering made by fire which ye shall offer unto

the LORD; two lambs of the first year without spot day by day, for a continual burnt offering.

4 The one lamb shalt thou offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer at even;

5 And a tenth part of an ephah of flour for a meat offering, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil.

6 It is a continual burnt offering, which was

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Ver. 1.] Having numbered the people, and appointed his successor to bring them to their inheritance (which he had ordered to be divided among them, proportionable to the number of each tribe), nothing more was necessary than to persuade them to be truly religious, whereby they might be preserved in the enjoyment of it. Unto which Moses is commanded to direct them in this and in the following chapters; which may be thought to have been delivered also in the eighth month of the last year of their travels in the wilderness.

Ver. 2. *Command the children of Israel,]* These commands had been given before, but are here repeated, because this was a new generation, who either had not heard them when they were first delivered eight-and-thirty years ago; or, at least, had need to have their memories refreshed. Some things also are now more particularly explained concerning the sacrifices which were to be offered at certain times: and they are reduced into a certain order; some being daily, others weekly, others monthly, and some anniversary; all which were of such importance, that Moses, being shortly to leave them, thought good to repeat most of them once more in the book of Deuteronomy.

My offering, and my bread] The word *and* is not in the Hebrew; but the words are, *my offering, my bread*: which Isaac Abarinel thus excellently explains: Concerning offerings for sin, and trespass-offerings, and the rest, I shall not need to admonish you: but concerning my daily sacrifices, which properly of themselves are my own oblation, my daily bread, or my food (which the Divine presence, dwelling among them, required, Exod. xxix. 42. 44. 45). And so others by the word *bread* understand meat or food in general, as we translate it, ver. 24, though it may have a particular respect to the *meat-offering*, which was made of meal, and always accompanied the *burnt-offerings*, which seem here to be peculiarly meant; though some think these words relate to all the sacrifices, some part of which was God's portion.

For my sacrifices made by fire,] The whole burnt-offerings are most properly called *ische* ("sacrifices made by fire"), being all consumed upon the altar; where the heavenly fire burnt continually, ready for that purpose.

For a sweet savour unto me,] So the burnt-offering is called, Lev. i. 9. 13. 17 (see there). I shall only add the paraphrase of the Jerusalem Targum, which is this, "My offering of bread which ye offer on the altar, doth not the fire devour it? And yet it is acceptable to me from you, as an odour in which I am well-pleased."

Shall ye observe to offer unto me] Be very careful to see it duly performed: this being the food (saith Abarinel), which, to speak after the manner of men, was offered by God's fire, upon his own altar, for his dinner and supper.

In their due season.] For that reason this sacrifice was to be constantly offered, saith the same author, that the Divine fire which came down from heaven to consume the sacrifices might not be disappointed, and burn there in vain without any thing to do.

From this place the Jews endeavour to make out their custom of having *stationary men*, as they call them, to attend the daily sacrifice: taking *moatho* ["in its season"] as if it had been *umatho* ["in its stations"], but chiefly relying upon the first words of this verse, "command the children of Israel," who could not all be present at the daily sacrifice, and therefore some particular persons were chosen to represent all the rest. For they thought it very indecent to have a sacrifice made for a man, and he not to stand by it; and therefore the first prophets ordained twenty-four courses of men, chosen out of the priests, Levites, and people, to stand in the temple, when the daily sacrifice was offered in the name of all Israel; and pray that God would accept it for them, as if they were all present. This account the Mischna gives of them in Taanath, and other places; where they say these men were held so necessary, that it was a usual speech among them, *Without stations the world could not stand*. For without sacrifices, that is, the worship of God, the world would be undone; and sacrifices could not be maintained without stations (see Vayoin De Jubilæo, cap. 25, and our learned Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, ch. 7. sect. 3).

Ver. 3. *This is the offering made by fire]* That offering which he peculiarly speaks of is the daily sacrifice; which was appointed long ago, before the tabernacle was set up (Exod. xxix. 38, 39, see my notes there). And add this, that God's promise to meet them there (ver. 42, 43), and afterward to dwell among them (ver. 45), seems to depend upon this constant service which he expected should be paid to him; which if neglected, he withdrew himself from them.

Two lambs of the first year without spot] This is expressly required in Exod. xxix. 38. Only here it is added, *without spot*, or perfect in its kind; which was required in all sacrifices, particularly in the first lamb which they offered, when they came out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 5, see there).

Ver. 4.] The very words in Exod. xxix. 39.

Ver. 5.] This is also there explained, Exod. xxix. 40.

Ver. 6. *It is a continual burnt offering,]* To be con-

ordained in mount Sinai for a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.

7 And the drink offering thereof *shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb*; in the holy place shalt thou cause the strong wine to be poured unto the Lord for a drink offering.

8 And the other lamb shalt thou offer at even: as the meat offering of the morning, and as the drink offering thereof, thou shalt offer it, a sacri-

fice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

9 ¶ And on the sabbath day two lambs of the first year without spot, and two tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof:

10 *This is the burnt offering of every sabbath*, beside the continual burnt offering, and his drink offering.

tinued throughout all your generations every day; as it is expressed Exod. xxix. 42. For it was in the nature of a daily prayer to God, that he would graciously continue his mercy unto Israel (as Abarinel observes), and increase their corn, wine, and oil, which they acknowledged hereby they received from him.

Which was ordained in Mount Sinai] There Moses received both this law, and all the rest (which are mentioned in the book of Exodus), concerning the service of God, and the place where it was to be performed, and his ministers, &c. And this sufficiently shows, that he speaks here to those who were so young at the first institution of these laws, that they gave the less heed to them, or had forgotten them. And there are those who think that for eight-and-thirty years they had disused them; which they gather from Deut. xii. 8. But I do not take it to be likely, that sacrifices were wholly omitted during that space; though perhaps not so regularly performed as when they came to Canaan. For to suppose that, is to suppose that the fire from heaven either went out, or burnt continually to no purpose; and that the Divine Majesty had no entertainment set upon his table; and consequently did not keep house, and dwell among them all that time: in short, that there was no worship of God at the tabernacle. All these arguments may convince any man, there were offered at least the daily sacrifice, morning and even, and those on the sabbath.

For a sweet savour,] See Exod. xxix. 41.

Ver. 7. *The drink offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb*] So it was ordained also in Mount Sinai, as appears from the same Exod. xxix. 40. And in this very book there is a general rule given to this new generation, that this should be the least quantity of wine which should be offered with a burnt-offering, or peace-offering (see Numb. xv. 5). Which was a thing so constantly practised, that the heathen never sacrificed, but they poured wine upon the flesh, as it flamed upon the altar. For though water was sometimes poured upon the sacrifices, yet Nonnus saith (lib. iv. Dionysiac.), it was when men knew not the use of wine; for after that was found out, they never sacrificed without it (see Fort. Scacchus Myrothec. 2. cap. 42).

In the holy place] Upon the altar of burnt-offerings, which stood in the holy place, near to the door of the tabernacle (Exod. xxix. 42).

Shalt thou cause the strong wine to be poured unto the Lord] The Hebrew word *shecar* commonly signifies any sort of strong drink, but here the noblest and most generous wine; for it was not lawful to use any other liquor in their sacrifices. The heathens had this reverence to their gods, that they always offered to them the most excellent wine they had; which appears by these words we meet withal so often in Homer (both in his Iliad and Odyssey) of men's pouring out upon their sacrifices, — *ἄνθορα αἶνον*, or *black wine*, of the deepest colour, red as blood; which was the richest of all other. And Herodian, speaking of the vast profuseness of Heliogabalus, who offered becatombs of oxen every morning with great multitudes of sheep, upon which he heaped all manner of spices,

adds this also (lib. v.), *αἶνον τε τοῦ παλαιστάτου καὶ καλλίστου πολλοὺς ἀμφορέας προχέων*, &c. "pouring on many flagons of the oldest and most excellent wine on the altars;" so that rivers of wine and blood ran mixed together.

Ver. 8. *The other lamb shalt thou offer at even*, &c.] All the foregoing verses relate to the morning sacrifice; and this only briefly prescribes, that the other lamb should be offered in the same manner at even, with the very same meat-offering and drink-offering. And as no sacrifice was to precede the morning burnt-offering, but it was to be offered first: so this at even was to conclude all the sacrifices of the day, and none to be offered after it.

A sweet savour unto the Lord.] As acceptable to him as the morning sacrifice.

Ver. 9. *On the sabbath day two lambs of the first year*] He doth not mean, that, whereas every morning and evening they offered one lamb, on the sabbath-day they should offer two; but that there should be two lambs offered on the sabbath, over and above the daily offering, as appears from ver. 10. Whether one of them were to be offered in the morning, and the other added at the evening sacrifice, it is not said: but it is most probable the sacrifices on the sabbath were so ordered. For the Jews say, that, at the time of this additional sacrifice in the morning of the sabbath, they sang at the temple the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), dividing it into six parts, and singing one part every sabbath; so that in six weeks they had finished it, and then began again. And at the evening sacrifice they sang that song of his Exod. xv. at which time the priests sounded the trumpets three times more than they did at the ordinary songs.

Two tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof] As the burnt-offerings were doubled on this day, so a double quantity of flour is ordered for the meat-offering that attended the burnt-offering (for only a tenth part of an ephah, ver. 5, was offered on other days), and consequently there was to be as much more oil and wine than daily. And here it may be fit to note, that, as soon as the drink-offering was poured out, then the song before mentioned began, with the trumpets and other instruments of music; but not till then: for the burnt-offering was not perfect, till the drink-offering, which was to accompany it, was offered; whereby it was completed (see Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, ch. 7. sect. 2).

Ver. 10.] The daily sacrifice was not to be omitted on the sabbath, but this was to be added to it; and, thence, by the Jews, called *musaph*. Of which sort there were seven more, which were to be added to the sacrifice of the day; viz. that in the new moon (ver. 11), at the passover (ver. 19), and the feast of Pentecost (ver. 26), in the beginning of the year (ch. xxix. 1), on the day of expiation (ver. 7), on the feast of tabernacles there were peculiar sacrifices for seven days together (Lev. xxiii. 35), and on the last day of the feast another (Numb. xxix. 35—37). All these were called *musaphim*, or *additional* sacrifices to the daily sacrifice.

11 ¶ And in the beginnings of your months ye shall offer a burnt offering unto the LORD; two young bullocks, and one ram, seven lambs of the first year without spot;

12 And three tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, for one bullock; and two tenth deals of flour for a meat offering, mingled with oil, for one ram;

13 And a several tenth deal of flour mingled with oil for a meat offering unto one lamb; for a burnt offering of a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the LORD.

Ver. 11. *In the beginnings of your months*] This solemn sacrifice seems to have been ordained by God, to prevent the idolatry which was usual among the gentiles; who worshipped the new moon with great rejoicings when it first appeared. Otherwise, the first day of every month was no festival; but only a day on which extraordinary sacrifices were offered with blowing of trumpets, as seems to be directed ch. x. 10 (see there): which was usual at all solemn sacrifices (as I noted before), otherways the feast of blowing with trumpets was only on the new moon of the seventh month, and no other. And therefore it is observable, that there is no mention made of the first day of the month among the festivals appointed in Lev. xxiii., and consequently servile work was lawful on this day; and nothing more required but only the following sacrifices. The Jews at this day say, this solemnity was appointed rather for the women than the men (for which they give a fabulous reason), who are bound to abstain from all works; but the men only from the most laborious, such as ploughing the ground, &c. (see Buxtorf's Synag. Judaica, cap. 22.)

Two young bullocks, and one ram, &c.] All these were burnt-offerings, which were offered besides the daily sacrifice, and besides the two lambs, if the first day of the month fell out to be a sabbath. In which case, and all others, where several solemnities met together on the same day, the daily sacrifice was offered first, and then the rest of the sacrifices peculiar for that day were to be performed, every one in its order. As for example, if the sabbath and new moon, and the feast of trumpets, fell out on the same day, they began with the daily morning sacrifice; after which followed the sacrifices proper to the sabbath; and after that the sacrifice appointed on the new moon; and then, those that belonged to the feasts of trumpets; and all was concluded with the evening sacrifice, as Abarbanel observes in his preface to the book of Leviticus.

Ver 12. *Three tenth deals of flour.*] That is, three tenth parts of an ephah (ver. 5).

For a meat offering,] i. e. For each bullock there was to be this proportion of flour; which is exactly according to the general rule before given (ch. xv. 9.)

Two tenth deals of flour,] This is the proportion there prescribed for a ram, as the other for a bullock (ch. xv. 6).

Ver. 13. *A several tenth deal of flour mingled with oil, &c.*] Unto each of the seven lambs before mentioned (ver. 11), a meat-offering was to be joined in less proportion than the other, according to the rule there given (ch. xv. 4).

For a burnt offering, &c.] See ver. 6.

Ver. 14. *Their drink offerings*] See ch. xv. 10.

Third part of an hin unto a ram,] See there, ver. 7.

Fourth part of an hin unto a lamb,] See there, ver. 5.

5. They that allegorize these things, think the new moon signifies the resurrection to a new life in the other world, where every one shall receive a reward

14 And their drink offerings shall be half an hin of wine unto a bullock, and the third part of an hin unto a ram, and a fourth part of an hin unto a lamb: this is the burnt offering of every month throughout the months of the year.

15 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering unto the LORD shall be offered, beside the continual burnt offering, and his drink offering.

16 And in the fourteenth day of the first month is the passover of the LORD.

17 And in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.

according to his measure. Thus Procopius Gazæus; in whom they that think such expositions useful may find entertainment.

This is the burnt offering of every month] There are more sacrifices appointed on the new moons, than on the sabbath itself; because they returned seldom. And the gentiles multiplying sacrifices on such occasions, if the Jews had not been thus employed in the worship of God, they might have been tempted to pay their services to idols.

Ver. 15. *One kid of the goats for a sin offering*] This sacrifice of a goat for a sin-offering, saith the same Procopius, is coupled with the rest, being a shadow of the passion of Christ, for whose sake all our sacrifices are acceptable unto God the Father.

Unto the Lord] It is well observed by Grotius, that these words "unto the Lord" were added, to put them in mind at this time of the right object of worship; when they were in danger to offer sacrifice to the moon, after the manner of the heathens. This is the more to be regarded, because a goat being appointed to be offered at two other solemnities, and to be offered for a sin-offering (ver. 23. 30), it is not said "unto the Lord" (though certainly so intended), because there was no danger at those times to direct their sacrifices to a wrong object, as there was upon the new moons; when the heathen offered a goat unto the moon, it being a creature whose horns are like to those of a new moon. R. Bechai long ago observed this: "A goat (saith he) was offered to extirpate the religion of those who worshipped the moon; which makes the Scripture say expressly *unto the Lord*." And Maimonides more largely in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46, where, after he had taken notice of the difference between sin-offerings and burnt-offerings, the latter of which being wholly burnt might be properly said to be *unto the Lord*, whereas sin-offerings were commonly eaten by the priests; he adds, that "this sin-offering is peculiarly said to be *unto the Lord*, lest any one should think this goat to be a sacrifice to the moon, after the manner of the Egyptians: which was not necessary to be said of the goats offered at other solemn times, because they were not in the beginning of the month, nor distinguished from other days by any natural sign, but only by the appointment of the law; which uses these words concerning this goat peculiarly, to pluck out of men's thoughts those inveterate and pernicious opinions of the gentiles; who had long sacrificed to the moon at this time, as they did to the sun at his rising, and when he entered into the several signs."

Beside the continual burnt offering, &c.] This is so often particularly mentioned, lest any should imagine it might be spared, when there were such liberal offerings of several kinds.

Ver. 16.] See Exod. xii. 6. 18. Lev. xxiii. 5, where it is called the Lord's passover (see Exod. xii. 27).

Ver. 17. *In the fifteenth day—is the feast;*] The fourteenth day at even the feast of the passover was

18 In the first day *shall be* an holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of servile work therein:

19 But ye shall offer a sacrifice made by fire for a burnt offering unto the LORD; two young bullocks, and one ram, and seven lambs of the first year: they shall be unto you without blemish:

20 And their meat offering *shall be* of flour mingled with oil: three tenth deals shall ye offer for a bullock, and two tenth deals for a ram;

21 A several tenth deal shalt thou offer for every lamb, throughout the seven lambs:

22 And one goat for a sin offering, to make an atonement for you.

23 Ye shall offer these beside the burnt offering in the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering.

24 After this manner ye shall offer daily, throughout the seven days, the meat of the sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD: it shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering, and his drink offering.

25 And on the seventh day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.

26 ¶ Also in the day of the first fruits, when ye bring a new meat offering unto the LORD, after your weeks *be out*, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work:

27 But ye shall offer the burnt offering for a

kept, as appears from Exod. xii. 14. But on the fifteenth day began another feast, called "the feast of unleavened bread" (see Lev. xxiii. 6).

Seven days] See Exod. xii. 15. xiii. 6, 7. Lev. xxiii. 6.

Ver. 18.] See Exod. xii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 7.

Ver. 19. *Ye shall offer a sacrifice*] The solemnity was ordained before, and offerings also in general prescribed to be made seven days (see Lev. xxiii. 8), but the particular sacrifices not set down till now.

Two young bullocks, &c.] The same sacrifices which were appointed to be offered upon every first day of the month (ver. 11).

Ver. 20.] The very same which were appointed on the first day of every month (ver. 12).

Ver. 21.] Just as it was in the forementioned sacrifice (ver. 13). And though the drink-offerings be not mentioned, they must be understood to be the same; because they always accompanied the meat-offerings of burnt-sacrifices, which were not complete without them.

Ver. 22.] As it was in the new moon (ver. 15). But meat and drink offerings did not accompany offerings for sin, save only in the case of a leper; who was to bring three offerings, a sin-offering, a trespass-offering, and a burnt-offering for his cleansing, with three tenth parts of an ephah of flour (Lev. xiv. 10, &c.).

Ver. 23.] There are two things that are here to be remarked; that these offerings (as I noted before) should not put by the continual burnt-sacrifice, but be added to it; and that all these were offered in the morning, after the daily morning sacrifice; and were not part of the evening sacrifice, which concluded all.

Ver. 24. *After this manner ye shall offer daily,*] Upon every one of the days of unleavened bread (ver. 17), which, though it was a great expense, yet was but a fitting acknowledgment of God's wonderful goodness to them, in bringing them out of the land of Egypt, with all their flocks and their herds; which was the foundation of all their happiness afterward, by making them a free people.

The meat of the sacrifice made by fire,] Here is the very same word with that ver. 2, where he calls this sacrifice his *lechem*, which we there translate *his bread*, but here very properly, his *meat* or *food*: which was set upon his table (the altar), every day, and by his fire from heaven consumed; which, according to the language of men, was called his eating of it: as the heathen gods also are said to eat the fat of their sacrifices (Deut. xxxii. 38).

Of a sweet savour unto the Lord:] Very acceptable to him: as hath been often observed.

It shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering,] There is the greatest care taken (by the fre-

quent repetition of this), that they should not think to save their daily sacrifice by these others; which were to be added to it, and not to supply the place of it (see ver. 15).

Ver. 25.] This last day of the feast was equal to the first (Lev. xxiii. 7, 8), and is called "a feast unto the LORD," Exod. xiii. 6.

Ver. 26. *Also in the day of the first fruits,*] Called "the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of their labours," Exod. xxiii. 16, and the *feast of weeks*, when they brought the first-fruits of wheat-harvest (Exod. xxxiv. 32. Deut. xvi. 10). The Jews in their writings, commonly call this feast by the name of *atzereth*, and so doth the Chaldee paraphrase upon this place; though Abarinel observes, that this alone, of all the three great feasts, is never called so in the Holy Scripture. It is hard therefore to tell, why the Jews call it so in a singular manner; but our learned Dr. Lightfoot hath made several probable conjectures about it; one of which (and most pertinent to this place) is, because there was a *restraint*, as the word signifies, upon the people, from bringing their first-fruits till this feast. If any did, they received them not from them, but laid them by till this day came (see Temple Service, ch. 14. sect. 4).

When ye bring a new meat offering] Mentioned Lev. xxiii. 16, which were two loaves made of their first corn, ver. 17, where they are called "the first-fruits unto the LORD."

After your weeks be out,] That is, the seven weeks which they were to number from the morrow after the sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 15), i. e. after the first day of unleavened bread: when they offered another sort of *first-fruits* (which must be carefully distinguished from those here mentioned), viz. of the barley-harvest which began at the passover; when they were to bring "a sheaf of their first-fruits unto the priest" (Lev. xxiii. 10), the presenting of which sheaf was an introduction to harvest, and procured them liberty to begin to put the sickle into the corn; which now, after seven weeks, they reaped, and carried in at this feast, when they brought these new first-fruits unto the LORD. All which is a description of that which in the New Testament is called the "feast of Pentecost;" being fifty days, as we read there in Leviticus, after the other great feast.

An holy convocation;] See Lev. xxiii. 21.

Ver. 27. *Ye shall offer the burnt offering*] Over and above the burnt-offering which was prescribed to be offered with the two loaves before mentioned (Lev. xxiii. 18), unto which this was an additional sacrifice, plainly distinct from it.

Two young bullocks, &c.] The very same that were ordered to be offered upon every new moon, and every day of the feast of unleavened bread, ver. 11.

sweet savour unto the LORD; two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs of the first year;

28 And their meat offering of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals unto one bullock, two tenth deals unto one ram.

29 A several tenth deal unto one lamb, throughout the seven lambs;

19, &c. whereas that in Leviticus is "one young bullock, two rams, and seven lambs."

Ver. 28.] The very same that is prescribed to accompany the burnt-offering on the new moon, and in the feast of unleavened bread (ver. 12. 20).

Ver. 29.] So it is ordained before in the former cases (ver. 13. 21).

Ver. 30.] Besides the kid prescribed for the same purpose, when the two loaves were offered (Lev. xxiii. 19), which was accompanied with "two lambs for a sacrifice of peace-offerings." So that there were a great many sacrifices offered at this famous festival; though it did not last so long as that of the passover.

Ver. 31. *Ye shall offer them beside the continual burnt offering.*] He still takes care that this daily sacrifice should not be omitted, by reason of such a number of other sacrifices, which were to attend upon it, but not to put it by (ver. 10. 15. 23).

(*They shall be unto you without blemish*)] This might have been sufficiently understood, from what was said of the daily offering (ver. 3) and of all the other prescribed in this chapter (ver. 11. 19). But, lest any profane person might think there was no need to be so

30 And one kid of the goats, to make an atonement for you.

31 Ye shall offer *them* beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, (they shall be unto you without blemish) and their drink offerings.

scrupulous about these sacrifices, because it is only said, "two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year" (ver. 27), these words are also here added, to take away all doubt; "they shall be unto you without blemish," i. e. as perfect as all the rest are ordered to be.

It is observable, that there is not so much as one *peace-offering* ordered in all this chapter, which was a sort of sacrifice that was most for the benefit of those that brought it to the altar; but all *burnt-offerings* (except a few *sin-offerings*), which were wholly for the honour of God, and acknowledgment of his sovereign dominion over them, and the duty they owed him. And as the *sin-offerings* were shadows of that great sacrifice of God's own Son, which was one day to be offered for the sins of men, out of his infinite love to them; so the *whole burnt-offerings* (which were always of the most perfect creatures, the finest flour, the choicest fruits of the earth, and the best liquor) were shadows of that excellent degree of piety, which the Son of God intended to bring into the world; which would move men, out of love to God, to give themselves wholly up to him, and devote all they had, even their own lives, to his service.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *The offering at the feast of trumpets, 7 at the day of afflicting their souls, 13 and on the eight days of the feast of tabernacles.*

1 AND in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: it is a day of blowing the trumpets unto you.

2 And ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet savour unto the LORD; one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year without blemish:

3 And their meat offering shall be of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals for a bullock, and two tenth deals for a ram,

4 And one tenth deal for one lamb, throughout the seven lambs:

5 And one kid of the goats for a sin offering, to make an atonement for you:

6 Besides the burnt offering of the month, and

CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1. *In the seventh month.*] Which was anciently the first month of the year; but now the seventh, reckoning from that wherein the passover was kept: which for a special reason was made the first (see Exod. x. 2).

Ye shall have an holy convocation.] So it was ordained before, Lev. xxiii. 24, 25.

It is a day of blowing the trumpets.] In that place of Leviticus it is called "a memorial of blowing of trumpets" from morning until evening; which the Jews fancy was to awaken them to repentance, upon the great day of expiation, which followed on the tenth day of this month. But it was manifestly intended quite contrary, to excite them unto joy and gladness: for *zichron teruah* is a memorial of jubilation, triumph, and shouting for joy; the word *teruah* being never used in Scripture, but for a sound, or shout of gladness; as the Chaldee word *jabbaba*, which is here used by the paraphrast, always signifies. And this agrees with their notion, who think it was a special remembrance of the crea-

tion of the world, at which the angels rejoiced. Or, it might be ordained to stir up the people to a grateful remembrance of all God's benefits the year past. Whatsoever was the cause, certain it is, this seventh month was very famous on this account, that more solemn days were to be kept in it than in all the year besides; and upon that account, the people might be awakened, by this blowing of trumpets, to observe them aright.

Ver. 2. *Ye shall offer a burnt offering.*] Over and above all other sacrifices, which were heretofore ordered upon this day, as appears from ver. 6.

One young bullock, &c.] This is less than was appointed upon the foregoing festivals (ch. xxviii. 19. 27), because those very sacrifices were also to be offered upon this day, on another account; as I shall observe on ver. 6.

Ver. 3.] This is the proportion appointed, by a general rule, for all sacrifices of this kind (see the fifth chapter of this book, ver. 6. 9).

Ver. 4.] So it is there appointed (ver. 4).

Ver. 5.] As is appointed in the foregoing festivals (ch. xxviii. 15. 22. 30).

his meat offering, and the daily burnt offering, and his meat offering, and their drink offerings, according unto their manner, for a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.

7 ¶ And ye shall have on the tenth day of this seventh month an holy convocation; and ye shall afflict your souls: ye shall not do any work therein:

8 But ye shall offer a burnt offering unto the Lord for a sweet savour; one young bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year; they shall be unto you without blemish:

9 And their meat offering shall be of flour mingled with oil, three tenth deals to a bullock, and two tenth deals to one ram,

Ver. 6. *Beside the burnt offering of the month, and his meat offering.*] It was appointed before, that in the beginning of every month there should be a burnt-offering offered of two bullocks, &c. (ch. xxviii. 11, 12.) which was not to be omitted in the beginning of this month; but these other sacrifices added to the offerings of every new moon: which made this a greater new moon than any other; being the first moon of the old civil year.

The daily burnt offering.] With which the solemnity of the day began; and then followed the proper sacrifices belonging to it.

According unto their manner.] Or, in the order which God appointed: which I observed before (on ch. xxviii. 11.) was this: that, first, the daily burnt-sacrifice was offered; then the sacrifices appointed for the first day of every month; and then those appointed for this first day of the seventh month.

For a sweet savour.] Which was acceptable to the Divine Majesty, when performed according to his directions.

Ver. 7. *An holy convocation.*] This solemn assembly is ordered twice before in this book of Leviticus (ch. xvi. 29. xxiii. 27.), and here repeated, perhaps, for the sake of Eleazar and Joshua, who were newly advanced to their several offices, that they might take special notice of it, and see it observed.

Ye shall afflict your souls.] That was the special intention of it (as we read in both the forenamed places), that they might receive the benefit of the atonement on this day made.

Ye shall not do any work therein.] It was to be observed as strictly as a sabbath (Lev. xvi. 31. xxiii. 32), wherein they were to abstain not merely from servile work, but from all manner of work whatsoever (Lev. xvi. 29. xxiii. 28. 30).

Ver. 8. *Offer a burnt offering—for a sweet savour.*] Endeavour to procure acceptance of the rest of the sacrifices of the day, with this whole burnt-offering, besides the daily sacrifice; as it follows (ver. 11).

One young bullock, &c.] The same that were appointed on the foregoing solemnity, ver. 2. (except the monthly offering, ver. 6.) to which was added another ram for a burnt-offering (Lev. xvi. 5), as a devout acknowledgment that they owned him alone for their sovereign Lord.

Ver. 9, 10.] The meat-offering attending these burnt-offerings was to be in the same proportion as before ordered (ver. 3, 4).

Ver. 11. *One kid of the goats.*] As was appointed in the foregoing solemnity (ver. 5).

Beside the sin offering of atonement.] Mentioned Lev. xvi. 9, &c. whose blood was carried by the high-priest into the most holy place; which was done in no other sacrifice but that, and the bullock which was

10 A several tenth deal for one lamb, throughout the seven lambs:

11 One kid of the goats for a sin offering; beside the sin offering of atonement, and the continual burnt offering, and the meat offering of it, and their drink offerings.

12 ¶ And on the fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work, and ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days:

13 And ye shall offer a burnt offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord; thirteen young bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish:

offered as a sin-offering for the family of Aaron on the same day (Lev. xvi. 11).

And the continual burnt offering, &c.] These were no more to be omitted on the great day of atonement, than on any other day; but the service of the day was to begin with the continual burnt-offering; and then followed the burnt-offerings, with the meat and drink-offerings belonging to them, and the sin-offering here prescribed; and then the sacrifice of atonement, and all that is ordered in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, for the expiation of the sins of all the people of Israel: which sacrifice the present Jews now wanting, and yet being sensible of the necessity of some satisfaction, but not believing in our blessed Saviour, who hath fully made it for all mankind; they are in a lamentable plunge, and are put to most wretched shifts to devise something to supply the place of the sacrifice of atonement, which was wont to be made for them. One is their *own death*; it being the continual prayer of every one of them upon their death-bed, "Let my death be the expiation for my sins." Another is (which is so absurd, that Leo Modena saith they do not use it now in Italy, nor in the eastern countries), the killing of a white cock (if one can be got) by the men, and a white hen by the women, on the eve of this day, saying, "Let this cock be an exchange for me; let it come in my stead; let it be my expiation; let it die, but I and Israel live happily;" as Buxtorf shows in his Synagog. Judaica, cap. 25. Which I should not here mention, were it not to show, that they have the very same notion still of a sacrifice for sin (even now that they can only make an imitation of it), which we have of the sacrifice of Christ, who was put in our place, and offered himself to God in our stead; and that it ought to be pure and innocent, which is offered instead of a sinner.

Ver. 12. *An holy convocation.*] See Lev. xxiii. 35. *And ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days.*] viz. The feast of tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 34), which was after the harvest and vintage (Deut. xvi. 13), and kept seven days with great joy and gladness of heart; but they were not bound to abstain from servile work all this time, but only on the first day and on the seventh.

Ver. 13. *Ye shall offer a burnt offering.*] The same kind of sacrifice which was prescribed on the other festivals, to be offered up wholly in honour of God: but here is a far larger proportion than in any other solemnity.

Thirteen young bullocks, &c.] On the other festivals two bullocks sufficed (ch. xxviii. 11. 19. 27), and on the festival in the beginning of this month only one was appointed; but here are thirteen; and so they continued to be offered seven days successively, with

14 And their meat offering *shall be of flour mingled with oil*, three tenth deals unto every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth deals to each ram of the two rams,

15 And a several tenth deal to each lamb of the fourteen lambs :

16 And one kid of the goats *for a sin offering*; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.

17 ¶ And on the second day *ye shall offer* twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs of the first year without spot :

18 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, *shall be* according to their number, after the manner :

19 And one kid of the goats *for a sin offering*; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meat offering thereof, and their drink offerings.

20 ¶ And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish ;

21 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, *shall be* according to their number, after the manner :

22 And one goat *for a sin offering*; besides the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, and his drink offering.

23 ¶ And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, *and* fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish :

24 Their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, *shall be* according to their number, after the manner :

25 And one kid of the goats *for a sin offer-*

ing; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.

26 ¶ And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, *and* fourteen lambs of the first year without spot :

27 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, *shall be* according to their number, after the manner :

28 And one goat *for a sin offering*; beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, and his drink offering.

29 ¶ And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, *and* fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish :

30 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, *shall be* according to their number, after the manner :

31 And one goat *for a sin offering*; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.

32 ¶ And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, *and* fourteen lambs of the first year without blemish :

33 And their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, *shall be* according to their number, after the manner :

34 And one goat *for a sin offering*; beside the continual burnt offering, his meat offering, and his drink offering.

35 ¶ On the eighth day *ye shall have a solemn assembly*: *ye shall do no servile work therein* :

36 But *ye shall offer a burnt offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord*: one bullock, one ram, seven lambs of the first year without blemish :

the decrease only of one bullock every day, till on the seventh day only seven bullocks were offered, which in all made seventy bullocks. The rams also and the lambs were in a double proportion to what was usual throughout the whole festival; which was a vast charge, but more easy at this time of the year than any other, because now their barns were full, and their winepresses overflowed; and their hearts might well be supposed to be more enlarged than at other times, in thankfulness to God for his great benefits. Yet this very gross, troublesome, and expensive way of serving God, made the best men among them groan, and long for the coming of Christ; in whose days, their own doctors say, "no sacrifices shall remain, but those of thanksgiving, and praise, and prayer." With which they have been forced to be content for above sixteen hundred years; and, instead of these additional sacrifices unto the daily, have added peculiar prayers (which they also call *musaphim*) unto the common prayers they used every day (see Buxtorf concerning the feast of the new moon, in his Synagog. Jud. cap. 22).

Ver. 14, 15, &c.] The same proportions which are ordered, by a general rule, to every sacrifice of a bullock, and of a ram (ch. xv.).

Ver. 16.] There is no augmentation of the sin-offering; but it is the same with that on other festivals (ver. 5). And all these sacrifices, it appears by this, were to be added to the daily sacrifice.

Ver. 17.] Here one bullock less, than on the day before, is ordered to be offered; and so on every succeeding day there is still a decrease of one bullock; which is all the difference between the offerings on the seven days of this feast, upon every one of which there was the same number of rams and lambs, without any diminution. Which Moses thought fit to set down distinctly from this verse to the thirty-fifth, that there might be no mistake. But little need be noted upon them.

Ver. 18.] Prescribed ver. 14, 15.

Ver. 35. *A solemn assembly*.] There is a peculiar word here used to denote this to be a great day, as I noted upon Lev. xxiii. 36 (see there).

Ye shall do no servile work] It was to be observed as the first day of the feast of tabernacles, both of them being called a sabbath, Lev. xxiii. 39.

Ver. 36. *Ye shall offer a burnt offering*.] Here is a peculiar sacrifice appointed upon this day, in the same terms as upon the first day of the feast of tabernacles (ver. 13).

One bullock, &c.] But though this was an extraordinary day, and a distinct festival (as I showed upon Lev. xxiii. 39), yet here are fewer sacrifices prescribed on this day, than upon any of the foregoing seven. For on every one of them two rams were offered and fourteen lambs; and here but half so many: and seven bullocks were the fewest that were offered upon any of those days (and on the first day

37 Their meat offering and their drink offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, *shall be according to their number, after the manner:*

38 And one goat *for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and his meat offering, and his drink offering.*

thirteen), but here only one. By which God consulted, perhaps, the weakness of mankind, who naturally grew weary both of the charge and of the labour of such services, when they were long continued; and therefore he made them every day less toilsome and expensive; and put them in mind, likewise, that the multitude of sacrifices did not procure their acceptance with God; and in length of time they would come to nothing, and be utterly abolished, to establish something better in their room.

Ver. 37.] In such proportions as God had before ordained in the fifteenth chapter of this book, in the beginning of it; as I have often observed.

Ver. 38.] This is never omitted upon any festival (ch. xviii. 15. 23. 30. xxix. 5. 11. 16. 19, &c.), to put them in mind, that, after all their services, they stood in need of forgiveness.

Ver. 39. *These things ye shall do (or offer) unto the Lord in your set feasts.*] All these feasts were fixed and stated at certain times; on which God was to be worshipped after the manner here prescribed in these two chapters. For all these offerings (except one sin-offering, upon each set day) were wholly burnt-offerings (as I have already observed), which may properly be said to be done, that is, offered *unto the Lord*;

39 *These things ye shall do unto the Lord in your set feasts, beside your vows, and your free-will offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your meat offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings.*

40 And Moses told the children of Israel according to all that the Lord commanded Moses.

neither people nor priests having any share in them.

Beside your vows, &c.] Besides these, every man might offer other burnt-offerings; either in performance of a vow, or freely, out of his affection to God (see ch. xv. 3).

For your meat offerings.] There are five several sorts of meat-offerings; which were left to every man's free-will, to bring as he pleased. See the second chapter of Leviticus, where they are described.

For your peace offerings.] These are described in the third chapter of that book; a great number of which, it is likely, men offered voluntarily upon all the forementioned festivals; for otherwise they would have had no means to feast with God at his house, nor to entertain their friends and neighbours, as the custom was at such times of public rejoicing; which they did upon that part of the peace-offerings which was given them, after the fat was offered to God, and the wave-breast and heave-shoulder given to the priest (Lev. vii. 15, &c. 34).

Ver. 40.] He acquainted all the people (by the heads of their tribes, perhaps, of whom we read in the beginning of the next chapter) with all these commands of God, which concerned his worship and service.

CHAPTER XXX.

1 *Vows are not to be broken.* 3 *The exception of a maid's vow.* 6 *Of a wife's.* 9 *Of a widow's, or her that is divorced.*

1 AND Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes concerning the children of Israel, saying, *This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded.*

2 If a man vow a vow unto the Lord, or swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond; he shall not break his word, he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.

CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes*] There were wont to be extraordinary assemblies of these, or other great men, upon special occasions, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. ii. De Syne. cap. 14. n. 4), who are sometimes called, as they are here, "the heads of all the tribes, and the elders" (Deut. v. 23), and, in other places, "the heads of the people" (Deut. xxx. 5), "the whole congregation of the children of Israel" (Josh. xviii. 1. xxii. 12), "the chief of all the people" (Judg. xx. 2), "all Israel" (1 Sam. vii. 5), "all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes" (1 Chron. xxviii. 1), "all the elders of Israel, and heads of the tribes, and chief of the fathers" (2 Chron. v. 2), "the counsel of the princes and elders" (Ezra x. 8). And it is commonly said by the Hebrew doctors, concerning such assemblies, that "where-soever the children of Israel were met together, or the greater part of them, there the Shechinah" (that is, the Divine Majesty, or the Holy Ghost, as they sometimes speak) "was wont to rest."

Concerning the children of Israel.] Acquainted them with a matter which concerned all the people; willing them to communicate it to them.

This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded.]

It is very probable there had been some case propounded to him about vows: concerning which he here gives such rules, as might direct them in time to come.

Ver. 2. *If a man*] It is reasonable to think that this includes the other sex also; provided they be in their own power, and not subject to another, and be in their right mind.

Vow a vow unto the Lord.] Promise solemnly unto God something that is for his honour and service; for that seems to be meant by "unto the Lord:" as, that he will offer some sacrifice at the feast above mentioned, more than is prescribed; or afflict his soul on some other day, besides the day of atonement (see ver. 13).

Or swear an oath to bind his soul] Whether it be a simple vow, or bound also with a solemn oath; which made a double obligation, by calling God to witness the sincerity of his intentions.

He shall not break his word.] In the Hebrew it is, "he shall not profane his word;" for it being solemnly passed to God, it made him vile and contemptible if he did not keep it. The Jewish doctors very prudently advise their scholars not to accustom themselves to make vows, but to content themselves with doing what the law commands, and abstaining

3 If a woman also vow a vow unto the LORD, and bind herself by a bond, being in her father's house in her youth;

4 And her father hear her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father shall hold his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand.

5 But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth; not any of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and the LORD shall forgive her, because her father disallowed her.

6 And if she had at all an husband, when she vowed, or uttered ought out of her lips, wherewith she bound her soul;

7 And her husband heard it, and held his peace at her in the day that he heard it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she bound her soul shall stand.

8 But if her husband disallowed her on the day that he heard it; then he shall make her vow which she vowed, and that which she uttered with her lips, wherewith she bound her soul, of none effect: and the LORD shall forgive her.

9 But every vow of a widow, and of her that is divorced, wherewith they have bound their souls, shall stand against her.

10 And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath;

11 And her husband heard it, and held his peace at her, and disallowed her not: then all

from what it forbids; but if they did make them, to look upon it as a high affront to God not to perform them.

He shall do] If the thing be lawful, and possible. And if he appointed no time for the doing of it, he was to think himself obliged to do it presently, without delay (Deut. xxii. 21).

Ver. 3. *If a woman also vow a vow*] As most interpreters think the word *man*, in the foregoing verse, comprehends women, who were in as perfect liberty as the men he speaks of; so the word *woman* here comprehends all men, who are in the same circumstances with those women, whom he here directs in their vows: whom he considers in a threefold state; before they are married, and after marriage, and in their widowhood.

Bind herself by a bond,] By an oath, wherewith she confirms her vow; as it seems to be interpreted, ver. 10. 13.

Being in her father's house in her youth;] That is, being a part of his family, and still under his government, and not married. For the father's power lasts no longer, as Grotius observes (lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 5. n. 7). In which condition likewise are all sons, who remain in their father's family, undisposed of in marriage: and all servants, who are manifestly in subjection to their masters; and therefore could no more resolve to do what they pleased, than the women here mentioned.

Ver. 4. *And her father hear her vow, and her bond*] The first of these may relate to her simple vow; and the next to an oath wherewith she binds it, to make it firmer: which her father is supposed to hear, either when she spake the words, or when she acquainted him with her vow, as in duty she was bound to do.

Her father shall hold his peace at her:] If he did not declare that he disallowed what she had promised, it was supposed he consented to it: unless he said he would take time to consider, and neither allow nor disallow for the present; in which case, in all reason, she was to wait for his resolution.

Then all her vows shall stand, &c.] It was not in his power afterward to disannul any of them, if he did not contradict them when he was told of them, or after the time he had taken for deliberation.

Ver. 5. *If her father disallow her in the day that he heareth;*] As soon as he comes acquainted with it.

Not any of her vows, or of her bonds—shall stand:] Though she had bound her vows with an oath, they were not to be performed, when her father had declared his will to the contrary.

The Lord shall forgive her.] The not performing her vow shall not be imputed to her as a sin.

Because her father disallowed her.] Whose consent was supposed to be necessary, before the vow could

be binding; she being, while a part of his family, under his power, and not her own. Some have fancied, that when her father was dead the vow revived, because then she was at her own disposal; but it is plain, her father wholly disannulled the vow, when he did not approve it; so that it could not recover a force it never had, being made without his consent. The same is to be said of a guardian, who was supposed to be in the place of a father, when he died and left his children to his care. And this power was fit to be reserved to parents (as a late learned man, Puffendorf, observes), not only lest women, in their imprudent years, should undo themselves, by vowing more than their fortunes could bear; but also, lest the paternal estate should be burdened by such vows, or the necessary affairs of the family hindered. So that this power did not flow from positive laws, but from natural reason; nobody that is subject to another having any right to dispose of those things which are under that power to which they are subject.

Ver. 6. *If she had at all an husband, when she vowed,*] Was a married woman, or espoused to a husband, though still in her father's house (as it appears from ver. 10, this must be interpreted), when she made this vow, then it was to be considered, not what her father, but her husband (under whose power she now was) should determine about it.

Or uttered ought—wherewith she bound her soul;] Said any thing, which she confirmed by an oath.

Ver. 7. *And her husband heard it,*] Either was present when she spake it; or she told it him afterward.

And held his peace at her] Said nothing to signify his disallowance of it (see ver. 4).

Her vows shall stand,] As before (ver. 4).

Ver. 8.] See ver. 5, where there is the same case of a daughter under the power of her father, as here of a wife under the power of her husband.

Ver. 9.] The reason of this is so plain, that one would think it needed not to have been mentioned, because such women were wholly in their own power, being free from their husbands. Therefore it is very probable he speaks here of a widow, or divorced woman, returned to her father's house (as the manner frequently was, Lev. xxii. 13), who might be supposed to recover his ancient power over her, to disannul her vows, as he might before she was married: which is here absolutely condemned; for though she lived with him, she was her own woman (as we now speak), and might dispose of herself and her goods as she pleased, without his consent.

Ver. 10.] i. e. Engaged herself in a vow, and perhaps confirmed it with an oath, while she and her husband lived together, or before she was divorced from him.

Ver. 11.] She was bound, in this case, to make them

her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound her soul shall stand.

12 But if her husband hath utterly made them void on the day he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and the Lord shall forgive her.

13 Every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void.

14 But if her husband altogether hold his

good after he was dead, or she was divorced from him.

Ver. 12.] Then, when she was in her own power, by his death, or by a divorce, she was not bound to make them good; because, when she made them, her husband, under whose power she then was, had utterly made them void.

Ver. 13. *To afflict the soul.*] This shows what the matter of these vows frequently was; to abstain from such or such meats, though in themselves lawful; or to fast, and eat nothing at all on other days, as well as on the great day of expiation; which was the only fast ordained by the law of Moses.

Her husband may establish it, or—make it void.] There is an excellent discourse of Maimonides, in his More Nevochim (par. iii. cap. 48), to show that this is most reasonable; where he observes, that, as the law prohibited some meats, so pious people sometimes vowed to forbear such as were not prohibited; that by this means they might learn contentment with a little, or continence, and give a check to an immoderate appetite. From whence the saying among the doctors, that “Vows are the hedge of separation;” i. e. a great guard to a holy life. But since, through the vehemence of their affections and passions, many women are prone to act unadvisedly, if vows were wholly in their power, great inconveniences, dissensions, and confusions, might arise in families, whilst this sort of meat is lawful to the husband, but not to the wife; this permitted to the daughter, but prohi-

bited to the mother. For which reason (saith he) this authority was given to the governors of families; in all things to order them, as they saw would be for their profit, or detriment.

Ver. 14. *But if her husband*] Or, *for* if her husband. *Altogether hold his peace*] When he knew what she had vowed; as it follows in the end of the verse.

He establisheth all her vows.] His silence was to be interpreted a consent to allow what she vowed. There was no need to add the contrary; which is here to be understood: that if he said he did not allow them, then they should not bind her.

Ver. 15. *If he shall any ways make them void after that he hath heard them;*] Hinder her from performing her vow, after he had given his consent, by saying nothing against it, when he heard her make the vow.

Then he shall bear her iniquity.] God will punish him, not her, for not performing the vow. Paulus Fagius thinks the meaning is, that if the first day he heard of her vow he did not disannul it, but attempted to do it the next day, or the third day after, he should bear the blame, if the vow was not made good.

Ver. 16.] It is likely some differences arose in some families about these matters; and therefore these laws were made for the settling the power of husbands over their wives, and parents over their children, while they were young, and continued a part of their family.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *The Midianites are spoiled, and Balaam slain.* 13 *Moses is wroth with the officers, for saving the women alive.* 19 *How the soldiers, with their captives and spoil, are to be purified.* 25 *The proportion whereby the prey is to be divided.* 48 *The voluntary oblation unto the treasury of the Lord.*

1 AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

2 *Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Moses.*] Not long before his death, as appears from the next verse.

Ver. 2. *Avenge—Israel of the Midianites.*] This had been commanded before, but no time set for it; which now is determined. The Moabites are not mentioned; because the Midianites seem to have been the first or chief contrivers of that mischief which befell the Israelites, by the enticements of their women (see ch. xxv. 17, 18).

Afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people.] When he had given a few other directions, concerning their possessing the countries already conquered, and the land of Canaan (ch. xxxii. xxxiv. xxxv.), and

3 And Moses spake unto the people, saying, Arm some of yourselves unto the war, and let them go against the Midianites, and avenge the Lord of Midian.

providing for the Levites there (ch. xxxvi.). God had warned him to prepare for his death before this (ch. xxvii. 12), but he first let him have the satisfaction of seeing the Midianites punished; and gave him some time to settle the public affairs, and to make also a long exhortation to the Israelites, to observe all that he had commanded them.

Ver. 3.] He speedily put his command in execution; which might possibly be in the ninth month of the fortieth year.

Arm some of yourselves] He doth not at first determine the number; but as many as pleased might offer themselves voluntarily, to be ready to obey him.

Let them go—and avenge the Lord of Midian.] The Lord bade him “avenge the children of Israel” (ver.

4 Of every tribe a thousand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the war.

5 So there were delivered out of the thousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for war.

6 And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe, them and Phinehas the son of Elea-

zar the priest, to the war, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow in his hand.

7 And they warred against the Midianites, as the Lord commanded Moses; and they slew all the males.

8 And they slew the kings of Midian, beside the rest of them that were slain; *namely*, Evi,

2), but Moses bids them "avenge the Lord;" for they had the same interest, and were both injured at the same time, and by the same means. And as God was so gracious as to resent the evil done to Israel, so Moses, in duty and gratitude to God, thought himself bound rather to consider the dishonour that was done to him, whose war this was; not only because undertaken by his command, but in his quarrel (with those who had drawn the Israelites to idolatry), and for the sake of his people.

Ver. 4.] When a great many, perhaps all the people, appeared ready to go to war, he ordered that only a select number should be sent, of a thousand out of each of the twelve tribes.

Ver. 5. *So there were delivered—a thousand of every tribe.*] Their officers picked out this number from among the rest; or they were chosen by lot for this service; or they stepped out and offered themselves volunteers (as we speak), which the twenty-seventh verse may seem to countenance, where they are called "those that took the war upon them."

Twelve thousand armed] This was but a small number, compared with the whole nation of the Midianites (who had five kings, ver. 8). But God would have them rely more upon him than upon the multitude of a host; and let them see, by their success against this people, that they needed not fear the conquest of Canaan.

Ver. 6. *Moses sent them to the war.*] He gave them their commission to fight the Midianites.

Them and Phinehas] Who was not their commander-in-chief (or their general, as we now speak), for it did not belong to the priestly office to conduct armies: and it is said expressly in the words following, he went "with the holy instruments," &c. to be ready to perform all such sacred offices as should be required by the general, who, it is most likely, was Joshua. It is true, indeed, that Phinehas was a man of great courage, and had lately performed a singular piece of service, which had won him great reputation. This hath made some think, he was the fitter to go and to avenge the Lord on Midian, as he had begun to do (ch. xxv. 8). In aftertimes also, in the days of the Maccabees, who were of the family of the priests, the armies of Israel were led by them against their enemies. But then it must be considered, that they were also the supreme governors of the people, and there were no other.

With the holy instruments.] By which Jonathan understands the *urim* and *thummim*; which some think Phinehas carried along with him, wherewith to consult the Divine Majesty, in case of any difficulty that might arise about the management of the war. And to make out this, they suppose Eleazar to be old and crazy, or labouring under some infirmity; which was the reason that Phinehas his son was substituted in his room to perform this office (see our very learned Dr. Spencer, Dissert. De Urim et Thummim, cap. 6. sect. 2). But this may be justly doubted, whether Phinehas being only the son of the high-priest, and not yet capable of that office, could be substituted to perform this great charge, which belonged to the high-priest alone. Nor do we find any warrant for consulting the Lord by *urim* and *thummim*, but only before the most holy place (see ch.

xxvii. 21). And therefore it seems to me far more likely that he means the *ark*, which was wont to be carried, in following times, into the field, when they went to fight with their enemies (1 Sam. iv. 4, 5. xiv. 18. 2 Sam. xi. 1). Yea, Joshua himself, not long after this time, ordered the ark to be carried, with priests blowing the trumpets before it, when he surrounded Jericho (Josh. vi. 4. 6, 7, &c.). And therefore the "holy instruments" being here joined with "the trumpets to blow in his hand," it makes it the more probable, that the *ark* may be here meant; there being also something in this very book to countenance this opinion (see ch. xiv. 44, but especially ch. xxxii. 20. 22).

But it must be confessed that it is never thus expressed in any other place of Holy Scripture, but always called the *ark of God*, or of the *covenant*, or the *testimony*, or the like. And therefore, perhaps, they give the truest sense of these words, who take the following words to be an explication of them: that is, the *trumpets* were the *holy instruments*, which he carried in his hand.

The trumpets] Which he delivered to the priests who followed him, to sound an alarm when they went to fight, according to the direction, ch. x. 8, 9; and as the practice was in future ages (2 Chron. xiii. 12).

Ver. 7. *They warred against the Midianites.*] It is not certain whether the Midianites came out of their country to give them battle; or they first broke into their country, and then fought their army.

As the Lord commanded Moses.] One would think this meant no more, but that they obeyed the commandment of God before mentioned (ver. 2). But the Jews think he hath respect to another particular commandment, which they say was given by Moses, when they went out to this war; that they should not, when they besieged any city, begird it quite round, but only on three sides; leaving one naked, that the besieged might flee away, if they pleased; by which means effusion of human blood was prevented. So Guil. Shickard observes out of Siphri in his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 5. Theor. 18; and Mr. Selden since him, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 15, where he shows they understand this of all wars but those against the seven nations in Canaan and Amalek; towards whom this kindness was not shown, as appears by the siege of Jericho. But the laws about managing wars, which are mentioned in the book of Deuteronomy, do not seem to have been yet given; though the Jews fancy this law was now given about Midian, and observed ever after.

They slew all the males.] Who were in this fight, and did not save themselves by flight.

Ver. 8. *They slew the kings of Midian.*] Little kings, called princes, Josh. xiii. 21, where they are said to be dukes of Sihon, i. e. great men tributary to Sihon, while he continued king of the Amorites. But after the Israelites had conquered him, they took, perhaps, the title of kings.

Beside the rest of them that were slain.] They made not only a great slaughter of the people, but killed their chief commanders, who led them on.

Evi, and Rehem, and Zur, &c.] They are particularly named, that all their neighbours might be satis-

and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword.

9 And the children of Israel took *all* the women of Midian captives, and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods.

10 And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire.

11 And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, *both* of men and of beasts.

12 And they brought the captives, and the prey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which *are* by Jordan *near* Jericho.

fied of the truth of this history. And he that is called Zur, is thought to have been the father of Cozbi, whom Phinehas slew.

Balaam—they slew with the sword.] He had seen such good success of his wicked counsel (which he gave either as he went home, or returning again to them: see ch. xxiv. ult.) that, presuming the Israelites were forsaken of their God, he adventured to go along with the Midianites unto this battle; hoping he might curse the Israelites, now that iniquity (i. e. idolatry) was found among them; which he could not do while they were free from it. Thus he perished by his own wicked devices; and was so far from having his wish, that he might "die the death of the righteous" (that is, live long), that (as the Jews say) he was slain in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The doctors in the Gemara of the Sanhedrin (cap. 11, sec. 11) ask, "What did he here?" To which R. Johanan makes answer, "He went to receive his reward for the death of the twenty-four thousand Israelites which he had procured (ch. xxv. 9). And thus, saith another, "it happened unto him, according to the proverb, The camel went to desire horns, and they cut off his ears."

Ver. 9. *Took all the women of Midian captives, and their little ones,*] After they were masters of the field (as we speak) by the overthrow of their armies, they fell upon their cities; and, according to the ancient custom in the most bloody wars, they killed only the men, but no women nor children (Gen. xxxiv. 25. 1 Kings xi. 16). And so the law of God afterward required they should do, when they took any city that did not belong to the Canaanites (Deut. xx. 13, 14), who were utterly to be destroyed, ver. 16, 17, where he saith, "Thou shalt save nothing alive that breatheth."

Took the spoil of all their cattle, &c.] As belonging to them, by the right of conquest, in a just war.

Ver. 10.] Made the country desolate, that they who fled might have no encouragement to return again; nor be able, without great hazard, to settle themselves there, where they had not a fortress left to defend them. This was but a necessary care; notwithstanding which they had peopled the country again so well, in the space of about two hundred years, that they were able to oppress the Israelites; as we read Judges iv. 1.

Ver. 11.] They had possessed themselves of them before (ver. 9), but now they carried them away.

Ver. 12. *They brought the captives, and the prey, and the spoil,*] Here are three different words to express their booty, which they brought to the camp of Israel: the first of which signifies the women and children that were taken; the second, the cattle and the flocks

13 ¶ And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without the camp.

14 And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host, *with* the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, which came from the battle.

15 And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive?

16 Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord.

17 Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him.

(though sometimes it includes in it men and women); and the third their money and goods.

Unto Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation] Unto the seventy elders, and princes of the tribes, who were assembled with them (see ch. xxix. 1), as it seems to be expounded in the next verse.

At the plains of Moab,] From whence they marched against Midian; and had been encamped there a great while (ch. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3. 63).

Ver. 13. Hearing they were returned victorious, they went to congratulate them before they came into the camp; for which there was also another reason, mentioned ver. 19. This shows that Eleazar was not so infirm as some suppose; and affords an argument to strengthen their opinion, who think Joshua was now general of the host; otherwise he would have been mentioned, together with Moses and Eleazar, as going to meet them; being chosen his coadjutor, and therefore superior to all the princes that are here joined with them.

Ver. 14.] Who were more to blame than the soldiers, whose duty it was to obey, not to give orders, which they received, no doubt, from the officers, to kill only the men. Here now is an argument to the contrary, that Joshua did not command in chief; but this being only a detachment (as they now speak) from the host of Israel, was led by some inferior officer, the first captain of thousands, perhaps; for if Joshua had been there, Moses would have expostulated with him, or rather, there would have been no cause for this rebuke; he being a man *in whom was the spirit* (ch. xxvii. 18).

Ver. 15. *Have ye saved all the women alive?*] Unless he had commanded them to be killed, one cannot see that they deserved to be chidden; because they proceeded according to the rules of all worthy warriors, who killed only those who could bear arms against them. But either he had given some directions who should be killed, or he expected they should have considered, that the women had killed more by their blandishments, than their husbands could do by their arms (for they had not killed one man, ver. 49), and therefore should have been destroyed, as the most mischievous: for so it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 16. *Behold,*] Reflect upon what is lately past, and consider.

These caused the children of Israel,—to commit trespass] By these they had been inveigled into a heinous sin, and made obnoxious to a very heavy punishment, which God inflicted upon them on that account. For though the Moabitish women had a great hand in it (ch. xxv. 1), yet those of Midian seem to have

18 But all the women children, that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves.

19 And do ye abide without the camp seven days: whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify *both* yourselves and your captives on the third day, and on the seventh day.

20 And purify all your raiment, and all that is made of skins, and all work of goats' hair, and all things made of wood.

been the chief seducers (ver. 6. 17, 18), and, perhaps, he feared might be so again.

Ver. 17. *Kill every male*] That the nation might be extirpated, as far as lay in their power.

Kill every woman that hath known man.] For these, it is to be supposed, had been the most instrumental in the crime before mentioned; either by prostituting themselves, or their daughters, to the lust of the Israelites; and thereby drawing them to idolatry: in which sin they were so settled, that there was no hope of reclaiming them; but they might rather (if they had been saved alive) have enticed the Israelites to commit the same again.

Ver. 18. *All the women children, that have not known a man—keep alive*] Being young, there was some hope they might be brought off from idolatry, and become proselytes to the true religion.

For yourselves.] To be sold as slaves to any other nation, or to be kept as servants, or taken to be their wives, after such preparation as the law required (Deut. xxi. 16, 17, &c.). This was a peculiar case, wherein a middle course was held between those that were of the seven nations of Canaan, and those that were not. If they were not of those seven nations, the Israelites might take the women and little ones unto themselves (Deut. xx. 14, 15), if they were, every thing that breathed was to be destroyed (ver. 16, 17). But here the Midianites, being guilty of a very great crime against the Lord, and against his people, are punished more heavily than other nations; though not so heavily as those of Canaan were to be: for they killed all the women that were not virgins, as well as all the males, both little and great; but spared the rest, together with the cattle, &c. Such an execution was made, in after times, upon one of the cities of Israel, upon a high contempt of public authority, in a very great exigency (Judges xxi. 11). There is a rule in Deut. xx. 10, that when they came to fight against any city, they should proclaim peace to it; and if they should accept it, they should only make the inhabitants tributaries to them. From whence a question arising, whether this extended to the seven nations of Canaan? it is resolved by Maimonides, that it did; which he proves from Josh. xi. 19, 20. But so great was the sin of this people, that they neither sent offers of peace to them now, nor were they to make any peace with them hereafter (Deut. xxiii. 6). And the reason is there given; because they hired Balaam to curse them: which is as true of the Midianites as of the Moabites. Notwithstanding which, Maimonides determines, that though the Israelites did not send messengers of peace to them: yet if they, of their own accord, sent to desire peace of the Israelites, they were not to reject them (see Cuneus De Hebr. Repub. lib. ii. cap. 20).

Ver. 19. *Abide without the camp seven days*] As unclean persons. For though it was lawful to kill men, in a just war against them, yet *διὰ τὴν ἀναισθηρίαν καὶ κοινὴν συγγένειαν* (as Philo speaks), "because of the most ancient and common kindred between all

21 ¶ And Eleazar the priest said unto the men of war which went to the battle, This is the ordinance of the law which the Lord commanded Moses;

22 Only the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead,

23 Every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make it go through the fire, and it shall be clean: nevertheless it shall be purified with the water of separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make go through the water.

mankind," it was fit men should use some purification to cleanse themselves from that which looked like a crime, though it was none.

Whosoever hath killed any person.] The whole army that went to the war, were to stay without the camp seven days; and such of them as had had their hands in blood, or had touched a dead body, though killed by another, were to use a special purification; which was made by the water of separation, mentioned ch. xix. 9, &c.

Your captives] Or the prey that they had taken; of garments, and other things, mentioned in the next verse: and so the word is translated ver. 26. For we cannot think that the persons they had taken, being gentiles, were to be purified with that water which was peculiar to the Jews.

On the third day, and on the seventh] So the law was, ch. xix. 11, 12. And such purifications were common among the Gentiles, especially the Greeks, upon the like occasions, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. ult. Grotius, lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 24. n. 10). To whom add our late learned Dr. Spencer, lib. iii. dissert. 3. sect. 1, where he takes this to have been a custom, derived from ancient time, before the law of Moses (which may be questioned): and Bonfrerius, upon this place, hath alleged the very same proofs, and several more; particularly this out of the scholiast upon Sophocles, in his Ajax Mastigoph. Ἰδὼς ἦν τοὺς παλαιούς ὅτε ἡ φόνον ἀνθρώπων, &c. "it was the custom among the ancients, when they either killed a man," or made any other slaughter, to wash their hands in water, εἰς χάσματιν μιάσματος, "for the purification of the defilement."

Ver. 20. *Purify all your raiment, &c.*] With the same water of separation (or else by washing them in running water, as the manner was in other cases, (Lev. xi. 32, 33), for they might all be supposed to be defiled by dead bodies, and so come under the law (ch. xix. 14).

Ver. 21.] This law was to be observed hereafter by those who went to war; for though the law before was, as I observed, that he who touched a dead body should be purified with the water of separation, yet nothing is there said of him that killed a man in war, but did not, perhaps, touch his body; which now is brought under the same rule.

Ver. 22, 23. *Only the gold, &c. ye shall make it go through the fire, &c.*] All sorts of metals were to have this peculiar sort of purification; which the other things (mentioned ver. 20), would not endure. And the same Bonfrerius observes, this was a way of purification among the gentiles as old as Homer's time; but they used sulphur with it. For so he makes Ulysses call to the old women to bring him sulphur, and then fire, that he might fume the house wherein the woers had been killed. Which is observed by Fort. Scacchus also, Myrothec. 2. cap. 30, where he also notes, that Ovid gives a long account why these two, *fire and water*, were chosen for the instruments

24 And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean, and afterward ye shall come into the camp.

25 ¶ And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,

26 Take the sum of the prey that was taken, *both* of man and of beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the chief fathers of the congregation:

27 And divide the prey into two parts; between them that took the war upon them, who went out to battle, and between all the congregation:

28 And levy a tribute unto the LORD of the men of war which went out to battle: one soul of five hundred, *both* of the persons, and of the heeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep:

29 Take *it* of their half, and give *it* unto Eleazar the priest, for an heave offering of the LORD.

30 And of the children of Israel's half, thou shalt take one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the heeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, of all manner of beasts, and give them unto the Levites, which keep the charge of the tabernacle of the LORD.

31 And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the LORD commanded Moses.

32 And the booty, *being* the rest of the prey which the men of war had caught, was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep,

33 And threescore and twelve thousand heeves,

of purification, lib. iv. Fastorum; where he saith particularly of fire,

"Omnia purgat edax ignis, vitiumque metalli Excoquit."—

Nevertheless it shall be purified] On the third day, I suppose, before it went through the fire.

All that abideth not the fire ye shall make go through the water.] All things that could abide the fire, were to be purified, both by that and by the water of separation. And such things as could not abide it, were to be purified, not merely by sprinkling them with the water of separation, but by making them go through the water.

Ver. 24.] Thus he that sprinkled an unclean person with the water of separation, was bound to purify himself (ch. xix. 19).

Ver. 25.] After they were purified, and come into the camp.

Ver. 26. *Take the sum of the prey that was taken.*] In the Hebrew the words are, "take the sum of the prey of the captivity:" which, it is plain by what follows, signifies the sum of the prey, and of the captives. For all that they took was of three kinds (ver. 12), the persons called *captives*; the *beasts*, which are called the *prey*; and *money and goods* (such as are mentioned ver. 20, 21), which are called the *spoils*.

Both of man and of beast.] Here an account is ordered to be given of two parts of what had been taken; but nothing said of the third (which was the *spoils*), out of which they who had it made a voluntary oblation (ver. 50. 53).

Chief fathers] The same, perhaps, with the "heads of the tribes," ch. xxx. 1.

Ver. 27. *Divide the prey*] By this partition, a far larger share was given to every one of the warriors, who were but twelve thousand, than to any of their brethren, who were near six hundred thousand: for they had hazarded themselves, which the others had not; who, notwithstanding that, enjoyed some fruit of their labours; because it was a common cause in which they engaged, and the rest seem to have been ready to fight, as well as they (ver. 3). This division was made by a special direction of God, but was not the rule in after ages; as appears from 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25, nor had been in ancient times, as the Jews interpret Gen. xiv. 24 (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 16. p. 747).

Ver. 28. *Levy a tribute unto the Lord, &c.*] The Lord was their sovereign, and therefore had a tribute due to him, out of that which they had taken in war: as a grateful acknowledgment that they owed their success to him.

Both of the persons.] i. e. Of the women and the children.

Of the heeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep.] The Hebrew word *zon* signifies *goats* as well as *sheep*; and both being here intended, the LXX. express them both. Here is no mention of *camels*, which it seems their country was not stocked withal at this time: see ver. 34, and what I have noted upon Gen. xxxvii. 25. This tribute to God was but a very small proportion, in comparison with what their kings challenged in following times, if we may believe the Talmudists; who say, they had all the gold and silver, and such rich things that were taken, and half of the rest of the prey, which was divided between them and the people (see Selden in the place above named). But anciently they had only the tenth part (see Gen. xiv. 20).

Ver. 29. *Give it unto Eleazar*] For the maintenance of the priests, among whom this part of the tribute was divided. And it was just a tenth part of what the Levites had, as they had a tenth part of their tithes, which was paid them for their constant support. So the law was, ch. xviii. 21. 24. 26, &c. which was observed in this levy; which is called *trumah*, as the offering for the making of the sanctuary is called Exod. xxv. 2, where we translate it, as here, a *heave-offering*.

Ver. 30. *Of the children of Israel's half, &c.*] A far larger share is demanded of the people (ten times as much as was paid by the soldiers) because they came more easily by it, without any pains or danger. And they pay it in a very just proportion to the number of those who went to the war, and of those who stayed at home, but were able to go to war, who were above six hundred thousand (ch. xxvi. 2. 51), of which twelve thousand, who were employed in this expedition, were the *fiftieth* part.

Give them unto the Levites.] Who were far more numerous than the priests, and therefore had a greater proportion of the tribute.

Which keep the charge] See ch. i. 50. iii. 6—8.

Ver. 31.] This command is peculiarly to Moses, (ver. 25), but Eleazar was to assist him in the execution of it (ver. 26), and accordingly they took the sum of the prey both of man and beast, and divided it between the soldiers and people; and levied a tribute upon each for the Lord, who ordered it to his ministers.

Ver. 32. *The booty.*] i. e. Besides what was necessarily spent for their subsistence during the war, and while they lay out of the camp (ver. 19).

Was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep.] A vast stock; far exceeding the number of men of war which were in Israel.

31 And threescore and one thousand asses,
35 And thirty and two thousand persons in all, of women that had not known man by lying with him.

36 And the half, *which was* the portion of them that went out to war, was in number three hundred thousand and seven and thirty thousand and five hundred sheep :

37 And the Lord's tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen.

38 And the beeves *were* thirty and six thousand; of which the Lord's tribute *was* threescore and twelve.

39 And the asses *were* thirty thousand and five hundred; of which the Lord's tribute *was* threescore and one.

40 And the persons *were* sixteen thousand; of which the Lord's tribute *was* thirty and two persons.

41 And Moses gave the tribute, *which was* the Lord's heave offering, unto Eleazar the priest, as the Lord commanded Moses.

42 And of the children of Israel's half, which Moses divided from the men that warred,

43 (Now the half that *pertained unto* the congregation was three hundred thousand and thirty thousand *and* seven thousand and five hundred sheep,

44 And thirty and six thousand beeves,

45 And thirty thousand asses and five hundred,

46 And sixteen thousand persons;)

47 Even of the children of Israel's half, Moses took one portion of fifty, *both* of man and of beast, and gave them unto the Levites, which kept the charge of the tabernacle of the Lord; as the Lord commanded Moses.

48 ¶ And the officers which *were* over thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses :

49 And they said unto Moses, Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war which *are* under our charge, and there lacketh not one man of us.

50 We have therefore brought an oblation for the Lord, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, earrings, and

Ver. 33. *Threescore and twelve thousand beeves.*] It seems their country had good pasture in it, as well as sheep-walks: for, as Arabia Felix, it is certain, had agros latissimos et fertilissimos, (as Pliny speaks, lib. vi. cap. 28), "most spacious and fertile fields;" so Arabia Petraea (in which Midian was) did not wholly want them.

Ver. 34. *Threescore and one thousand asses.*] The countries about Judea abounding with camels also, particularly Arabia, in which Job had a great number, it may seem strange that we read of none here; especially since they had vast numbers in following times (Judg. vi. 5; vii. 12), and the Ishmaelites (with whom they were associates in trade) had them long before this time (Gen. xxxvii. 27. 36). But it is likely they did not yet find it for their profit to feed *camels* (of which they learnt to make a traffic afterward), no more than *mules*, of which we read nothing here, nor indeed in Judea, till the times of David. It may be supposed, that, if they had *camels*, they were of that kind called *dromedaries*, which were famous in this country in after-ages (Isa. lx. 6), and that the people, who escaped the slaughter, fled away upon them: and that there were other beasts in this country, besides beeves, and asses, and sheep, and goats, seems to be plain from ver. 30, where, after the mention of these, he adds of *all manner of beasts*; he should take a portion for the Levites; but of *camels* or *dromedaries*, I suppose, none were found.

Ver. 35. *Thirty and two thousand persons in all, &c.*] It appears by this to have been a very populous country, in which were so many virgins.

Ver. 36.] There is no difficulty in this, or in the following verses; this being exactly the half of the whole number of sheep mentioned ver. 32.

Ver. 37.] Which is exactly one in five hundred, out of this half of the booty; as God ordered, ver. 28.

Ver. 38.] The very same proportions are observed here, as in the sheep, which appears by comparing this verse with ver. 33. And the two next verses (39, 40), give the same account of the *asses* and the *persons*, which were as exactly divided; and the Lord had the same portion of them, as ver. 34, 35, compared with these, demonstrate.

Ver. 41.] This is recorded to show how faithful Moses was in performing obedience to God's commands (ver. 29), and far from desiring the smallest portion for himself out of so great a booty, which, if he had acted by his own private spirit, he would scarce have avoided.

Ver. 42.] There is nothing here, nor in the following verses, to ver. 48. but a repetition of what was said concerning the other half before mentioned; to show that the same exactness was observed both in the division of the prey among the people, and in taking out of it such a portion as God assigned to the Levites; which was one out of fifty; as out of the men of war's part, one out of five hundred (ver. 28. 30).

Ver. 48.] The first words of this verse seem to suppose, that there were other great officers, as well as the general, who were above the captains over thousands, and the captains over hundreds: which is very probable.

Ver. 49. *Thy servants, &c.*] The greatest men speak with the greatest reverence to Moses; who was in the place of God.

Have taken the sum of the men of war] Made a muster of them (as we now speak) at our return from the war.

There lacketh not one man of us.] A wonderful victory; which shows the war was *the Lord's* (ver. 3), who struck such a terror into them, that one would think they turned their backs, and did not strike a stroke against the Israelites.

Ver. 50. *We have therefore brought an oblation*] For the uses of the sanctuary; either in purchasing sacrifices, or maintaining God's ministers, &c. For *korban* signifies every thing that is given to God, though not sacrificed upon the altar.

What every man hath gotten,] All of them offered something to the Lord out of the spoil he had gotten, according to the piety of ancient times (Gen. xiv. 20). For we find no precept in the law for this; and yet it was constantly practised by David in after times (2 Sam. viii. 11, 12), and by the officers of his army (1 Chron. xxvi. 26, 27), and by other men, Samuel, Saul, Abner, &c. (ver. 28, &c.).

Jewels of gold,] Vessels, as the Hebrew word

tablets, to make an atonement for our souls before the Lord.

51 And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, *even* all wrought jewels.

52 And all the gold of the offering that they offered up to the Lord, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds, was sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels.

signifies, or all manner of ornaments made of gold; the particulars of which follow, viz. *chains, bracelets, &c.* but the Jerusalem Targum takes these *jewels* (as we translate it) to have been the golden attire about the heads of their women.

Chains,] These are commonly thought to have been the ornaments of their arms. But they may as well be thought to have been used about their legs, or their necks.

Bracelets,] These, it is apparent, were ornaments about their wrists or hands (Gen. xxiv. 47. Ezek. xvi. 11).

Rings,] They were ornaments of the fingers (Gen. xli. 42. Esther iii. 10).

Earrings,] Nothing more common in those countries, especially among the Midianites and Ishmaelites; as we find, Judg. viii. 24—26, where there is a different word used to express this ornament; yet the word *hagil*, here used, certainly signifying something *round*, and the ornaments encompassing the arms and other parts, being before mentioned, it cannot well be thought to denote any thing but rings in the ears. And so we translate it, Ezek. xvi. 12.

Tablets,] Some ornaments about the breasts (see Exod. xxxv. 23).

To make an atonement] For the guilt of which Moses accused them, ver. 14, or any other, which they had contracted in the war.

Ver. 52.] It hath been observed before, that three thousand shekels made a talent: and therefore their offering amounted to above five talents and a half.

Ver. 53. *The men of war had taken spoil,*] Or rather, "had taken the spoil," mentioned ver. 12, of which

53 (*For the men of war had taken spoil, every man for himself.*)

54 And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and brought it into the tabernacle of the congregation, *for* a memorial for the children of Israel before the Lord.

part of the booty no division was made between the men of war and the people (ver. 26), but they kept it entirely to themselves, and now very gratefully made a present of a very considerable part of it to the Lord: see ver. 12, where the word *spoil* is used strictly for a part of the booty, distinct from the other two, the *captives* and the *prey*; and so it signifies here.

Ver. 54. *Moses and Eleazar—look the gold*] This was said before, (ver. 51), and therefore the sense here is, that having received it as an offering to the Lord, they brought it into the tabernacle of the congregation; as it here follows in the conclusion of this verse.

Of the captains of thousands and of hundreds,] It was not their oblation only, but the oblation of every one of the men of war (ver. 50, 51). But the commanders received it from the common soldiers, and presented it unto Moses and Eleazar, from the whole host.

For a memorial] That God might be mindful of them, i. e. propitious to them, who were so grateful to him for his benefits.

The Jerusalem Targum upon ver. 50, fancies these officers to have represented to Moses their great chastity, when they made this offering; saying, "We broke into the chambers and closets of the kings of Midian; and there we saw their beautiful and charming daughters, from whom we took the golden ornaments upon their heads, and in their ears, and on their arms, their fingers, and breasts; but did not cast a wanton look upon one of them:" and therefore they hoped this oblation they made would rise up for them, in the day of the great judgment, as a reconciliation for their souls before the Lord.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *The Reubenites and Gadites sue for their inheritance on that side Jordan.* 6 *Moses reproveth them.* 16 *They offer him conditions to his content.* 33 *Moses assigneth them the land.* 39 *They conquer it.*

1 Now the children of Reuben and the children of Gad had a very great multitude of cattle: and when they saw the land of Jazer, and the

land of Gilead, that, behold, the place *was* a place for cattle;

2 The children of Gad and the children of

CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1. *The children of Reuben and—Gad*] Here the children of Reuben, who was Jacob's first-born, are mentioned in the first place; but in the rest of the chapter (ver. 2. 6. 25. 29. 33), the children of Gad are constantly first mentioned, because they were the first movers of that which follows, as the Hebrews conjecture.

Multitude of cattle:] More than any other tribe.

When they saw the land of Jazer,] Which was lately taken from the Amorites, after they had slain Sihon their king (ch. xxi. 32). This city and country belonging to it, were near to the spring of the river Arnon; and there is frequent mention of it in the book of Joshua, and in Isa. xvi. 8, 9. and Jer. xlviii. 34.

Gilead,] A noble country, so called from the mountain Gilead, which bounded it on the east, as Jordan did on the west, the river Jabbok on the south, and Mount Libanus on the north.

The place was a place for cattle;] Which in the fourth verse is called "a land of cattle," γῆ βοσκή, as the LXX. translate it, "fit for feeding of cattle;" being famous for pasture and other grazing ground. For Bashan was in this country (Deut. iii. 12, 13), where every one knows the largest and fattest oxen were bred (Ps. xxii. 12), and sheep also (Deut. xxxvii. 14), and therefore is joined with Gilead (Micah vi. 14), which, being woody and mountainous in some parts of it, was no less famous for breeding goats (see Cant. iv. 1), which delight to browse on such trees as Mount Gilead abounded withal (see Bochartus in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 51).

Reuben came and spake unto Moses, and to Eleazar the priest, and unto the princes of the congregation, saying,

3 Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon,

4 *Even* the country which the LORD smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle :

5 Wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession, *and* bring us not over Jordan.

6 ¶ And Moses said unto the children of Gad and to the children of Reuben, Shall your brethren go to war, and shall ye sit here ?

7 And wherefore discourage ye the heart of

the children of Israel from going over into the land which the LORD hath given them ?

8 Thus did your fathers, when I sent them from Kadesh-barnea to see the land.

9 For when they went up unto the valley of Eshcol, and saw the land, they discouraged the heart of the children of Israel, that they should not go into the land which the LORD had given them.

10 And the LORD's anger was kindled the same time, and he sware, saying,

11 Surely none of the men that came up out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upward, shall see the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob ; because they have not wholly followed me :

12 Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Ke-

Ver. 2. *Gad and—Reuben*] Neither here, nor in the foregoing verse, is there any mention of the children of Manasseh (half of which had their portion in this country), because they were neither the contrivers nor movers of this ; but it is most probable had a lot assigned them here, because these countries were too much for the other two tribes alone ; and they of Manasseh had much cattle also.

Came and spake unto Moses, &c.] Who were wont often to assemble to despatch public affairs (ch. xxvii. 2. xxx. 1).

Ver. 3. *Ataroth,*] A place which was part of the portion of Gad ; as appears by ver. 34.

Dibon,] This is mentioned as a place in the kingdom of Sihon, ch. xxi. 30. and was given to Gad also ; as we read ver. 34.

Jazer,] See ver. 1. and 35. where we find this also belonged unto Gad.

Nimrah,] Called Beth-Nimrah, ver. 36. and given to the same tribe. It is usual, I observed before, for the Hebrews to cut off the first part of the names of places, for brevity's sake (ch. xxv. 1) but this place is elsewhere called at length Beth-Nimrah, Josh. xiii. 27. where it is mentioned as a part of Sihon's kingdom, and signifies as much as *domus pardorum, a habitation of leopards* : so Bochartus, who observes, that when both Isaiah xv. 6. and Jeremiah xlvi. 34. speaks of the waters of Nimrim, they mean this very place, which was given to Gad ; but, in the days of those prophets, mentioned as in the country of the Moabites ; who had usurped upon their neighbours the Gadites, and taken this place from them, as they had done Jazer also ; as appears from the place above mentioned (Isa. xvi. 8, 9. Jer. xlviii. 34).

Heshbon,] The principal city of Sihon, king of the Amorites (ch. xxi. 26—28), and was given to the Reubenites (ver. 37).

Elealeh,] This is frequently mentioned with Heshbon, as a place adjoining to it (ver. 37. Isa. xvi. 9).

Shebam,] Called also Shibmah, ver. 37. and Sibmah, Isa. xvi. 8, 9. Jer. xlviii. 31. where it appears to have been a place famous for vines ; and in the days of that prophet was fallen into the hands of the Moabites, as were Heshbon and Elealeh also.

Nebo,] Which was given to the Reubenites (ver. 38).

Beon,] There is no mention of this place anywhere else ; but it is probable was part of the Reubenites' portion, being mentioned together with other places that were given unto them ; and possibly may be the place called Baal-Meon (ver. 38), which they changed into Beon, because of the name of Baal ; but the Moabites, when it fell into their hands, restored part of its old name, calling it Beth-Meon (Jer. xlviii. 23).

Ver. 4. *Even the country which the LORD smote before the congregation*] And gave it to them for a possession, as he intended to do the land of Canaan (see ch. xxi. 24, 25).

Is a land for cattle,] Is very fit for us (ver. 2).

Ver. 5. *If we have found grace in thy sight,*] A phrase often used by humble petitioners ; even by Moses himself, when he speaks to God, ch. xi. 15.

Let this land be given unto thy servants] The Israelites in common possessed it hitherto, as belonging to them all (ch. xxi. ult.) but they desire to have it assigned to them, as their particular portion.

Bring us not over Jordan,] We desire nothing in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 6.] Can you think it reasonable, that the rest of the tribes should fight still for what they are to possess ?

Shall ye sit here ?] And you take up your rest here, and settle in their conquests, which they have already made ?

Ver. 7.] He seems to have suspected that mere cowardice, and a vile love of ease, made them desire to stay where they were, and go no further : which ill example might dishearten all the rest of their brethren, and make them have the same inclination to settle in the land they had conquered ; and not engage in a war with the Canaanites.

Ver. 8. *Thus did your fathers,*] i. e. They disheartened all their brethren.

When I sent them from Kadesh-barnea] See ch. xiii. 3. 26.

Ver. 9. *When they went up unto the valley of Eshcol,*] Men do not go up into a valley ; therefore the meaning is, they went up to search the country (as it is said they did, ch. xiii. 21, 22), and went on in their search, till they came to the valley or brook of Eshcol, ch. xiii. 23, where they cut down a branch with a cluster of grapes, to show what fruit the country afforded.

Saw the land,] Had taken a full view of the country. *They discouraged the heart of the children of Israel,*] Represented the people and the cities to be so strong, that they should not be able to deal with them (ch. xiii. 28, 29).

That they should not go into the land] And, therefore, persuaded them not to attempt to possess themselves of it. For they said expressly, "We are not able to go against the people, for they are stronger than we" (ch. xiii. 31).

Ver. 10.] See ch. xiv. 21. 28.

Ver. 11. *None of the men, &c.*] See ch. xiv. 22. 29. 35.

Shall see the land] See ch. xiv. 23.

nezite, and Joshua the son of Nun: for they have wholly followed the LORD.

13 And the LORD's anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander in the wilderness forty years, until all the generation, that had done evil in the sight of the LORD, was consumed.

14 And, behold, ye are risen up to your fathers' stead, an increase of sinful men, to augment yet the fierce anger of the LORD toward Israel.

15 For if ye turn away from after him, he will yet again leave them in the wilderness; and ye shall destroy all this people.

16 ¶ And they came near unto him, and said, We will build sheepfolds here for our cattle, and cities for our little ones:

Have not wholly followed me:] See there, ver. 22.

Ver. 12. *Save Caleb]* See ch. xiv. 24.

The Kenezite,] A great deal has been said by many to prove that Caleb is called a Kenezite, because his father's name was Kenaz. And this they prove, because Othniel's father was Kenaz, and he was Caleb's brother (Josh. xv. 17), his younger brother (Judg. i. 13. iii. 9). So that their father must have two names, Kenaz and Jephunneh. But it is very strange, if this be true, that Caleb is nowhere called the son of Kenaz, but constantly the son of Jephunneh (even there where Othniel is just before called the son of Kenaz, 1 Chron. iv. 13. 15), nor is Othniel anywhere called the son of Jephunneh, but always of Kenaz. And, indeed, there is a demonstration against this opinion; for Othniel married Caleb's daughter, which by the law of Moses was utterly unlawful, whatsoever the practice might have been before the law was given. Therefore, others think it more probable, that Othniel was one of his brother's younger sons (for uncles and nephews are often called brethren, as Abraham and Lot were), and that from this brother, whose name was Kenaz, Caleb is also called a Kenezite: but this is very absurd; for the name of *Kenezzi* in the Hebrew, denotes the descendants from one who gave this denomination to the family; which one brother could not do to another. It is most probable, therefore, that Kenez was some common ancestor both of Othniel and Caleb, from whom Othniel's father took also his name. Accordingly we find Jephunneh called a Kenezite in Josh. xiv. 14, where it is said, that "Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite."

Wholly followed] Fully, ch. xiv. 24. 30. 38.

Ver. 13. *The Lord's anger was kindled]* He had said this before (ver. 10), but repeats it again, to make them the more sensible of a thing that was done thirty-eight years ago; and to deter them from giving him the like provocation.

He made them wander in the wilderness forty years,] See ch. xiv. 31—33. xxvi. 54, 65.

Ver. 14. *Behold,]* Mark what I say.

Ye are risen up in your fathers' stead, &c.] Are multiplied to as great a number as your fathers, only to succeed them in their sins, and thereby bring down still more heavy punishments upon the nation.

Ver. 15. *If ye turn away from after him,]* As your fathers did; who refused to go and possess the good land which he had bestowed upon them.

He will yet again leave them in the wilderness;] Lead them back again into the desert, where your fathers perished; and there forsake you.

Ye shall destroy all this people.] Who, following

17 But we ourselves will go ready armed before the children of Israel, until we have brought them unto their place: and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities because of the inhabitants of the land.

18 We will not return unto our houses, until the children of Israel have inherited every man his inheritance.

19 For we will not inherit with them on yonder side Jordan, or forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side Jordan eastward.

20 ¶ And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing, if ye will go armed before the LORD to war,

21 And will go all of you armed over Jordan

your example, will refuse to go over Jordan (ver. 5), to take possession of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 16. *They came near unto him,]* As petitioners are wont to do when they are assured of their integrity, and hope to obtain their request (Gen. xlv. 19).

We will build sheepfolds] There are five words in the Hebrew language for folds for sheep and cattle; all signifying a place fenced in, that they might lie safely and be defended from wild beasts. And so this word *gedera* plainly imports (see Bochartus in his Hierozoico. par. i. lib. i. cap. 45).

Cities for our little ones:] Which stood in need only of repairing and fortifying (ver. 17), for they already dwelt in those cities of the Amorites (ch. xxi. 25).

Ver. 17. *We ourselves will go ready armed]* That is, a considerable number of them, as many as should be thought necessary (Deut. iii. 18), in all forty thousand (Josh. iv. 12).

Our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities] Where it was necessary to leave some men to guard them from their bad neighbours, and to take care of their cattle.

Because of the inhabitants] That is, the Moabites, who were the ancient owners of this country (ch. xxi. 26), and the Edomites, who had shown no goodwill to the Israelites, as they passed through the wilderness.

Ver. 18.] Be settled in the possession of the land of Canaan, as we desire to be in this country.

Ver. 19. *We will not inherit with them on yonder side Jordan,]* We will not desire any share in the country beyond Jordan, though it lie near to us; nor in that country which lies still further westward.

Because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side] We look upon this as our inheritance (with which we shall be fully satisfied), here in the land of Gilead: which lay eastward of Jordan, and of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 20. *If ye will do this thing,]* Be as good as your word.

If ye will go armed before the Lord to war,] To go "before the Lord," was to go before the ark; which was the symbol of God's presence, over which his glory resided. And it is to be observed, that these two tribes, Reuben and Gad (together with Simeon) always lay encamped before the sanctuary; as appears from the second chapter of this book, ver. 10. 14—17. And accordingly, when the camp removed, they marched immediately before it; as is particularly noted, ch. x. 18—21. So that here he requires them only to hold their usual place, when they went to the war against the Canaanites; and accordingly it is expressly said, they did (together with half the tribe of

before the LORD, until he hath driven out his enemies from before him,

22 And the land be subdued before the LORD: then afterward ye shall return, and be guiltless before the LORD, and before Israel; and this land shall be your possession before the LORD.

23 But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against the LORD: and be sure your sin will find you out.

24 Build you cities for your little ones, and folds for your sheep; and do that which hath proceeded out of your mouth.

25 And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben spake unto Moses, saying, Thy servants will do as my lord commandeth.

26 Our little ones, our wives, our flocks, and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead:

27 But thy servants will pass over, every man armed for war, before the LORD to battle, as my lord saith.

Manasseh, who were joined with them) "pass over before the Lord unto battle." Josh. iv. 12, 13.

Ver. 21. *And will go all of you*] As many as shall be required, and can be spared (ver. 17).

Until he hath driven out his enemies] Not only bring us into Canaan, but continue with us, till we have expelled the inhabitants of that country: which he encourages them to undertake, by representing the Canaanites as the enemies of the Lord, who would therefore fight for them.

Ver. 22. *The land be subdued before the Lord:*] By this expression, and that in the foregoing words, it appears that the ark was carried along with them to the war every where till it was ended; as it was when it began, at the taking of Jericho (Josh. vi. 6, 7, &c.).

Afterward ye shall return, and be guiltless, &c.] Not only be free from all blame in this desire, but have what you desire.

Before the Lord.] By his order and appointment.

Ver. 23. *If ye will not do so,*] If this be not your intention; or if you go back from your word.

Behold,] Observe what I say.

Ye have sinned, &c.] Your guilt is exceeding great, and shall be most certainly punished, as it deserves.

Ver. 24.] As for the rest of their proposals, about their children and cattle, he consented to them, without any exception.

Ver. 25. *The children of Gad and—Reuben spake unto Moses,*] The word for *spake*, in the Hebrew, being *joamer*, in the singular number, instead of *jomru*, in the plural, their doctors take it for an indication that some one principal person spake in the name of all the rest. But there is no need of this; for the singular number in this language is often used for the plural; and they never spake all of them together, but some one in the name of their brethren. And it had been better, if they had observed, that this signifies one and all (as we now speak) were of the same mind.

Thy servants will do as my lord commandeth.] And as they themselves had proposed (ver. 17).

Ver. 26.] Here they promise to leave all that was dear to them in this country, and go to serve their brethren.

Ver. 27.] We ourselves will go and fight for our brethren. It hath been often said (ver. 17. 21), that this doth not signify all the men of war among them should go, but as many as could be spared, and as

28 So concerning them Moses commanded Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the chief fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel:

29 And Moses said unto them, If the children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, every man armed to battle, before the LORD, and the land shall be subdued before you; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a possession:

30 But if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall have possession among you in the land of Canaan.

31 And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben answered, saying, as the LORD hath said unto thy servants, so will we do.

32 We will pass over armed before the LORD into the land of Canaan, that the possession of our inheritance on this side Jordan may be our's.

33 And Moses gave unto them, even to the children of Gad, and to the children of Reuben,

were thought sufficient. For it is manifest, the far greater half of them were left in this country to defend their wives and children, and look after their flocks and herds; as will appear by computing all the men of war that were found in the tribes of Gad and of Reuben, which were above fourscore and four thousand (ch. xxvi. 7. 18), to which, if we add half the tribe of Manasseh (who were, in all, above fifty-two thousand), there were much above a hundred thousand men able to bear arms; and not above forty thousand of them marched into Canaan, as was before observed.

Ver. 28.] He left this in charge with the principal persons, who had the government of affairs under him; particularly with Joshua, who was not unmindful of it, but remembered these tribes what Moses had said when he was about to attempt the conquest of Canaan (Josh. i. 13, 14, &c.).

Ver. 29. *Moses said unto them,*] He repeats to these great men, who were to see it executed, what he had said to the Gadites and Reubenites themselves (ver. 21, 22).

Then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a possession:] They had not a right to it till they had performed the condition upon which it was granted, viz. till their brethren were in possession of their inheritance in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 30. *If they will not pass over*] Perform their promise, ver. 17.

They shall have possessions among you in the land of Canaan,] Take what falls to their share there; and this country be disposed of, as God shall order.

Ver. 31.] They confirm what they had promised to Moses, ver. 25, and here take all that he had said, as spoken by the order of God, who bestowed this land upon them on the condition often mentioned.

Ver. 32. *We will pass over armed*] This they offered at first of themselves (ver. 17), and solemnly promised, when Moses accepted their proposal (ver. 27), and again here ratify and confirm it before Eleazar, and Joshua, and all the princes (ver. 28).

That the possession of our inheritance] Which we have desired to have for our inheritance.

On this side Jordan] They were now in the land of Gilead, and so might properly call it "on this side Jordan;" but when they were in the land of Canaan, it was said to be "on that side Jordan."

May be our's.] Settled upon us and our posterity.

Ver. 33. *Moses gave unto them,*] Not an absolute

and unto half the tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, with the cities thereof in the coasts, *even* the cities of the countries round about.

34 ¶ And the children of Gad built Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer,

35 And Atroth, Shophan, and Jaazer, and Jogbehah,

36 And Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran, fenced cities: and folds for sheep.

grant, but a conditional; if they did as they engaged (ver. 29—31, &c.).

Even to the children of Gad, and—Reuben, and unto half the tribe of Manasseh] This half tribe is not mentioned before, because they did not put in any claim till they saw how those of Gad and Reuben would succeed in their petition; which being granted, it is likely that thereupon they represented also what store of cattle they had; and that the country would be more than enough for those who had desired it. This being found to be true, Moses thought fit to give them a portion of it, rather than any other; because the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had, by their valour, subdued part of this country (ver. 39. Josh. xvii. 1).

The kingdom of Sihon—and the kingdom of Og] See ch. xxi. 24. 29. Which were the first countries that the Israelites possessed; and were the first that were carried captive out of their land (2 Kings xv. 29).

The land, with the cities thereof, &c.] The land with the cities, within such a compass or limits; and all the towns within that circuit.

Ver. 34. *The children of Gad built Dibon and Ataroth.*] Repaired and fortified these towns, which are mentioned before, ver. 3, for they were not destroyed, but only their inhabitants (Deut. ii. 34, 35), and if they had, there was not time now to rebuild them. Thus Jeroboam is said to have built Shechem (1 Kings xii. 25), which was a city before, but gone to decay; and Azariah to have built Elah (2 Kings xiv. 22), which he restoreth to Judah as a city formerly belonging to them.

Aroer.] A city of the Amorites, upon the brink of the river Arnon; as Moses tells us, Deut. ii. 36, iii. 11, iv. 48. It formerly belonged to the Moabites, but was taken from them by Sihon.

Ver. 35.] We do not read of any of these towns elsewhere, but only of Jaazer, which seems to be that called Jazer, ver. 3.

Ver. 36. *Beth-nimrah.*] Called, ver. 3, Nimrah for shortness' sake; as (it may be further observed) Jemini is put for Benjemin, Esther ii. 5, Sheba for Beersheba, Josh. xix. 2, where we find these two mentioned; but they do not signify two several cities, but are two names for one and the same city; as if he had said Beersheba, which is also called Sheba. This is clear to a demonstration; for otherwise there would be more than thirteen cities in the tribe of Simeon, contrary to ver. 6. of that chapter.

Beth-haran.] A place, some say, between Dibon and Jordan.

Fenced cities: and folds for sheep.] All these cities the children of Gad fortified, and built folds for sheep in the pastures near to them.

Ver. 37. *Reuben built*] Repaired and fortified; as I said ver. 34.

Heshbon and Elealeh.] Mentioned above, ver. 3.

Kirjathaim.] A place where a giant-like people formerly dwelt, called Emims, Gen. xiv. 5. who

37 And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kirjathaim,

38 And Nebo, and Baal-meon, (their names being changed,) and Shibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded.

39 And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorite which *was* in it.

40 And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein.

were expelled by the Moabites, as they were by the Amorites.

Ver. 38. *Nebo.*] This city is mentioned in Jer. xlviii. 2. when it was fallen again into the possession of the Moabites, as was also Kirjathaim. It seems to have been near Dibon, mentioned together with it, Isa. xv. 1. At least there were in these places two famous temples; for the destruction of which, the prophet represents the people making lamentation. So the LXX. ἀπολείπει ὁ Νεβὼν, οὗ ὁ βωμὸς ὑμῶν, "Nebo is destroyed where your altar is." And Hesychius saith of Δερεβὼν, (i. e. *Dibon*), that it was τόπος ἑνθα ἰδρύεται ἱερὸν Μοαβιτῶν, "a place where a temple of the Moabites was built." And St. Jerome suspects that there was an oracle at this place; the word *Nebo* importing *prophecy*, or *divination*, as he speaks.

Baal-meon.] Another place, where, it is likely, Baal was worshipped; which made them change the names of these places, as it here follows.

Their names being changed.] For Nebo, as well as Baal, was the name of a god; as we learn from Isaiah xli. 1. and seems to have been an Assyrian deity; there being footsteps of it in the names of several great men there; such as Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzar-adan, and many others. And it is not unlikely, that they therefore changed the names of these cities into some other, because they would abolish all remainders of idolatry in this country, according to the precept, Exod. xxiii. 13. that they should not take the name of their gods into their mouth; but, notwithstanding this, they still retained their ancient names; as appears from Josh. xiii. 17. Ezek. xxv. 9. so hard it is to alter any thing for the better!

Shibmah.] See ver. 3.

Gave other names unto the cities which they builded.] If this refer to all the cities here mentioned, it is manifest they either retained or recovered their former names: for we read of them in all future times; particularly in the fifteenth and eighteenth chapters of Isaiah; and Kirjathaim is mentioned in the place I now quoted out of Ezekiel.

Ver. 39.] Here Gilead is used in a strict sense, not so largely as before, ver. 1. 26. 29. where it is taken for all the country on that side Jordan where Gilead was; but here, for a part of it about Mount Gilead. This is plain from the next verse; and Gilead the son of Machir, one would think, was the person that took it (Josh. xvii. 1).

Ver. 40.] i. e. To the children of Machir (for he was dead long ago), who had a considerable portion of that half of the land of Gilead, which was given to the half tribe of Manasseh. For one half was given to the Reubenites and Gadites, and the other half to them, Deut. iii. 12, 13. where Gilead signifies all that country properly so called; neither so much as the whole territory, which these tribes demanded, ver. 1. nor so little as was given to Machir, ver. 15. where Moses says, "And I gave Gilead unto Machir;" i. e. to that family of Manasseh, which were properly

41 And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the small towns thereof, and called them Havoth-jair.

called Machirites, Numb. xxvi. 29. and to that family descended from his son, which from him were called Gileadites. For as Manasseh had only this son Machir, so Machir had only Gilead; but he had many (ch. xxvi. 30—32), who all raised families. And as to the Machirites (and I suppose the Gileadites) was given a portion in this country (Josh. xiii. 29, 30, &c.), so Joshua gave to the rest an inheritance in the land of Canaan (ch. xvii. 2). And he gives a reason, in the foregoing verse, why he gave Gilead and Bashan to the posterity of Machir, because they were a warlike people, inheriting their father's valour, who was a man of war; and therefore fit to be placed in the frontiers of that country.

Ver. 41. *Jair the son of Manasseh*] One of the posterity of Manasseh, by his mother's side; for he was the grandson of Gilead, the son of Machir, by his daughter (1 Chron. ii. 21, 22), but his father was of the tribe of Judah. It seems he joined with the children of Machir in their expedition against Gilead (mentioned ver. 39), and was so successful, that he took several small towns in that country, and so had his inheritance among the children of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, where they now were. There were threescore of them in the whole, which were afterward called cities (Josh. xiii. 13. 1 Kings iv. 23), but he had only twenty-three for his possession (1 Chron. ii. 22, 23).

Havoth-jair.] That is, the "habitation of Jair."

42 And Nobah went and took Kenath, and the villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name.

For *havah* is a *dwelling*, as Bochartus observes in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 29. And among the Arabians the word *Havoth* properly signifies many tents orderly disposed in a ring or circle; which in those countries made that which we call a village. For *hava* in their language signifies to compass. The same he observes in his Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44. p. 466.

Ver. 42. *Nobah*] Who he was we find in no other place; but an eminent person, no doubt, in some of the families of the Manassites; either of the Machirites or the Gileadites. For they only, as I take it, inherited on this side Jordan.

Went and took Kenath.] At the same time, I suppose, that Jair took the towns above mentioned; of which this was one (1 Chron. ii. 23). But, though Jair was the chief conductor of that expedition, yet he kept, as I said, only twenty-three towns to himself: the rest were given to them who accompanied him, of whom, it is probable, Nobah was one.

Called it Nobah, after his own name.] But it retained its old name also: for St. Jerome says, in his time there was a city called Canatha, in the region of Trachonitis, not far from Bosra.

Thus this country being settled upon these two tribes and a half, the land of Canaan was divided, by God's command, for an inheritance to the remaining nine tribes, and the other half of the tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 7).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 Two and forty journeys of the Israelites. 50 The Canaanites are to be destroyed.

1 THESE are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1. *These are the journeys*] A brief recapitulation of the travels of the children of Israel through the wilderness; whereby the wonderful providence of God over them appears, in their protection and preservation, from the time they departed out of Egypt, till they came to the borders of the land of Canaan.

With their armies] For they marched in an orderly manner, as armies do (see Exod. xii. 41. 51. xiii. 18).

Under the hand of Moses and Aaron.] By whom they were conducted, as the ministers of God (Exod. xii. 1. 28. 50).

Ver. 2. *Moses wrote their goings out*] Every removal which they made from the place where they were, unto another whither they journeyed.

By the commandment of the Lord.] This may refer either to their journeys (which were by God's commandment, ch. x. 13), or rather to Moses' writing this epitome of their travels, of which God ordered him to give a distinct account: which was no unnecessary work, but most useful to posterity; there being no history extant in the world, as David Chytraeus well observes (except that of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ), which contains so many wonderful instances of Divine providence, as this of bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt,

2 And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord: and these are their journeys according to their goings out.

and leading them through the Red Sea, and through the wilderness; concerning which Maimonides hath an excellent discourse in his third part of More Nevochim, cap. 50, the substance of which is this: that it being impossible any miracles should continue throughout all generations, due care should be taken that the memory of them be not lost, but faithfully preserved by the history and narration of them in future times. Now there being no greater miracle than the subsistence of the children of Israel in the desert for forty years; a desert full of scorpions and serpents, destitute of water, uninhabited, through which no man had been wont to pass, as Jeremiab speaks, ch. ii. 6, where they ate no bread, nor drank wine, or strong drink (Deut. xxix. 6, &c.). God would have the particular places set down distinctly where they pitched in that howling wilderness; that all men might be satisfied (who would take the pains to examine things), by what a marvellous providence such a multitude of people were fed every day for forty years together; and none might be able to cavil and say, that they travelled through a country good enough, and pitched in habitable places, where they might plough, and sow, and reap; or where they might have herbs and roots for their sustenance; or where manna ordinarily came down from the clouds for men's support:

These are their journeys] As if he had said, hav-

3 And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians.

4 For the Egyptians buried all *their* firstborn, which the Lord had smitten among them: upon their gods also the Lord executed judgments.

5 And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth.

6 And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness.

7 And they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pi-hahiroth, which is before Baal-zephon: and they pitched before Migdol.

8 And they departed from before Pi-hahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the

wilderness, and went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and pitched in Marah.

9 And they removed from Marah, and came unto Elim: and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and threescore and ten palm trees; and they pitched there.

10 And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red sea.

11 And they removed from the Red sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin.

12 And they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkah.

13 And they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush.

14 And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink.

ing received this commandment from God, this is a true and exact account, which here follows, of their travels from place to place.

Ver. 3. *They departed from Rameses*] See Exod. xii. 37. Here, in all likelihood, they sacrificed the paschal lamb, and were preserved from the destroying angel; which made this place very remarkable: for they seem to have been all summoned hither, to meet here as in a common rendezvous (as they now speak), to be ready to march away when God gave the word of command.

In the first month,—on the morrow after the passover] Which they had kept in Egypt on the fourteenth (Exod. xii. 46).

Went out with an high hand] Exod. xiv. 8.

In the sight of all the Egyptians.] Who thrust them out (Exod. xii. 39).

Ver. 4. *For the Egyptians buried all their firstborn.*] They were so terrified with the sudden death of all their first-born, that they pressed them to be gone, lest they should be slain also (Exod. xii. 33). And were so employed in mourning for them, and giving them decent burial, that they thought not of pursuing the Israelites till some days after.

Which the Lord had smitten] At midnight, between the fourteenth and fifteenth days (Exod. xii. 29).

Upon their gods also the Lord executed judgments.] Which still more astonished them (Exod. xii. 12. xviii. 11. 2 Sam. vii. 23), just as he did with Babylon afterward (Isa. xxi. 9).

Ver. 5.] Exod. xii. 37. Here they received the command to set apart all the first-born unto the Lord, in memory of God's sparing them when he slew all the first-born of the Egyptians (Exod. xiii. 1. 12. 13. &c.).

Ver. 6.] See Exod. xiii. 20, where it immediately follows, that they were conducted hither by a miraculous cloud, which ever after led them in all their journeys.

Ver. 7. *From Etham, and turned again unto Pi-hahiroth.*] So it is expressly recorded, Exod. xiv. 2. Hither they were led on purpose, that they might see the wonderful power and goodness of God, in a place where they had high mountains on each side of them, and the army of Pharaoh behind them, and the Red Sea before them, through which God made them a passage, rather than let them fall again under the Egyptian tyranny. Here is also the singular number for the plural, in the word *turned again* (as was observed before in another word, ch. xxli. 25), but the observation of the Hebrew doctors upon it seems to be frivolous, "That with one heart they did what Moses commanded."

Pitched before Migdol.] This is explained in Exod. xiv. 2.

Ver. 8. *Passed through the midst of the sea*] See Exod. xiv. 23. Where Pharaoh and his host were drowned; as they could not but call to mind when they read this brief history: which, it might be expected, would also call to remembrance their own distrust of God, notwithstanding which he most graciously delivered them (Exod. xiv. 11, 12, &c.).

Wilderness of Etham.] Called in Exod. xv. 22, "the wilderness of Shur:" where they were very much distressed for want of water.

Pitched in Marah.] Where God obliged them by a new miracle, in making the bitter water sweet (Exod. xv. 23. 25).

Ver. 9. *And came unto Elim:*] See Exod. xv. ult.

Ver. 10. *And encamped by the Red sea.*] Not by that part of it, where they lately came out of it; but by a more southerly part of it, where it bends towards Arabia. For the Red Sea, which Ptolemy calls the Arabian Gulf, runs a long way, like the Adriatic, now called the Gulf of Venice, or the Baltic Sea, as David Chytræus observes; who compares these three together as much of a length, and all in some places broader, and some narrower. This station is not mentioned in the book of Exodus.

Ver. 11.] Exod. xvi. 1, where manna first began to rain upon them, with which God fed them forty years.

Ver. 12.] This and the next station (Alush) are not mentioned in Exodus; because nothing remarkable (it is supposed) fell out in these two places, as there did in the next; and they made no long stay there.

Ver. 13.] The Jewish doctors find something remarkable here, though Moses saith nothing of it. For, as the sabbath was first commanded at Marah, which was their fifth station, so it was first observed here at Alush, as they fancy, which was their tenth. And more than that, this was the only sabbath, in their opinion, which they exactly kept; the very next being profaned (see Selden, lib. iii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. &c. cap. 11, and lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 1). The author of Sepher Cosri saith, the ancient tradition is, "that at this place the manna first descended" (par. li. sect. 20).

Ver. 14. *Encamped at Rephidim.*] See Exod. xvii. 1.

Where was no water] And thereby an occasion given to the Almighty Goodness to show his wonderful power, in bringing water out of a rock for them (ver. 5, 6). And here also "Amalek lay in wait for Israel, in the way when they came out of Egypt (1 Sam. xv. 2), and smote some that lagged behind (Deut. xxv.

15 And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of Sinai.

16 And they removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibroth-hattaavah.

17 And they departed from Kibroth-hattaavah, and encamped at Hazeroth.

18 And they departed from Hazeroth, and pitched in Rithmah.

19 And they departed from Rithmah, and pitched at Rimmon-parez.

20 And they departed from Rimmon-parez, and pitched in Libnah.

21 And they removed from Libnah, and pitched at Rissah.

22 And they journeyed from Rissah, and pitched in Kehelathah.

23 And they went from Kehelathah, and pitched in mount Shapher.

24 And they removed from mount Shapher, and encamped in Haradah.

25 And they removed from Haradah, and pitched in Makheloth.

26 And they removed from Makheloth, and encamped at Tahath.

27 And they departed from Tahath, and pitched at Tarah.

28 And they removed from Tarah, and pitched in Mithcah.

29 And they went from Mithcah, and pitched in Hashmonah.

30 And they departed from Hashmonah, and encamped at Moseroth.

31 And they departed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan.

32 And they removed from Bene-jaakan, and encamped at Hor-hagidgad.

33 And they went from Hor-hagidgad, and pitched in Jotbathah.

34 And they removed from Jotbathah, and encamped at Ebronah.

16), but were vanquished by Joshua in a pitched battle (Exod. xvii. 8, 9, &c.). And here Jethro also came to see Moses, and gave him advice about the government of the people with more ease both to himself and them (Exod. xviii).

Ver. 15.] Exod. xix. 1. 2. This was forty-seven days after they came from Rameses, on the first day of the third month: three days after which (viz. on the fiftieth day after they came out of Egypt) God gave them his law from Mount Sinai; where Moses was called up to him, and stayed with him twice forty days; and was instructed there how to make the tabernacle, and set it up when it was made, with all the furniture belonging to it. All sorts of sacrifices were ordered while they remained in this place; priests consecrated; laws given about clean and unclean things; and about marriages, and feasts, and the year of jubilee, with several other things, mentioned in the book of Leviticus. Here also the people were numbered: their encampment ordered; a second passover kept; laws given about the water of jealousy and the Nazarites, with several other matters; and then, after they had lain here eleven months and twenty days, they are commanded to leave this famous station; the most remarkable of all other (Numb. x. 11, 12).

Ver. 16. *Kibroth-hattaavah.*] A place in the wilderness of Paran, three days' journey from Mount Sinai, Numb. x. 23, xi. 34, where there was a dreadful slaughter of the people, that wantonly despised manna, and lusted after flesh. Yet here God was pleased to vouchsafe to send his Spirit upon the seventy elders, for the assistance of Moses.

Ver. 17. *And they departed from Kibroth-hattaavah, and encamped at Hazeroth.*] See ch. xi. 35, where Miriam was punished for her envy at Moses, ch. xii. 1. 10.

Ver. 18. *Rithmah.*] A place also in the wilderness of Paran, as appears from this book (ch. xii. 16), and was not far from Kadesh-barnea, from whence the spies were sent to search out the land of Canaan (see ch. xiii. 26). In which place they lay a long time (Deut. i. 46).

Ver. 19. *Rimmon-parez.*] This and the following stages are nowhere else mentioned: and seem to have all been in the wilderness of Paran before spoken of; which was a very long tract of ground, from Elana, a port in the Arabian Gulf, to Kadesh-barnea; which, as David Chytræus computes it, was thirty German miles.

Ver. 20. *Libnah.*] This and the rest to ver. 31, are places of which, as I said, we nowhere else read, and so can give no account of them. They were all uninhabited, and out of the road of all travellers; and perhaps had no names till they were given by the Israelites: who encamped in so many various places (sometimes in mountains, as appears from ver. 23, and sometimes in the plain), that they might be taught, that God was alike present everywhere to protect, defend, and provide for them; even there where no man dwelt. The Jews make this use of their travels, here recorded by Moses, through so many unknown places, by which he brought them at last to Canaan; to keep up their spirits under this long captivity (as they call it) wherein they now are, and have wandered uncertainly from mountain to mountain, from kingdom to kingdom, from banishment to banishment (as they themselves speak), till their Messiah come to redeem them: which he will do, when their eyes are opened to see what one of their ancient rabbins (Moses Hadarschan) hath told them, as he is quoted by Paulus Fagius, that "the Redeemer was born before him who reduced Israel into this last captivity."

Ver. 31. *In Bene-jaakan.*] In Deut. x. 6, Moses seems to say the quite contrary, that they "took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera." But there he may be thought to speak of a different place, as Drusius notes upon those words: or if he doth not, it is no wonder if, while they wandered in this tedious wilderness, they went backward and forward from Bene-jaakan to Moseroth, which he mentions in Deuteronomy; and from Moseroth back again to Bene-jaakan, which he mentions here.

Ver. 32. *Hor-hagidgad.*] This place was also called Gudgodah, Deut. x. 7, if Moses speaks there of the same places he doth here.

Ver. 33. *Jotbathah.*] Called Deut. x. 7, Jotbath.

Ver. 34. *Ebronah.*] All their removals mentioned from ver. 16, to this and the next place, are an account of their wanderings in the wilderness, from the second year after their coming out of Egypt till the fortieth; in which time all the congregation, above twenty years of age, were consumed, and buried in some part or other of this great desert.

Ver. 35. *Ezion-gaber.*] A place on the Red Sea, unto which they were brought before they ended their travels (1 Kings ix. 26. xxii. 18). It had its name from the snagged rocks, like to the backbone, which stretched out a great way on that shore, as Bochart observes: which rocks made this part so dangerous,

35 And they departed from Ebronah, and encamped at Ezion-gaber.

36 And they removed from Ezion-gaber, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.

37 And they removed from Kadesh, and pitched in mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom.

38 And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the Lord, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt; in the first day of the fifth month.

39 And Aaron was an hundred and twenty and three years old when he died in mount Hor.

40 And king Arad the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south in the land of Canaan, heard of the coming of the children of Israel.

41 And they departed from mount Hor, and pitched in Zalmonah.

42 And they departed from Zalmonah, and pitched in Punon.

43 And they departed from Punon, and pitched in Oboth.

44 And they departed from Oboth, and pitched in Ije-abarim, in the border of Moab.

45 And they departed from Ije-abarim, and pitched in Dibon-gad.

46 And they removed from Dibon-gad, and encamped in Almon-diblathaim.

47 And they removed from Almon-diblathaim, and pitched in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo.

48 And they departed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho.

49 And they pitched by Jordan, from Beth-jesimoth even unto Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab.

50 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses in the

that it was forsaken in aftertimes, and Elah frequented as a safer harbour (see lib. i. Canaan, cap. 44). It is not recorded how long they remained in any of these places; but it is likely a considerable time in some of them; for they spent thirty-eight years in these removals.

Ver. 36. *The wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.*] See ch. xx. 1. He doth not mean Kadesh-barnea, which was on the borders of Canaan; but another Kadesh, in the skirts of this wilderness, towards the south, not far from the port I now mentioned (which the Greeks call Elana), on the border of Edom; where Miriam died, and where water was brought out of a rock (see ch. xx. 8. 14. 16).

Ver. 37. *Mount Hor.*] See ch. xx. 28.

Ver. 38. *At the commandment of the Lord.*] See ch. xx. 23. 24. 27. Deut. xxxii. 50. The Hebrew doctors are too conceited in their observation, that, because it is said of him, and of Moses, that they died *al pi* (at the mouth) of the Lord, the Lord took their souls out of their bodies with a kiss. But Maimonides endeavours to make a sober sense of this, by making their meaning to be, that they "expired with the transcendent pleasure of Divine love" (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 51).

Died there.] A few months before his brother Moses.

Ver. 39.] He was just eighty and three years old, when he and Moses first went with a message to Pharaoh (Exod. vii. 7). By which it appears, that they were not long in working all the miracles in Egypt, before they brought the people forth; for now, forty years after, he was but a hundred and twenty-three years old.

Ver. 40. *And king Arad.*] See ch. xxi. 1.

Heard of the coming.] Had news brought him, that the Israelites were coming towards his country; whereupon he went out to oppose them; and God gave them (as we read there) a glorious victory over him. 'This shows that Moses intended, in the recital of all these places where they had been, to bring to remembrance the most remarkable passages of God's providence over them; some of which he expressly sets down.

Ver. 41. *Zalmonah.*] We read in the twenty-first chapter of this book, ver. 4. that they journeyed from Hor to compass the land of Edom, but are not told there where they pitched; which is here supplied, the name of the place being Zalmonah; which carries in it the signification of an *image*; and therefore,

here, perhaps, the brazen serpent was erected (see ch. xxi. 9).

Ver. 42. *Punon.*] Where Bochartus rather thinks the brazen serpent was set up; because after Moses hath given us the history of that, he saith, they set forward and pitched in Oboth (ch. xvi. 10), which was the place of their abode next to Punon, as it here follows, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 12. in the latter end of it.

Ver. 43. *Oboth.*] See ch. xxi. 10.

Ver. 44. *Ije-abarim.*] See ch. xxi. 11. This name is translated in the margin, "heaps of Abarim;" which may possibly signify many heaps of stone, which lay not far from the mountains of Abarim (ver. 47).

Ver. 45. *Dibon-gad.*] Here half the name of the first place is omitted; as is usual when the names are long. This may seem not to agree with ch. xxi. 12. where it is said they removed from thence, and pitched in the valley of Zered; near unto which, in all probability, was this Dibon-gad. See what I have noted there.

Ver. 46. *Almon-diblathaim.*] See ch. xxi. 13.

Ver. 47. *The mountains of Abarim, before Nebo.*] We read nowhere when they came to this mansion: but it is plain they were not far from it, when God bade Moses to go into one of these mountains, and take a view of Canaan (see ch. xxvii. 12). But this followed their last mansion; and therefore it is most likely this is the place mentioned, (ch. xxi. 20.) See there; where I have observed other places mentioned, ver. 18, 19. of which there is no notice taken in this catalogue. But they seem to have been places where they only touched, and made no encampment in them; which is the thing of which Moses here gives an account.

Ver. 48. *Plains of Moab.*] See ch. xxi. 1.

Ver. 49. *Beth-jesimoth.*] A place where there was a temple, in all likelihood, to some deity: for so Beth denotes in many compositions; as Beth-Peor (the house or temple of Baal on the top of Peor), Beth-Astaroth, and Beth-Baal-berith (Judges ix. 4), and Beth-Shemesh is often mentioned; where the sun was worshipped. And possibly Jesimoth may be the same with Jeshimon (ch. xxi. 20).

Abel-shittim.] Called simply Shittim, ch. xxv. 1. which some fancy had the name of Abel added to it, (which signifies mourning), because of that lamentation which was made there, by some, for the grievous sin there committed; and by others, for the heavy punishment inflicted in that place. But it seems to

plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying,

51 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan;

52 Then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places:

53 And ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein: for I have given you the land to possess it.

54 And ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families: and to the

have been anciently called Abel-Shittim, before this time (see there).

Ver 50.] After he had prepared them for their entrance into Canaan, he ordered the first and principal work they should there undertake.

Ver 51.] Accordingly Moses did deliver this command unto them (Deut. vii. 1, 2).

Ver 52. *Drive out all the inhabitants*] Not suffer them to dwell in the land any longer; but either destroy, or expel them; because they were abominable idolaters, devoted to extermination (Exod. xxiii. 33. Deut. xx. 16—18), by whom the Israelites would have been in danger to be corrupted, if they were not rooted out.

Destroy all their pictures,] Or their temples, or houses of worship, as Onkelos interprets it. But others (particularly the Jerusalem Targum), understand it of the idols or statues set up in those temples; or some representations of their gods (see concerning the Hebrew word *maskith*, Lev. xxv. 1).

Their molten images,] Exod. xxiii. 24. xxiv. 13. for if they suffered them to remain, they might be enticed to worship them. These were idols, perhaps, in public places, or private houses, out of their temples.

Quite pluck down all their high places:] They could not throw down the mountains, upon which the people of Canaan worshipped; but the meaning is, that they should cut down the groves which were there planted, and demolish all the altars that stood in them. For there were no other temples, at first, but these groves upon mountains; where the ancient heathen worshipped the sun, moon, and stars: unto which they thought the mountains approached nearer than the rest of the earth; and therefore their sacrifices there would be most prevalent. But of this I have said enough elsewhere.

Ver. 53]. Yet he did not intend they should dispossess the old inhabitants all at once, but by degrees; as he himself saith in Exod. xxiii. 29, 30. Deut. vii. 22.

Ver. 54. *Divided the land by lot*] Follow the directions I have already given for the dividing of the land, after the old inhabitants are expelled (ch. xxvi. 53, 55).

more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the less inheritance: every man's inheritance shall be in the place where his lot falleth; according to the tribes of your fathers ye shall inherit.

55 But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then it shall come to pass, that those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell.

56 Moreover it shall come to pass, that I shall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them.

To the more, &c.] See ch. xxvi. 54. 56.

Ver. 55. *If ye will not drive out the inhabitants*] At the first they could not drive them all out; nor was it God's design, as I before observed. Therefore Joshua would not attempt it while he lived; but left several nations, or part of them, unsubdued (Judges ii. 21. 23), of which he himself takes notice a little before he died, Josh. xxiii. 4. 7. where he warns them to have nothing to do with them; promising them that God would in time expel them quite (ver. 5). But when the Israelites grew slothful and cowardly, and negligently suffered the people of Canaan to dwell among them, and made friendship with them (as they did after Joshua and all that generation were dead), then followed what is here threatened in the next words.

Those which ye let remain] Voluntarily permit to live among you, without endeavouring to dispossess them.

Shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides,] Bring very sore calamities upon you: as grievous and as mischievous as a wound made in the eye, which is a most tender part; or in the side, when a thorn sticks and festers in it. Some are so curious, as, by the first part of these words (*pricks in your eyes*), to understand their being stimulated to idolatry, by beholding their rites of religion and manner of worship: and the next they take to signify the effect of it in sharp punishments, which should befall them for their forsaking God. Joshua threatened the same before he died, ch. xxiii. 13. Of which an angel, or messenger of the Lord, minded them, Judges ii. 3. And so it came to pass, as we read there, ver. 14. and throughout that whole book.

Shall vex you] Make you very uneasy, nay, sigh and groan, in the good land which God gives you, by reason of their oppression (Judges ii. 18. iv. 3. vi. 6, &c.).

Ver. 56. *I shall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them.*] As I purposed to do unto them; i. e. make you their slaves; as they were to several people whom they served many years, Judges iii. 8. 14. vi. 2. and many other places. Or make you flee before them; and at last expel you from the land I give you.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 The borders of the land. 16 The names of the men which shall divide the land.

1 AND the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
2 Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land of Ca-

CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1.] In the same place, where they were when he last spake to him; for they made no other removals till they marched for Canaan.

naan; (this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the land of Canaan with the coasts thereof:)

Ver. 2. *Command*] Charge them to take notice of this.

When ye come into the land] Having spoken to them concerning their dispossessing the Canaanites, and di-

3 Then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom, and your south border shall be the outmost coast of the salt sea eastward :

4 And your border shall turn from the south to the ascent of Akrabhim, and pass on to Zin : and the going forth thereof shall be from the south to Kadesh-barnea, and shall go on to Hazar-ad'car, and pass on to Azmon :

5 And the border shall fetch a compass from

Azmon unto the river of Egypt, and the goings out of it shall be at the sea.

6 And as for the western border, ye shall even have the great sea for a border : this shall be your west border.

7 And this shall be your north border : from the great sea ye shall point out for you mount Hor :

8 From mount Hor ye shall point out your border unto the entrance of Hamath ; and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad :

viding their land among their tribes ; it was fit to describe the bounds of their country, that they might know whom they were to destroy, and into whose possessions they were to enter.

Canaan, with the coasts thereof.] The land beyond Jordan ; and the limits or bounds thereof.

Ver. 3. *Your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin,]* Mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 36.

Along by the coast of Edom,] Which bordered upon this wilderness (ch. xx. 1. 14).

Your south border shall be the outmost coast of the salt sea] From the very tongue of it, as it is expressed, Josh. xv. 2. where it appears this was the portion of the tribe of Judah. The Salt Sea is that which is called sometimes the Dead Sea, and in other authors, Lacus Asphaltites (see Gen. xiv. 3). The Hebrews call all great lakes by the name of seas ; and this is called the Salt Sea, because the water of it is very salt, or, as some express it, bitter ; and the Dead Sea, propter aquæ immobilitatem, as Justin speaks, lib. xxxvi. "because of the immovableness of the water," which is never stirred by the greatest winds (see Vossius De Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 68).

Eastward:] Where the eastern and southern borders meet.

Ver. 4. *Your border]* That is, this south border.

Shall turn] Not go on in a straight line ; but bending towards the west.

From the south to the ascent of Akrabhim,] Or, to Maale-Akrabbim, a mountain on the south end of the Dead Sea (Josh. xv. 3. Judges i. 36), so called, as Bochartus conjectures, from the vast multitude of scorpions found here ; from which mountain also, it is probable, the region called Acrabatena, near to Idumea, had its name (1 Macc. v. 3). See Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 29.

Pass on to Zin:] Either to a place called Zin, or part of the wilderness of Zin ; which lay on the south of the land of Canaan (ch. xiii. 21).

From the south] That is, still on towards the south ; as appears from what goes before and follows after.

To Kadesh-barnea,] From whence the spies were sent to search out the land ; and are said expressly to have gone up by the south, ch. xiii. 22. 26.

And shall go on to Hazar-addar,] Or, to the village of Addar, as the Vulgar Latin renders it ; which seems to be justified by Josh. xv. 3, where it is simply called Addar. There is indeed a place called Hezron joined with it, which may be thought to be the same with Hazar ; but so is another place also called Karkaa ; both which may as well be thought to be here omitted, for brevity's sake.

And pass on to Azmon,] A place lying on the west end of the mouth of Edom.

Ver. 5. *And the border shall fetch a compass]* There shall be a greater turn than that mentioned ver. 4, bending still more westward.

From Azmon unto the river of Egypt,] By the river & Egypt is properly understood Nile : and so Jo-

nathan here renders the Hebrew word *Nahal* (river) by Nilus : which may seem to have taken its name from the word *Nahal* ; which the ancients did not pronounce as we now do, but called it *Niel*, as we find in Epiphanius ; from whence Nilus was very easily made, as Bochartus observes, Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 15. But if Nile be here meant, it must be the more northerly mouth of it, where Pelusium stood (see Gen. xv. 18).

And the goings out of it shall be at the sea,] This border ended at the sea, called the Great Sea, in the next verse.

Ver. 6. *And as for the western border, ye shall even have the great sea]* That is, the Mediterranean, or Midland Sea, which lay on the west of Judea ; and is called by the Hebrews the Great Sea, in comparison with the Lake of Gennesaret and Asphaltites, which they also called seas.

For a border:] On the west, as it here follows.

This shall be your west border,] From the river of Egypt as far as Zidon, which was a part of the promised land, as appears from Josh. xiii. 6. Judg. i. 31. All the cities, indeed, on the shore of this sea were held by the Philistines and others, till the time of David ; but the Israelites had a right to them. And the famous Rabbi Juda understands these words, as if they should have the western ocean itself for their portion, as well as the land adjacent to it : for so he expounds these words, as if Moses had said, This shall be your western border ; viz. the border of the sea, and the isles near unto it. And the Jerusalem Targum more plainly, "And let the Great Sea be your border, i. e. the ocean, and the isles thereof, and the cities, and the ships with the ancient waters, that are in the midst of them." See Selden, in his Mare Clausum, lib. i. cap. 6, where he alleges this as a proof that men anciently thought they might have a dominion over the sea, as well as the land.

Ver. 7. *From the great sea]* From the Mediterranean, which lay on the west.

Point out for you] Mark out for your direction.

Mount Hor,] Not that mount where Aaron died ; for that was on the south of the land of Canaan, towards Edom ; but this was diametrically opposite, on the north of it : and therefore must, in all likelihood, be some part of Mount Libanus, which, with Antilibanus (more towards the Great Sea), bounded the promised land on the north. But there were several parts of Mount Libanus which were called by several names ; and probably one of them was called Hor, because of its eminency or height above the rest. So the Vulgar translates it ; reading, I suppose, the Hebrew, not Hor hahar, i. e. "Hor the mountain," but Har hahar, "the mountain of mountain," i. e. the highest mountain. The Jews generally by this Mount Hor understand Amanus, which is a part of Taurus (as Mr. Selden observes in the place before named), which the Jerusalem Targum calls more briefly Mannus.

Ver. 8. *Unto the entrance of Hamath:]* There were

9 ¶ And the border shall go on to Ziphron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-enan: this shall be your north border.

10 And ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-enan to Shepham:

11 And the coast shall go down from Shepham to Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall descend, and shall reach unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth eastward:

12 And the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out of it shall be at the salt sea:

two Hamaths; one called by the Greeks Antiochia, the other Epiphania. The former called Hamath the Great, Amos vi. 2, to distinguish it from the latter, which is the city that is always meant, when we read the bounds of Judea were to the *entrance of Hamath* northward; as here and ch. xiii. 21. For it is certain, as Bochartus observes, they did not reach to Antiochia, but came near to Epiphania (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 36). And this makes it probable, that Hor, as I said before, may be a promontory of Libanus; because in Josh. xiii. 5, Hermon is joined with the *entrance of Hamath*, as Hor is here. Now Hermon was certainly a part of Libanus: by some called Sirion; by others Senir (Deut. iii. 9), and by others Sion (Deut. iv. 48).

Zedad.] Which in Ezekiel's time was reckoned the northern border (together with Hamath from the Great Sea; just as it is here (Ezek. xlvii. 15, 16).

Ver. 9. Ziphron.] Another town in those parts; of which I find no mention anywhere else.

Hazar-enan.] Here it ended; which was a place that retained its name till Ezekiel's time (ch. xlvii. 17). David Chytraeus seems to have given a full account of this northern border in a few words. It extended, saith he, from the Mediterranean, by the mountains of Libanus, to the fountain of Jordan; in which tract are the towns of Hamath, Zedad (in the tribe of Naphtali), Ziphron (in the same tribe at the foot of Libanus), and Hazar-enan, which he takes to signify a village at the fountain, viz. of Jordan.

Ver. 10. Hazar-enan.] From the fountain of Jordan, as was said before.

To Shepham.] A place not far from thence; for the river Jordan was certainly the eastern limits.

Ver. 11. And the coast.] The limits or bounds.

From Shepham to Riblah.] A place, no doubt, near to Jordan; with which river the eastern limits go along. St. Jerome takes Riblah to be Antiochia; but that was in Syria, to which the promised land did not reach.

The east side of Ain.] The Vulgar reads it "the fountain of Daphne." And, indeed, *Ain* signifies a fountain; and both Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum takes Riblah for Daphne; as they do Shepham before mentioned for Apamia. But this is only a vain conceit of the Jews, who would extend their bounds beyond what God gave them. For it is certain the land of Canaan never extended to these places, as Bochartus observes, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 16. And therefore Daphne (which was in the suburbs of Antiochia) cannot be here meant, unless we understand another place, mentioned by Josephus (lib. iv. De Bello Judaico, cap. 1), which lay near the lake of Semechonites, through the middle of which Jordan ran. And then Ain must signify another fountain of Jordan, for it had more than one. And thus David Chytraeus explains this part of the verse, and the foregoing; The eastern bounds were the river Jordan, near to which were these places; Enan, which had

this shall be your land with the coasts thereof round about.

13 And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, This is the land which ye shall inherit by lot, which the Lord commanded to give unto the nine tribes, and to the half tribe:

14 For the tribe of the children of Reuben according to the house of their fathers, and the tribe of the children of Gad according to the house of their fathers, have received *their inheritance*; and half the tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance:

its name from the fountain of the river; and Shepham, not far from thence; Riblah, which was also near to Jordan, lying between the lake of Semechonites and Gennesaret.

Reach unto the side of the sea of Chinnereth eastward.] To the east side of this sea, or lake, which had its name from a city so called, Josh. xix. 35, and a country, 1 Kings xv. 20, or else it gave them their names: for David Chytraeus will have it called Chinnereth, from the Hebrew word *cinnor*, which signifies *harp*, or *lute*, the lake being of that shape and figure, about four German miles long, and two and a half broad. It is called the sea of Galilee, or Tiberias, in the gospel.

Ver. 12. The border.] i. e. This eastern border.

Shall go down to Jordan.] That is, to the river which was eminently so called (and was on the east part of Canaan, Gen. xiii. 11), for it was very small till it came to the lake of Gennesaret before mentioned. From whence, being augmented by several torrents and rivulets, it ran in a wider stream, till it fell into the Salt or Dead Sea (see Bonfricius out of Josephus, lib. iv. De Bello Judaico, cap. 1).

Salt sea.] There was the end of this border; where it met with the southern, as was observed above (ver. 3).

This shall be your land.] As was said before (ver. 2), therefore they were not to extend their right any further; this being the country he promised Abraham, when he bade him lift up his eyes, and look from the place where he was, "northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward, and walk through the length of the land, and breadth of it," which he assures to his posterity, Gen. xiii. 14—17, which now he lays out for them, with the exact limits of it, in all those four quarters.

Ver. 13. This is the land which ye shall inherit by lot.] He repeats it so often, that they might know what people they were to dispossess, and with whom they might make friendship; and not to extend their desires beyond the bounds of God's gracious grant to them. By which they were placed in a very fertile and pleasant country, bounded, as appears by the foregoing description, on the south (ver. 4, 5), by great mountains, which sheltered them from the burning air of the deserts of Arabia; on the west, by the Midland Sea, which sent to them refreshing breezes; and on the north, by Mount Libanus, which kept off the colder blasts from that quarter; and on the east, the delightful plains of Jordan, abounding with palm-trees, especially about Jericho, which yielded them a great revenue.

Unto the nine tribes and to the half tribe.] This he had not said plainly before, though it was necessarily inferred, from his granting to two tribes and a half their inheritance beyond Jordan.

Ver. 14.] Upon condition they performed their promise, to help the rest of their tribes to win their inheritance in Canaan. So those words are to be

15 The two tribes and the half tribe have received their inheritance on this side Jordan *near Jericho* eastward, toward the sunrising.

16 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
17 These *are* the names of the men which shall divide the land unto you: Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun.

18 And ye shall take one prince of every tribe, to divide the land by inheritance.

19 And the names of the men *are* these: Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

20 And of the tribe of the children of Simeon, Shemuel the son of Ammihud.

21 Of the tribe of Benjamin, Elidad the son of Chislon.

22 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Dan, Bukki the son of Jogli.

23 The prince of the children of Joseph, for the tribe of the children of Manasseh, Hanniel the son of Ephod.

24 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Ephraim, Kemuel the son of Shiptan.

25 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Zebulun, Elizaphan the son of Parnach.

26 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Issachar, Paltiel the son of Azzan.

27 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Asher, Abihud the son of Shelomi.

28 And the prince of the tribe of the children of Naphtali, Pedahel the son of Ammihud.

29 These *are they* whom the LORD commanded to divide the inheritance unto the children of Israel in the land of Canaan.

understood, I observed xxxii. 33, "Moses gave unto them the kingdom of Sihon," &c.

Ver. 15.] By the gift of God, as they themselves understood it, xxxii. 31. The bounds of which the Jerusalem Targum here undertakes to set down, and makes them extend eastward as far as the great river Euphrates; having respect, I suppose, to Gen. xv. 18, and Exod. xxiii. 30, where he sets down the utmost bounds of the countries he intended to bestow upon them in future times (see there), but here only describes the limits of that land, which they were to enjoy in present possession; and was all that God granted to Abraham, when he brought him out of Chaldaea, and made his first promise unto him (Gen. xii. 1. 7. xiii. 14, 15. 17. xv. 7).

Ver. 16.] Having told them what they should divide, it was proper to appoint some persons to take care to see the division made.

Ver. 17. *These are the names*] Though the land was to be divided by lot, yet it was fit there should be some persons to oversee the business, and take care there should be no fraud in the drawing of them: and when they were drawn, to prevent all quarrels, by determining what portion those who had too much should give to those who had too little (xxvi. 54, 55).

Eleazar—and Joshua] These were the principal persons concerned in this great affair; who were so conscientious therein, that they did it in the presence

of God, at the door of the tabernacle (Josh. xviii. 6. 8. 10. xix. 51).

Ver. 18. *Prince of every tribe,*] They are called in the place last named, "the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel."

Ver. 19. *Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb*] I have nothing to observe upon this and the following verses, to the end of the chapter, but that the tribes are not mentioned in such order as they were at their first numbering (i. 5, 6, &c.), or at their second (xxvi. 5, &c.), yet great exactness and a particular direction of God may be noted in their placing here; for they are set down according to their situation which they had afterward in the land of Canaan; as if Moses foresaw who should be next neighbours one to another. For Judah having his inheritance given him first (Josh. xv.), Simeon, who is here next mentioned, was so near him in the land of Canaan, that he had a portion given him out of the lot of Judah, which proved too large for that tribe (Josh. xix. 9. Judg. i. 3. 17). Then Benjamin, who here follows, in the third place, was so near to Judah, that they never separated when the ten tribes were rent from them. Dan was not far from Judah; and the children of Joseph also were their neighbours. And the rest of the tribes, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, are set down here just in the order wherein their lots fell to them in Canaan (Josh. xix. 10. 17. 24. 32). An evidence that Moses was guided by a Divine Spirit in all his writings.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *Eight and forty cities for the Levites with their suburbs and measure thereof.* 6 *Six of them are to be cities of refuge.* 9 *The laws of murder.* 31 *No satisfaction for murder.*

1 And the LORD spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab by Jordan *near Jericho*, saying,

CHAP. XXXV.

Ver. 1.] See xxii. 1. Hitherto nothing had been said of the Levites; but that they should have no lot in the land of Canaan. But now God provides that they should have habitations assigned them to dwell in, though they had no fields, nor olive yards, &c. as the rest of their brethren had. They might, indeed, have been able to purchase houses for themselves out of the tithes, and other things, which God had long ago bestowed upon them for their portion: but it was not fit that God's ministers should be left without any

2 Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their

certain dwelling. And besides, God would have them live comfortably, and not only have houses, but a little ground about them, for their more commodious subsistence.

Ver. 2. *Give unto the Levites of the inheritance*] Out of their share that shall fall to them in the land of Canaan, and on this side Jordan.

Cities to dwell in;] That they might not be in danger to wander up and down to seek a habitation.

Suburbs for the cities round about them.] Some ground lying round about their cities, the reason of which is given in the next verse.

possession cities to dwell in; and ye shall give also unto the Levites suburbs for the cities round about them.

3 And the cities shall they have to dwell in; and the suburbs of them shall be for their cattle, and for their goods, and for all their beasts.

4 And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites, shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about.

5 And ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side

two thousand cubits; and the city shall be in the midst: this shall be to them the suburbs of the cities.

6 And among the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites there shall be six cities for refuge, which ye shall appoint for the manslayer, that he may flee thither: and to them ye shall add forty and two cities.

7 So all the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty and eight cities: them shall ye give with their suburbs.

8 And the cities which ye shall give shall be of the possession of the children of Israel: from them that have many ye shall give many; but

Ver. 3. *The cities shall they have to dwell in;*] That they may build houses for themselves to dwell in. Which did not make it unlawful for them to hire or purchase houses in any other city, particularly at Jerusalem, or the place where the tabernacle was settled; for we find in Scripture many proofs of their dwelling in other cities, beside these which are here assigned to them. And, in like manner, other people, with their permission, might dwell with them in these cities, without any breach of this law.

The suburbs—shall be for their cattle,] To afford pasture for their oxen and sheep.

For their goods,] The Hebrew word signifies, not only all kinds of household stuff, but whatsoever was necessary for them and their cattle without doors.

For all their beasts,] Horses, asses, mules, and all sorts of living creatures, as the Hebrew word signifies. But it was not lawful for them to build houses in these fields, nor plant vineyards, nor sow corn; but they were given them only to make their dwellings more sweet; and that they might have the convenience of cattle about them, for provisions, and all other uses.

Ver. 4. *The suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites,*] To be their possession, by as good and full a right, as their brethren of the other tribes had in their lands, which fell to them for their inheritance by lot: see Lev. xxv. 31—33, where they themselves are disabled to alienate either the houses or fields of their cities. But if they sold a house, it was to revert at the jubilee; and the fields they could not so much as sell till that time.

Shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about,] This space was for their out-houses; as stables, places for hay and straw, and such-like things, and perhaps for gardens of herbs and flowers. The Gemara, upon the ninth chapter of Sota, sect. 9, saith, that, under the second temple, the Levites had no suburbs; which were not restored to them after the captivity of Babylon. But there being great care taken that the people shall pay all the "tithe of their ground unto the Levites" (Neh. x. 37), it is unreasonable to think that care was not taken for places to lay them in.

Ver. 5. *Ye shall measure from without the city*] It is not said, as in the foregoing verse, *from the wall of the city*; therefore I take it to signify from the outside of the suburbs before mentioned.

On the east side two thousand cubits, &c.] So there was in the whole three thousand cubits round about the city: a thousand for the suburbs, properly so called; and two thousand more for their pasture, called properly, "the fields of the suburbs," Lev. xxv. 34. This is the most natural and easy explication of this place.

The city shall be in the midst:] So that there was exactly, every way, such a circuit of ground about it.

The suburbs of the cities,] Here the word suburbs

comprehends the fields also. And Maimonides saith, that, by the constitution of the elders, they set forth also a burying-place for every city beyond these limits: for they might not bury their dead within the suburbs or fields; which they ground upon the foregoing verse, which appoints them for other uses (Schemita ve Jobel, cap. 13).

Ver. 6. *Six cities for refuge,*] Three in the land of Canaan, and three on the other side Jordan (ver. 14), the names of which are set down, Josh. xx. 7, 8, and those on the other side Jordan were set apart by Moses himself before he died (Deut. iv. 43). The reason of their being called cities of refuge is given in the next words.

For the manslayer,] Such a manslayer as is afterward described; who killed another against his will.

That he may flee thither:] And there be preserved and kept in safety, if he was not found guilty of wilful murder. The cities of the Levites were appointed for this purpose, rather than any other, because they were a kind of sacred places, inhabited by sacred persons. And here men might spend their time better than in other cities, being among God's ministers; who might make them sensible of the negligence which men were commonly guilty of in such cases, and of such sins as they might have otherwise committed.

To them ye shall add forty-two cities,] Which had all the same privilege, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors; but not equally with the six. For in the six a manslayer was to have a house to dwell in for nothing; but in the other forty-two, he was to pay for it. And the Levites could not refuse him entrance into the six; but as for the rest it was in their choice whether they would receive him or not. Thus Maimonides, out of their ancient authors. See Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipul. Hebr. cap. 2, where he observes, that the altar also was a place of refuge, according to Exod. xxi. 14, but with many exceptions; both with relation to the parts of the altar, and to the persons who fled thither, and to the quality of the offence, and their stay there; which very much lessened the privilege of this refuge.

Ver. 7.] Accordingly we read Joshua gave them so many, Josh. xxi. 41. Thirteen of which the priests had; and the rest the Levites. And in the days of the Messiah (whom they vainly still expect), other cities shall be added to them (saith Maimonides), which shall belong to the Levites.

Ver. 8. *The cities—shall be of the possession*] And so it is said, Josh. xxi. 3, that "the children of Israel gave unto the Levites, out of their inheritance, these cities and their suburbs." Where we read also, they were given them by lot, as the children of Israel had their inheritance given them.

From them that have many ye shall give many, &c.] According to the rule in distributing their inheritances to the Israelites, xxxiii. 54.

According to his inheritance which he inheriteth.]

from them that have few ye shall give few : every one shall give of his cities unto the Levites according to his inheritance which he inheriteth.

9 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

10 Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come over Jordan into the land of Canaan ;

11 Then ye shall appoint you cities to be cities of refuge for you ; that the slayer may flee thither, which killeth any person at unawares.

12 And they shall be unto you cities for refuge from the avenger ; that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the congregation in judgment.

13 And of these cities which ye shall give six cities shall ye have for refuge.

14 Ye shall give three cities on this side Jordan, and three cities shall ye give in the land of Canaan, which shall be cities of refuge.

15 These six cities shall be a refuge, both for

Thus they gave nine cities out of the two tribes of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xxi. 16), and but four out of Benjamin, which was a small tribe (ver. 18), out of the tribes of Issachar and Asher, four apiece (ver. 28, 31), and out of Naphtali, no more than three (ver. 32).

Ver. 9.] This being a matter of great importance, that guiltless men should not suffer, nor the guilty escape punishment, the Lord gives Moses further direction about it, as he promised he would in Exod. xxi. 13.

Ver. 10. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Repeat this command to them ; which God himself repeated to Joshua, xx. 1, 2.

When ye be come—into the land of Canaan ;] When they had possession of it, and divided it, and were settled in it : so it is explained Deut. xix. 1, 2.

Ver. 11. *Then ye shall appoint—cities of refuge*] This seems to signify, that all the cities of the Levites were in some sort a protection to the manslayer, as I said upon ver. 6. Such places the temples were among the Athenians, as Sam. Petrus observes in *Leges Atticas*, p. 12, 13, yet not all of them ; for he can find only six ; that of Mercy, and that of Eumenedes and Minerva, and those dedicated to Theseus (one of them within the city, the other without the walls), and that in Munychia.

Which killeth any person at unawares.] Or, as it is Josh. xx. 3, *unwillingly*, Deut. xix. 4, *ignorantly* ; that is, besides his intention, having no such design, nor hatred to him, as is there expressly said, and here below (ver. 22). This is repeated ver. 15. And the instances of it are such as, mentioned by Georg. Ritterhusius *De Jure Asylorum*, cap. 4. If a man cutting wood, the hatchet flying from the helve, should hit a man, and kill him ; or a huntsman shooting at a deer in a thicket should kill a man, whom he did not see lying there : an example of which we have in Adrastus, mentioned by Herodotus, lib. i.

Ver. 12. *Cities for refuge from the avenger.*] From him who had a right to call a murderer to account for the blood he had shed, and is therefore called “the avenger of blood,” ver. 19, who, being stimulated with anger and grief for the death of a near relation, might, in a heat of rage, hastily kill him who was not guilty of murder. And therefore this provision is made for the preservation of an innocent person against the violent prosecution of the avenger. In the Hebrew, the word for avenger is *goel*, which signifying a redeemer, plainly denotes that the next of kin to him that was slain is here meant. For to that person belonged the right of redemption of estates (Lev. xxv. 25), and of marrying the wife of a kinsman deceased without issue (Ruth iii. 12, 13). And consequently such a person, that is the nearest of kin, is here intended to be the revenger of blood ; and therefore no man might undertake this office, but he alone who was the next heir to him that was slain ; as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iv. *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* cap. 1. p. 469. Grotius observes the like custom

among the ancient Greeks, of private men taking revenge for the death of their relations or friends (lib. ii. *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, cap. 20. sect. 8. n. 6).

That the manslayer die not,] By a sudden heat of passion. This was a merciful provision (as Maimonides observes), both for the manslayer, that he might be preserved, and for the avenger, that his blood might be cooled, by the removal of the manslayer out of his sight, by his flight to another place (More Novechim, par. iii. cap. 40).

Until he stand before the congregation] The city of refuge protected him that fled thither, *Salvo tamen juris et justitiæ examine* (as the lawyers speak), “yet so that the matter should be brought to a fair trial before proper judges.” They of the city of refuge examined him before his admittance into the place (Josh. xx. 4). But they were not judges, nor could they examine witnesses. And therefore he was delivered, upon demand, to the senate, or court of judgment, of that city where the fact was committed, that they might try whether he were guilty or not of wilful murder. So the Hebrews understand the word *edah*, congregation, in this place, (as in many others), to signify the Sanhedrin of Twenty-three, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. ii. *De Synedr.* cap. 5. n. 2, and lib. iii. cap. 8. n. 3). And as by congregation is meant the court where causes were tried, so it is reasonable to interpret it of that court which sat in the city where the fact was committed, and not that in the city of refuge, because there the witnesses were ; and it is expressly said, ver. 25, that if the congregation found him to be innocent, he should be “restored to the city of refuge.” Which evidently supposes he was not judged there, but in another place ; and none so proper as that before mentioned.

Ver. 13. *Six cities shall ye have for refuge.*] They might flee unto any other cities of the Levites ; but in these six they were most certain to find protection (see ver. 6). And the best provision was made for the manslayer’s easy and safe flying thither : for the ways that led thither were to be made very plain and broad (thirty-two cubits wide), and to be kept in good repair ; for which they alleged (in the title *Maccoth*, cap. 2. sect. 5), those words Deut. xix. 3, “Thou shalt prepare the way,” &c. And two students in the law were to accompany him ; that if the avenger of blood should overtake him, before he got into the city, they might endeavour to pacify him by wise persuasions ; and that he might not miss his way to the place whither he intended to flee, there were posts erected where two or three ways met, with this inscription, *MIKLAT*, i. e. “the city of refuge,” to direct him into that road which led to it. A certain day also was appointed, which was the fifteenth of February, for the repairing of the highways, and of the bridges, which might have been broken by the winter rains or floods.

Ver. 14.] This seems not to be an equal partition ; the land of Canaan being far bigger than the territory beyond Jordan ; for it contained above three parts of four of the tribes of Israel. But it is to be considered,

the children of Israel, and for the stranger, and for the sojourner among them: that every one that killeth any person unawares may flee thither.

16 And if he smite him with an instrument of iron, so that he die, he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death.

17 And if he smite him with throwing a stone, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death.

that the country beyond Jordan was as long as the land of Canaan, though not so broad: and they also beyond Jordan might flee to any of the cities in Canaan, if they were nearer to them. And besides, God commanded those in Canaan, if he enlarged their coast, to add three cities more, besides these (Deut. xix. 8, 9).

Why six cities are appointed for this purpose, and no more; and why three on one side of Jordan, and three on the other, Philo alleges some mystical reasons; but so far-fetched, that I do not think fit to mention them.

Ver. 15. *These six cities shall be a refuge.*] They all began to be so at the same time, according to the Talmudists. For till those three in Canaan were set out, these three on the other side Jordan (though set out by Moses before they went into Canaan, Deut. iv. 43.) did not receive any manslayer. Which they prove in the forenamed title, Maceoth, cap. 2. sect. 4. from these very words, "these six shall be cities of refuge;" that is, when the other three were appointed, then they all received those that fled to them.

And for the stranger, and for the sojourner] Both strangers and sojourners had renounced idolatry, but had not equally embraced the Jewish religion; yet both of them had the same share in this benefit, with the native Israelites; it being a natural right, that every man who was innocent should be protected. The difference between a stranger and a sojourner hath been often observed, particularly upon Lev. xix. 33, 34. Numb. xv. 15, 16.

That every one that killeth any person unawares may flee thither.] That is, every one before mentioned, whether Israelites, strangers, or sojourners. But as for such as were mere gentiles, and not so much as proselytes of the gate, if they killed another, though a gentile, they had not the benefit of this law; because they were not suffered to dwell among them, though they trafficked in the country. And if a proselyte at the gate killed an Israelite, or one that was circumcised, he also, if we may believe the Jewish doctors, was denied protection in these cities. But if he killed one like himself (i. e. a proselyte of the gate), then he had the same privilege with the Israelites, as they explain it (see Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 477).

Ver. 16. And if he smite him] Or rather, "but if he smite him."

With an instrument of iron,—he is a murderer:] For it was to be presumed, that he who ran at a man with a sword, or any such weapon, intended to do him a mischief; though perhaps he had no malice to him beforehand, but did it in a passion.

So that he die.] He never going abroad after he was wounded (Exod. xxi. 19, 20).

The murderer shall surely be put to death.] Be taken away by the judges, though he were in a city of refuge; and, the fact being proved, condemned to die for it.

Ver. 17. If he smite him with throwing a stone.] In

18 Or if he smite him with an hand weapon of wood, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer: the murderer shall surely be put to death.

19 The revenger of blood himself shall slay the murderer: when he meeteth him, he shall slay him.

20 But if he thrust him of hatred, or hurl at him by laying of wait, that he die;

21 Or in enmity smite him with his hand,

the Hebrew it is, "with a stone of the hand." That is, say the Jews, with a great stone that fills the hand; not with a small stone, with which he could not be presumed to intend to kill him; though he chanced to do it, by hitting him in the eye, or some other very tender part.

Wherewith he may die.] With a stone big enough to kill him.

And he die.] So that it appears he died of that blow.

He is a murderer:] He is as guilty as the forenamed person, who smote with an instrument of iron; and his fleeing to the city of refuge shall not protect him from death.

Ver. 18. If he smite him with an hand weapon of wood,] Such as a baton (as we now speak), or a club, or any such kind of instrument, as is likely to kill him.

Wherewith he may die, &c.] It made no difference with what kind of weapon or instrument he was killed, whether it were of iron, wood, or stone; if he were killed wittingly and knowingly, it was murder; and the guilty person was to suffer for it. Aul. Gellius hath collected the names of the several weapons, which were mentioned in ancient history; of which there are near thirty (lib. x. Noct. Attic, cap. 25), one of which, called *ligula*, he is pleased to explain, being then not common; and saith, it was a little sword, in the form of a tongue, like our poniard, I suppose, or dagger, or long knife; which was a dangerous weapon; because men might hide it under their clothes, and kill others while they were in familiar discourse with them.

Ver. 19. The revenger of blood himself] See ver. 12.

Shall slay the murderer:] This is thought by many to be a mere permission, not a precept; but the Jews think otherwise: that the next kin (i. e. the heir of him that was slain) stood bound to do his endeavour to avenge his blood. If he would not (saith Maimonides), or if he was not able; or if no such avenger was to be found (i. e. the murderer himself was the next heir, or the man slain was a proselyte of justice without issue), he was to be prosecuted, and put to death, by the court of judgment, and that by the sword (see Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1).

When he meeteth him he shall slay him.] He was not bound to stay for the sentence of the court, but might kill him wheresoever he found him (see ver. 31).

Ver. 20. But if he thrust him of hatred, &c.] Or rather, "for if he thrust him," &c., that is, if by any other means, besides those mentioned, ver. 16—18, he killed a man wittingly, either by pushing him down violently from a high or steep place; or throwing him into the water; or hurling a stone at him; or letting any thing fall down upon his head, though never so silly; if death followed, and it appeared he bore a hatred to him, he was to suffer death, as in the former cases (see Deut. xix. 11). Now this was a sufficient proof of hatred to him; if being a neigh-

that he die; he that smote him shall surely be put to death; for he is a murderer: the revenger of blood shall slay the murderer, when he meeteth him.

22 But if he thrust him suddenly without enmity, or have cast upon him any thing without laying of wait,

23 Or with any stone, wherewith a man may die, seeing him not, and cast it upon him, that

he die, and was not his enemy, neither sought his harm:

24 Then the congregation shall judge between the slayer and the revenger of blood according to these judgments:

25 And the congregation shall deliver the slayer out of the hand of the revenger of blood, and the congregation shall restore him to the city of his refuge, whither he was fled: and he shall

be brought before them; who heard what could be alleged against him, and what he could say for himself.

Ver. 21. Or in enmity smite him with his hand, that he die:] If he gave him only a blow with his fist, of which he died, and it was proved he had enmity to him, it was sufficient to make him a murderer; and it warranted the avenger of blood to kill him, or obliged him to prosecute him, so that the city of refuge should not save him.

The revenger of blood shall slay the murderer.] The civil law declared him to be unworthy to enjoy the inheritance of one that was murdered, if he neglected to prosecute the person that killed him in some court of justice. But the Jewish law allowed, or rather required, a great deal more; that the next of kin should kill the murderer with his own hands, if he met him. And thus the Abyssines, at this day (as Ritterhusius observes out of Alvarez), deliver the murderer into the hands of the next kinsman, to torture him. The reason of which law, among the Jews, was (as the same Ritterhusius observes, De Jure Asylorum, cap. 4), because they being all descended from one and the same stock, and equally taking of the same right, they were all concerned in the shedding of the blood of any one of them, especially they who were nearest to him in blood, who seemed to be all struck at and injured in him. So that the law, with great reason, allowed them to avenge the blood of him that was slain. With which these verses of Ovid, he thinks, agree:

“Cum tibi sint fratres, fratres ulciscere læsos.
Cumque pater tibi sit, jura tuere patris.”

Ver. 22. If he thrust him suddenly without enmity.] Killed him (after the manner before mentioned, ver. 20), in a violent passion, having no such intention, and being perhaps highly provoked by him, or by chance, as we speak, and unawares, it being proved that there was no enmity between them, no signs of hatred before this fact.

Or have cast upon him any thing] Happen to hit him with any thing, without design to hurt him (see Exod. xxi. 13. Deut. xix. 5).

Ver. 23. Or with any stone.] See ver. 17.

Seeing him not.] Throwing it at something else, or playing with it; and having no thought of him, because he did not see him.

Was not his enemy.] Not having any quarrel with him, not threatening, or any other way discovering that he sought to do him mischief.

Ver. 24. Then the congregation] That is, the judgment to whom the trial of such causes belonged: see ver. 12. where I observed, that the elders of the city of refuge judged whether the manslayer, who fled thither, should be received or not, upon a summary hearing of the cause, and such examination as they could make at present. But the full examination of it was reserved to the judges of the place where the fact was committed.

Shall judge between the slayer and the revenger of blood] They sent for him out of the city of refuge, to

be brought before them; who heard what could be alleged against him, and what he could say for himself.

According to these judgments.] Upon trial they proceeded to give judgment according to the foregoing rules; which, in brief, are these: if a man had no intention to kill another, but it was purely involuntary, he was to be acquitted. If there appeared any design upon his life, or such hatred and enmity as might move them to conclude he had an intention to kill him, he was to be put to death. But here the Hebrew doctors (as Mr. Selden observes) distinguish the killing of a man into three kinds: the first was, when, though it was from pure ignorance and error, yet there was some negligence in it, which a prudent man might have avoided. The second, when a man kills another ignorantly, and cannot be blamed for any negligence, because such a thing seldom happens. An example of the first they make to be, when a man, coming down a ladder, falls upon another and kills him. An example of the second, when going up a ladder, a man happens to do the same. The former is more frequent, and therefore they say hath some kind of blame in it; the other seldom, and therefore hath none. A third kind, when a man kills another out of ignorance and error also; but it approaches nearer to voluntary murder: as when a man, intending to kill one man, happens to kill another with a stone, or otherwise. In none of these cases, they say, the court of judgment could put any man to death. And the cities of refuge were not provided for the second or third sorts, but only for the first; and that when the man died presently, and did not lie and languish of the wound; for if he did, it might be supposed he died by his own negligence, or otherwise, as well as by the wound. In which case, there was no need that the man who wounded him should flee to the city of refuge; nor could the avenger of blood meddle with him, no more than he could with a father, when he gave his son, or a master, when he gave his scholar, correction, and happened to kill him. The same was the case of him, whose office it was to arrest men, by public authority, and bring them before the judges, if he struck a man that refused to go along with him, and killed him (see Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Heb. cap. 2).

Ver. 25. The congregation shall deliver the slayer] If the court found the man was killed casually, as the person accused pretended (Josh. xx. 4), then they charged the avenger of blood not to prosecute any further.

Both here and in the foregoing verse, and in the next words to these, by *congregation* is meant the judges of the city (as I observed, ver. 12), who were to determine in the presence, and in the behalf of the people, whether the manslayer were capable of the privilege of the city of refuge or not; as we read, Josh. xx. 46. Now these things (as a very learned person of our own argues), which were done by the elders (or judges), being said to be done by the *congregation*, or assembly of the people, in whose behalf

abide in it unto the death of the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil.

26 But if the slayer shall at any time come

they were done; it is no wrong to the Holy Scriptures, when we say, that which they report to have been done by the church was acted by the chief power of the apostles and elders, with the consent of the people. For it is manifest in the New Testament, that in the apostles' time all the public acts of the church were passed at the public assemblies of the same. As ordinations (Acts i. 23. v. 36), excommunications (Matt. xviii. 18—20. 1 Cor. v. 4. 2 Cor. ii. 10), councils (Acts xv. 4. 22), and other acts (2 Cor. vii. 19). And herewith agrees the primitive custom of the church for divers ages; whereby they gave satisfaction to the people of the integrity of their proceedings, and by the same means obliged superiors to that integrity, by making the proceedings so manifest, and so to preserve the unity of the church. And from this interest of the people in such acts it is, at this day, that the people of the church of England are demanded, what they have to say against ordinations and marriages to be made (see Mr. Thorndike, in his Rites of the Church in a Christian State, ch. iii. p. 159, &c.).

The congregation shall restore him to the city of his refuge.] They were to send him back again, from the place where he was tried, to the city where he had taken refuge, there to remain till the time prescribed in the next words. This was more merciful than the punishment inflicted by the Attic laws (which plainly show they were borrowed, in great part, from Moses), for he who slew a man involuntarily was forced to fly his country. So the scholiast upon the last of Homer's Iliads, Ἔθος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον ἐργασάμενον φύγειν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, &c. "It was the manner, in ancient times, for a man that had killed another involuntarily, to flee his country; and, betaking himself to some neighbouring place, to sit with his face covered, begging to be expiated." But this was only for a certain time, as Demosthenes tells us (in his oration in Aristocratem): ο νόμος κελεύει τὸν ἀδύνατον ἐπ' ἀκούσιον φόνον ἐν τισιν ὑπερήμεσι χρόνοις ἀπελθεῖν ταχὺν ἵδωσθαι, καὶ φύγειν, &c. "The law requires him that is condemned of killing a man involuntarily, for some limited time to go away, and keep at an appointed distance, till he can make his peace with the kindred of him that was slain: after which he may return again," &c.

He shall abide in it] Not stir out of the limits of the city, that is, beyond the suburbs, and the two thousand cubits which encompassed them (ver. 4, 5); within which bounds he was to keep.

Unto the death of the high priest.] This looks like a punishment to the manslayer; whereby others were taught to be very watchful over themselves, lest by negligence they chanced to kill any body, and so be forced to leave their own home. But Maimonides takes it for "a prudent charity to the manslayer, and to the relations of him that was slain: for by this means the manslayer was kept out of the sight of the avenger of blood, who might have been tempted, some time or other, to fall upon him, if he had come in his way: but by long absence his anger might be mitigated, at least by the death of the high-priest, the most excellent of all other persons, and most dear to every one in the nation. Which made the public grief so great when he died, that men forgot their private resentments: for nothing could fall out more grievous to all people (saith he) than the death of the high-priest, which swallowed

without the border of the city of his refuge, whether he was fled;

27 And the revenger of blood find him with-

up all other grief" (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40). And in the mean time the Jews say, that the citizens of the place were bound to teach him some trade, whereby he might provide himself with necessaries; and he had this comfort also, during his absence from his own family, that the mother of the high-priest sent him many gifts, that he might remain there more contentedly, and not pray for the death of the high-priest. So they tell us, in the place forementioned, Maccoth, cap. 2. sect. 6. where they also observe, that if a man killed the high-priest, or the high-priest himself happened to kill a man involuntarily, they were to stay in the city of refuge as long as they lived: yet they found this temperament, that if one who had been high-priest, but removed from his office, was alive when the slaughter was committed; after his death, both he that killed the high-priest, or any other unawares, and the high-priest himself, who had done the same, were set free from the city of refuge (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 9. sect. 6. and lib. iii. cap. 8. sect. 3).

There may seem to be some inequality in this law, because, as some high-priests lived long, and others but a short time, so some menslayers fled to the city at the beginning of their priesthood, and others just before their death. But it must be considered, that this could not be better ordered than to make the manslayer's liberty depend upon the death of the high-priest, whensoever it fell out, that a higher value might be set upon him; and that it might represent our deliverance only by the death of the Son of God: of which many great men looked upon this as a type or shadow; though it must be confessed, there is not the least signification of this in the New Testament. And since the great expiation, which the high-priest made every year on the day of atonement, did not procure such men their liberty, I cannot look upon it as the effect of the high-priest's death, but only as that which followed upon it, by virtue of this law. For the high-priest having a great power every where, and particularly in these cities of the priests and Levites, over whom he was the chief, it is possible the manslayer might be confined here by some peculiar act of his authority; which expiring together with himself, he was released.

Ver. 26. *But if the slayer shall at any time*] During the life of the high-priest.

Come without the border of the city of his refuge.] If he went beyond the bounds of the fields, in which he had liberty to walk, and might not be touched. For if a tree was planted (as the Mishna resolves in Maccoth) within the borders of the fields of the city, though the boughs stretched themselves beyond the borders, yet the manslayer was safe under the tree. In like manner, when churches became places of refuge, the civil law allowed the privilege to extend to the church gate: and the council of Toledo to thirty paces from the church; which pope Nicholas enlarged to forty. Thus, among the heathen, the bounds of the refuge at the temple of Diana at Ephesus were sometimes more, and sometimes less, as Ritterhusius observes in his book before named, where he shows how far it was extended by Alexander, and afterward farther by others. And Tacitus, lib. iii. Annalium, mentions a temple of hers, to which was granted, by several emperors, duobus millibus passuum eandem sanctitatem, "the same sanctity for two miles round about it."

Ver. 27. *And the revenger of blood find him without*

out the borders of the city of his refuge, and the revenger of blood kill the slayer; he shall not be guilty of blood:

28 Because he should have remained in the city of his refuge until the death of the high priest: but after the death of the high priest the slayer shall return into the land of his possession.

29 So these things shall be for a statute of judgment unto you throughout your generations in all your dwellings.

30 Whoso killeth any person, the murderer

shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses. but one witness shall not testify against any person to cause him to die.

31 Moreover ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, which is guilty of death: but he shall be surely put to death.

32 And ye shall take no satisfaction for him that is fled to the city of his refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest.

33 So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood it defileth the land: and the

the borders, &c.] The court of judgment were not to put him to death; though perhaps he was obnoxious to the judgment of God, because he had killed an innocent person: but he was free from the punishment of the law, that manslayers might be the more careful to keep within their bounds; which was a profitable restraint upon them, for the public good. All men seeing how much God hated murder, by the confinement of him who had slain a man unawares, to a kind of imprisonment.

But it may be said, on the other side, that he who killed a manslayer in this case was perfectly guiltless; because he did not herein act as a private person, but executed a sentence against him, who was condemned by public authority. Which gave no protection to the manslayer, but within the borders of his city of refuge; leaving him to the avenger of blood, if he came out of those bounds, till the death of the high-priest. After which, if the avenger of blood killed him, no doubt he was to be punished as a murderer.

Ver. 28. *He should have remained in the city of his refuge]* These words give the reason, why the avenger of blood was not to be punished in this case; because the manslayer was guilty of breaking another law, and so in some sort accessory to his own death; for he might have been safe, if he had pleased.

After the death of the high priest, the slayer shall return] Where he was not only to remain safe, but to be restored to all his honours, if he had any before he fled to the city of refuge.

Ver. 29. *A statute of judgment,]* A rule whereby to judge between manslayers and murderers.

Throughout your generations] The like clauses are usual in the ancient civil law: "*Hoc perpetua lege sancimus. Hoc generali et in perpetuum valitura lege decernimus,*" &c.

In all your dwellings.] This the Jews interpret as an obligation upon them to have courts of judgment wheresoever they dwell. Thus R. Solomon, upon these very words: "They teach us (saith he) the use of courts of judgment, which ought to be even out of the land, all the time that they were used in the land." So the ancient book Siphri, and many others mentioned by our most learned Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 5. n. 1.

Ver. 30. *The murderer shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses,]* This direction for all proceedings in this case, was to be the rule in all others of like nature, by examining witnesses, who were to be competent. Upon which account ten sorts of persons were incapable to be witnesses, according to the Hebrew doctors; viz. women, servants, minors, fools, the deaf and dumb, the blind, impious, and audacious people, dear relations, and those that had been convicted of hearing false witness: and they endeavour, after their manner, to find reasons against all these in the law itself (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 11).

One witness shall not testify—to cause him to die.] This was such an established rule in the civil law, that it saith, *ubi numerus testium non adjicitur, sufficiens duo*; "where the number of witnesses is not mentioned, two suffices." *Pluralis enim locutio, duorum numero contenta est*: "for where witnesses in the plural number are spoken of, two are enough to answer the intention of the law." Which number, therefore, is frequently mentioned expressly in Scripture, as necessary in all cases (*Deut. xvii. 6*), particularly in this of murder (*xix. 15*). Yet, where there was but one witness, or not two who both together saw the man killed, so that he who was accused of the murder could not be put to death, he was thrown into a very strait prison, and there fed with bread and water of affliction, till his bowels were sorely pinched, &c. if we may believe the Jewish doctors, mentioned by Selden, lib. iv. *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* cap. 1.

Ver. 31.] If a murderer would have given all his estate to save his life, or the avenger of blood would have accepted a compensation, or freely let him go, the judges (when they had found him guilty) could not restore him to the city of refuge, but he was to suffer death. For the life of him that was slain, was not (as Maimonides speaks) part of the goods of the avenger of blood, but belonged to Almighty God; who set such a value on a man's life, that he would not suffer any price to be taken for it (see Selden in the same chapter, p. 470).

Ver. 32.] No money was to purchase his liberty to dwell anywhere else but there, till the time appointed by the law: but this punishment for manslaughter was as indispensable as death for murder. And therefore, if any man happened to kill another in the city of refuge, to which he was confined, he was forced to flee to another city of refuge, and there abide till the death of the high-priest.

Ver. 33. *So ye shall not pollute the land:]* By this it appears, that the next of kin was bound to prosecute the murderer unto death, for the good of his country, which otherwise would have had a guilt upon it, and that very grievous. For they are the greatest crimes, as Maimonides observes, which are said to pollute the land, or them, or God's sanctuary, viz. idolatry (*Lev. xx. 3*), all the filthiness that is forbidden, xviii. 24, 25, and murder, here mentioned (*More Nechoch. par. iii. cap. 47*).

The land cannot be cleansed—but by the blood of him that shed it.] The same Maimonides observes, in the forty-first chapter of that book, "That it is a piece of universal justice, to make a man suffer what he hath made another suffer. If he hath hurt his body, he must suffer for it in his own body; if in his money, his own purse must pay for it; if he have taken away his life, he must die for it himself. And the punishment can neither be mitigated, nor any compensation accepted for it. For which he quotes these words; and upon this account resolves, that if

land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.

34 Defile not therefore the land which ye shall

inhabit, wherein I dwell: for I the LORD dwell among the children of Israel.

he that was murdered should live a few days or hours after his deadly wound, and, being in sound understanding, should desire he that killeth him might not die for it, declaring that he freely forgave him, his desire was not to be granted, but blood was to be punished with blood: whether he that was slain was a great man or a mean, a freeman or a slave, a wise man or a fool; because there is no sin committed by men greater than this is."

Ver. 34. *Defile not therefore the land*] By suffering a murderer to live.

Wherein I dwell:] This is given as a reason elsewhere (see ver. 3.) why they should put all polluted people out of their camps, because God dwelt in them, viz. in his sanctuary, which made this land be called the Holy Land, and God's possession (2 Chron. xx. 11).]

For I the Lord dwell among the children of Israel.] See Exod. xxv. 8. The very same was practised among the Athenians, with some little alteration. For Demosthenes says, it was one of their laws *τὸν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτείναντα θανάτῳ χρησιόγηται*, "that he who out of forethought killed a man, should be put to death." And he tells us also, that it was not lawful for the judges to take money to remit the punishment after he was condemned: though if the prosecutors compounded with him or his friends beforehand, and desisted from the prosecution, his life was saved. If he fled from justice, all his goods were confiscated, and he forfeited all the rights of a citizen, both civil and sacred (see Sam. Petitus's Comment. in Leges Atticæ, lib. vii. tit. 1).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *The inconvenience of the inheritance of daughters* 5 *is remedied by marrying in their own tribes, 7 lest the inheritance should be removed from the tribe.* 10 *The daughters of Zelophehad marry their father's brothers' sons.*

1 AND the chief fathers of the families of the children of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of the sons of Joseph, came near, and spake before Moses, and before the princes, the chief fathers of the children of Israel:

2 And they said, The LORD commanded my lord to give the land for an inheritance by lot to the children of Israel: and my lord was commanded by the LORD to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters.

3 And if they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel, then

shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance.

4 And when the jubile of the children of Israel shall be, then shall their inheritance be put unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall their inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of the tribe of our fathers.

5 And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the LORD, saying,

present to Moses the inconveniences which from thence would follow.

Then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers,] i. e. Go out of our tribe, to which it originally belonged.

And shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received:] Become a part of the inheritance of that tribe into which they married.

So shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance.] For it must have descended unto their children, who were of another tribe by the father's side; which alone was considered, and not the mother's, in this case.

Ver. 4. *When the jubile—shall be,*] Which was ordained for the preserving estates in the tribes and families to which they originally appertained (Lev. xxv. 10. 13).

Then shall their inheritance be put unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received:] The jubilee will not help us in this case, by making their inheritances return as other lands do; because they are become the inheritance of another tribe by the right of marriage.

So shall their inheritance be taken away, &c.] So will their estate go out of our tribe, without remedy, because the jubilee itself will give us no relief.

Ver. 5. *And Moses commanded—according to the word of the Lord,*] Whom, I suppose, he consulted about this matter (as he did when the first doubt was

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ver. 1. *The chief fathers of the families, &c.*] Not the fathers of those families whose inheritance had been assigned them already on this side Jordan, in the land of Gilead; but the other half of the tribe of Manasseh, who were to have their inheritance in Canaan, where the daughters of Zelophehad also had their portion, as appears from Josh. xvii. 3, 4, &c.

Spake before Moses, and before the princes,] Who were met together in a great assembly, as they used to do about public affairs (see xxvii. 2. xxxi. xxxii. 2).

Ver. 2. *The Lord commanded my lord*] This shows that one was the mouth of the rest.

To give the land for an inheritance by lot] See xxvi. 52, 53. For there the foundation of all these doubts was laid.

To give the inheritance of Zelophehad] Which would have fallen to Zelophehad had he been alive.

Our brother] So they called their near relations.

Unto his daughters,] Who petitioned him for the possession which should have been their father's, and it was granted them (see xxvii. 6, 7).

Ver. 3. *If they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes*] They being rich, many, it may be supposed, of the other tribes, as well as their own, would court them for their wives: and if they should choose a husband that was not of their own tribe, they re-

The tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well.

6 This is the thing which the Lord doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best; only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry.

7 So shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe: for every

one of the children of Israel shall keep himself to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers.

8 And every daughter, that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers.

9 Neither shall the inheritance remove from one tribe to another tribe; but every one of the

moved about the inheritance of these women, xxvii. 5), and received the answer by which he here commanded the Israelites to govern themselves.

The tribe of—Joseph] In whose name the chief fathers of their several families made this representation to Moses; as became men who took care of the concerns of the whole tribe.

Hath said well.] In desiring the inheritance of these women might not go out of their tribe, which was prevented by the following law.

Ver. 6. Let them marry to whom they think best;] They were not confined to any particular persons; but might have their choice among those who were descended from the same stock as it immediately follows.

Only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry:] Only with these two limitations, that they might not marry a man of another tribe, nor a man of another family in their own tribe. For it is very manifest, that they are tied to marry into the family of their father; and accordingly they did actually marry their cousin-germans, as we now speak (ver. 11). For this law was made for the preservation of families (as well as of tribes), as the law for the redemption of lands was. And therefore these words, “the family of the tribe of their father,” are well translated by Grotius (upon Matt. i. 16), *familia stirpis paternæ*, “the family of the stock of their father,” which was that they desired might not perish (xxvii. 4), and was the ground of the law, which commanded a man to marry the wife of his brother, who left no issue (Deut. xxv. 16). Therefore, there being several families in the tribe of Manasseh (xxvi. 29–32), these women could marry only into the family of the Hephrites.

Ver. 7. So shall not the inheritance—remove from tribe to tribe:] For by preserving it in the family to which it was given, it was necessarily preserved in the tribe.

Every one—shall keep himself to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers.] And not endeavour to get any part of the inheritance of another tribe, by marrying an heiress in it. Plato himself took care of this, that when a man left only a daughter, his estate should not be carried by her to a stranger, but she should be bound to marry *Kατ’ ἀγχιονίαν*, “one that was nearest of kin to her.” And if there was a want of near kindred, *μέχρι μὲν ἀδελφοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ*, &c. “it should descend to the children of her father’s brother, or the children of the grandfather, some of which he ordains should marry her” (Lib. xi. De Legibus, p. 924, 925, edit. Serrani).

Ver. 8. Every daughter that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe.] Here this law is made general, that all women who were heiresses, as the daughters of Zelophehad were, should do as they are here commanded. And this was one of the Attic laws, which, as Grotius observes, were plainly borrowed from the law of Moses, *Μὴ ἐξέσται τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἕξαι τῆς ἀγχιονίας γαμῆν*, &c. “That an heiress should not marry out of her kindred,” but dispose of herself and estate, *τῷ ἐγγύτατῳ γένους*, “to one nearest of

kin to her;” which was one of the laws of Solon, as Sam. Petitus observes out of Isæus, Pollux, and others, in his Comment. in *Leges Atticas*, lib. vi. tit. 1. p. 441.

Shall be wife to one of the family of the tribe of her father.] Here she is confined to her family, and not merely to her tribe. But this concerned only such as were heiresses: all other women might marry into what tribe they pleased; as appears by those very books, wherein we read that Aaron himself married the sister of the prince of Judah (Exod. vi. 22). And if any object, that this was before the giving of the law, it is evident that Jehoiaḏa, a priest, and consequently of the tribe of Levi, married king Jehoram’s sister, who was of the tribe of Judah (2 Chron. xxii. 11). And long before this, all the tribes of Israel, being in great solicitude how to find wives for their brethren of Benjamin, did not scruple their having them out of any tribe, if it had not been for their oath (Judg. xxi. 18). And, to add no more, David himself, of the tribe of Judah, married Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin.

The Talmudists add, that even these heiresses might marry into what tribe they pleased, after the first division of the land by Joshua; to which they imagine this law was restrained; it being a common saying among them, “that it did not belong to any age, but that in which it was made.” In the following ages they pretend a man might purchase land in any tribe and possess it alway; or have the inheritance of it by marriage, though he were of another tribe, as Selden shows their opinion to be (lib. De Successionibus ad *Leges Hebr.* cap. 18, and lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 4. n. 1. and Buxtorf. De Sponsal. et Divortii, sect. 44). But this is well confuted by Grotius in his Annotations upon Matt. i. 16.

Ver. 9. Neither shall the inheritance remove from one tribe to another] This establishes in general what he had said before (ver. 7), with particular respect to the daughters of Zelophehad. But Moses ben Nachman, upon these very words, asserts the Talmudic opinion before mentioned, that this concerns only the present time, not future ages. And puts this case (which is the strongest that can be thought of), if a woman were married into another tribe, after which marriage, her father and all her brethren dying without children, the inheritance fell to her, and consequently, saith he, the possession must devolve from one tribe to another, into which she had married. But, according to the letter of these words, the inheritance was rather to descend to the next of her kindred, than by her be carried out of the tribe to which it belonged.

But every one of the tribes—shall keep himself to his own inheritance.] Shall cleave or stick close to his own inheritance, as the Hebrew word signifies; and as the Greek and Latin express it. The reason of the command was, as Procopius Gazæus observes, to prevent the confusion of tribes. How the Vulgar Latin came to deviate so much from the Hebrew text, and from the intention of this law (as it hath done in this and the two preceding verses), I shall not here examine.

tribes of the children of Israel shall keep himself to his own inheritance.

10 Even as the LORD commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad:

11 For Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father's brothers' sons:

12 And they were married into the families of

the sons of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father.

13 These are the commandments and the judgments, which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho.

It is sufficient to note, that Onkelos hath expressed the Hebrew text word for word; and the LXX. do not depart from the sense of it.

Ver. 10. *So did the daughters of Zelophehad:*] Accordingly they followed this direction when they came into the land of Canaan, and had received their portion there. Now there being no such words added here, as there are in other cases, "this shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgment" (xxvii. 11), much less "a statute of judgment throughout your generations" (xxxv. 29), it led, I conjecture, the Talmudic doctors into the forementioned opinion, that this law concerned only the present generation.

Ver. 11. *For Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah,*] Thus they are called both in xxvi. 33, and xxvii. 1, though they are not there mentioned in the same order; for Tirzah is there named last, who is here named in the second place. Perhaps they are set down here in the order wherein they were dispersed in marriage; and Tirzah, who was the younger, was married in the second place.

Were married unto their father's brothers' sons:] For Hephher, no doubt, had other sons besides Zelophehad, who had issue male, though Zelophehad had not. What their names were, or how many of them, we do not know; but some suppose them to have been six; one of which died in the wilderness without issue. See Selden, De Successionibus, cap. 23, where he discourses at large of the portion which fell to them in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 12. *They were married into the families, &c.*] In the margin, more exactly out of the Hebrew, to "some that were of the families:" i. e. to one of the

families of Manasseh, from whom several families descended (xxvi. 29, &c.)

Their inheritance remained in the tribe.] The word for *tribe* signifies sometimes merely a family in a tribe. And so the LXX. (as Grotius observes in the place before named) in this very business, uses sometimes the word $\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, and sometimes $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}$; the former of which signifies a part of a whole tribe. And thus Josephus also uses the word $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}$, to signify a *family*. Mr. Selden hath the same observation in his book De Successionibus, cap. 18. that $\tau\omicron\upsilon\phi\epsilon$ is sometimes translated $\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}$; and then it signifies not a tribe, but $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\alpha\upsilon$, "familiam, cognationem, seu genus sanguine proximum; "a family, a kindred, or those that are next in blood." But there is no need of these observations, if the words be translated, as they may rightly; "And their inheritance remained in the tribe and the family of their fathers" (see ver. 6.)

Ver. 13.] He began to deliver the precepts here intended at chapter xxvi. (see ver. 3), and continues them to this place. By *commandments*, seem to be meant the precepts about the worship of God (ch. xxviii. xxix. xxx.), and by *judgments*, the civil laws about dividing their inheritances, and regulating their descent to their posterity, and establishing cities of refuge for manslayers, which are expressly called "a statute of judgment" (xxvii. 11. xxxv. 29). Some other things are interspersed, as God's commandment to number the people (which was in order to the assigning them their inheritances proportionable to their families), to execute judgment on the Midianites, and to set down in writing their travels in the wilderness; of which I have given an account in their proper places.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

DEUTERONOMY.

THIS book had the name of DEUTERONOMY given it by the Greeks, from the principal scope and design of it; which was to repeat unto the Israelites, before Moses left them, the *chief laws of God*, which had been given them: that they who were not then born when they were first delivered, or were incapable to understand them, or had not sufficiently regarded them, might be instructed in them, and awakened to attend them, (see ver. 1, 5). In order to this, he premises a short narrative of what had befallen them since they came from Mount Sinai unto this time, in the first three chapters; and then in the fourth urges them, by a most pathetic exhortation, to the observance of those laws which he had taught them, especially the ten commandments, with which he begins the fifth chapter; where he makes a solemn rehearsal of the covenant God made with

them in Horeb; and what immediately followed upon the delivery of the law by God himself from Mount Sinai. And then, having earnestly pressed the observation of the first commandment, in the former part of the sixth chapter, and in the latter part of it, and in the several chapters that follow (to the end of the eleventh), reminded them of a great many things which God had done for them, and given them several cautions, lest they let them slip out of their minds, and used many arguments, from several topics (as we call them), to move them to be obedient to all the other commandments; he proceeds in the twelfth chapter, and so forward to the twenty-eighth, to remember them of a great many other laws besides the ten commandments, which he had delivered to them. Some of which he explains; others he enforces with further reasons; and in several places adds new laws for the greater security of the whole (particularly, he orders the writing of God's law upon stones, when they came into the land of Canaan, ch. xxvii.), and then pronounces those promises which God had made to the obedient, and his threatenings to the disobedient, more largely, and with greater force, than he had done in the twenty-sixth of Leviticus. After which he again remembers them of several wonderful works of God for them (ch. xxix.) and renews the covenant between God and them; using several arguments to persuade them to a dutiful observance of God's law: which he commands (ch. xxxi.) to be read to all the people in the conclusion of every seventh year, that none might pretend ignorance of it. And then concludes all with a most admirable song, which he orders every one to learn; and with a blessing upon the twelve tribes.

All this was done in the last two months of the last year of Moses' life. But not all at once, as plainly appears by several parts of the book; in which he writes what he delivered to them at several times. Which is the reason of the repetition of the very same thing over and over again: that he might make it sink into their minds by being often inculcated. Some have been so foolish as to make this an objection against this book being composed by Moses. But it shows their great ignorance; all wise men having ever judged it necessary to say, τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, "the very same things concerning the same things;" that they might be thoroughly understood, and fixed in the memory of their auditors, and settled in their hearts and affections. Particularly Epictetus (as David Chytræus long ago observed) delivered this as a profitable rule in all studies: Εἰδέναι καὶ εἶναι οὐ ῥᾶδιον δόγμα παραγινώσκειν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἰκάνῃσι ἡμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ λίγη τις καὶ ἀκούη καὶ ἅμα χρεῖται περὶ τὰ βίη. "This must be known (as a certain truth), that it is not easy for a man to attain the solid knowledge of any thing, unless he both read and hear the same things every day, and also set himself to the practice of them." This course Moses took with the children of Israel: spending every day, it is likely, of the latter end of his life in calling to their mind, again and again, what he had taught them, and the reason they had to do accordingly.

CHAPTER I.

- 1 *Moses' speech in the end of the fortieth year, briefly rehearsing the story 6 of God's promise, 13 of giving them officers, 19 of sending the spies to search the land, 34 of God's anger for their incredulity, 41 and disobedience.*

I THESE *be* the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red sea, be-

tween Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab.

2 (*There are eleven days' journey from Ho-*

CHAP. I.

Ver. 1 *These be the words*] This book contains the words.

Which Moses spake unto all Israel] All the people could not hear what he said, but he ordered the elders and heads, of the several tribes to communicate to the whole congregation what he delivered to them, in the audience of many of the people who were assembled with them. Thus these words are commonly understood. But, considering the great weight of what is here said, I rather think that Moses himself, at several times, spake what here follows in the ears of the people (see v. 1.)

On this side Jordan] The Vulgar Latin having translated the Hebrew words [*beber*] "on the other side Jordan," it hath furnished some ill-disposed minds with an argument, that Moses was not the author of this book: for he that wrote plainly shows that he was in Canaan when he wrote it. But a very little consideration would have prevented this frivo-

lous objection; there being nothing more certain, than that the Hebrew words signify indifferently, either one side or the other; and may be literally translated, "in the passage over Jordan," or as they were about to pass over it; as Huetius observes and proves, by plain examples, that the Hebrews have no other word to express their mind, when they would say either on this side or beyond (see Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 14). To which another learned writer, since him (Hermannus Witsius, lib. i. Miscel. Sac. cap. 14), hath added several other places which evidently show, that *beber* is a word that indifferently belongs to either side of any place (see 1 Sam. xiv. 40, and must be determined by the matter in hand, to which it is to be applied. And here, undoubtedly, it is to be rendered "on this side Jordan" (see iii. 8).

In the plain] In the plain of Moab, where they had remained a long while; as appears from the foregoing book (Numb. xxii. 1. xxvi. 3. 63. xxxi. 12. xxxiii. 48. 59. xxxv. 1. xxxvi. 13).

reb by the way of mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea.)

3 And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that the Lord had given him in commandment unto them;

Over against the Red sea.] There is no word in the Hebrew text for *sea*; and therefore the marginal translation is to be preferred, which is, "over against Suph;" which was a place in the country of Moab (see Numb. xxi. 14), over against which they now lay encamped; but were so far distant from the Red Sea, that there can be no respect to it here.

Between Paran.] He doth not mean the wilderness of Paran frequently mentioned in the foregoing book (for that was as remote from hence as the Red Sea), but some place in the country of Moab, as Suph was, and the rest of the places which here follow.

And Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab.] There was a place called Hazeroth, where they had encamped a long time ago (Numb. xi. 35. xxxiii. 17), but it was in another wilderness far from this place, as appears by the account Moses gives of their removals from that place to this, where they now lay (Numb. xxxiii. 17. 48, 49). And therefore I take this, and the other three places here mentioned, to have been frontier-towns in the country of Moab, which lay upon the borders of this plain. The last of which, Dizahab, is translated by the LXX. and the Vulgar, as if it signified a place where there were mines of gold.

Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum, who take Suph to signify the Red sea, and Paran for the wilderness through which they had come many years ago, &c. are forced to add several words to make out the sense of this verse in this manner: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan, &c. reproving them because they sinned in the desert, and provoked God in the plain over against the Red sea; and murmured in Paran about manna; and at Hazeroth for flesh," &c. And so they proceed to mention other sins committed in other places; but not in these here named: which they force, from their natural sense, to comply with this conceit.

Ver. 2. *There are eleven days' journey from Horeb, &c.*] Or "eleven days (we were a coming) from Horeb, by the way of Mount Seir, unto Kadesh-barnea." Which cannot be understood of the whole time they spent between these two places, but only of the time they spent in travelling: for they stayed a month at Kibroth-hattaavah, and a week more at Hazeroth (Numb. xi. 21. xii. 15, 16), before they came to Kadesh-barnea. This he represents to them, to make them sensible they had been kept in the wilderness so many years as had passed since they came out of Egypt; not because it was a long way to Canaan, but for the reason mentioned in the fourteenth of Numbers. For from Horeb (whither he ordered them to go when they came out of Egypt) they came in eleven days, and took no long journeys, to the borders of the land of Canaan, where Kadesh-barnea lay. So Maimonides; The way was plain and known between Horeb (whither God brought them on purpose to serve him) and Kadesh: which was the beginning of a habitable country; according to what he saith, Numb. x. 16. (see More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 1. see Numb. xiii. 26).

By the way of Mount Seir] The country of the Edonites (ch. ii. ver. 12).

Unto Kadesh-barnea.] How they were ordered to come hither, and what they did here, he relates, ver.

4 After he had slain Sihon the king of the Amorites, which dwelt in Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt at Astaroth in Edrei:

5 On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law, saying,

6 The Lord our God spake unto us in Horeb,

6. 19, and so proceeds to give an account of several remarkable things which befell them, unto the time when he wrote these things, which he sets down in the next verse.

Ver. 3. *In the fortieth year.*] After they came out of Egypt.

In the eleventh month, on the first day] In the first month of this fortieth year they came into the wilderness of Zin, unto another Kadesh (Numb. xx. 1). From whence they removed to Mount Hor; where Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month of this year. See there, ver. 28, where it appears, ver. 29, they mourned for him thirty days, that is, till the beginning of the sixth month. In which they fought with king Arad (Numb. xxi), and from Mount Hor travelled from place to place (as we read there, and Numb. xxxiii) till they came to these plains of Moab. In which journeys, and in the rest of the transactions, mentioned in the latter end of the book of Numbers, they spent the other five months of this year; as I have observed in their proper places. And now began the eleventh month, when Moses, being to leave the world before the end of this year, spake all that follows in this book. And this speech (which he begins ver. 6, and continues to the fortieth verse of the fourth chapter), the great primate of Ireland thinks, he made to the people on the twentieth of February, and on the sabbath-day, as the reader may find in his Annals.

That Moses spake, &c.] Made a rehearsal of all that at several times he had received from the Lord, and delivered unto them.

Ver. 4. *After he had slain Sihon*] About five months ago; for it was after Aaron's death, which was the first day of the fifth month (Numb. xxxiii. 38), and they mourned for him all that month (See Numb. xxi. 21, &c.).

And Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt at Astaroth] This was a city in the country of Bashan (Josh. xiii. 31), and a city it was of very great antiquity, as appears from Gen. xiv. 5 (see there). From whence some think the famous goddess Astarte had her name, being here worshipped. But whether that goddess took her name from this city, or the city from the goddess, is not certain; as Mr. Selden observes in his Syntagma ii. De Diis Syris, cap. 2. But that the heathen deities were wont to have their names from the groves, mountains, cities, and caves, where they were worshipped, is as certain as it is uncertain from whence Astarte, or Astaroth (as the Scripture name is), was so called.

In Edrei: His royal palace was at Astaroth (as Sihon's was at Heshbon), but he was slain in Edrei (Numb. xxi. 33).

Ver. 5. *In the land of Moab.*] In the plains of Moab; before they passed over Jordan (see ver. 1).

Began Moses to declare this law.] To call to remembrance that which any one had forgotten; and to explain that which any one did not understand. So Maimonides expounds these words in Seder Zeraim, "In the end of the fortieth year, in the beginning of the month Shebat, Moses called the people together, saying; The time of my death draws near, if any one, therefore, hath forgot any thing that I have delivered, let him come and receive it; or if any

saying, Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount:]

7 Turn you, and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto, in the plain, in the hills, and in the vale, and in the south, and by the sea side, to the land of the Canaanites, and unto Lebanon, unto the great river, the river Euphrates.

8 Behold, I have set the land before you: go in and possess the land which the LORD swore unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them.

thing seem dubious, let him come that I may explain it. And so they say in Siphri, "If any one have forgotten any constitution, let him come and hear it the second time; if he need to have any thing unfolded, let him come and hear the explication of it." For which he quotes this verse; and says that Moses spent all his time in this, from the beginning of the month Shebat to the seventh day of Adar. And what he now said was likely to be more regarded, because these were, in a manner, his dying words: for he lived but till the seventh day of the next month; and seems to have composed this book as a compendium of his whole law, for the familiar use of the children of Israel; from whence it is called Deuteronomy, i. e. a second law (see Huetius in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 1).

Ver. 6. *The Lord our God spake*] Numb. x. 13.

Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount.] From the third month of the first year (Exod. xix. 1), to the twentieth day of the second year after they came out of Egypt (Numb. x. 11), they stayed at Mount Sinai, which is the same with Horeb, they being only two tops of the same mountain, one of them something higher than the other, as they are described by those who have taken a view of them. For Moses was twice with God, for the space of forty days, in this mount; and here the tabernacle and all things belonging to it were made, according to the orders he there received; and then was erected and consecrated; and the people all numbered and disposed under several standards, to march in such order as God appointed (Numb. ii. 3. 10. 17, &c. x. 14, 15, &c.).

Ver. 7. *Turn you.*] From this mountain.

Take your journey.] Resume your journey, which you have so long intermitted.

Go to the mount of the Amorites.] A mount on the south part of Canaan, inhabited by the Amorites, together with some Canaanites and Amalekites (Numb. xiv. 25, 43, 45). But the principal possessors of it were Amorites, as is expressed more than once in this chapter, ver. 19, 20, 41. This is the mountain to which Moses bade the spies go up, Numb. xiii. 17, and so they did, ver. 22.

Unto all the places nigh thereunto.] And so pass into all the neighbouring country which lies near it.

In the plain, in the hills, and in the vale.] This is a description of the country nigh unto this mountain; some of which was champaign (as we speak) and other parts of it consisted of hills and dales.

In the south, &c. unto the great river, the river Euphrates.] And so go into all the rest of the land of Canaan: the several quarters of which he here sets forth. The southern part lying towards this mountain; the western upon the sea (where the people properly called Canaanites dwelt); the northern towards Lebanon; and the eastern towards the river Euphrates. Which by other authors, as well as Moses, is called the *great river*. So Callimachus, in his hymn to Apollo, v. 103.

9 ¶ And I spake unto you at that time, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone:

10 The LORD your God hath multiplied you, and behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude.

11 (The LORD God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you!)

12 How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance and your burden, and your strife?

13 Take you wise men, and understanding,

Ἄσπετον ποταμὸν μέγας ῥέος—

"The great flood of the Assyrian river;" which the scholiast observes is meant of Euphrates. And Lucan,

—*"Cum Tigride magnus
Euphrates"* Lib. iii. ver. 253.

Ver. 8. *I have set the land*] In the Hebrew, "given the land," i. e. bestowed it upon you, and am ready to bring you into possession of it.

Before you.] That every one of you may have his share of it. Or, that you may go whither you please, and settle yourselves in it (Gen. xiii. 9. xxxiv. 10).

Go in and possess] Therefore make no longer stay here in the wilderness; but go and take possession of my gift.

Which the Lord swore unto your fathers,] Gen. xv. 18. xvii. 7, 8. xxvi. 1. xxviii. 13.

Ver. 9. *I spake unto you at that time.*] About the time of their coming to Horeb, or Mount Sinai. For the story of Jethro, unto which this relates, preceded that immediately (Exod. xviii). Many great men place it after the giving of the law: of which, see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 2. n. 4.

I am not able to bear you myself alone.] We do not read, before now, that Moses spake thus to the people. But Jethro spake in this manner to him, Exod. xviii. 18, and gave him advice to take some others to his assistance (ver. 21), which advice he followed (ver. 24). And then spake to the people what Jethro had said to him; and enlarged upon it, in the words we read here, in the following verses: where he gives them the reason why he could not perform the office of a judge alone.

Ver. 10. *Hath multiplied you.*] Increased unto a greater number than can easily be told.

Ver. 11. *Make you a thousand times so many more as ye are.*] As if he had said, I am not troubled at your vast increase, but bless God for it; and beseech him to make you a thousand times more numerous than at present you are.

Bless you, as he has promised you!] In the promise often repeated to their fathers (Gen. xii. 2. xv. 5. xvii. 5, 6. xviii. 18. xxii. 17. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14).

Ver. 12. *How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife?*] But how is it possible for one man alone to undergo the labour of hearing all the complaints of such a multitude; and of remedying all their grievances, and determining all their controversies? So the last word signifies, *suits at law* (as we speak), as the two former signify other differences, which arose between one man and another, about such things as are mentioned in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters of Exodus. The first word, which we translate *cumbrance*, signifies tediousam litantium seram (as Hottinger interprets it, in his Smegma Orientale, lib. i. cap. 6), the tedious pleadings of those that manage causes before a judge, by bills and answers (suppose) and rejoinders, &c.

Ver. 13. *Take you*] In the Hebrew it is *give ye*, i. e.

and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you.

14 And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do.

15 So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men, and known, and made them heads over you, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens, and officers among your tribes.

present unto me such persons as you think fit, according to the following characters.

[*Wise men, and understanding.*] Men of known wisdom, prudence, and integrity; skilful in Divine and human laws (see Exod. xviii. 21). Some take *wise men* to signify such as knew much; and *understanding*, such as had prudence to make use of their knowledge, being men of experience, and they were to be noted for both these; otherwise the people would not have revered them.

Ver. 14.] This consent of the people is not recorded before; but sufficiently implied in their submission to this regulation, mentioned Exod. xviii. 26.

Ver. 15. *So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men, and known.*] From among those men that they presented to him, he took, I suppose, such persons among the chief of their tribes, as were endowed with the qualities here named, and were known by all so to be. For obscure persons, either for birth, or experience in affairs, would have been condemned: and therefore he chose the noblest of those that were presented to him (called here the *chief of your tribes*), if they were no less worthy than others. For some such, no doubt, there were among their great men, as might be thought fit for this high employment. And they were the fitter, because, being men of quality (as we speak), they were less liable to be corrupted by bribery. From which Moses took care all judges should be so free, that he expressly requires they should be men *hating covetousness* (Exod. xviii. 21). And Solon did not forget to make this a part of the oath, which every judge in Athens took (which is mentioned at large by Demosthenes: in his oration against Timocrates) οὐδὲ διῶραι δίχουαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐνέκας, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄνωγμαι, &c. "I will receive no gift upon the account of my sentence; neither I myself, nor any body else for me, nor others with my knowledge, by any artifice or device whatsoever."

[*Made them heads over you.*] Set them to govern and rule the people (as it is expressed ver. 13), by deciding all causes which were brought before them; as far as they were able to understand them.

[*Captains over thousands, &c.*] It is a question whether they were commanders over so many families, or persons; as I observed upon Exod. xviii. 25. Hermannus Conringius thinks they were rulers (as the word signifies) over so many fathers of families, understanding by a family that which we now call a household (De Republ. Hebræorum, sect. 18).

[*Officers among your tribes.*] The same great man, in the twenty-sixth section of the same book, takes *shofrim* to have been judges, as well as the rest. His great reason is, because the seventy elders were ordered to be chosen out of them, among others (Numb. xi. 16). Now it is altogether improbable, he thinks, that such a *prophetic college* as that was, should be chosen out of such mean officers, as the Hebrew doctors make those *shofrim* to have been. But see what I have noted upon Exod. v. 14, and Numb. xi. 16. And let me here add, that if they were judges (and not attendants upon them), they were very mean ones, being put below the *rulers of ten*.

16 And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him.

17 Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's: and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it.

But howsoever this be, it is certain some of these judges had greater authority than others, being entrusted with a larger jurisdiction; and it is likely, greater abilities were required in those over thousands than in those over tens. As in the great Sanhedrin afterward, the Jews make more things necessary to qualify men for a place in it, than were requisite for those in lower courts; where no man could sit (much less in the highest) unless these seven things were remarkable in him, as Maimonides saith (Halacah Sanhedrin, cap. 4. sect. 7), "wisdom, humility, the fear of God, contempt of riches, love of truth, a good fame; and he was beloved also of others."

Ver. 16. *I charged your judges at that time.*] As the quality of their persons and their endowments made them considerable, so they were dignified with the honourable name of *shofetim*, and were also called elders, which had been a long time a title of honour among the Jews, and in other nations.

[*Hear the causes between your brethren.*] This was a necessary quality in a good cause, to give audience to every one that brought a cause before him; and not to delay any man. But the Jews infer from these words, that it was not lawful to hear any man when his adversary was absent; but both parties were to be there present. And they were also to be heard speak for themselves, if they pleased: which was part of the forenamed oath which Solon ordered all the Athenian judges to take, ἀπαράσσωμαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοῦς ἀφοῦν, "I will hear the accuser and the defender, both alike."

[*Judge righteously.*] The next thing required of a judge was to be upright and impartial, not considering what a man was, but his cause. This is implied in the following words.

[*Between every man and his brother.*] i. e. Between one Israelite and another.

[*And the stranger that is with him.*] i. e. Between an Israelite and a proselyte: whether he were received into the covenant by circumcision, or not. For of this latter sort there were, no doubt, a great number, amongst that mixed multitude, who came with them out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 38). And while they were in the wilderness, there was not a distinct court for Israelites and proselytes; but their causes were tried in one and the same, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Syndriis, cap. 3. n. 1.

Ver. 17. *Ye shall not respect persons in judgment;* Not be swayed by particular affection or interest; but judge sincerely, without respect to relation, or any benefit or injury received.

[*Ye shall hear the small as well as the great;*] Be equally disposed patiently to attend to the cause of a poor man, as of a great; and to do him as speedy and impartial justice (see Lev. xix. 15). And here the Hebrew doctors tell us of some singular practices in their courts, to preserve the dispensation of exact justice: for if one of the contending parties came into them richly clothed, and the other poorly, they would not hear them till both were clothed alike. Nor would they suffer one of them to sit, and the other stand; but both of them either sat, or stood. And if they sat, one of them was not permitted to sit higher

18 And I commanded you at that time all the things which ye should do.

19 ¶ And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites, as the LORD our God commanded us; and we came to Kadesh-barnea.

20 And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites, which the LORD our God doth give unto us.

21 Behold, the LORD thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it, as the LORD God of thy fathers hath said unto thee; fear not, neither be discouraged.

than the other; but they sat by each other's side, &c. (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 10).

Ye shall not be afraid of the face of man;] Courage and undaunted resolution is another necessary qualification in a judge; who must not be overawed by what any man can do unto him; but remember (as it here follows) that he is in God's place.

For the judgment is God's;] God gave them their commission by Moses; so that they were his ministers, and acted by his authority: and therefore might be confident he would defend them in the discharge of their office. This shows, that though Moses alone acted by immediate authority from God, yet these always being constituted by him, were to be looked upon as pronouncing sentence in his name; who, after a peculiar manner, was the King and supreme Governor of the people of Israel.

The cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me,] Another quality is humility, in not adventuring to judge of things above their reach. Some think there were certain causes reserved to the cognizance of Moses (as I observed upon Exod. xviii. 12), but the contrary appears by these words, that all manner of causes were brought before these judges; and they, not the people, brought such causes before Moses, as they found too hard for them to determine. So that they, not the person whose cause it was, judged of the difficulty of the cause (see Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 16).

Ver. 18.] As he rightly informed their judges, so he instructed the people also in their duty, before they went from Horeb, by delivering to them the judgments which God commanded him to set before them, Exod. xxi. 1, contained in that and in the two following chapters; whereby both they and their judges were to govern themselves.

Ver. 19. *When we departed*] See Numb. x. 2.

That great and terrible wilderness,] It may well be called great because it extended a great way. For after three days' journey (Numb. x. 12), they settled at Kibroth-hattaavah; which was in this wilderness of Paran. From whence they went to Hazereth, which is still said to be in this wilderness (Numb. xi. 35). And when they went from thence, they were in the same wilderness (xii. 16), where Kadesh was (xiii. 26, and see xxxiii. 19). And this wilderness was very terrible, or dreadful; because there were no inhabitants in it but wild beasts.

By the way of the mountain of the Amorites,] All the way you went towards that mountain (see ver. 7.)

As the Lord our God commanded us;] According to the direction which God gave them, by the motion of the cloud that went before them.

And we came to Kadesh-barnea.] Where they rested at the foot of that mountain, in the wilderness of Paran (Numb. xiii. 2. 26).

Ver. 20.] For this was part of the country which

22 ¶ And ye came near unto me, every one of you, and said, We will send men before us and they shall search us out the land, and bring us word again by what way we must go up, and into what cities we shall come.

23 And the saying pleased me well: and I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe:

24 And they turned and went up into the mountain, and came unto the valley of Eshcol, and searched it out.

25 And they took of the fruit of the land in their hands, and brought it down unto us, and brought us word again, and said, *It is a good land which the LORD our God doth give us.*

God bestowed upon them for their possession; as appears from Numb. xxxiv. 4, where Kadesh-barnea is mentioned as a frontier place in their south border. And indeed the Amorites, whosoever they found them, were to be expelled; as they had already dispossessed them of the whole kingdom of Sihon, who was king of the Amorites (Numb. xxi. 21. 25, 26).

Ver. 21. *Hath set the land before thee;*] All the country beyond this mountain (ver. 8).

Go up] For there was a great ascent to it (Numb. xiii. 17).

And possess it,] Enter upon the possession of it.

As the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto thee;] According to the promise made by God long ago, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (see ver. 8), which he is now ready to perform.

Fear not, neither be discouraged,] Do not dread either their number or their strength; but trust in the Lord (whose name he repeats four times in these three verses), that he will make good his word.

Ver. 22. *Ye came near unto me every one of you,*] The heads of every tribe, in the name of the whole congregation, whose desire this was.

We will send men] Some select persons.

They shall search us out the land,] Give us an account how it lies, and what kind of country it is.

Bring us word again] Inform us which way to direct our march into it.

Into what cities we shall come,] What cities we shall first attack, to make our way the clearer into the country. Moses also charges the men that went to search the land with many other inquiries (Numb. xiii. 18—20), that the people might receive the fullest satisfaction.

Ver. 23. *The saying pleased me well;*] He thought this a reasonable motion, proceeding only from a prudent caution; whereas, in truth, they were timorous and distrustful of God's promise.

I took twelve men of you,] That every body might be satisfied when they heard the report of their brethren, Numb. xiii. 2—4, &c. and God directed him so to do, as we read there.

Ver. 24. *They turned*] From Kadesh-barnea.

Went up into the mountain,] Numb. xiii. 17. 21.

Came into the valley of Eshcol,] It appears by the relation (Numb. xiii. 21—23), that this was the last place unto which they came when they had ended their search.

Searched it out,] After they had gone through all the quarters of the country.

Ver. 25. *They took of the fruit of the land*] Both grapes, pomegranates, and figs (Numb. xiii. 23).

It is a good land] so they all said unanimously, and brought along with them a demonstration of it (Numb. xiii. 27), only they added, that they were not able to deal with the inhabitants of it.

26 Notwithstanding ye would not go up, but rebelled against the commandment of the LORD your God:

27 And ye murmured in your tents, and said, Because the LORD hated us, he hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us.

28 Whither shall we go up? our brethren have discouraged our heart, saying, The people is greater and taller than we; the cities are great and walled up to heaven; and moreover we have seen the sons of the Anakims there.

29 Then I said unto you, Dread not, neither be afraid of them.

30 The LORD your God which goeth before

you, he shall fight for you, according to all that he did for you in Egypt before your eyes;

31 And in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that the LORD thy God bare thee, as a man doth bear his son, in all the way that ye went, until ye came into this place.

32 Yet in this thing ye did not believe the LORD your God.

33 Who went in the way before you, to search you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to show you by what way ye should go, and in a cloud by day.

34 And the LORD heard the voice of your words, and was wroth, and sware, saying,

35 Surely there shall not one of these men of

Ver. 26.] Who bade you go up and not be afraid (ver. 8. 21). Which was the greater sin, because he had not only brought them to the borders of the land, but convinced them that he had not deluded them with fair promises of a better country than really it was: for they all saw the goodly fruit which it produced; and ought therefore to have believed he would fulfil his word, and give them the possession of it.

Ver. 27. *Ye murmured in your tents.*] After great lamentations for a whole night together (Numb. xiv. 1).

He brought us forth out of the land of Egypt.] Unto which therefore they desired and conspired to return (Numb. xiv. 4).

To deliver us into the hand of the Amorites.] Nothing can be more pernicious (as Grotius here observes) than a persuasion that God doth not love us, but hath a design upon us to destroy us.

Ver. 28. *Whither shall we go up?*] Moses, I suppose, still pressed them to go up, and take possession of the land; to which they gave him this snappish answer.

Our brethren have discouraged our heart.] The men that you yourself sent to search the land, dispirited us by the report they have brought us. Which would not have had that effect upon them, if they had minded one part of it as much as the other, and calmly considered what Caleb and Joshua said, who made no doubt of success.

The people is greater and taller than we;] More numerous, and of far greater stature and strength (Numb. xiii. 28. 33).

The cities are great and walled up to heaven:] The spies only told them, that their "cities were walled, and very great" (Numb. xiii. 28), but their fear and confusion of thoughts augmented the danger of attempting the conquest of them: yet Moses himself thinks good afterward to use the same hyperbole (ix. 1), which is common in the best authors. For thus Homer, in *Odys.* E. ver. 239, speaks of a fir-tree as high as heaven, i. e. exceeding tall:

— ἰσάτω τ' ἦν οὐρανὸν ὀψέτης.

Many other instances may be seen in Bochartus's *Phaleg.* lib. i. cap. 13.

We have seen the sons of the Anakims there.] See Numb. xiii. 28. 33. Const. L'Empereur will rather have it translated "the sons of the giants," as the LXX. and Onkelos take it. Yet he acknowledges that Anak seems to have been the first parent and propagator of the race of giants after the flood; and, therefore, it may be properly translated as we do (see Annot. in *Itiner.* Benjamini Tudelensis, p. 136).

Ver. 29. *Then I said unto you,*] Moses here at

large relates what he said unto their fathers upon this occasion; which he doth not mention in the book of Numbers (where we read only of his falling down before God), that he might awaken this generation to a greater confidence in God, and a dread of his judgment.

Dread not, neither be afraid of them.] Do not consider so much how strong they are, as how powerful the LORD your God is, who hath promised you this good land.

Ver. 30. *The Lord your God which goeth before you.*] In a glorious pillar of cloud and fire.

He shall fight for you.] As he had done hitherto (Exod. xiv. 14. xvii. 8, &c.).

According to all that he did for you in Egypt] Why should you think he is less able to bring you into Canaan, than he was to redeem you from Egypt, where you were oppressed by very powerful enemies?

Ver. 31. *And in the wilderness,*] Ever since they came from thence through the wilderness of the Red Sea (Exod. xiii. 18), and in the wilderness of Sin (Exod. xvi. 1), and the wilderness of Sinai (Exod. xix. 1, 2), and then through that terrible wilderness of Paran (see above, ver. 19.)

Where thou hast seen how that the Lord thy God bare thee,] The long experience they had of his tender care he had over them (which was as indulgent as that of a kind father towards his only son, when he is a child, whom he carries in his arms), should have made them confident of his gracious providence for the future.

In all the way that ye went,] He made provision for them in the most desolate places; bringing them water out of a rock; sending bread down to them from heaven; defending them from wild beasts, and from their fiercer enemies, &c.

Ver. 32.] He could not prevail with them to trust God; and go up, as he commanded, in his power and might to possess the land. Nor could all that Caleb and Joshua said at all move them (Numb. xiv. 7—9).

Ver. 33.] *Who went in the way before you,*] Never failed constantly to direct and guide you in your journeys (Exod. xiii. 22).

To search you out a place to pitch your tents in,] But always marked out your encampments where they should be (Numb. x. 17).

In fire by night,—and in a cloud by day.] That they might be able to travel by night, as well as by day: which was most convenient in summer-time, when the sun was very scorching in a wilderness where there was no shelter (Exod. xiii. 21. Numb. x. 16. 21).

Ver. 34. *The Lord heard the voice of your words,*] They not only distrusted God (ver. 32), but murmured against their leaders, and against God, in a mutinous manner; consulting to return into Egypt

this evil generation see that good land, which I swear to give unto your fathers,

36 Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh: he shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children, because he hath wholly followed the LORD.

37 Also the LORD was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither.

38 But Joshua the son of Nun which standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: encourage him: for he shall cause Israel to inherit it.

39 Moreover your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children, which in that day had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it.

(Numb. xiv. 1—4). And moreover spake of stoning Caleb and Joshua for their good advice (ver. 10).

Was wrath and swear.] Which so provoked the Divine Majesty, that he irrevocably determined what follows; confirming it with an oath (Numb. xiv. 21).

Ver. 35]. See Numb. xiv. 21, 28, 29.

Ver. 36. *Save Caleb*] And Joshua the son of Nun (see xiv. 24, 30, and see below, ver. 38).

He shall see it, and to him will I give the land, &c.] This was as exactly fulfilled as their disinheriting was, Josh. ix. 9, 12, where the particular portion of land is mentioned which God promised to him, and which Joshua gave him in the mountain where the Anakims dwelt. For such was the wonderful faith and courage of Caleb, that he doubted not to dispossess those whom the rest of the Israelites dreaded as invincible.

Ver. 37. *Also the Lord was angry with me.*] Not at that time, but afterward; when they came into the wilderness of Zin, to another Kadesh (Numb. xx. 1, 12).

For your sakes.] By occasion of their fresh discontents and mutinous upbraidings of him (Numb. xx. 2—4), which provoked him so, that he spake unadvisedly with his lips, as the Psalmist observes, Ps. cvi. 31, 32. This was a high aggravation of their guilt; that they not only undid themselves, but brought great displeasure upon their worthy leader and governor, whom they wearied with their tumults and rebellions. Or the meaning may be (which doth not much differ from the account now given), that they murmuring in a tumultuous manner, when they saw the water did not flow out of the rock at the first stroke, he himself also was put into such a commotion, that he began to doubt, and say God would do nothing for such a rebellious people, though he had declared he would. If this be true, he soon recovered himself, and smote the rock again, in confidence God would be as good as his word. But God was so angry at the words he had spoken, that he so far punished him for them, as to deny him entrance into Canaan.

Thou—shalt not go in thither.] Which threatening is renewed a little before his death (Numb. xxvii. 13, 14), and he could not get repealed by any entreaties, as we read in this book, iii. 26.

Ver. 38. *But Joshua—which standeth before thee,* i. e. Waits upon thee.

He shall go in thither.] So God promised, when he, as well as Caleb, endeavoured to put courage into the people to go and possess the land (Numb. xiv. 6, 7, &c. 30).

Encourage him: for he shall cause Israel to inherit it. Not only go thither, and have his portion there, but be the captain of Israel, and conquer the land for

40 But as for you, turn you, and take your journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea.

41 Then ye answered and said unto me, We have sinned against the LORD, we will go up and fight, according to all that the LORD our God commanded us. And when ye had girded on every man his weapons of war, ye were ready to go up into the hill.

42 And the LORD said unto me, Say unto them, Go not up, neither fight; for I am not among you; lest ye be smitten before your enemies.

43 So I spake unto you; and ye would not hear, but rebelled against the commandment of the LORD, and went presumptuously up into the hill.

them, and divide it among them. This intimates as if Joshua was afraid he might be excluded as well as his master; being extremely troubled, it is likely, that he was not suffered to reap the fruit of his long labours. Therefore God bids Moses encourage his hope and command him to take heart (as we speak), for undoubtedly he should do more than go into Canaan. Which may be the reason why his name is not put into the exception (ver. 35, 36), together with Caleb's; but they are mentioned separately, because there was something to be said peculiar to each of them.

Ver. 39. *Your little ones.*] See Numb. xiv. 31.

Had no knowledge between good and evil.] And consequently, did not provoke God by their disobedience.

They shall go in thither, &c.] Their innocence moved pity towards them: though children, in some cases, were cut off for their fathers' sins.

Ver. 40. *But as for you, turn ye.*] From the land of Canaan; to which they were not permitted to go.

Take your journey into the wilderness.] And get you back again into the wilderness, out of which I have brought you (Numb. xiv. 25).

By the way of the Red Sea.] Thus they had their desire, in some part, of returning into Egypt (Numb. xiv. 4), which was not far from the Red Sea.

Ver. 41. *We have sinned*] They repented when it was too late to do them any good (see Numb. xiv. 40).

We will go up and fight.] Now they resolve to encounter those enemies of whom they were before so afraid, as to speak of stoning those who exhorted them not fear them (Numb. xiv. 9, 10).

When ye had girded on every man his weapons of war, &c.] They not only made a stout resolution, but actually prepared themselves for the onset: as if there were no difficulty in that, which a little before they dreaded to think of. So De Dieu translates the last words, "Ye thought it an easy matter to ascend the hill;" or, ye despised going up the mountain; in our language, "made nothing of it."

Ver. 42. *Go not up.*] See Numb. xiv. 41, 42.

Neither fight.] Much less think of fighting.

For I am not among you.] By my powerful presence to subdue your enemies, or to defend you from them (so the phrase is often used): for the ark of the covenant, the token of God's presence, did not go with them (Numb. xiv. 44).

Lest ye be smitten] Which would be a far greater disgrace than marching away from them.

Ver. 43. *So I spake*] See Numb. xiv. 42, 43.

Ye would not hear.] No more than before; when he bade them go up.

44 And the Amorites, which dwell in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and destroyed you in Seir, *even* unto Hormah.

45 And ye returned and wept before the LORD;

But rebelled against the commandment of the Lord,] For now it was against his will, as before it was his will, that they should go up.

Went presumptuously up] Would venture against the express command of God, which was the highest presumption.

Ver. 44. *The Amorites—came out against you,]* As soon as they saw the Israelites ascend to assault them they came down upon them (Numb. xiv. 45).

Chased you, as bees do,] Which pursue those that disturb their hives in great swarms, and with great fury (Ps. cxviii. 12). For though bees have very small bodies, yet they have great spirits, and a vast force, as Bochart observes in many instances, to make out the aptness of this comparison, in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 10.

Destroyed you in Seir,] It seems they fled towards that part of Idumea where mount Seir was; which they afterward compassed many days (ii. 1), when they removed from Kadesh-barnea. And there some of them fell by the sword of the Amorites, who were the fiercest of all the people of Canaan, and might on that account, be well compared to bees, who cease not their pursuit till they have fixed their stings.

Even unto Hormah,] See Numb. xiv. 45.

Ver. 45. *Ye returned]* After the Amorites retreated.

Wept before the Lord;] Beseeching him to go along with you, and assist you to conquer the land.

But the Lord would not hearken to your voice,] To consent that they should now go and possess the promised land, or stay near to it; but remained fixed in his resolution, that they should go back again,

but the LORD would not hearken to your voice, nor give ear unto you.

46 So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode *there*.

and wander in the wilderness as long as they lived.

Ver. 46. *So ye abode in Kadesh many days,]* God had commanded Moses to lead them into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea, the very next morning after their mutiny upon the return of the spies (Numb. xiv. 25). But they prevented this, by their early rising next morning to assault the Amorites in the mountain (ver. 40.) After which they being discomfited, he permitted them to stay some time here to bemoan themselves. But how long, it is not certain; for sometime the cloud stayed but two days, sometime a month, sometime a year, before it stirred from the tabernacle: which was the sign of their removal (Numb. x. 22). And in some stations, it is likely, they stayed several years: for from the time of their removal from Kadesh-barnea, till they came to Mount Hor, which was thirty-seven years, we find but nineteen stations (see Numb. xxxiii. 18—37).

According unto the days that ye abode there,] Some expound it, as long as they did in all the rest of their stations, i. e. nineteen years, as the Jews compute in Seder Olam. But, as the learned Dr. Lightfoot thinks it signifies, “as long as they did at Mount Sinai:” and so they stayed near a whole year, as they had done at Sinai. But the most simple explication seems to be, that they tarried here so long after this, as they had done before it, at least forty days; which was the time the spies spent in searching out the land. Though there is no necessity to confine it to that number, but simply to interpret it, that “as they stayed there many days before this mutiny, so they did as many after it.”

CHAPTER II.

1 *The story is continued, that they were not to meddle with the Edomites, 9 nor with the Moabites, 17 nor with the Ammonites, 24 but Sihon the Amorite was subdued by them.*

1 THEN we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea, as the LORD spake unto me: and we compassed mount Seir many days.

2 And the LORD spake unto me, saying,

3 Ye have compassed this mountain long enough: turn you northward.

4 And command thou the people, saying, Ye

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *We turned, &c.]* From the borders of the land of Canaan, to go southward, till they came to the very shore of the Red Sea. Which, as David Chytræus computes it, was thirty German miles from Kadesh-barnea.

As the Lord spake unto me;] According to the command formerly mentioned, Numb. xiv. 25.

We compassed Mount Seir] The mountainous country of Edom; whereof Mount Seir was but a part. For when they came to Ezion-Gaber, which was upon the Red Sea, they were still in the country of Edom (1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17). For it stretched a long way: from the confines of Canaan, unto Elath and Ezion-Gaber, on the Red Sea.

Many days,] Some think that they were marching to and fro along the borders of this country, all the time they spent from this removal, till they returned to go towards Canaan again. So that by many days they understand the whole thirty-eight years which passed between their departure from Kadesh-barnea

till they came over the brook Zered (ver. 14). For when they were at Ezion-Gaber (which was farthest from Canaan), they were, as I said, upon the borders of Edom; and so they were when they came back again, seven-and-thirty years after at Mount Hor (Numb. xx. 23. xxi. 4). But this must not be understood, as if all the stations mentioned Numb. xxxiii. after they left Kadesh-barnea till they came hither again, were near to the country of Edom; some of them might be remote, though they all lay in that wilderness, which reached from one end of Idumea to the other.

Ver. 2. *The Lord spake unto me,]* This was in the end of the thirty-ninth year after their coming out of Egypt; when they had spent thirty-seven years going to and fro since their departure from Kadesh-barnea. In all which time he gives us no account what passed either in the foregoing book, or in this: but only sets down the places of their abode, as I observed in the thirty-third of Numbers.

Ver. 3. *Ye have compassed this mountain]* i. e. The mountainous country of Edom, mentioned ver. 1.

are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you: take ye good heed unto yourselves therefore:

5 Meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot breadth; because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.

6 Ye shall buy meat of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink.

7 For the LORD thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hand: he knoweth thy walking through this great wilderness: these forty years the LORD thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing.

Turn you northward.] From Ezion-Gaber, which was in the south, towards the north, that is, directly towards the land of Canaan.

Ver. 4. *Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren*] For they went from Ezion-Gaber to Kadesh (Numb. xx. 1), and from thence to Mount Hor (ver. 22, which was in the edge of the land of Edom, Numb. xxxiii. 37), and from thence they travelled to compass the land of Edom (xxi. 4), i. e. the eastern quarter of it. So that though they did not pass *through* the coast of Edom, as we translate it, yet they passed *by* it, and very near unto it: as the particle *beth* frequently signifies (Gen. xxxvii. 13, Josh. v. 13. 1 Sam. xxix. 1). Though they may be truly said to "pass through their coast," if thereby we understand *their border*, or the confines of their country.

They shall be afraid of you.] Lest, wanting a settlement, the Israelites should seize upon their country. Accordingly we find, they raised all the force they could make to oppose them, Numb. xx. 20.

Take ye good heed unto yourselves] Let not that encourage you to assault them.

Ver. 5. *Meddle not with them;*] Make not the least attempt upon them.

Not so much as a foot breadth;] i. e. Not the smallest portion.

Because I have given mount Seir unto Esau] So Joshua saith expressly, Josh. xxiv. 4, wherein he made good the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 39).

Ver. 6.] If you have a mind to any provision that their country affords, you shall not take it, but purchase it; as they did their very water (ver. 29), which was a scarce thing in those dry countries. And so the Israelites offered to do, when they treated with them about a passage through their country (Numb. xx. 19).

Ver. 7. *For the Lord thy God hath blessed thee*] Or *though the Lord hath blessed thee*, &c. that is, though there is no need of it, God having abundantly provided you with all things necessary. But if we follow our translation, the sense is plain; "You have wherewith to buy of them what you need or desire; therefore do not take it away by force."

He knoweth thy walking] Hath directed and prospered thee (as the word *knoweth* signifies in many places, Ps. i. 6. xxxi. 7), in thy travels through a dangerous wilderness.

Thou hast lacked nothing.] He had mercifully provided for them so constantly, that he let them want nothing necessary for their support. This was the sum of the argument why they should not molest the Edomites, nor take any thing by stealth from them, because they were in no need; and God had given that country to the children of Esau, as he intended to give Canaan to the Israelites.

8 And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion-gaber, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab.

9 And the LORD said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of their land for a possession; because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession.

10 The Emims dwelt therein in times past, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims;

11 Which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites call them Emims.

12 The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime;

Their being in the wilderness forty years is mentioned also viii. 2, xxix. 5, besides other places of Scripture. For, from the fifteenth day of the first month, in which their fathers came out of Egypt (Numb. xxxiii. 5) to the tenth day of the same month in which they went over Jordan into Canaan (Josh. iv. 19), there were but five days wanting of complete forty years. I cannot but here note also, that this is one of those places wherein Onkelos mentions the Memra, i. e. Word of Jehovah, which can signify nothing but a Divine person: for thus he translates these words, "The Word of the Lord thy God hath been thy helper; thou hast not wanted any thing."

Ver. 8. *Of the plain*] i. e. Through the wilderness of Zin.

From Elath, and from Ezion-gaber.] Two places upon the Red Sea; the last of which [Ezion-Gaber] signifies as much as the spine, or backbone of a man. So called, because there were great ragged rocks in that port (as Bochart observes), like those at Dyrrachium in Macedonia; which had its name also from thence (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 44).

We turned] After they were denied passage through their country, and had gone through those stations mentioned, Numb. xxxiii. 41, 42, &c.

Passed—the wilderness of Moab.] See Numb. xxi. 11. Going by the east side of their country (Judges xi. 18).

Ver. 9. *Distress not the Moabites.*] He would not have them force their way through his country; because the king of Moab refused them a passage, as the king of Edom had done (Judges xi. 17). For their country now was but small, since Sihon king of the Amorites had taken from them all the best of it, which lay between Arnon and Jabbok; of which the Israelites had possessed themselves by the conquest of Sihon. So that they had only that portion remaining which lay upon the Dead Sea; which David, in aftertimes, subdued.

I will not give thee of their land] No more than of Edom (ver. 5).

Because I have given Ar] It is likely the capital city gave name to the whole country about it. At least Ar (which was the chief city of Moab, Numb. xxi. 15, 28,) is put here for all the land of Moab; as Mount Seir for all the land of Edom (ver. 1).

Unto the children of Lot] Though the Moabites were now a wicked people; yet for their pious ancestor's sake, from whom they were descended, God would not have them dispossessed.

Ver. 10. *The Emims dwell therein*] A terrible people, as the very name imports, both for their number, and for their strength, being of a large size, like Anakims (see Gen. xiv. 5).

Ver. 11. *Which also were accounted giants, as the*

but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them.

13 Now rise up, said I, and get you over the brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered.

14 And the space in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, was thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the men of war were wasted out from among the host, as the LORD swore unto them.

15 For indeed the hand of the LORD was against them, to destroy them from among the host, until they were consumed.

16 ¶ So it came to pass, when all the men of

Anakims, &c.] Which seems to have been their name; or else Rephaim: but to distinguish them from others of that name in Canaan, the Moabites called them Emims.

Ver. 12. *The Horims also dwell in Seir*] They were the ancient inhabitants of Mount Seir; as the Emims were of the country of Moab (Gen. xiv. 6. xxxvi. 20).

But the children of Esau succeeded them,] Planted themselves in that mountain.

When they had destroyed them] When the children of Esau expelled the Horites, or the children of Lot the Emims, is nowhere recorded; nor who were their leaders in these expeditions. But they seem to be here remembered, as an encouragement to the Israelites to hope that they might drive out the inhabitants of Canaan (who were not stronger than these), as they had already driven the Amorites out of the country of Sihon, as it here follows.

As Israel did unto the land of his possession,] Some have argued from hence, that this book was not written by Moses, but by somebody else, after they had got possession of the land of Canaan. But it is manifest, this may relate to what they had done already in dispossessing Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan, of their country: which, it is expressly said, Moses had given for a possession to the tribe of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and that by God's direction, Numb. xxxii. 33. xxxiv. 14, 15. and in this book, xxix. 8. This hath been observed by many; particularly by Huetius, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, propos. iv. cap. 14. n. 15.

Ver. 13. *The brook Zered.*] Which elsewhere we translate "the valley of Zered" (see Numb. xxi. 12).

Ver. 14. *The space was—thirty and eight years;*] For it is evident, by the story in Numbers, that they came to Kadesh-barnea about the fourth month of the second year after they came out of Egypt (see upon Numb. xii. 16). And if we suppose that they removed from hence in the seventh or eighth month of that year, it is certain that they could not come to this brook till the seventh or eighth month of the fortieth year. For Aaron died at Mount Hor on the first day of the fifth month of this year; and we must allow two or three months' time, for all that followed between that and this, viz. the conquest of king Arad, and of Sihon, and Og, &c.

The generation of the men of war] So they were called, who were above twenty years old (Numb. i. 3).

Were wasted] Utterly consumed, so that not one of them was left (Numb. xxvi. 64, 65).

war were consumed and dead from among the people.

17 That the LORD spake unto me, saying,

18 Thou art to pass over through Ar, the coast of Moab, this day:

19 And when thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon, distress them not, nor meddle with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession; because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession.

20 [That also was accounted a land of giants: giants dwelt therein in old time; and the Ammonites call them Zamzummims;

21 A people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims; but the LORD destroyed them before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead:

As the Lord swore] See Numb. xiv. 28, 29.

Ver. 15. *The hand of the Lord was against them,*] Some of them, it is likely, died a natural death; but many of them might, in the course of nature, have lived longer, if God had not several ways cut them off before their time.

Until they were consumed.] By one plague or other, which God sent among them: so that a great deal of their time, in the thirty eight-years before mentioned, was spent, it is likely, in burying and mourning for their dead.

Ver. 16, 17.] This was spoken, it is probable, just as they passed over the brook Zered, or in their next station, at Dibon-Gad (Numb. xxxiii. 45).

Ver. 18. *To pass over*] Or rather, to pass by the border of Moab: for they were not permitted to come into their country, ver. 9 (see upon ver. 4).

Ver. 19. *When thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon,*] As they did after the conquest of Sihon king of the Amorites; whose country bordered upon the Ammonites (Numb. xxi. 13. 24).

Distress them not] The same command with that about the Edomites and Moabites (ver. 5. 9).

I will not give thee of the land] As he had said before of the land of Moab (ver. 9).

I have given it unto the children of Lot] To the descendants of his youngest son; as he had done the country of Moab to the children of the eldest.

Ver. 20. *That also was accounted a land of giants, &c.*] Was called the country of giants, or Rephaim; for people so called inhabited it.

The Ammonites call them Zamzummims] Changed their names, it is probable, from Zuzims (see Gen. xiv. 5), as they were called before, into Zamzummims. But why they were called either by the one name or the other, it is but conjectured. Some conceive they were called Zuzims from their swiftness, or nimble running, which, in warriors, was a quality always highly valued; and Zamzummims from their abominable wickedness or their craft and cunning in doing mischief.

Ver. 21. *A people great, &c.*] The same description which he gave of the Emims, ver. 10.

The Lord destroyed them before them;] i. e. Before the Ammonites; who expelled them out of their country, and it is like, cut off the most of them.

They succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead:] This is so often repeated, to possess the minds of the Israelites with a sense of God's providence, which rules every where: displacing one people, and settling another in their stead; and fixing their bounds also, which they shall not pass without his leave.

22 As he did to the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, when he destroyed the Horims from before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this day :

23 And the Avims which dwell in Hazerim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorims, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.)

24 ¶ Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the river Arnon : behold, I have given into thine hand Sihon the Amorite, king of Heshbon, and his land : begin to possess it, and contend with him in battle.

25 This day will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the nations that are under the whole heaven, who shall hear report of thee, and shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.

26 ¶ And I sent messengers out of the wil-

derness of Kedemoth unto Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying,

27 Let me pass through thy land : I will go along by the highway, I will neither turn unto the right hand nor to the left.

28 Thou shalt sell me meat for money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink : only I will pass through on my feet;

29 (As the children of Esau which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwell in Ar, did unto me;) until I shall pass over Jordan into the land which the LORD our God giveth us.

30 But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass by him : for the LORD thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand, as *appeareth* this day.

31 And the LORD said unto me, Behold, I have begun to give Sihon and his land before

Ver. 22.] He repeats this (which he had said before, ver. 12.) because it was a fresher instance of God's disposal of countries unto what people he pleases; and nearly touched the Israelites, because they were their brethren.

Ver. 23. *The Avims which dwell in Hazerim, even unto Azzah.*] Unto which he adds an instance, which seems to be elder than any of the former, concerning a people called Avims; who inhabited some part of the land of Canaan, whither they were going. For though we do not read of Hazerim in any other place, yet Azzah, i. e. Gaza, was in the country of the Philistines; who expelled these Avims. And David Chytræus thinks that Hazerim was a town afterward in the tribe of Judah, called Hazagaddah, Josh. xv. 27.

The Caphtorims.] That is, some people of Cappadocia; who were near of kin to the Philistines (see Gen. x. 14).

Destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.] Concerning which, see in the place above named. Unto which I shall only add, that the Avims being expelled out of Canaan by the Caphtorims, went, it is very probable, over Euphrates and settled there; till the king of Assyria brought some of them back again, to plant the country of Samaria; 2 Kings xvii. 31. where we translate this word Avites (see Bochart, in his *Phalleg.* lib. iv. cap. 36).

Ver. 24. *Rise ye up.*] See Numb. xxi. 13, 14.

I have given unto thy hand Sihon—king of Heshbon, &c.] You yourselves shall do to him, what your brethren the children of Esau did to the Horites, and the Moabites to the Emims, and the children of Ammon to the Zamzumims, and the Caphtorims to the Avims. By which their faith might still be more confirmed, that the people of Canaan, though never so mighty, should not be able to stand before them.

Ver. 25. *This day will I begin to put the dread of thee—upon the nations*] Especially upon the Canaanites, who were struck, no doubt, with terror by this conquest, as they had been by all that befell the Egyptians (Josh. 10, 11).

Who shall hear report of thee.] This explains what he means by the hyperbolical expression before going, "the nations under the whole heaven;" that is, as many as shall hear of these things.

Be in anguish] As women in travail are.

Ver. 26. *I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth*] There is a city of this name mentioned by Joshua, xiii. 18. from whence this wilderness had its denomination. Some take it to be the same with that called Jeshimon, Numb. xxi. 20.

Unto Sihon—with words of peace.] A friendly message, desiring there might be no quarrel between him and the Israelites, who desired nothing but the common offices of humanity.

Ver. 27. *Let me pass through thy land.*] Which was the direct way to the fords of Jordan.

I will go along by the highway.] Not turning into the fields or vineyards, as it is expressed, Numb. xxi. 22. In the Hebrew the word is doubled, *bederech, bederech, by the way, by the way*: which seems to be a vehement affirmation, to assure them they would not stir out of the highway.

I will neither turn unto the right hand, nor to the left.] Not step aside out of the common road (called the king's highway), which was free for all people.

Ver. 28. *Thou shalt sell me meat for money, &c.*] They offered to pay for whatsoever they wanted; which is included in meat and drink.

Only I will pass through on my feet.] Barely have a passage through his country.

Ver. 29. *As the children of Esau*] He doth not mean that they granted Israel a passage through their country; but that they did not deny to sell them meat and drink for their money, as they passed by their coasts.

Until I shall pass over Jordan] This was said to move Sihon to consent to their desire, by letting him understand they intended nothing against his country; being secure of a settlement in the land of Canaan, unto which they prayed him to let them pass quietly.

Ver. 30. *But Sihon,—would not let us pass by him.*] Refused to agree to this reasonable demand.

For the Lord thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, &c.] Gave him over to his own inflexible humour, which was set upon violent courses; from which God did not divert him (because he intended to destroy him), but rather ordered things so, that his mind should be enraged and disturbed, and so unable to consider things prudently, and discern what belonged to his peace; which is the utmost that can be meant by *hardening* his spirit, and making his heart *obstinate*. Which, as it is a sin, cannot be ascribed unto God; but, as it is a punishment, might justly be inflicted by him upon Sihon, for his former sins.

Ver. 31. *I have begun to give Sihon and his land*] This was said when Moses saw him coming out to battle against them (as it here follows in the next verse), at which time he is said to *begin to give* them his country, because he had absolutely resolved it;

thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land.

32 Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, to fight at Jahaz.

33 And the LORD our God delivered him before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people.

34 And we took all his cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones, of every city, we left none to remain:

35 Only the cattle we took for a prey unto

and, it is probable, so confounded his forces, that they were as good as already conquered.

Before thee:] Into their power; that they might go into it at their pleasure.

Begin to possess,] In the same sense he bids Moses "begin to possess;" i. e. prepare to take possession of it (see iii. 2).

Ver. 32.] See Numb. xxi. 23.

Ver. 33.] They won the field, and killed him, his sons, and all that came out to fight with them. And R. Solomon saith his sons were like himself, very great men.

Ver. 34. *We took all his cities at that time,]* After this victory they took his whole country, as is related Numb. xii. 24, 25, and the cities belonging to it are mentioned xxxii. 34, 35, &c.

And utterly destroyed the men, &c.] They being part of those wicked people the Amorites; whom God had condemned to utter destruction: for the Amorites came out of Canaan, and took this country from the Moabites and the children of Ammon.

Ver. 35.] They had the Divine warrant for this, no doubt, as they had for the extirpation of the people.

Ver. 36. *From Aroer, which is by the brink of the river of Arnon,]* This river divided Moab from the kingdom of Sihon (Numb. xxi. 13. 24), upon which the city of Aroer stood; which was now in the possession of Sihon, though belonging formerly to the Moabites.

ourselves, and the spoil of the cities which we took.

36 From Aroer, which is by the brink of the river of Arnon, and from the city that is by the river, even unto Gilcad, there was not one city too strong for us: the LORD our God delivered all unto us:

37 Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not, nor unto any place of the river Jabbok, nor unto the cities in the mountains, nor unto whatsoever the LORD our God forbade us.

From the city that is by the river,] This some take to be the city Ar (Numb. xxi. 15). But I think these words should rather be translated, "even the city in the river;" meaning Aroer still, as a remarkable place, being encompassed with the river (Josh. xii. 2). For Ar, I think, was never in the possession of the Amorites, being the capital city of Moab.

Even unto Gilcad,] For half of Gilcad belonged to the country of Sihon (Josh. xii. 2), and was given to the tribe of Gad (Josh. xv. 2). And the other half belonged to the kingdom of Og (as we read in the same place, Josh. xii. 5), and was given to the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 31).

Ver. 37. *Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not,]* That is, into no part of their country, which was then in their possession; but all that the Amorites had taken from them was given to the Gadites (Josh. xiii. 25).

Nor unto any place of the river Jabbok,] To no place beyond that river, which was the border of the children of Ammon (Numb. xxi. 24. Josh. xii. 2).

Nor unto the cities in the mountains,] Much less into the mountainous parts of the country of the Amorites.

Nor unto whatsoever the Lord our God forbade us.] The words in the Hebrew are, "And all whatsoever the Lord our God commanded us;" i. e. not to meddle withal.

CHAPTER III.

1 The story of the conquest of Og king of Bashan. 11 The bigness of his bed. 12 The distribution of those lands to the two tribes and half. 23 Moses' prayer to enter into the land. 26 He is permitted to see it.

1 THEN we turned, and went up the way to Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan came out against us, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei.

2 And the LORD said unto me, Fear him not: for I will deliver him, and all his people, and his land, into thy hand; and thou shalt do unto him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon.

3 So the LORD our God delivered into our hands Og also, the king of Bashan, and all his

people: and we smote him until none was left to him remaining.

4 And we took all his cities at that time, there was not a city which we took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan.

5 All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside unwalled towns a great many.

6 And we utterly destroyed them, as we did unto Sihon king of Heshbon, utterly destroy-

CHAP. III.

Ver. 1.] See Numb. xxi. 33, where there are the very same words.

Ver. 2.] The same words in Numb. xxi. 34. Only there he saith, "I have delivered him into thy hand;" that is, resolved to do it. Which may interpret what is said in the foregoing chapter of this book ver. 31, concerning Sihon.

Ver. 3.] See Numb. xxi. 35.

Ver. 4. *Threescore cities,]* See Numb. xxxii. 41.

All the region of Argob,] A small province lying between Jordan and the mountains of Gilcad, a little above the sea of Tiberias: which region was afterward called Trachonitis, from the asperity of the mountains.

The kingdom of Og in Bashan,] Belonging to his kingdom in Bashan (ver. 13, and 1 Kings iv. 13).

Ver. 5.] So they are described 1 Kings iv. 13.

Ver. 6.] For they were Amorites, and therefore un-

ing the men, women, and children, of every city.

7 But all the cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took for a prey to ourselves.

8 And we took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was on this side Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto mount Hermon;

9 (*Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion; and the Amorites call it Shenir;*)

der the curse of God; being part of the seven nations of Canaan, devoted to destruction (see ii. 34).

Ver. 7.] As they had done before, when they destroyed Sihon and his people (ii. 35).

Ver. 8. *We took—the land that was on this side Jordan.*] Which was given to the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh (ver. 12, 13). If men were not blinded with prejudice, they could not but see from hence, that the word *beebcr*, in the first verse of this book, is rightly translated *on this side*: for beyond Jordan (as they would have it signify) in the land of Canaan, these two kings had no possessions; nor did Moses make any conquest there.

From the river of Arnon unto mount Hermon;] This river was the bounds of their country on the south: and Hermon, which was one of the mountains of Gilead (where it joins to Libanus), was their bound on the north.

Ver. 9. *Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion;*] And so it is called in Ps. xxix. 6, and joined with Libanus: for it was as much a part of Libanus as of Gilead, these two mountains there meeting together. Whence Jeremiah calls Gilead the head of Libanus (xxii. 6), because Libanus begins where Gilead ends.

The Amorites call it Shenir;] And so it is called Ezck. xxvii. 5, and had this name, as Bochart conjectures, from the multitude of wild cats which were in this mountain: for the Arabians called that creature *sinaur* or *sinar* (see Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 14).

Ver. 10. *All the cities of the plain.*] All the flat country which the LXX. thought was called *Misor*; for they retain here that Hebrew word.

All Gilead.] i. e. All that part of it which belonged to him; which was but half as I observed before, ii. 36.

All Bashan.] That part of his country which was properly and peculiarly called Bashan; which being the most rich and fertile (as the word signifies), gave denomination to his whole kingdom.

Unto Salchah and Edrei.] The former of these is mentioned Josh. xiii. 11 (just as it is here), as the bounds of Bashan towards Mount Hermon, or Libanus: so Chytræus, “A town in Bashan in the mountains of Libanus near to Machati.” And Edrei was the place where they fought with Og, and overthrew him (Numb. xxi. 23).

Ver. 11. *For only Og—remained of the remnant of giants;*] Or of the Rephaim, a very ancient people in that country (Gen. xiv. 5), who were either descended from the Amorites, or mingled with them: and Og was the very last of them; so that he and his people being destroyed, none of them remained.

His bedstead was—of iron;] Which was no unusual thing in ancient days, though far later than this. For Thucydides saith, that when the Thebans took Plateæ, they made beds of the brass and iron they found there; which they dedicated to Juno. And beds of silver and gold are mentioned by divers authors, as Huetius observes in his *Demonstr. Evangel. propos. iv. cap. 11. n. 7.*

10 All the cities of the plain, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan.

11 For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.

12 And this land, which we possessed at that

Is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon?] This is thought by some to be a considerable objection against Moses being the author of this book: for how should this bedstead, say they, come to the children of Ammon in his days? No doubt, they imagine it would have remained in Bashan whilst Og lived; though, in length of time, it might be carried into the country of the Ammonites: as, if Og, fearing the worst, might not send his bed and his best furniture unto the Ammonites, knowing they would be safe among them, because the Israelites were forbid to make war upon them. Or Moses having conquered the country, and kept all the spoil (ver. 7), might not sell this, among other goods, to the children of Ammon, who preserved it in their capital city. Nobody can see an unreasonableness in either of these suppositions of the same Huetius. Nor do I see how the conjecture of another learned person (Andreas Masius, upon the twelfth of Joshua), can be confuted; which is, that the Ammonites drove out that monstrous sort of people, mentioned ii. 21. Og might possibly escape (and so is said here to be left of the remnant of the giants), who, flying hither to the Amorites, was made their king, because of his goodly presence and great valour. But the Ammonites kept his bedstead, and showed it as a monument of that illustrious victory which they got over the Rephaim, or, as they called them, the Zamzumims, in that country.

Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth] This is mentioned, to show of what a vast stature Og was for bedsteads being, according to the common custom, made a third part longer than the persons that lie in them, he was six cubits high, as Maimonides computes, that is, as high again as any other man (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 47), which is very sober discourse, in comparison with what other Jews say of him (see Schickard, in his *Beechinah Haperuschum*, p. 120).

After the cubit of a man.] According to the cubit of ordinary men, saith the same Maimonides (which is a little more than half a yard), not of Og before mentioned. But what need was there, say former objectors, to mention this; since the Israelites saw Og lie dead before them on the ground, and needed not to be told by Moses how tall he was! and therefore they conclude this was written by somebody else, in aftertimes. As if Moses did not write for the benefit of those that come after, as well as for the present generation. Who, that they might be satisfied what a vast man Og was, he left it upon record how large his bedstead was, and where it might be seen; whereby they may judge of his stature. Besides, there were in the present generation great numbers of children, old men, women, and servants, who could not go to see Og lie at length upon the field: but by this means were instructed from what a terrible enemy God had delivered them.

They that question the truth of this relation, may read, if they be able, what the learned Huetius hath at large discoursed concerning men of a portentous bigness in all countries (in his *Questiones Alnetanz*,

time, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, and half mount Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites.

13 And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, with all Bashan, which was called the land of giants.

24 Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, unto this day.

15 And I gave Gilead unto Machir.

16 And unto the Reubenites and unto the

Gadites I gave from Gilead even unto the river Arnon half the valley, and the border even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon;

17 The plain also, and Jordan, and the coast thereof, from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, under Ashdod-pisgah eastward.

18 ¶ And I commanded you at that time, saying, The LORD your God hath given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over armed before your brethren the children of Israel, all that are meet for the war.

lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 3), of which no man can doubt who is not resolved to disbelieve all the world. In his *Demonstratio Evangelica* also he observes, that Homer makes Tityon, when he was dead, to have lain stretched out upon (not nine cubits, but) nine acres of ground:

—ἐπ' ἑνέα κείτο πελῆδρι.

Which hyperbole may excuse the Jewish rabbins, when they say that Og was nine cubits long when he lay in his cradle (see *propos. iv. cap. 8. n. 4*).

Ver. 12. *By the river Arnon.*] See ii. 36.

Half mount Gilead—gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites.] See Numb. xxxii. 34, 35, &c. but especially Josh. xiii. 15, &c., where he distinctly relates what portion of this country was given to the Reubenites; and ver. 23, 24, &c., what was given to the Gadites. And it appears, that none of Gilead belonged to the Reubenites; but the Gadites had one half of it, as the Manassites had the other.

Ver. 13. *The rest of Gilead.*] Which was not given to the Gadites.

All Bashan, being the kingdom of Og.] That is, all that was taken from Og, of which he was king.

All the region of Argob.] It is repeated again, lest any one should think that Argob, which was a distinct province in that kingdom, was not given to them by this grant (see *ver. 4*).

Called the land of giants.] Where the Rephaims formerly inhabited; of whom Og was the last (see *Gen. xiv. 5*, compared with *xv. 20. Josh. xiii. 12*).

Ver. 14. *Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob.*] This is one reason why he gave this country to them (see Numb. xxxii. 41).

Geshuri and Maachathi.] We had no mention of these places before; which were in the northern part of this country, as appears from Josh. xii. 4, 5, xiii. 11. But the people of these places they could not expel (Josh. xiii. 13).

Called them after his own name.] Numb. xxxii. 4.

Unto this day.] From whence, likewise, cavils are raised against Moses being the author of this book: when the most that can be concluded from hence is, that, upon the revising of these books by Ezra, he put in these words to certify the reader, that still they retained this name; as somebody, no doubt, added the history of Moses' death at the end of this book. This the greatest defenders of the authority of these books, as written by Moses himself, make no scruple to allow; particularly Huetius, and since him Hermannus Witzius, in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, lib. i. cap. 14. sect. 47. But there is no necessity to yield so much; for Moses might say this himself, though it was not long before he wrote this book. For so the holy writers do sometimes mention places, which had their name but newly given them, from a particular fact, that posterity might know the original of it (see *Acts i. 19*).

Ver. 15. *I gave Gilead.*] All that was not possessed by the Gadites.

Unto Machir.] To the posterity of Machir (Numb. xxxii. 40).

Ver. 16. *Unto the Reubenites, and unto the Gadites.*] Here is a more exact description of that part of the country, which was given to the other two tribes.

I gave from Gilead.] Half of which, as I observed, was given to the Gadites (ver. 13).

Even unto the river Arnon.] Which was the bounds of the country towards Moab (see ii. 36).

Half the valley.] The same word in the Hebrew language, signifies both a valley and a brook or river; and being translated in the foregoing words, the river, it should be so here likewise, half the river; that is, to the middle of the river Arnon; by which the bounds of their country are most exactly set. And thus not only the LXX. and the Vulgar, but Onkelos also translates it, "the middle of the torrent;" yea, we ourselves also in the twelfth of Josh. ii. where there are the same words, which in the Hebrew run thus, "unto the river Arnon, the midst of the river:" where the city of Aroer stood, encompassed by the river, as I observed in the foregoing chapter, ver. 36.

And the border.] Something is understood, viz. went (as the phrase is Josh. xv. 6, 7, &c., or reached, or some such word. Or the meaning must be, "the country bordering upon that river."

Unto the river Jabbok.] This river was the other boundary of the country.

Ver. 17. *The plain also, and Jordan.*] The flat country towards the river Jordan: which was the western bounds of this country of Sihon; as the river Arnon was the southern, and the river Jabbok the northern; the country of the children of Ammon being on the east.

The coast thereof, from Chinnereth.] The word thereof is not in the Hebrew: therefore these words may be better rendered "the coast of Chinnereth." Called "the Sea of Chinnereth," Josh. xii. 3. xiii. 27. it lying upon a country and a city called by that name (Josh. xi. 2. xix. 35), which gave the name to this sea, called in the New Testament, "the Sea of Galilee," and "the Sea of Genesareth," and at last "the Sea of Tiberias;" in honour of the emperor Tiberius (see upon Numb. xxxiv. 11).

Even unto—the salt sea.] The Dead Sea, as it is called in other places; which, before the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, had been a most pleasant plain.

Under Ashdod-pisgah.] The name of a city in this country (Josh. xiii. 20).

Eastward.] Which lay east of the Salt Sea and Jordan; which was the western bounds, as I said, of this country.

Ver. 18. *I commanded you at that time.*] That is he gave this charge to the two tribes of Reuben and

19 But your wives, and your little ones, and your cattle, (*for I know that ye have much cattle*), shall abide in your cities which I have given you;

20 Until the LORD have given rest unto your brethren, as well as unto you, and *until* they also possess the land which the LORD your God hath given them beyond Jordan: and *then* shall ye return every man unto his possession, which I have given you.

21 ¶ And I commanded Joshua at that time, saying, Thine eyes have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall the LORD do unto all the kingdoms whither thou passest.

22 Ye shall not fear them: for the LORD your God he shall fight for you.

23 And I besought the LORD at that time, saying,

24 O Lord God, thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness, and thy mighty hand: for

what God *is there* in heaven or in earth, that can do according to thy works, and according to thy might?

25 I pray thee, let me go over, and see the good land that *is* beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon.

26 But the LORD was wroth with me for your sakes, and would not hear me: and the LORD said unto me, Let it suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter.

27 Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold *it* with thine eyes: for thou shalt not go over this Jordan.

28 But charge Joshua, and encourage him, and strengthen him: for he shall go over before this people, and he shall cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see.

29 So we abode in the valley over against Beth-peor.

Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh before mentioned.

The Lord your God hath given you this land, &c.] According to their own desire: but on condition they should help their brethren to conquer the land of Canaan (see Numb. xxii. 20—22).

Ver. 19.] See Numb. xxxii. 16. 24. 26.

Ver. 20.] Brought them to a settlement in the land of Canaan, and given them a peaceable possession of it. After which, we read that Joshua dismissed these tribes, and sent them to their wives and children, Josh. xxii. 4.

Ver. 21. *I commanded Joshua at that time,]* About that time, when by God's order he appointed Joshua to be his successor, and took him to be his associate in the government (Numb. xxvii. 18, &c).

Thine eyes have seen, &c.] This seems to be the preface to the charge, which, by God's command he gave to Joshua at that time (Numb. xxvii. 19. 23).

Ver. 22.] This is part of the charge itself; which he had heard him give all the people eight-and-thirty years ago (i. 21. 29. 30).

Ver. 23.] Being told by God at the same time (Numb. xxvii. 12, 13), that he should shortly die, and only see the land of Canaan, but not enter into it, Moses made his humble supplication to God that he would not execute the sentence which he had denounced against him. For the word *besought* signifies supplication to one that is offended.

Ver. 24. *Thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness,]* In subduing the two kings of the Amorites.

For what God is there in heaven,] He speaks according to the language of those times, when men worshipped many gods, of several sorts: none of which, he acknowledges, were able to bring to pass such things as the Lord had done.

Ver. 25. *I pray thee, let me go over, and see the good land]* To see is here to enjoy it, as the rest of the Israelites were to do: for God bade him to go up into a mountain and behold it; but threatened he should not enter into it. Which threatening he might well think was reversible, as others had been against the people of Israel upon his prayer for them, though they had more highly offended the Divine Majesty than he had done. For though he doubted at the first, especially when he saw no water come out of the

rock at the first stroke; yet he presently recovered himself, and smote it the second time, believing God would relieve them.

That goodly mountain,] Most think that he desired to go so far into it, as to see the place where God intended to settle his divine presence: which proved to be Mount Moriah. But nothing was known of this, a long time after; unless we suppose it was revealed unto him, that where Abraham offered Isaac, there the Lord would dwell. It seems to me, that he means that goodly country full of noble mountains: for thus the word *mountain* is often used, particularly Numb. xiii. 29, where the spies say the "Amorites dwell in the mountain," i. e. in that mountainous part of Canaan.

Lebanon.] He desired to go through the whole country as far as Lebanon; which was the most northerly part of it (famous for goodly cedars), as the mountain before spoken of was in the south of Canaan.

Ver. 26. *The Lord was wroth]* See i. 37.

And would not hear me:] Refused to grant my petition.

Speak no more unto me of this matter.] This suggests that Moses renewed his petition, after the first denial; and more earnestly begged this favour of God: which he could not obtain; but was enjoined silence. This argues great displeasure; and is mentioned by him as an admonition to the Israelites, to be fearful to offend the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 27. *Get thee up into the top of Pisgah,]* See what I have noted upon Numb. xxvii. 12.

Lift up thine eyes westward, &c.] Take a full view of the country in all the quarters of it; which might be seen from the top of this mountain, which was called Nebo (see xxxiv. 1—3)

Ver. 28. *But charge Joshua, &c.]* Bid him not doubt that I will bring my people thither under his conduct, though I deny thee entrance into it.

Ver. 29.] It is likely that there was a temple built to Baal-Peor, which fronted this valley; for so Beth signifies, a house or temple of Peor. Which gave the name to a city wherein it stood; which was part of the inheritance of the Reubenites (Josh. xiii. 20). In this valley Moses was buried, xxxiv. 6, where he made this most excellent exhortation to all the people.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *An exhortation to obedience.* 41 *Moses appointeth the three cities of refuge on that side Jordan.*

1 Now therefore hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes and unto the judgments, which I teach you, for to do *them*, that ye may live, and go in and possess the land which the LORD God of your fathers giveth you.

2 Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish *ought* from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the LORD your God which I command you.

3 Your eyes have seen what the LORD did

because of Baal-peor: for all the men that followed Baal-peor, the LORD thy God hath destroyed them from among you.

4 But ye that did cleave unto the LORD your God are alive every one of you this day.

5 Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the LORD my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it.

6 Keep therefore and do *them*; for this is

CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *Hearken.*] Having commemorated several benefits which God had bestowed upon them, since their coming out of Egypt, and the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, with several severe punishments which he had inflicted on them for their disobedience to it, Moses proceeds now to exhort them earnestly to the observance of it.

Unto the statutes] These seem to be such laws as concerned the worship of God.

And unto the judgments.] And then these were such as concerned their dealings one with another. Which two words comprehend all that is signified by *testimonies* and *precepts* also, in other places.

Which I teach you.] Which he was about to set before them; and press upon their practice.

That ye may live.] Not perish as their forefathers had done in their rebellion; but be happy, and enjoy what God had promised, and was ready now to bestow upon them.

Ver. 2. *Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it.*] This is thought by some to signify, that they should not make the least alteration in the laws he had given them, about the rites of Divine worship, and abstinence from several meats, and such like things; which were distinctive marks, whereby they were separated from other nations to be a peculiar people to him. Thus Chaskuni interprets these words, "Thou shalt not add fear, upon the fear of the blessed God." That is, any other worship to the Divine worship prescribed by these laws, nor diminish that worship: which interpretation seems to be warranted, by what follows: "Thy eyes have seen what the Lord thy God did, because of Baal-peor." But in the words before going (which introduce these), *judgments* being mentioned as well as *statutes*, there must be a larger sense of this injunction, which relates to all the laws of God: and the meaning seems to be, Ye shall not transgress any of these precepts, either by doing any thing contrary to them, which was to *add*; or omitting any thing which they required, which was to *diminish*. Thus Grotius interprets it, upon 2 Cor. xi. 24. *Addere ad legem est facere quod lex vetat, diminuerere est omittere quod lex jubet.* But which way soever we take it, nothing is more certain than that this prohibition preserved these books from any alteration, since the time they were written: for the whole body of the people acknowledging their Divine authority, none of them dared to change any thing, either by addition or diminution. Of which there is a wonderful instance in the people that came out of Assyria (in the room of the Israelites, who were transported thither), to inhabit the country of Sanaria;

who receiving this law, their posterity have kept it all along to this day, as uncorrupted as the Jews themselves have done; although they were their mortal enemies, and have been exposed to all the changes and revolutions that can befall a nation during the interval of two thousand and four hundred years. Thus the most learned Dr. Alix observes, in his *Reflections upon the last Four Books of Moses*, p. 144. And I do not see, why the perfection of the Scripture, without the oral law of the Jews, should not be thought to be established by these words, as another learned person (J. Wagenseil) understands them, in his *Confut. Carminis Lipmanni*, p. 585. Yet, as the forenamed Chaskuni notes, it does not seem reasonable to conclude from hence, that they were prohibited to add any constitutions as a hedge and fence to the law; or as an explication of it, when the sense was doubtful (see Mr. Thorndike, in his *Rites of the Church in a Christian State*, p. 180, &c.).

That ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God] This justifies the explication I gave of the foregoing words, as respecting all God's laws; and xii. 32, makes it more plain. And, indeed, God being their lawgiver, it was the highest presumption to make any alteration in any of his laws.

Ver. 3. *Your eyes have seen what the Lord did because of Baal-Peor, &c.*] How he cut off twenty-four thousand by a plague, and by the hand of justice, who had been guilty of idolatry by the enticements of the Midianitish women (Numb. xxv. 5. 9). Which seems to be a reason, why they should take a special care about the worship of God; that nothing was done contrary to the laws he had ordained concerning it.

The Lord thy God hath destroyed them] The judges put to death all those that they knew to be guilty; and the hand of God found out all the rest: so that there was not a man of them left, who was not swept away by the pestilence.

Ver. 4. *But ye that did cleave unto the Lord*] Did not depart from this worship, but bewailed the apostasy of some of their brethren (Numb. xxv. 6).

Are alive] A singular providence watched over them, to preserve them in such good health, that not one in so many thousands was dead since that time. Nor in the war with the Midianites, wherein they slew all the males, did they lose so much as one man (Numb. xxxi. 7. 49).

Ver. 5. *I have taught you statutes*] See ver. 1. *Even as the Lord my God commanded me.*] Sincerely and uprightly, without adding any thing of myself, or diminishing any thing that he said.

That ye should do so in the land] To be the rule of your life, when ye come into the land of Canaan.

your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.

7 For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?

8 And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?

Ver. 6. *Keep therefore and do them;*] It is your interest to observe them, as you will soon find by experience; which will teach you, that it is not only the wisest course in itself, but will get you the reputation of being a wise people among all your neighbours.

Which shall hear all these statutes,] There being mention before (ver. 1. 5) of judgments as well as statutes, and here only of the latter, Abarbinel thence infers, That even those laws which depended wholly upon the will and pleasure of God, and for which they could give no reason (for such they understood by *chukkim*), would procure them very good honour, if they were carefully observed. For the nations seeing how wonderfully they prospered, would be apt to impute it to these extraordinary prescriptions which they followed. Just, saith he, as a physician, who cures desperate diseases, by some small trifling remedies (as they seem to others), is highly applauded for the profoundness of his knowledge and wisdom. But Maimonides takes this word *statutes* to comprehend all the laws of God; and undertakes to show that all the six hundred and thirteen precepts have a wise end in them, for the profit and benefit of those that observe them; either to beget some wholesome opinion in their mind, or to pull out some perverse one; either to institute some good order, or to take away iniquity, &c. (see More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 31).

Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.] Who continued in safety, liberty, and prosperity, abounding with all manner of blessings, while they continued all to go up to worship one God sincerely at one place, at certain set times, as if the whole nation was but one family. All the rest of their laws, also, were admirably fitted to unite them unto God, and one to another; and consequently, to make them appear a wise people in the eyes of other nations; whose writers have not only highly magnified Moses, but their lawgivers have transcribed several of his laws into their own constitutions. This appears by the old Attic laws, and those of the twelve tables, as many learned men have observed; nay, the oracle, reported by Porphyry, in Eusebius's *Præparatio Evangelica*, lib. ix. cap. 10, thus extols this nation:—

Μοῖσας Χαλδαῖοι σοφῆαν λόγον ᾗδ' ἄρ' Ἐβραῖοι
Αὐτὸ γένεθλον Ἀναξτα σεβίζόμενοι θεῶν ἀγνῶς.

"The Chaldeans and the Hebrews (who came from Chaldea) are the only wise people, who worship God, the Eternal King, in a pure manner." And the oracle of Apollo Clarius, recorded by Macrobius, lib. i. *Saturnal*. cap. 18, is no less remarkable:

Φράξο τῶν πάντων ἥπατον θεῶν ἔμμεν Ἰαῶ.

"Acknowledge Jao (so they pronounced the name Jehovah) to be the highest God of all." For though Macrobius fancied the sun to be here called Ἰαῶ, (nobody can tell why); yet Diodorus Siculus acknowledges Ἰαῶ to be the God, from whom Moses pretended to have his laws, i. e. Jehovah.

9 Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life: but teach them thy sons, and thy sons' sons;

10 Specially the day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb, when the Lord said unto me, Gather me the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall

Ver. 7.] Both Onkelos, and the paraphrase of Jonathan, and likewise the Jerusalem Targum, are very significant upon this place: "What people is there who have a god that approaches to them, so as the Lord our God doth to us? At whatsoever hour we cry unto him, he answers us. It is the manner of other people, to carry their gods upon their shoulders, to show that they are near to them: when, alas! they are afar off, and cannot hear them. But the Lord our God sits on his throne on high, and hears our prayers, whatsoever time we call upon him," &c. To which may be added, that they had a symbol of God's presence continually among them, in the holy place, where he dwelt with them, and Moses, whensoever he pleased, consulted him in all difficult affairs; as their high-priest might do, with the *urim* and *thummim*, in all times to come.

Ver. 8.] The true greatness of a nation (it appears by this and the foregoing verse) consists in the sincere worship of God, and in the upright administration of justice. Both which were so provided for by the Divine laws among the Jews, that no nation could compare with them, or was really so great as they were: for, though their country was but small, and they were often oppressed by several cruel enemies, who desired their extirpation, yet they recovered themselves, and kept their laws in their worst condition (when commonly they best observed them): inasmuch, that, as a very learned person of our own church long ago observed, after so many changes and alterations as there were in their state, from better to worse, and back again; after so many victories got by them over others, and so many captivities of their persons, and desolations of their country, as others had wrought, they continued still one and the same people, governed by the same laws, under several great and potent monarchies. The successive rise and fall of three of which they were preserved to behold; and, in their declining state, able to stand out a great while against the fourth, the mightiest that ever was on earth, and that when this monarchy was in its full strength; this is a plain demonstration of the truth of these words of Moses, That no nation was so great as they (see Dr. Jackson's first book upon the Creed, ch. 21).

Maimonides observes, that the word *zaddikim*, which we translate *righteous*, signifies as much as *equal* and *proportionate*: such, saith he, were all these laws of God; in which there was no excess, by the prescription of long pilgrimages, or severe fastings; nor any defect which might open the window to any vice, or make them careless in the practice of virtue (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 39).

Ver. 9.] Their only danger was, lest they should grow careless and unmindful of all the wonderful things that God had done for them: which he, therefore, exhorts them to think of frequently, and to keep in memory, and lay to heart; so that they might preserve the sense of them as long as they lived, and likewise teach all posterity to be mindful of them.

Ver. 10. *Specially the day that thou stoodest before*

live upon the earth, and *that* they may teach their children.

11 And ye came near and stood under the mountain; and the mountain burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness.

12 And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only *ye heard* a voice.

13 And he declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, *even* ten commandments: and he wrote them upon two tables of stone.

[*the Lord thy God in Horeb.*] But above all, that memorable day, when the Lord delivered his law to them in Mount Sinai; at which the oldest of them were present, and had seen and heard what he said, and how it was delivered.

[*Gather me the people together.*] Unto the foot of Mount Sinai; where they stood at such a distance from it as God prescribed (Exod. xix. 10—13).

[*Hear my words.*] See Exod. xix. 9, &c. xx. 1, &c.

[*That they may learn to fear me, &c.*] For those words which they heard were pronounced in so terrible a manner, as to make them dread to offend his majesty, and to instruct their children to stand in awe of him.

Ver. 11. *Ye came near*] See Exod. xix. 17.

[*The mountain burned*] See Exod. xix. 16. 18.

[*Unto the midst of heaven.*] Into the middle of the air, which is frequently called heaven in Scripture; as the fowls of heaven, are the fowls of the air: but whether the fire flamed up precisely into the very midst of the lower region of the air, or only a great height, is not material; either way the expression is proper enough.

Ver. 12. *The Lord spake*] See Exod. xix. 20. xx. 1. 22.

[*Ye heard the voice.*] See Exod. xx. 19.

[*But saw no similitude.*] Though sometimes the Divine Majesty seems to have appeared in a visible shape (Dan. vii. 9, 10), yet, when he came to give them his law, he would not appear in the figure of a man, or any other thing, that might seem to represent him to their outward senses, or their imagination: for it had been dangerous then to manifest himself under any resemblance, when he forbade them to make any resemblance of him. They would have thought he forbade them to make any other resemblance, but that wherein he showed himself to them; in which they where in he concluded it was lawful to represent him.

[*Only ye heard a voice.*] From hence some of the Jews would gather, that the people only heard the sound of God's words, when he spake the ten commandments; but not the distinction of the sound, so as to understand the sense of what he said. Thus Maimonides, in his More Nevochim (par. ii. cap. 32). Which is manifestly false, as appears from ver. 10. 13. and Exod. xx. 22. For therefore the day wherein he spake to them in Horeb was so remarkable, as never to be forgotten; because he "made them hear his words, so that they might learn to fear him," &c. For, though he did not appear in the likeness of any thing to them, yet he vouchsafed to speak to them plainly in their own language, that they might be instructed in their duty; both which was to keep them from idolatry. "He did not let them see any shape, that they might not make any image of him, to worship it, or him by it, after the manner of the heathens;

14 ¶ And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it.

15 Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day *that* the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire:

16 Lest ye corrupt *yourselves*, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female.

17 The likeness of any beast that *is* on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that *flieth* in the air,

but he let them hear his voice, that they might not go and worship any other's gods, which the heathens pretended spake to them.

Ver. 13. *He declared unto you his covenant.*] These were the principal laws which they covenanted with him to observe, though afterward he added others, "After the tenor of which he made a covenant with them" (Exod. xxxiv. 27).

[*He wrote them.*] See Exod. xxiv. 12. xxxiv. 28.

Ver. 14. *To teach you statutes and judgments.*] This doth not signify, that they themselves did not hear the *ten words* from Mount Sinai, but were taught them by Moses (as Maimonides fancies in the fore-named place), for it plainly relates to the rest of the laws, which God immediately after gave him (Exod. xxi. xxii. xxiii). It being their own desire, that God would speak to them no more by himself, but communicate the rest of his will by Moses (Exod. xx. 19). And accordingly he told the people "all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments," which he delivered to him (Exod. xxiv. 3).

All this will appear more plainly from the next chapter of this book, ver. 22, &c.

It is a mere imagination of those Jews, who take the *statutes and judgments* here mentioned for their *oral law*, as Aben Ezra, R. Solomon, R. Bechai, and others do, upon this place; who say, that when God gave Moses the written law he expounded it to him: which exposition he delivered to Joshua, and he to the seventy elders, &c. so that it came down to them in a successive tradition.

Ver. 15.] He gives them a special caution about this, because the nations of the world were so prone to make images of their gods; which he expressly forbids in the second commandment. Upon this text the present Jews ground the third article of their faith, which is, that God *is incorporeal*.

Ver. 16. *Lest ye corrupt yourselves.*] By worshipping any thing but God himself alone. Unto whom they being espoused, the giving Divine worship unto any thing else was such a corruption, as adultery is in a married woman.

[*And make you a graven image.*] See the second commandment, Exod. xx. 3, 4.

[*The likeness of male or female.*] The representation of God in human shape is first forbidden, because it was most common among the heathens. Therefore I cannot think this relates to the Egyptian worship, who honoured oxen as sacred to Osiris, and cows as sacred to Isis. Unto which Mr. Selden thinks the LXX. had respect, when they translated these words, 'Ὁμοίωμα ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θήλειου (De Diis Syris, Syntag. cap. 4).

Ver. 17.] The word *or* is to be here supplied, and in all that follows, in this manner: "Or the likeness of any beast that is on the earth; or the likeness of any winged fowl that *flieth* in the air;" where *col-*

18 The likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth :

19 And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the

moon, and the stars, *even* all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.

20 But the Lord hath taken you, and brought

tzippor canaph, which we translate, "any winged fowl," signifies, all *birds* and *insects* that fly in the air: for in the shape of such creatures also the heathen represented their gods, or some of their qualities: for not only oxen were sacred to Apis, and rams to Jupiter Ammon, but hawks and eagles, and even beetles, to other deities.

Ver. 18. *The likeness of any thing that creepeth*] Nothing was more common among the heathen than the worship of serpents.

The likeness of any fish] The famous Dagon, whom the Philistines worshipped, was a fish with a human face, hands, and feet. Certain it is, the Syrians worshipped a fish, as Cicero tells us, in his third book of the Nature of the Gods, Syri piscem venerantur: which Mr. Selden thinks relates to the famous goddess Atargatis; which is a word made out of the Hebrew, addirag, i. e. "magnificent, or potent fish" (see De Diis Syris, Syntag. ii. cap. 2). The Egyptians were famous in aftertimes for worshipping all sorts of animals; and if one could find they were so in the days of Moses, it might be assigned as the most probable reason of his cautioning the Israelites against these things so particularly, they being lately come out of Egypt.

Ver. 19. *Lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven,*] From hence, I believe, that common speech among the Arabians was derived, "Take heed how thou gazest on the splendour of the stars:" which is, in the first century of Arabic proverbs, set forth by Erpenius (Prov. xxviii.), who saith he knew not what to make of it: but I take it to be a caveat against idolatry, to which the ancient Arabians were addicted.

When thou seest the sun, &c.] The most ancient idolatry of all other seems to have been the worship of the sun, and the rest of the heavenly bodies, which began among the Chaldeans: for there is not any god, or goddess, among the ancient gentiles, but hath a respect to the sun, or the moon, as Gisbertus Cuperus hath very plainly demonstrated, in his Harpocrates, p. 87, &c. 108, &c. And a very learned man of our own hath lately said a great deal on the same subject (see Appendix to the Antiquity of Palmyra, cap. 4. by Mr. A. Seller; and Maimon. More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 30).

Shouldest be driven to worship them,] Drawn in, enticed, and deceived (as Onkelos, and the LXX. translate it), either by the instigation of some evil genius, or admiration of their splendour, or imitation of other nations, or a vain opinion that some divinity inhabits such illustrious bodies, or out of a sense of the benefits mankind receive by them: for the chief philosophers themselves were led by their weak reasonings into this error, as appears even by Plato, who saith, it is most just that the heaven should be worshipped with all the gods and demons, and that we should *ταῦν τε καὶ εὐχεσθαι διαφέροντας αὐτῶν*, &c. as he speaks in his Epinomis. See Eusebians, in his Præpar. Evang. lib. xiii. cap. 18. where he shows how much better the Hebrews speak in this matter; and quotes some words of Plato, out of a work of his, not now extant, for the explication of these words of Moses. And, to make this idolatry seem more reasonable, some of the philosophers asserted the sun to be endued with understanding; and, therefore, is called by Proclus, *πρῶτος νοητὸν θεοῦ*, "the intellectual fire," to distinguish it from other fires which are

without understanding: and from thence, in one of the coins of Caracalla, there is over the sun, surrounded with rays, the word *Providentia*. In short, the world had been so long settled in this worship, that it was no easy matter, when the Son of God came, to root it out: for the Essenes (the best sect among the Jews) seem to have had a tang of this superstition, as Josephus represents them, lib. ii. De Bello Judaico, cap. 7. Some, indeed, excuse them, as if they only admired the sun as the most excellent work of God, which they expressed by some kind of adoration: but Josephus expressly tells us, that, early in the morning, they directed to him *παύσις τῶας εὐχας*, as if they besought him to rise. And this stuck still in the minds of some who professed Christianity, particularly the followers of Basilides, and the Manichees, who called the sun and moon by the name of gods; and sometimes called the sun Christ, as Theodoret tells us, lib. i. cap. 26. And Epiphanius and St. Austin say the same in more places than one. No wonder, therefore, that Julian the apostate should say, that God produced, *ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἡλιον θεὸν μέγιστον πάντα ὁμοιον ἑαυτῷ*, "out of himself the sun, the greatest god, in all things like unto himself:" for which he quotes Plato, in his famous oration in Praise of the Sun; where he saith, The same sun hath filled the heaven with innumerable other gods, p. 146. *Ὅλος οὐρανὸς θεῶν ἐξ ἑλίου πλήρης*, "The whole heaven is full of gods from the sun."

Which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations] The sense is very plain, that all nations under heaven have the benefit of the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the Jews; who were therefore to worship him alone, who is the Lord of them all, and hath made them to be ministers unto us.

This K. Solomon saw, and yet he could not stick to it, but fell into the vain fancy of the generality of the Jews, that God hath distributed the nations of the world under the government of several stars, which stars are under the government of angels; but the Jews under the government of God alone, and not subject to any planet. Which hath no foundation at all; much less can we think that God appointed the nations of the world to worship the heavenly host, lest they should be atheists, as Clemens Alexandrinus and Justin Martyr fancy from this place; unless they mean that God for their sins delivered them up to this impiety; which several great men since have thought to be the true meaning of these words: for there are no such words found in the LXX. as they allege, *οὐκ οὐτως ἔδωκε Κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου*.

There is one who takes the word *chalah*, which we translate *divide*, to signify the *blandish*, and makes this the sense, that God places these great luminaries in the heavens, to invite and allure all nations to admire and adore him, the creator of them. And, indeed, in the conjugation which the Hebrews call *hiphil*, this word doth signify to *soften* and *smooth*, and consequently to allure; but it never signifies so in that they call *kal*.

Maimonides makes the sense of Moses' argument to be thus: God hath made the sun and moon to be ministers; not to be worshipped; according to that, Gen. i. 18. Which made the Psalmist so particularly call upon all the heavenly bodies to praise the Lord, Ps. cxlviii. (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 5).

you forth out of the iron furnace, *even* out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance, as ye are this day.

21 Furthermore the LORD was angry with me for your sakes, and sware that I should not go over Jordan, and that I should not go in unto that good land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance:

22 But I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan: but ye shall go over, and possess that good land.

23 Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of the LORD your God, which he made with you, and make you a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, which the LORD thy God hath forbidden thee.

[Ver. 20. *Brought you forth out of the iron furnace.*] This is a phrase used also by Solomon, 1 Kings vii. 51. and by Jeremiah, xi. 4. to express the most cruel servitude; wherein God suffered them to be tried, as metals are in a furnace of iron, red hot; for he doth not allude to their making of bricks (as some imagine), which were not wrought in an iron furnace.

[*To be unto him a people of inheritance.*] These were two powerful arguments to induce them to be obedient: that they were not only delivered from the hardest slavery, but now made God's peculiar people (see Exod. xix. 5), whom he had purchased for his inheritance, i. e. to be his people for ever.

From this verse Sir John Marsham gathers, that Moses had respect, in the foregoing verses, to the Egyptian superstition; as if he had said, *Excusso servitutis iugo, etiam excutienda sunt Ægypti βδελυγματα*; "having shaken off the Egyptian yoke, they were also to shake off their abominable idols:" for the invisible God is not to be worshipped by images or symbols. So that when he forbids them, ver. 16, "to make a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male and female," he thinks Moses hath respect to the boves utriusque sexus sacri, "the sacred beeves of both kinds;" the males to Osiris, the females to Isis. And he mentions "the likeness of any beast that is in earth," ver. 17. because all the Egyptians worshipped not only the creatures before mentioned, but *canem* and *felem*, a dog and a cat; the Thebans and Saitæ worshipped sheep; the Mendesians a goat; and others of them, wolves and lions: and he adds, "the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air," because the Egyptians worshipped a hawk, and the bird called *ibis*; and the Thebans an eagle. In ver. 18. he mentions "the similitude of any thing that creepeth upon the ground;" because about Thebes, serpents were sacred to Jupiter: "and the likeness of any fish that is in the waters," because all Egypt worshipped certain fishes, and some of them the crocodile and the hippopotamus. And as for the sun, moon, and stars (ver. 19), the worship of them was common to the Egyptians with all other nations. All this he justifies out of good authors; and it might pass for truth, had we any certainty that the Egyptians in the time of Moses were as sottish as they were in the time of Herodotus (see *Seculum ix. Sect. De Idololatria*).

Ver. 21. *Furthermore*] Or rather, *but*.

[*The Lord was angry with me*] He remembers this again (though he had mentioned it twice before, i. 37. iii. 26), that they might be deeply sensible of the danger of offending God, since such a man as he was excluded from the good land for one single fault. Or hereby he would magnify the goodness of God to them, who, though great offenders, had a privilege granted to them which was denied him.

24 For the LORD thy God is a consuming fire, *even* a jealous God.

25 ¶ When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have remained long in the land, and shall corrupt *yourselves*, and make a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, and shall do evil in the sight of the LORD thy God, to provoke him to anger:

26 I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it; ye shall not prolong *your* days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed.

27 And the LORD shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither the LORD shall lead you.

[*And sware that I should not go over Jordan, &c.*] He only told him so at the first (Numb. xx. 12), but upon Moses' importunate entreaty, that he would revoke the sentence (of which we read in the foregoing chapter of this book), it seemed he silenced him, by confirming his threatening with an oath.

Ver. 22. *But I must die in this land.*] See Numb. xxvii. 12—14. His frequent repetition of this, shows how near it went to his heart. "But ye shall go over, and possess that good land." God's promise to them, he would have them think, was as irrevocable as his threatening against him.

Ver. 23.] For this was the principal thing in the covenant, that they should worship him alone. Which is the reason it is so often repeated, and was, immediately after the delivery of the law from Mount Sinai, mentioned alone, as if it was the only thing that he had said unto them (Exod. xx. 22, 23): "Ye have not seen that I have talked with you from heaven: ye shall not make with me gods of silver; neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold."

Ver. 24. *A consuming fire.*] So he appeared upon the mount, when he delivered his laws from thence in a flaming fire (Exod. xxiv. 17). The learned Huetius thinks, that from these words of Moses, the ancient Persians took up the worship of fire; at first, only as a resemblance of God, or a symbol of him (as Maximus Tyrius saith, *Dissert. xviii.*), but afterward, as God himself (Demonstr. Evangel. p. 94).

Even a jealous God.] Who cannot endure any rival in your affection (see Exod. xx. 5). These were two awakening arguments to keep them from idolatry; that God cannot endure it, and will be very terrible in his punishment of it.

Ver. 25. *When thou shalt beget children.*] When they were very much multiplied, and had been long settled in the possession of the land of Canaan.

[*Corrupt yourselves.*] By the worship of other gods. [*Make a graven image.*] Which he had strictly prohibited, and solemnly cautioned them to beware of ver. 23.

[*And shall do evil*] By imitating the idolatrous customs of other nations.

Ver. 26. *I call heaven and earth to witness*] A solemn kind of asseveration; that, as surely as the heaven and earth shall endure, they should utterly perish.

[*That ye shall soon utterly perish*] As soon as the measure of your iniquity is filled up, ye shall speedily be destroyed without remedy. Which the Hebrews refer to the captivity by Salmanezar and Nebuchadnezzar, after they had been almost eighteen hundred years in this country; and so might he said to have remained long in the land.

Ver. 27. *Shall scatter you*] See Lev. xxvi. 33. [*Ye shall be left few*] See Lev. xxvi. 22.

28 And there ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell.

29 But if from thence thou shalt seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul.

30 When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, *even* in the latter days, if thou turn to the Lord thy God, and shalt be obedient unto his voice;

31 (For the Lord thy God is a merciful God,) he will not forsake thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he sware unto them.

32 For ask now of the days that are past,

Ver. 28. *There ye shall serve gods, &c.*] The idols of the heathen: to the worship of which he threatens to abandon them, as a punishment for their apostasy from God. And the heathen sometime compelled them to worship their gods, as we read in the third of Daniel.

Which neither see, &c.] This is a description of the most stupid idolatry, to which they should be delivered, if they fell from God (see Numb. xxi. 29).

Ver. 29. *But if from thence thou shalt seek the Lord thy God,*] When they were scattered among the heathen (ver. 27).

Thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart] If they then repented sincerely, and became unfeigned worshippers of the Lord their God alone, he promises them forgiveness.

Ver. 30. *When thou art in tribulation,*] In great distress, by the execution of the foregoing threatenings.

Even in the latter days,] In future times, or in their most declining state. The Jews themselves apply this to the present state, wherein they are now, and have been many years; as appears by the ancient Nitzacon, set forth lately by Wagenseil, p. 254, where he saith, the whole nation must repent, before God send deliverance unto them.

If thou turn to the Lord thy God,] The great end of punishment was to convert them, and make them more observant of God's commands.

Ver. 31. *The Lord thy God is a merciful God;*] See Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Numb. xiv. 17, 18.

He will not forsake thee, &c.] He promises not to east them off, nor destroy them utterly (though they were utterly thrown out of their land, ver. 26), but restore them to his favour, according to the covenant made with their fathers, and confirmed by an oath, Gen. xvii. 19. xxii. 16, 17 (see Lev. xxvi. 44, 45).

Ver. 32. *For ask*] Turn over the annals of the whole world, from one end of it to the other, ever since it was made, and search whether thou canst find any thing like to that which God hath done for you. Which R. Isaac thus glosses in his Munimen Fidei (lately set forth by Wagenseil, p. 103), "From the creation of the world, till their going out of Egypt, there were passed two thousand four hundred and forty-eight years; yet in all that long track of time, there never were seen or heard in any part of the world such prodigious miracles as were wrought to bring them out of Egypt: and afterward, in leading them through the Red Sea; raining manna on them; and the appearance of the Divine Majesty at Mount Sinai," &c.

Ver. 33.] Here was a double, or rather triple prodigy, never heard of before, that God should speak to them, audibly and distinctly, so long as to inform them in their duty towards himself and one another;

which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and *ask* from the one side of heaven unto the other, whether there hath been *any such thing* as this great thing *is*, or hath been heard like it?

33 Did *ever* people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?

34 Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of *another* nation, by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes?

35 Unto thee it was shewed, that thou might-

and this out of the midst of devouring flames, and without the least hurt to any one of them (Exod. xx. 18, xxiv. 17).

Ver. 34. *Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation,*] Another wonder, never before heard of: that God, by two men alone, Moses and Aaron, should demand the delivery of a nation, under the power of another nation far greater and stronger than themselves, and effect it also, by no other means but such as here follow.

By temptations,] This word may be thought to signify the grievous trials of the Israelites, whose miseries were increased after the first attempt for their deliverance; which seemed to them a strange way of proceeding (Exod. v. 19, 22, 23). But by *temptations* may, in this place, be, in general, meant miracles, as the Hebrews understand it, and the Chaldee word *tenessin* signifies: this and the two following words being of the very same import with the three words in the New Testament, which we often meet withal (and seem to be taken from hence), *δυνάμεις, τέρατα, καὶ σημεῖα*, "with miracles, wonders and signs" (Acts ii. 22. 2 Cor. xii. Heb. ii. 4).

By signs,] Which are mentioned Ex. iv. 9, vii. 9, 10.

By wonders,] This signifies all the ten plagues of Egypt: for Pharaoh would not let the Israelites go, till God had "multiplied his wonders on the land of Egypt," as we read Exod. vii. 3. x. 1, 2, xi. 9, 10.

By war,] This seems to relate to the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea: where the Lord is said to *fight for Israel* (Exod. xiv. 14. xv. 3), while they, which is the greatest wonder of all, were delivered without striking a stroke.

By a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm,] These are phrases which we often meet withal, when Moses speaks of their deliverance out of Egypt, Exod. iii. 19. vi. 6. xv. 12, and many other places. And the Hebrews think, that his *mighty hand* particularly refers to the grievous murrain, and the pestilence, which are called the *hand of the Lord*, Exod. x. 3, 15. And his *stretched out arm* to have a particular respect to the killing of the first-born; the angel that was going to smite Jerusalem appearing with a "drawn sword, and his hand stretched out" (1 Chron. xxi. 16).

By great terrors,] wherewith the minds of those were struck who heard of these things (Exod. xv. 14—16). Or else he means the frights in which the Egyptians were, while they remained three days in most dismal darkness (Exod. x. 23.), for the conclusion of this verse signifies, that he speaks of "all that the Lord their God did for them in Egypt before their eyes."

Ver. 35. *Unto thee it was shewed,*] This was a particular kindness to the Israelites, which God never before manifested to any other nation.

That thou mightest know that the Lord he is God;]

est know that the LORD he is God; *there is none else beside him.*

36 Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice, that he might instruct thee: and upon earth he shewed thee his great fire; and thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire.

37 And because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out in his sight with his mighty power out of Egypt;

38 To drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, as it is this day.

39 Know therefore this day, and consider it in thine heart, that the LORD he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath: *there is none else.*

40 Thou shalt keep therefore his statutes, and

his commandments, which I command thee this day, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, for ever.

41 ¶ Then Moses severed three cities on this side Jordan toward the sun rising;

42 That the slayer might flee thither, which should kill his neighbour unawares, and hated him not in times past; and that fleeing unto one of these cities he might live:

43 *Namely*, Bezer in the wilderness, in the plain country, of the Reubenites; and Ramoth in Gilead, of the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan, of the Manassites.

44 ¶ And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel:

45 These *are* the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which Moses spake unto the

That they might believe him to be the only true God, and worship none but him. Which two articles, saith Maimonides (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 33), that God is, and that he is but one, are fundamentals of religion, which were known not only by prophets, but by every body else.

Ver. 36. *Out of heaven*] See Exod. xx. 22.

That he might instruct thee:] Teach them his will, which was chiefly declared in the ten commandments.

He shewed thee his great fire:] He means either that they saw it as they stood upon the earth; or, that it burnt upon the top of the mount in their sight (Exod. xxiv. 17).

Thou heardest his words] See ver. 11, 12. and Exod. xx. 18, 19.

Ver. 37. *Because he loved thy fathers,*] See Gen. xv. 5—7, and many other places in that book, Exod. iii. 15—17.

Brought thee out in his sight with his mighty power] For, as he led them the way out of Egypt in a pillar of cloud, and of fire (Exod. xiii. 21), so, when they were in danger by Pharaoh's pursuit of them, he came behind them, and they marched in his sight (Exod. xiv. 19).

Out of Egypt:] This is mentioned in Scripture as the highest benefit, never to be forgotten by them. So G. Schickard observes, in his Mischpat Hammelech (cap. iii. Theor. 10). That they are put in mind of this in the frontispiece of the decalogue (Exod. xx. 2), in the institution of sacrifices (Lev. xxii. 33), in the promise of a blessing (xxvi. 13), and here, in the enumeration of God's wonderful works; and afterward in the commendation of his love (Deut. vii. 8), in his dehoration from ingratitude (viii. 14), in his institution of the passover (xvi. 6), in the speech which the reproving angel made to them (Judges ii. 1), in the hope he gave them of victory over the Midianites (vi. 9), in his answer to their petition for a king (1 Sam. x. 18), and on a great many other occasions: for this was "*velut fundamentum et initium reipublice*," &c., as another learned German speaks (Gierus on Dan. ix. 15), the foundation, as we may call it, and the beginning of their commonwealth founded by God; which comprehended in it abundance of miracles, far exceeding all the power of nature.

Ver. 38. *To drive out nations—greater and mightier*] So mighty, that they frightened their fathers from attempting the conquest of them (Numb. xiii. 28, 29. 31).

To bring thee in—as it is this day.] That is, as he

had given them a late experiment, by overthrowing the two kings of the Amorites, and giving them their land for a possession.

Ver. 39.] Be sensible, therefore, and settle this belief in thy heart, that the Lord is the sole governor of the whole world.

Ver. 40. *Keep therefore his statutes, &c.*] Worship and obey him, as the only way to make them and their posterity live happily in the land, which God was about to give them.

That it may go well with thee, &c.] Though Moses spake of their long life upon earth, yet the better sort of Jews did not set up their rest here; but from this word *prolong*, extended their hope as far as the other world: for thus Maimonides saith (in his preface to Pereck Cheleck) they were taught by tradition to expound these words, "That it may be well with thee" in the world, which is all good; and "mayest prolong thy days" in the world, which is all long, i. e. never ends.

Ver. 41. *Then Moses severed three cities*] I observed in the preface to this book, that Moses did not deliver all that is contained in this book, in one continued speech; but at several times, as appears even by the beginning of the next chapter, where it is said, "He called all Israel, and said unto them," &c. Which supposes, that after this preface in these four chapters, he dismissed them to consider what he had said; and then some time after assembled the people again, to put them in mind of the laws which he so earnestly pressed them to observe. But between these two times (after he had spoken all that is contained in these four chapters, and before he rehearsed the decalogue), he put in execution the command of God lately given, to set apart three cities of refuge on this side Jordan; which he here relates, in the order, I suppose, wherein it was done.

Toward the sun rising;] On the east side of Jordan, according to what was ordered, (Numb. xxxv. 14).

Ver. 42.] See there, ver. 11, 12, &c.

Ver. 43.] Thus they are set down also in the book of Joshua, xx. 8. xxi. 27. 36. 38.

Ver. 44.] Now follows the law, which (after the forementioned assignation of the cities of refuge) Moses set before all the people, and pressed them to the observance of it.

Ver. 45. *These are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments.*] As the next chapter contains the law, that is, the ten commandments, which Moses set before them; so, in several following chapters (after new earnest exhortations to obedience), he re-

children of Israel, after they came forth out of Egypt,

46 On this side Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, after they were come forth out of Egypt:

47 And they possessed his land, and the land of Og king of Bashan, two kings of the Amor-

ites, which were on this side Jordan toward the sun rising;

48 From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river Arnon, even unto mount Sion, which is Hermon,

49 And all the plain on this side Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the plain, under the springs of Pishgah.

presents to them the rest of God's will, comprehended under these three words, *testimonies, statutes, and judgments*: some of which belonged to the Divine service, others to their civil governments, and the rest to ceremonial observations, for the better security and preservation of both the former.

Which Moses spake] Which he had formerly delivered to them, after they were come out of the Egyptian bondage, Exod. xxi. xxii. xxiii., and in the following books.

Ver. 46. *On this side Jordan, &c.*] In this and the two following verses he again mentions the place and the time, when and where, he set before them the law, and the testimonies, statutes, and judgments, recorded in the following part of this book: which he repeats, that all posterity might observe the discourses were made a little before he died.

Over against Beth-peor,] See ch. iii. ult.

In the land of Sihon] See ch. ii. 21. 31, &c.

Whom Moses and the children of Israel smote,] In

the fortieth year after their departure thence; as appears from Numb. xxi. 21. xxxiii. 38.

Ver. 47.] See Numb. xxi. 33, &c.

Ver. 48.] The mount here called Sion is not that which was so famous in aftertimes, when David made it the royal seat; for that was on the other side Jordan, and is written with different letters in the Hebrew; but, in all probability, is a contraction of *Sirion*; which is the name by which the Sidonians called Hermon: for the bounds of this country are so described (iii. 8, 9. 12), to extend from the river Arnon to Mount Hermon, which is called Sirion.

Ver. 49. *All the plain*] See ch. iii. 17.

Under the springs of Pishgah.] The same place there called Ashdod-Pishgah. Which is exactly described after the same manner, by Benjamin Tudelensis, in his Itinerary, set forth by L'Empereur, p. 51, where he saith, that Jordan is called at Tiberias the Sea of Gennesareth; and, coming from thence with a great force, falls at the foot of this hill into the Sea of Sodom, which is called the Salt Sea.

CHAPTER V.

1 *The covenant in Horeb.* 6 *The ten commandments.* 22 *At the people's request Moses receiveth the law from God.*

1 AND Moses called all Israel, and said unto them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and keep, and do them.

2 The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb.

3 The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day.

4 The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire,

5 (I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to shew you the word of the Lord: for ye were afraid by reason of the fire, and went not up into the mount;) saying,

6 ¶ I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *Moses called all Israel,*] That is, summoned all the elders, and heads of their tribes, who were to communicate what he said to the rest; thus it is commonly expounded. But that which he saith, xxix. 10, 11, seems to direct us to another interpretation; that he himself went from tribe to tribe, and repeated these ten words (as they are called), placing himself in several parts of their camp, that every one might hear what he said. And this was some time after he had, in like manner, exhorted them to obedience in the foregoing preface (see iv. 41).

Hear, O Israel,] Mind what I now say unto you.

That ye may learn them, and keep, and do them.] That ye may not be ignorant of such important truths nor negligent in the practice of them; which is the end of knowledge.

Ver. 2.] See Exod. xxiv. 3. 5—8.

Ver. 3. *The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers,*] viz. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; with whom he covenanted to give their posterity the land of Canaan; but did not make to them this discovery of his will, which was the matter of the covenant at Horeb.

But with us,] A great part of those who were then at Horeb were now alive: viz. all under twenty years old. And if they had been all dead, Moses might have said, "He made it with us;" because they were still the same people, though the particular persons were dead, with whom the covenant was made, not only for themselves, but for their posterity.

Ver. 4. *Face to face*] Openly, clearly, and distinctly; or by himself, without the mediation of Moses; but in no visible shape: for that is expressly denied in the foregoing chapter, iv. 12. 15.

Ver. 5. *I stood between the Lord and you at that time,*] As a mediator, whom God employed to prepare them to meet him (Exod. xix. 10, 11, &c.), and to prescribe them the bounds, at what distance they should keep (ver. 12), and to bring them forth to meet with him (ver. 17), and to charge them to keep within their bounds (ver. 21). And on the other side to represent their desires unto God, after he had spoken to them (Exod. xx. 19). So that he was truly a mediator between God and them; and stood also in a middle place, at the foot of the mount, while they stood further off.

7 Thou shalt have none other gods before me.

8 Thou shalt not make thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters beneath the earth:

9 Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me,

10 And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

Ye were afraid.] Exod. xx. 18.

Went not up] Exod. xix. 17. xx. 21.

Ver. 6.] This preface to the ten commandments is explained, Exod. xx. 2.

Ver. 7.] See Exod. xx. 3. It is wisely observed by Grotius (lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 20. sect. 45), that true religion was ever built upon these four principles: First, that there is a God, and that he is but One. Secondly, that God is nothing of those things that we see with our eyes, but something more sublime than them all. Thirdly, that he takes care of human affairs, and judges them most justly. Fourthly, that he is the maker of all things whatsoever. Which principles are explained in these first four precepts of the decalogue; the unity of the Godhead being delivered in the first place.

Ver. 8—10.] The second principle, that God's nature is invisible, is contained in this second commandment; being the ground of this prohibition, to make any image of him: which the best of the heathen forbade also for this very reason, *ὡς οὐκ ἐφάπτεσθαι Θεοὶ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ νοῦν*, "because it is impossible to conceive God otherwise, but by the mind alone," as Plutarch reports the sense of Numa among the Romans. And we find the same as plainly said by Antisthenes among the Greeks, in Clemens Alexandrinus, *ἀφθαρτοὺς οὐκ ὁράται, οὐδὲν ἵστανται, διότι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐκπαθεῖν ἢ εἰκάζειν*; "he is not seen by the eyes nor is like to any thing; and therefore none can learn any thing of him by an image." Nor could the vulgar, I am apt to think, have been kept so long, and so generally as they were, to the worship of them, if it had not been by bold fictions, that some of them were *ἄσπετοι*, "fallen down from heaven;" and that all of them were *Θεοὶ, καὶ ὁσίας μετωνοίας ἀνέστησαν*, "Divine things, and full of a Divine communication," as Jamblichus speaks. And, to make them more revered, while some of them were *Ἐμφανῆ*, "conspicuous to all the people," others were kept in secret in the inmost part of their temple, as having hidden in them a symbolical presence of God, as Proclus speaks upon Timæus. Which Ezek. Spanhemius justly thinks was done in imitation of what Moses saith concerning God's presence upon the mercy-seat in the holy of holies (Observationes in Callimachum, p. 586, &c.).

See upon these three verses my annotations on Exod. xx. 4—6.

Ver. 11.] This contains the third principle before mentioned, that God takes notice of all things, even of our thoughts, and governs all our affairs: for it is the foundation of an oath, that God knows our very hearts, and is witness to our meaning, as well as our words; and will, if we swear falsely, punish us for it: which is an acknowledgment also both of the justice and the power of God (see upon Exod. xx. 7).

Ver. 12.] They were to keep it in memory, that they might sanctify it, as it is Exod. xx. 8 (see there). And it was *sanctified*, or set apart for special ends and

11 Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

12 Keep the Sabbath day to sanctify it, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee.

13 Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work:

14 But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy

purposes, that they might give to the blessed God the seventh part of the week (as Abarbinel speaks upon these words,) and might learn the Divine law, together with the *Kabalah*, or traditional exposition of the words, and mark well the niceties of it: for which he quotes a saying out of the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, "Sabbaths and feasts were not given, but to learn the law upon them." Which is the reason, he saith, of another speech of theirs, in their Midrash, or allegorical exposition upon Exodus, that "the sabbath weigheth against all the commandments;" because it was a principal means to make them known and observed. There is not much said, indeed, in express words, concerning this end of the rest of the sabbath: but common reason told the Jews, it could not be intended merely as a day of ease from labour, but for the solemn service of God, and instruction in their duty to him.

As the Lord thy God hath commanded thee.] At Marah, say the Jews commonly, where he gave them a "statute and an ordinance" (see Exod. xv. 25). But one of them saith better, "At Marah it was designed, and at Sinai it was commanded." But they do not look back far enough for the original of this commandment; for there being two things in this day, the rest of it, and the religion; the rest of it was in remembrance of their deliverance out of Egypt, and the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which completed their deliverance; immediately after which they kept their first sabbatical rest. The religion was in remembrance of the creation of the world; and so this day had been observed from the beginning by the patriarchs, though we find no mention made of their resting: and that may possibly be the meaning of these words; "as the Lord thy God commanded thee" that is, immediately after he had finished the creation of the world.

Ver. 13.] See upon Exod. xx. 9.

Ver. 14. *But the seventh day is the Sabbath, &c.*] The reason why they might not do any work on this day is given in Exod. xx. 11, which is wholly omitted here, because Moses had another reason to add, for the enforcement of this precept: and refers them (in the foregoing words, ver. 12. "As the Lord thy God hath commanded thee") to what he had said in the books of Genesis and Exodus; where he had set down the reason which God himself gave with his own mouth, for the religious observation of this day; because in six days the Lord made heaven and earth," &c. So that this commandment was designed to establish the fourth principle I mentioned, that God is the maker of all things. To preserve the memory and sense of which (as the author of the answer, Ad Orthodoxos, observes, lxi.) this rest was instituted, to be observed with a more than ordinary sanctity; it being of such great moment, that the first sabbath-breaker was punished with death, because the voluntary violation of it contained in it a denial that the world was created by God.

stranger that is within thy gates; that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou.

15 And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.

16 ¶ Honour thy father and thy mother, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee; that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go

well with thee, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

17 Thou shalt not kill.

18 Neither shalt thou commit adultery.

19 Neither shalt thou steal.

20 Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.

21 Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.

That thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest. Mercy towards men, as well as piety towards God, was a reason for the observation of the sabbatical rest.

Ver. 15.] This is a new ground for the observation of the sabbath; because God had given them rest from their hard labour in Egypt. Which obliged them to keep that seventh day, which God appointed at the giving of manna (being the day on which he overthrew Pharaoh in the Red Sea), as the memory of the creation of the world obliged them to keep one day in seven. So our Mr. Mede hath explained it (see my annotations on Exod. xiv. 30). And Maimonides hath something to the same purpose, in his More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 31 (see upon Exod. xx. 11).

Ver. 16. *Honour thy father and thy mother.*] In the twentieth of Exodus, ver. 12, see there. To which I shall here add, that the laws of Solon made those children infamous, who did not afford sustenance to their parents, and provide them a habitation. And by the ancient law of Athens, he that reproached his parents was disinherited; if he struck them, his hand was cut off; if he left them unburied, he lost their estate, and was banished his country; and another law punished this ingratitude with death. See J. Meursius, in his Themis Attica, lib. i. cap. 2, 3, where he shows, that by parents, they understand not only father and mother, but grandfather and grandmother; nay, τῶν μῆτρῃ καὶ πατρὶ ἰὼν ἐν ζῶντι, i. e. "great-grandmother and great-grandfather, if they were yet alive," as Isæus tells us, Orat. vii. And the ground of all these laws, was a sense they had, as Æschines tells us, That men ought to honour their parents, as they did the gods, οὓς ἐξ ἰσού διὰ τιμῆς τοῖς θεοῖς (see Sam. Petitus, in Leges Atticas, lib. iii. tit. 3). Whence Hierocles calls parents, θεοὶ ἐπίγειοι, "earthly gods." And Philo, upon the decalogue, θεοὶ ὑφαντοί, &c. visible gods, who imitate him that is unbegotten, by giving life." And accordingly, next to the precepts concerning the worship of God, Moses here places immediately the duty owing unto parents.

That thy days may be prolonged, &c.] These last words are added to what God spake, Exod. xx. 12, as an explication of the foregoing. Whereby they are excited to obedience, by the promise not only of a long life, but of a happy. I say obedience; for that is included in honour, as the apostle explains it, Col. iii. 20, "Children obey your parents in all things;" that is, where God hath not commanded the contrary, and where it is not inconsistent with the public good; which is always to be preferred, even before the duty that is owing to natural parents. Inasmuch, that common reason taught the heathen, that for the good of the society, the son is to lay aside the reverence he should pay to his father, and the father to pay it unto the son, that is, when he is in public office; thus the famous Fabius Cunctator commended his son, for making him light off from his horse, when he met him in his consulship, as Plutarch tells us. And see A. Gel-

lius, lib. xi. Noct. Attic. cap. 1, and lib. xiii. cap. ult. and lib. xiv. in the beginning.

Ver. 17.] If a man killed another involuntarily, he was banished by the laws of Athens from his country for a year: but if he killed another ἐκ προνοίας, as Demosthenes speaks, "out of forethought," and designedly, he was put to death (see Sam. Petitus, lib. vii. in Leges Atticas, tit. 1. p. 508. 512). Yea, so detestable was this sin accounted, that even τὰ ἀλγέα, "lifeless things," such as wood, or stone, or iron, wherewith a man was killed, Draco ordered to be thrown out of their coasts (Ib. p. 523).

Ver. 18.] This crime was also punished with death by the laws of Draco. Solon, indeed, left it to the liberty of the husband, who caught another man in bed with his wife, either to kill him, if he pleased, or to let him redeem his life with a sum of money. But if after this he lived with his wife, he was infamous, as Demosthenes tells us, who saith, she might not come publicly into their temples: if she did, any man might treat her as he pleased, only not kill her: so that she was so odious as to be thrown, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐξ ἑρῶν τῶν τῆς πόλεως, "both out of the house of her husband, and out of holy places of the city." Nor might she go abroad with any ornaments (μὴ ἐξ αἰνῶν κοσμησθῆαι, is the law of Solon): if she did, any body might take them away from her, and tear her clothes in pieces, and beat her, only not maim her in any part of her body (see the same Petitus, lib. vi. tit. 4).

Ver. 19.] The laws of Draco punished all theft with death: which Solon thought too severe, and therefore changed that punishment into making satisfaction, by restoring double; yet still making it death, if any man stole above such a value, or took any thing out of the public baths, and such-like places, though of never so little value (see in the same author, lib. vii. tit. 5).

Ver. 20.] There was an action, at Athens, lay both against false witnesses, and him that produced them; who had a fine set upon them, and were made infamous. And if they were found thrice in the same fault, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων, ἀτίμους εἶναι, "both they themselves, and all their posterity, were made infamous," as Andocides speaks (see Ib. p. 559).

Ver. 21.] It is observed by some, that an exact order is observed in the delivery of these precepts: for, first, he places such offences as are consummate, and then those that are but begun, and not perfected. And in the former, he proceeds from those that are most heinous unto those that are less grievous: for those offences are the greatest which disturb the public order, and consequently do mischief unto a great many. Such are those that are committed against governors and rulers, who are comprehended under the name of parents, by whose authority human society is preserved. And then, among those which are against particular persons, those are the greatest

22 ¶ These words the LORD spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice : and he added no more. And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me.

23 And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, (for the mountain did burn with fire,) that ye came near unto me, *even* all the heads of your tribes, and your elders ;

24 And ye said, Behold the LORD our God hath shewed us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire : we have seen this day that God doth talk with man, and he liveth.

25 Now therefore why should we die ? for this

which touch a man's life ; next those that wrong his family, the foundation of which is matrimony ; then, those that wrong him in his goods, either directly by stealth, or more craftily by bearing false witness. Then, in the last place, those sins are mentioned which are not consummate, being gone no farther than desire ; which in Exod. xx. 17, are expressed by one and the same word, but here by two ; which we translate *desire* and *covet* : between which I know no difference, unless they express higher and lower degrees of the same sin. The contrary to which is, contentedness with our portion, and thankfulness to God for it ; which will not let us covet any thing belonging to another man, with his loss and damage.

Ver. 22. *These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly*] Exod. xix. 16. xx. 18. This confutes the foolish fancy of the Jewish doctors, that the people heard only the first words of God, "I am the Lord thy God, &c. thou shalt have no other gods but me;" i. e. they heard him declare his existence, and his unity ; but all the rest were reported to them by Moses. Nothing can be more contrary to what he here saith, that "all these words" (that is, the ten words before mentioned) were spoken to "their whole assembly" (see More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 33).

With a great voice :] That is, so loud, that it might be heard by the whole camp.

He added no more.] All the rest of the commandments, which follow in Exod. xxi. xxii. and xxiii. were delivered to Moses alone, and by him to the people, according to their own desire (Exod. xx. 19, xxi. 1. xxiv. 3).

He wrote them in two tables of stone,] That is, the ten commandments, and no more (Exod. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 1. 23). Lest what they heard with their ears should quickly slide out of their minds, he took care to have it engraven with his own hands in these tables.

Ver. 23.] After they had recovered out of the fright wherein they were at the conclusion of these words : when the thunders, lightnings, and noise of the trumpet were so terrible, that they removed, and stood afar off (Exod. xxi. 18).

Ver. 24.] Here Moses relates more largely what he said in short, Exod. xx. 19.

We have seen this day that God doth talk with man, and he liveth.] This looks like a thankful acknowledgment of the great goodness of God, in vouchsafing them such a favour as never any men had before and which they could not expect again. And accordingly Moses makes use of it as an argument to be very obedient of God's commands (Exod. xx. 22, 23).

great fire will consume us : if we hear the voice of the LORD our God any more, then we shall die.

26 For who *is there* of all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we *have*, and lived ?

27 Go thou near, and hear all that the LORD our God shall say : and speak thou unto us all that the LORD our God shall speak unto thee ; and we will hear *it*, and do *it*.

28 And the LORD heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me ; and the LORD said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee : they have well said all that they have spoken.

29 O that there were such an heart in them

Ver. 25.] It is an ungrounded conceit of Maimonides (in the place above mentioned), that, when they had heard the first words, they fell into a swoon, and did not recover themselves till all the rest were spoken ; which made them conclude, that they should really die, and never come to themselves again (as we speak), if they should hear him speak to them any more. The plain meaning is, that mortal men could not endure to hear him speak in that manner ; for the voice was so loud, and accompanied with such flashes of fire, and such claps of thunder, as made them conclude, if it had continued longer, they should have expired.

Ver. 26. *Who is there of all flesh,*] i. e. Of all men who are weak and frail, as the word *flesh* denotes.

That hath heard the voice of the living God—and lived?] There is no instance of such a thing as this, which made them afraid of hearing him speak, in this manner, any more : for they did not mind God's end and intention in this (which Moses suggests to them in Exod. xx. 20), but in a confusion of thoughts imagined, that though they had escaped once, the flames out of which he spake might devour them, if they came near them again.

Ver. 27.] See Exod. xx. 19. This shows their opinion of Moses, that he could be able not only to endure that without disorder which made them ready to die, but go into the very midst of the darkness out of which those flames came.

Ver. 28.] As Moses here reports more largely what they said to him than he did in Exodus, so he likewise gives a larger account what God bade him say to them, in answer to their desire.

They have well said all that they have spoken.] It very much becomes them, out of a sense of their meanness and unworthiness, and of the inconceivable majesty of God, to desire he would speak to them by a mediator.

Ver. 29. *O that there were such an heart in them,*] The words are wonderful emphatical in the Hebrew, "Who will give, that there may be such a heart in them." Which is an expression of the most earnest desire ; but withal signifies, that if what he had done for them would not move them to fear and obey him, it was impossible to persuade them to it. Not but that he could miraculously work upon them, and change their hearts (saith Maimonides), if he pleased, as he miraculously changed the nature of other things ; but if this were God's will to deal with them after this fashion, there would have been no need to send a prophet to them, or to publish laws full of precepts and promises, rewards and punishments ; by which (saith he) God wrought upon their heart, and not by

that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever!

30 Go say to them, Get you into your tents again.

31 But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto thee all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which thou shalt teach them, that they may do

them in the land which I give them to possess it.

32 Ye shall observe to do therefore as the Lord your God hath commanded you: ye shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left.

33 Ye shall walk in all the ways which the Lord your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess.

his absolute omnipotence (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 32).

That it might be well with them.] For God desired nothing more than this, which they themselves promised (ver. 27), which moved him to vouchsafe such a special privilege to them, as first to speak to them himself, and, at their desire, consent to speak to them by his prophet.

Ver. 30.] All this shows that Moses was a mediator between God and them, and between them and God.

Ver. 31. *As for thee, stand thou here by me.*] He invites Moses unto the nearest approaches unto his majesty; and the most familiar converse with him (Exod. xx. 21. xxiv. 2. 18). For this was the highest degree of prophecy, as Maimonides calls it, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 51. And in his preface to that book, he saith, this is the greatest degree of illumination of a prophet, concerning whom it is said, "Stand thou here with me;" and again, "The skin of his face shone." Which he supposes signified, that his mind was always full of light: whereas other prophets were some time in darkness, and saw nothing.

I will speak unto thee all the commandments.] According to their own desire, ver. 27 (see vi. 1).

That they may do them] According to their promise in the same, ver. 27.

Ver. 32. *Ye shall observe to do therefore*] Being obliged by such singular benefits as no other nation ever had the like (ver. 24—26), and having engaged themselves so solemnly to be obedient (ver. 27).

Ye shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left.] This is a phrase often used to signify a strict observance of God's laws; neither superstitiously adding to them, nor profanely laying aside any of them (xvii. 20. xxviii. 14. Josh. i. 7).

Ver. 33. *Ye shall walk in all the ways*] That is, observe all his laws, and make them the rule of their lives.

That ye may live.] Universal obedience, he would have them sensible, was the only way to make them live happy and long in that good land which he was about to bestow upon them. This he inculcates again in the next chapter, vi. 3. For all mankind thought long life a very great blessing, as appears by Callimachus' hymn to Diana, ver. 132, 133, when he promises to those whom she favours,

οὐδ' ἐπὶ σῆμα
ἔρχονται, πλὴν εἴτε πολυχρόνιον τι φέρωσιν.

i. e. "They shall not come into their grave, till they have reached a great old age."

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The end of the law is obedience.* 3 *An exhortation thereto.*

1 Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it:

2 That thou mightest fear the Lord thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and

thy son's son, all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be prolonged.

3 ¶ Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey.

4 Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord:

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *These are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments.*] Which God promised to deliver to him, in the foregoing chapter, ver 31; and commandments are thought commonly to relate unto the moral laws; statutes to rites and ceremonies, which have no natural reason for them; and judgments to civil government.

Which the Lord your God commanded] They are the words of God himself, in the place before named, ver. 31.

This, I suppose, was spoken by Moses to them, a little time after he had delivered what is contained in the foregoing chapter; being a preface to the rest of the laws which he received from God in Mount Sinai, as they desired.

Ver. 2.] The prime intention of God's speaking to them by himself and by Moses was, to implant his

fear in their hearts, as the true principle of obedience; which so certainly flows from it, if it be preserved in its power and force, that it frequently in Scripture signifies the whole duty we owe to God. But here, more particularly, it seems to signify their adhering to him as the only God: so it is used, 1 Kings xviii. 3. 12, and in the New Testament most plainly, Acts x. 2. 35.

Ver. 3. *Hear therefore,—and observe to do it;*] Mark therefore so well what I say, as to do accordingly.

That it may be well with thee, &c.] As the only way to be happy, and to grow a mighty nation, and, in short, enjoy all that God had promised to their pious ancestors.

Ver. 4. *Hear, O Israel:*] He repeats it again, because what he was going to say is of the highest importance.

The Lord our God is one Lord:] Being to remind

5 And thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.

6 And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart:

them of all the laws which God delivered to them by him, and to endeavour to beget a holy fear of him, as the principle of obedience, he most earnestly presses upon them, before he proceeds further, the first of the ten commandments; which is, that there is but one God, who alone is to be worshipped; and that he is their God: whose laws therefore could not be controlled by the authority of any other pretended god.

Many of the ancient fathers, particularly Theodoret and Greg. Nyssen, think there is a plain intimation of the blessed Trinity in these words "The Lord our God is one Lord:" and some of the Jews themselves have thought there was something extraordinary in it, that the name of God should be thrice mentioned as it is in this sentence: which signifies three *midoth*, or properties, they confess; which they sometimes call *three faces*, or *emanations*, or *sanctifications*, or *nummerations*, though they will not call them three persons; as Joseph de Voysin observes, in his book against an Anonymous Anti-trinitarian, p. 58. 63. 71, 72. And the cabalists say as much, who, asserting ten *sephiroth* in God (which they take to be something different from the essence of God, and yet not creatures, but *emanations* from it, as Manasseh ben Israel explains their words,) they make the first three of them to be more than the other seven; and call them *primordial*. The first of which they call the "Wonderful Intelligence," and the "First Intellectual Light" (as St. James calls God the "Father of lights"), and the "First Glory." The second they call, among other names, the "Illuminating Intelligence" (just as St. John saith, the eternal Word "enlightens every one that cometh into the world"), and the "Second Glory." And the third they call the "Sanctified Intelligence" (so the word *קדוש*, which is in Paul, must be translated, not *sanctifying*, as Rittangelius takes it,) or they may mean no more than the *Holy Intelligence*; which is the very same with the Holy Spirit. All this we find in the book *Jetzira*, which they fancy was made by Abraham: from whence we cannot but learn, that they had an obscure notion of the blessed Trinity: and that the apostles used no other language about it, than what was among the Jews. The best of which are so sensible of such things, as I have mentioned, that they think we Christians are not idolaters though we believe three persons in the Godhead (which they fancy inclines to polytheism), because we believe the unity of God; and therefore may be saved as well as they. So J. Wagenseil shows in his annotations upon Sota, cap. 7, p. 751, &c. and Arnoldus, in his *Spicilegia*, after him, p. 1218.

Ver. 5. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God*] Our blessed Saviour, alleging these two verses, (Mark xii. 29, 30.) looks upon these words as a part of the first commandment: for, after he had said, "The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul," &c. he thus concludes, "this is the first commandment." For, to own him to be the only God, the author of our being and of all things, doth necessarily include in it a love of him above all things whatsoever, which requires us to love him, who hath made them so lovely. This is another principle or spring of obedience, inseparable from the fear of God before mentioned: which doth not drive us away from him, but draws us to him;

7 And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

being such a reverence towards him as children have to their kind parents, which is ever mixed with love to them.

With all thine heart,] For there being no other God but he alone, none else could have any right to their love and service, but he only whose nature is so excellent, that it requires the utmost we can do to testify our regard to him. This one of the Jewish writers hath admirably expressed in this manner; "Whosoever serves God out of love, he gives himself to the study of his laws, and unto good works, &c. which excite him to love God with the most flagrant affection; not for the sake of any thing in this world, nor for the fear of any evil; but he serves God truly because he is the truth, and the chiefest good, that he may be admitted to communion with him. And a man ought to love him with the most vehement and intense affection; so that he languish with love to him, just as a man that is in love with one he desires to make his wife; wheresoever he is, at home or abroad, when he eats and drinks, when he lies down and rises up, he thinks of her. To which Solomon compares the love of the spouse, who saith, *I am sick of love*," (Cant. ii. 5.) To this purpose, Baal Chasidim, mentioned by Wagenseil, upon Sota, cap. 5. p. 611.

By the *heart* may be here meant the will, which is the original of all that a man doth (as the Jews speak) whether good or evil: by the *soul*, the affections (to which St. Mark adds the *mind*, i. e. the understanding, or rational faculty); and by *might* or *strength*, is meant the power of the body for action; which four all together make up the whole man. And the word *all* added to each of these, doth not exclude all other things from any share in our thoughts and affections, but only from an equal interest in them. The love of God ought to be superior, and direct all our other motions to serve him, as Maimonides expresses it in his preface to Pirke Avoth.

Ver. 7. *Teach them diligently unto thy children,*] In the Hebrew the words are (as our margin observes) shall *whet* or *sharpen* them: signifying, as some think, that they should endeavour to make them pierce their hearts. But De Dieu rather thinks it signifies *beat them* into them, as things are hammered on an anvil with repeated strokes. Which the famous Bochartus doth not so well approve; who observes, that the word *sanan*, which in Arabic signifies, in the first place, to *sharpen* or *whet*, signifies also, exquisitely *doce*, &c. "to teach exquisitely;" so that he who is taught be made thereby more acute and perspicacious. Which is the intention he thinks of the Hebrew word here, lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 17. However it be expounded, it imports the diligence they should use (as we translate it), to instil this principle into their children's minds, that there is but one God; and to work in them a fear and love of his Divine Majesty. To that which goes before (ver. 4—6) these words have a particular respect. By which it appears, that Moses thought his law was so plain, that every father might be able to instruct his sons in it, and every mother her daughters.

Talk of them when thou sittest in thine house,] As much as to say, they should take all occasions to inculcate this great thing, at home and abroad, night and day; never ceasing their most earnest endeavours to persuade their children not to worship any other

8 And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes.

9 And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.

10 And it shall be, when the LORD thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not,

11 And houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and wells digged, which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which

thou plantedst not; when thou shalt have eaten and be full;

12 *Then beware lest thou forget the LORD, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.*

13 *Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name.*

14 *Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you;*

15 *(For the LORD thy God is a jealous God among you) lest the anger of the LORD thy God be kindled against thee, and destroy thee from off the face of the earth.*

God; nor to fail to worship the Lord their God with sincere affection.

The Jews have made from hence one of their *affirmative precepts*, that twice a day, at least, they should recite these words, "Hear, O Israel," &c. which is a very dilute sense of this precept: wherein Moses requires not merely their saying these words (in which there might be a great deal of superstition), but taking all opportunities to imprint them upon the minds and hearts of their children.

Ver. 8.] Just thus he commands them to preserve the memory of their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, almost in the same words: see Exod. xiii. 9. 16, where this is sufficiently explained. And it appears to be a proverbial speech from Isa. xlix. 16. There are some learned men, indeed, who take these words literally, notwithstanding St. Jerome hath delivered his opinion to the contrary, that there is no command for *phylacteries*, which are grounded upon these words, particularly Jos. Scaliger, in his *Elench. Trihaeres. Nic. Serarii*, cap. 7, 8. where he thinks God gave this commandment to the Israelites, to prevent their following the rites of other nations, who armed themselves against dangers with superstitious amulets in their forehead; which the Egyptians, he thinks, called *totaphot*. But since, neither here nor in Exodus there are any such words as "thou shalt make thee frontlets," but Moses only saith the things that he is speaking of "shall be for frontlets between their eyes" I take it not to be meant literally; though it is likely they intended well who so understood it: for our blessed Saviour doth not seem to reprove the Jews for wearing phylacteries, but for their ostentation, in making them broader than ordinary.

Ver. 9.] This looks more like a literal command than the former; and it might have been very useful to them, when they went in and out of their house to read these words, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord," &c. But the Jews are too scrupulous about the words they should write, and upon what part of the posts and gates they were to put them, &c. as Mr. Selden observes (lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 2.) Though, after all, it may be, this was not intended, but only that they should never let this principle slip out of their mind, but think of it when they went out and came in, as well as when they were in their houses, and by the way, when they rose up, and when they lay down. Yet it must be observed, that other nations used to write their laws upon their gates, as Huetius notes in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, (p. 58) which, it is likely, they did in imitation of the Jews, who, to this day, have written in a parchment these words from ver. 4. to the end of this verse, (with that other passage, chap. xi. from ver. 13 to ver. 20) which they roll up, and writing on it the name of Shaddai, put into it a piece of cane or other hollow wood, and fasten it to the doors of their houses,

and of each particular room in them; and, as often as they go in and out, they make it a part of their devotion to touch this parchment, and kiss it; as Leo Modena tells us, in his *History of the Jews*, par. i. cap. 2.

Ver. 10. *It shall be, when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land*] Of this he speaks with the greatest assurance, there being no doubt to be made, that God would immediately give them possession of the good land promised to them. The only danger was, lest they should be thrown out of it for their disobedience.

Great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not,] For they did not lay all waste, as they did Jericho (for which there was a particular reason), but dwelt in them, after they had destroyed the inhabitants.

Ver. 11. *And houses, &c.*] In this, and what follows in the rest of the verse, he sets forth the great bounty of God to them; who intended to enrich them with all manner of good things, without any labour of their own to purchase them.

Ver. 12. *Then beware, &c.*] In prosperity we are too prone to forget our benefactors.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him,*] Preserve an awful sense of him in thy mind, and be constant in his worship and service; which was never more necessary, than when they enjoyed so many blessings from him.

And shalt swear by his name,] When there was any need of it: as in making covenants with their neighbours, or in bearing their testimony before a judge, they were to swear only by the name of God, not by any idol, nor by the heaven, or the earth, or any thing therein; for they can bear witness to nothing (see Josh. xxiii. 7, 8). Nor was it lawful, as Maimonides observes (in his treatise called *Shebeoth*), to join any other thing with the name of God. But it was all one, whether a man swore by the proper name of God, or by any of his attributes; as, by the name of Him who is merciful, or gracious, or long-suffering, &c. for this is a perfect oath (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 11. n. 2. and see n. 7. concerning other oaths).

Ver. 14.] This shows that his intention in this chapter is, to press upon them the observation of the first commandment, which our Saviour justly calls the *great commandment*.

Ver. 15. *Jealous God*] See Exod. xx. 5. Exod. xxxiv. 14.

Among you] In the Hebrew, *in the midst of you*; to observe all you do, though never so secretly.

Lest the anger] For this was the most provoking of all other sins: and therefore we never read either in the law, or in the prophets, the word *charon* (i. e. *fury*), or *aph* (*anger*), or *caas* (*indignation*), or *kinah* (*jealousy*), ascribed unto God, but when mention is made of idolatry. So Maimonides observes, *More Nevoch*. par. i. cap. 36.

16 ¶ Ye shall not tempt the LORD your God, as ye tempted him in Massah.

17 Ye shall diligently keep the commandments of the LORD your God, and his testimonies, and his statutes, which he hath commanded thee.

18 And thou shalt do *that which is right* and good in the sight of the LORD: that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest go in and possess the good land which the LORD swore unto thy fathers,

19 To cast out all thine enemies from before thee, as the LORD hath spoken.

20 And when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What *mean* the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the LORD our God hath commanded you?

Ver. 16.] Never distrust God's good providence, nor murmur against him in any distress: for this was the temptation at Massah (Exod. xvii. 2—7).

Ver. 17.] As if he had said, I cannot too often press this upon you; nor can you use too great care in this matter.

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt do that which is right and good*] As they loved themselves, he charges them not to follow their own desires (which is called "doing that which is good in their own eyes,") but govern themselves by his holy will.

That thou mayest go in and possess the good land] Or rather, "after thou hast gone in, and possessed the good land which the LORD swore unto thy fathers:" for there was no doubt of their going in; but only of their behaviour there, after they were made so happy, ver. 10—12.

Ver. 19.] He seems particularly to charge them to drive out the people of Canaan, as God hath commanded (Numb. xxxiii. 32). For otherwise they would tempt them to forget this great principle of their religion, that the God of Israel was the only God, and entice them to serve their idols (ver. 14).

Ver. 20.] Abarinel thinks, that their posterity, in future ages, might observe three sorts of precepts in the law, viz. *testimonies*, which in Hebrew are called *eduth*, which were such constitutions as bear witness of some great thing God had done for them, and preserved the memory thereof; such was the passover. And then, secondly, there were *chukkim* (*statutes*), which are such precepts the reason of which is unknown. And, thirdly, *mishpatim* (*judgments*), which are such whose reason is evident. Now they might desire to know the reason why such several laws were given; and he thinks Moses teaches them to give a distinct answer to their children about each of these.

Ver. 21.] As if he had said, tell them the reason why he gave us the first sort of precepts, particularly that about the passover, was, because we were slaves, and God brought us a state of liberty; which he would have always thankfully remembered, by the observation of that feast which testified what God wrought for us by his power alone. The like may be said of the other two great festivals, which were to preserve the memory of such-like benefits.

Ver. 22.] Particularly slew all their first-born, and spared those of the Israelites: the memory of which he ordered to be preserved, by giving their first-born unto him (Exod. xiii).

Ver. 23.] This is the reason, Abarinel fancies, of giving them the judgments before mentioned: God brought us out, saith he, to place us in this good land,

21 Then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; and the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand:

22 And the LORD shewed signs and wonders, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his household, before our eyes:

23 And he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he swore unto our fathers.

24 And the LORD commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the LORD our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as *it is* at this day.

25 And it shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments before the LORD our God, as he hath commanded us.

and settle us here under a government of our own. Now civil society cannot be preserved without just judgment: and therefore, that we might live in good order, God gave us these political laws.

Ver. 21. *The Lord commanded us to do all these statutes,*] As for the third sort, which are *statutes*, give your children this answer: that though we do not know the reason of them, yet the benefit of them is manifest; for they lead us to the fear of God. And nothing is so much for our good as that, both for the eternal good of our souls, and for the long life of our bodies. So he interprets the last words of this verse; and so doth Maimonides.

For our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as it is at this day.] The first words in the Hebrew are, "that it may be well with us all our days;" or, more literally, "for good to us all our days:" that is, say our rabbins (they are the words of Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 27. where he repeats what I observed before upon iv. 40), "That it may be well with us in that world which is wholly good; and our days may be prolonged in that world which is wholly long;" or, in short, that thou mayest come into the world which is good and long, which is a perpetual subsistence. As for the last words, they belong, he thinks, to their corporeal subsistence here, which endures but for a time; and therefore he saith, *as at this day*; to show he speaks of the present world, wherein they should live happily by observing his laws.

Ver. 25. *It shall be our righteousness,*] Their children might say, if there be such benefits in observing the statutes, which lead to the fear of God, and to happiness hereafter, what need we trouble ourselves about the other two? Unto which, Abarinel imagines, they are taught to give this answer, "It is our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments;" i.e. we cannot be righteous before God, if they have not respect to all his precepts, whether testimonies, statutes, or judgments, which are all comprehended in this word *mitzvah*, or *commandments*. This is something nice and curious, but there is a great deal of truth in it.

The word *righteousness* also, it must be acknowledged, often comprehends *mercy* in it: and thus the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin here understand it. And to take in this sense, these words may be thus expounded: If we observe to do all these commandments, God will account us a righteous people, and be kind to us.

Before the Lord our God,] Having a sincere respect to God in all that we do.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *All communion with the nations is forbidden, 4 for fear of idolatry, 6 for the holiness of the people, 9 for the nature of God in his mercy and justice, 17 for the assuredness of victory which God will give over them.*

1 WHEN the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou;

2 And when the LORD thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them:

CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *The land whither thou goest to possess it,]* That is, when he had put them into possession of it.

And hath cast out many nations before thee, &c.] There were ten nations inhabited in this country in the days of Abraham: but three of them were either worn out since that time, or, being but a small people, were incorporated with the rest: for the Kenites and the Kenezites (see Gen. xv. 19.) are not mentioned after that time, and the Rephaim possessed but a little part of Canaan, the great body of them being in Bashan, on this side Jordan, where Moses now was (see upon Gen. xv. 19).

Seven nations greater and mightier than thou:] The Amorites alone seem to have been mightier than the Israelites (for there were no less than five kings of them that dwelt in the mountains, Josh. x. 5, 6, besides those in other parts), and therefore all the seven nations were much superior to them in strength.

Ver. 2. *When the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, &c.]* He still pursues his intention, to preserve in them a due care to observe the first commandment, of which he began to treat in the foregoing chapter: for that is the reason why they were to destroy these seven nations, that they might not be in danger to be seduced by them to serve other gods (ver. 1). But whether they were not first to offer them terms of peace, according to the directions in the twentieth chapter of this book, is a question which I have endeavoured to resolve in another place, upon Exod. xxiii. 33. Certain it is, that if they refused their offers, there was the greater reason to be severe to them: and without offering them any terms, God might in justice order the Israelites to destroy them: for every king hath power in his dominions to cut off evil-doers; and therefore much more the King of kings: who might order whom he pleased (as other kings do) to be executioners in his vengeance upon these seven nations, for their abominable idolatries, beastly lusts, and horrid cruelties, and other such like sins, of which they were guilty.

This was a thing of such moment, that God ordered Moses to give them this charge some time ago (Numb. xxxiii. 52), which he now renews.

Make no covenant with them,] To suffer them to live with them in the same country (Exod. xxiv. 12).

Nor shew mercy unto them:] For that had been cruelty to themselves and their posterity, to spare such incurable idolaters. How far the Talmudists extend this, see in Dionys. Vossius, upon Maimonides' Treatise of Idolatry, p. 139, and Maimonides himself, in the following paragraphs, 4—6.

Ver. 3.] See Exod. xxxiv. 15. Some of the Jews

3 Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son.

4 For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods: so will the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly.

5 But thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire.

think they might marry with them, if they became proselytes of justice (as they called those who received circumcision, and undertook to observe the whole law); and that they might think this was not lawful, yet think that they might marry with the children of such proselytes (see Selden, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. &c. cap. 14, 15). And the Talmudists say, this law did not extend to proselytes, who might marry with any of these nations, as he shows there, cap. 13.

Ver. 4.] There was great danger, if they loved their wives, that they might draw them to their idolatry; in which they were so rooted, that there was little hope of converting them to the true religion. Therefore this is opposed to the love of the Lord their God, for the preserving of which in their hearts they are forbidden such marriages (Josh. xxiii. 11, 12). And indeed it was but a piece of natural equity, that they should abstain from such familiarity with those who would certainly undo them. Which made Abraham, before this law, charge his son Isaac not to take a wife from among the Canaanites; and the same care was taken of Jacob. And when this law of Moses was abolished, the apostle warns Christians themselves against such unequal matches (2 Cor. vi. 14). The danger of which David had noted, Ps. cvi. 35, 36. "So will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you," &c. (see vi. 15).

Ver. 5. *But thus shall ye deal with them;]* Or, "therefore thus shall ye deal with them;" that is, to prevent the forementioned mischief, he orders them to leave no relic of their idolatry remaining.

Ye shall destroy their altars,] The very same precept, Exod. xxxiv. 13.

Break down their images,] The very same words with these are in Exod. xxiii. 21 (only there it is said, "quite break down"), and in Exod. xxxiv. 13.

Cut down their groves,] There is the same mention of *asherim* (which we translate *groves*) in the place last named; only another word for cut down (see there). But Mr. Selden, both there and here, understands by *asherim*, wooden images of Astarte, a great goddess worshipped in that country: for which among other reasons, he gives this, that Gideon is said to have thrown down the altar of Baal, and cut down the grove that was by it. So we translate it, Judg. vi. 25, 28, where, in the Hebrew, the last word is *alaw*, which signifies *upon it*, and not *by it*: and so the LXX. *Ἐπ' αὐτῇ*. And therefore the *asherah*, which is said to be *upon* the altar, must not signify a grove, but an *image*; and none more likely than that of Astarte (see De Diis Syris, Syntagm. ii. cap. 2 and 2 Kings xxxiii. 6, 7).

6 For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth.

7 The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people:

8 But because the Lord loved you, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto your fathers, hath the Lord brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you out of the house of bondmen, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt.

9 Know therefore that the Lord thy God, he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant

and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations;

10 And repayeth them that hate him to their face, to destroy them: he will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face.

11 Thou shalt therefore keep the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which I command thee this day, to do them.

12 ¶ Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these judgments, and keep, and do them, that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which he swore unto thy fathers:

13 And he will love thee, and bless thee and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land, thy corn, and

Burn their graven images] As he was commanded to destroy their molten images (Numb. xxxiii. 52), that no sort of image, nor any monument of their worship might be left in the country, but all so entirely abolished, that they might have no incentive to idolatry. This was the work of the supreme governor, as Grotius prudently observes: for though out of private places it belonged to the lord of the place, or, if he were negligent, to the king, to remove idols, yet none but the supreme power might remove them out of public places, or such persons who were delegated thereby to that office (see L. De Imper. Sum. Potest. circa Sacra, cap. 8, sect. 3).

Ver. 6. *For thou art an holy people*] This is an argument frequently used, particularly in the book of Leviticus, why they should cleave to God alone; because he had separated them to himself by many peculiar laws, which no other people had but they (Lev. xi. 44, 45. xix. 2. xx. 7. 26).

The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself.] As he had distinguished them from all other people by peculiar laws, so by special favours and singular privileges which no other nation whatsoever enjoyed (see Exod. xix. 5, 6). Some interpret the words *special people*, to signify that they belonged to none but him; and he had no other people but they; whom he had espoused to himself. From whence it is, that, as the Israelites are called God's *people*, so that country is called *his land* (Ps. lxxxv. 1), for there he dwelt by his special presence. And the king of that country is called God's *king* (Ps. xviii. 50), and he is said to sit on God's *throne*, and to be Melech le Jehovah, "king for the Lord" (3 Chron. ix. 8), and the kingdom is called the "kingdom of the Lord" (xiii. 8), and therefore with this argument Asa addresses himself to God in the next chapter (xiv. 11), for help in time of distress, because "he was their God;" and would not, he hoped, let their enemies "prevail against himself." And accordingly these enemies are said to be "destroyed before the Lord, and before his host" (ver. 13). Jehoshaphat also exhorts the judges in that book to great caution (2 Chron. xix. 6), because they "judged not for man, but for the Lord. And the prophet exhorts, in the following chapter (xx. 15), not to be afraid of a mighty host which came against him, because "the battle is not yours, but God's;" the cause in which they fought being his, more than their own.

Ver. 7. *The Lord did not set his love upon you.*] To be his special people, as he calls them in the foregoing verse.

Because ye were more in number] When God declared his love first to Abraham and his posterity he had no child, Gen. xii. 1—3. xv. 1, 2. And when he

had, his family continued so small, after there were twelve heirs of the promise, that in the space of two hundred years they were but seventy persons (Gen. xvi. 27). Nor do we read of any great increase of them till after the death of Joseph, which was near fourscore years more (Exod. i. 7, 8, &c.). So St. Stephen observes, Acts vii. 17. "When the time of the promise drew nigh, which God had sworn to Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt."

Ver. 8. *But because the Lord loved you.*] Because it was his good pleasure to single them out from all other people, to receive special tokens of his favour to them.

Because he would keep the oath which he had sworn, &c.] Not for any desert of theirs; but to make good his promise confirmed with an oath, did he work their wonderful deliverance out of Egypt (Gen. xv. 13, 14. xxii. 16, &c.).

Ver. 9. *Know therefore that the Lord thy God, he is God.*] He exhorts them therefore to preserve this sense in their mind, that their God is the only God.

The faithful God, which keepeth covenant, &c.] Who will not only faithfully keep his word and make good his promises, but do abundantly more than he hath promised to those that cleave unto him alone, and serve no other God: for it appears by the second commandment, that is peculiarly meant by *loving him*.

To a thousand generations;] See Exod. xx. 6.

Ver. 10. *And repayeth them that hate him*] Punisheth all idolaters, who are peculiarly called "haters of God," as I have often observed (see Exod. xx. 5).

To their face.] They themselves should live to see and feel the punishment of their idolatry. So the Chaldee paraphrases it, Bacajehon, "in their life."

He will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him] Though he do not punish him immediately, yet he will not defer it long, but be avenged of him before he die. Therefore, when he threatens to punish them to the third and fourth generation, the meaning is not that he will only punish their posterity, but them with their posterity; whom they shall see destroyed before their face. For the fourth generation (as Maimonides observes) is as much as the oldest men commonly live to see.

Ver. 11.] All the laws of God (see vi. 1), especially this great commandment, to have no other God but him.

Ver. 12.] As faithfully fulfil his promises to them, as he did to their fathers.

Ver. 13. *He will love thee.*] Continue his love to them.

And bless thee, and multiply thee.] This was the great promise made to their fathers, that he would

thy wine, and thine oil, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee.

14 Thou shalt be blessed above all people: there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle.

15 And the LORD will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee; but will lay them upon all *them* that hate thee.

17 And thou shalt consume all the people which the LORD thy God shall deliver thee; thine eye shall have no pity upon them: neither shalt thou serve their gods; for that *will be* a snare unto thee.

16 If thou shalt say in thine heart, These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess them?

18 Thou shalt not be afraid of them: *but* shalt well remember what the LORD thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt;

make their posterity as numerous as the stars of heaven, and the dust of the earth (Gen. xv. 5. xxii. 17. xxviii. 14).

He will also bless the fruit of thy womb.] Preserve them from miscarrying, that so they might multiply.

The fruit of thy land.] By giving them rain in due season, &c. (see Lev. xxvi. 4, 5).

The increase of thy kine.] The Hebrew word *segar*, which we translate *increase*, the LXX., Vulgar, and Syriac, render the *herds*. But Onkelos and Jonathan translate it as we do, "the young ones which the mothers bring forth" (see Bochart. par. i. Hierozolcon. lib. ii. cap. 30).

The flocks of thy sheep.] The Hebrew word *ashteroth* comprehends flocks both of sheep and of greater cattle, as the same Bochartus observes, par. i. Hieroz. lib. iii. cap. 43. and in his Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 2. Where he observes, that the goddess Astarte, in those countries was thought to preside over flocks of sheep and herds of oxen.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt be blessed above all people.*] He promises to make them as singular for his favours, as they were in their laws and manner of living.

Not be male or female barren] See Exod. xxiii. 26.

Ver. 15. *Take away from thee all sickness.*] Or remove from them the common diseases and infirmities of mankind; so that they should die in a good old age (as the Scripture speaks); which tended manifestly to their increase and multiplication.

And will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt upon thee.] Neither those blotches or biles which God, by an immediate hand, smote them withal (Exod. ix. 9. xv. 25), nor any other which they in that country were subject unto, peculiarly their filthy ulcers, called *Egyptiaca* and *Syriaca*, as Casaubon observes upon Persius, Sat. v. p. 467. with which the priests of Isis were wont to threaten and terrify poor people, if they did not worship her. In opposition to which our very learned Dr. Spencer thinks God made this special promise to his people, to preserve them from all such evil diseases, if they kept themselves pure from that Egyptian idolatry. Which is very iagenious, if the worship of Isis was so ancient as the days of Moses (see lib. i. De Legibus Hebr. Ritual. cap. 3).

But will lay them upon all them that hate thee.] And thereby disable them to hurt his people.

Ver. 16. *Thou shalt consume all the people*] Utterly destroy all the people of Canaan, when they had

19 The great temptations which thine eyes saw, and the signs, and the wonders, and the mighty hand, and the stretched out arm, whereby the LORD thy God brought thee out: so shall the LORD thy God do unto all the people of whom thou art afraid.

20 Moreover the LORD thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed.

21 Thou shalt not be affrighted at them: for the LORD thy God is among you, a mighty God and terrible.

22 And the LORD thy God will put out those nations before thee by little and little: thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee.

23 But the LORD thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction, until they be destroyed.

24 And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name

conquered them, as he commanded them before, v. 7

Thine eye shall have no pity] The reason of this severity was, because of their abominable wickedness, as I there observed.

Neither shalt thou serve their gods.] In the Hebrew, "and thou shalt not serve their gods," &c. This severity was used to prevent their being enticed by them to their idolatry, if they had suffered them to live among them.

Ver. 17.] If such a diffidence began to arise in their hearts, as possessed their forefathers (Numb. xiv).

Ver. 18.] He requires them immediately to expel all fear by faith in God; which the remembrance of what God had done for them, if seriously reflected on, might well work in them.

Ver. 19.] Of all these he had put them in mind before (iv. 34), and now renews the remembrance of it, that the experience they had of God's power and goodness might banish all fear out of their hearts.

Ver. 20. *Will send the hornet among them.*] Raise up enemies which they think not of to infest them, that is, unusual swarms of hornets, and of an unusual bigness, it is like, which came like an army upon them (see Exod. xviii. 28).

Until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed.] Which should pursue those that fled from the Israelites, and sting them to death in their lurking holes.

Ver. 21. *Thou shalt not be affrighted at them.*] Let all this inspire you with courage.

For the Lord thy God is among you.] The Sovereign of the world, of whose goodness you have had such long experience, dwells among you, and conducts and leads you, wheresoever you go: and who can stand before him? (see Exod. xvii. 7).

Ver. 22.] Be not discouraged, though they be not destroyed all at once: there is a great reason against that, concerning which see Exod. xxiii. 21, where this verse is explained.

Ver. 23.] In time he will deliver them all up into thy hand; and thou shalt so overpower them, as to leave none of them remaining.

Ver. 24. *He shall deliver their kings into thine hand.*] As he did, we read in the book of Joshua, xii. 7—9, &c. where thirty-one kings are enumerated, who were conquered by him.

Thou shalt destroy their name] There shall no memory, of so much as the names of such men, be left anywhere.

from under heaven: there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them.

25 The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire; thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest

There shall no man be able to stand before thee,] The kings and great men of the country being destroyed, their victory was easier over the rest.

Ver. 25. *The graven images—shall ye burn]* This he had required before, ver. 5, but mentions it again, to let them know, that if they did not perform their part of the covenant (of which this was the chief), God would not destroy the inhabitants of Canaan totally. As we find he did not, Judges ii. 2, 3, and for this very reason, as Joshua had told them, xxiii. 12, 13.

Thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them,] The Jews are too nice and curious who expound this only of the gold and silver cloths, or the chains, or other jewels of gold and silver, wherewith their images are adorned; because he saith on them. There is no reason to doubt but he means, that they should be destroyed, if they were entirely made of massy gold and silver; which they were not to convert to their own use: for thus Moses did with the golden calf, Exod. xxxii. 20. and Jacob in ancienter time buried all the strange gods, as well as the earrings that were in their ears (Gen. xxxv. 4). And Josiah, in future ages, burnt every thing that had been employed to idolatry, even the vessels that were made for Baal, as well as the images, &c. and stamped them to powder (2 Kings xxiii. 4. 6. 14, 15).

Nor take it unto thee, lest thou be ensnared therein:] Be drawn into a conceit, that there was something sacred in it, and so tempted to worship it.

For it is an abomination to the Lord thy God,] Whatsoever hath been employed to such idolatrous worship, is so detestable unto the divine Majesty, that he will not have it converted to any ordinary and common use, but utterly destroyed.

Ver. 26. *Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house,]* And therefore he requires them not to bring any of that silver and gold which had belonged to those idols (which he calls *an abomination*) into their houses, to be employed unto any private use whatsoever: so the Jews understand these

words, having made from hence one of their affirmative precepts: that no man should seek the least profit or benefit from any thing appertaining to an idol.

Lest thou be a cursed thing like it:] Every thing that was idolatrous was a *chrem*, devoted to destruction, as he saith in the last words, "it is a cursed thing," which no man might meddle withal (xiii. 17). If he did, he became an accursed thing, i. e. was devoted to destruction, as the thing itself was. This was apparent afterward in the example of Achan (Josh. vii.), who took a wedge of gold and a Babylonish garment for his own private use, when it had been made a *chrem* by God's express command (Josh. vi. 17), and therefore was stoned to death.

Thou shalt utterly detest it, and—abhor it;] Not only look upon it as useless and unprofitable, but as hateful and execrable in the highest degree, and therefore to be entirely destroyed. All this tended to their preservation in the true religion: which taught them to have every thing contrary to it in the utmost detestation: inasmuch (as Maimonides interprets this precept, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37), that if any man broke such images, or melted them down, and then sold the silver and gold, he committed an abomination: and the price of this being mingled with his other riches, proved the rust of them all. This he thinks is the meaning of bringing an "abomination into their house." Which was so far from bringing a blessing (as the heathen imagined), that it brought a curse upon all that they had.

The Jews were so sensible of all this, after they had severely smarted for their idolatry, that they thought it unlawful to use any vessel that had been employed in sacrificing to a false god: nay, to warm themselves with the wood of a grove that was cut down; or to sit under the shadow of it, for coolness' sake, while it was standing; or so much as to use the ashes of the wood that were left after the grove was burnt (see Selden, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipul. Heb. cap. 7. p. 215, 216, &c.).

CHAPTER VIII.

An exhortation to obedience in regard of God's dealing with them.

1 ALL the commandments which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do, that ye may live, and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the LORD swore unto your fathers.

2 And thou shalt remember all the way which

the LORD thy God led thee, these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what *was* in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no.

3 And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to

CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *All the commandments—shall ye observe to do,]* He seems still to press them to have a special care to observe the ten commandments, and especially the first of them (vi. 4—6). For it appears by the latter end of this chapter that he hath a regard to that.

That ye may live,] Long and happily: for life, every one knows, frequently signifies all the comforts of life, as death signifies all manner of miseries.

And multiply,] Which is the effect of a long and happy life.

Go in and possess the land, &c.] See vi. 18.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee]* Whereby they were severely punished for the rebellion of their forefathers against him; which should be an admonition to them to be more dutiful. Others expound it of the care of God over them, in providing for them and protecting them, as well as leading them by a glorious cloud all that time; which doth well enough agree with what follows (see ii. 7).

To humble thee,] Or, to afflict thee with tedious wanderings up and down, backward and forward, without any certain dwelling-place.

hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.

4 Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years.

5 Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee.

6 Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him.

And to prove thee,] To try whether they would be better, by being kept so long out of the good land promised unto them.

To know what was in thine heart,] God knew perfectly how they were disposed towards him; but it was fit, that they should know themselves better, and posterity be instructed by their behaviour.

Ver. 3. *He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger,]* He afflicted thee, by suffering thee to want bread to eat (Exod. xvi. 2, 3).

And fed thee with manna,] But it was that he might have an opportunity to make a bountiful provision for such a vast multitude of people, as were fed by him every day from heaven, and teach them to depend on his good providence.

Which thou knewest not,] Exod. xvi. 15. He made an unusual, as well as an unexpected provision for them.

Man doth not live by bread only,] That it is not only our common food that preserves us.

But by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live,] But by any thing whatsoever (for so word often signifies) which God shall please to command to give us nourishment. This was a wonderful encouragement to obedience, that God would rather work a miracle, than suffer them to want necessities; and by a light aerial sort of bread, give them as great strength and vigour, as the most solid nourishment was wont to afford them. The remembrance of which could not but excite their posterity to love God, and serve him, if they often and seriously reflected on it.

Ver. 4.] These were two other wonderful benefits, which, if well considered, could not but incline them to be obedient to him, who multiplied miracles to nourish and strengthen their faith and hope in him. The Jews, to increase the miracle, say, their clothes enlarged as they grew bigger, from children to men; and so did their shoes also: but there was no need of this; for the clothes and shoes of those men that died might serve their children when they grew up to their stature. And it was sufficiently amazing, without such additions, that their clothes should not so much as decay, nor their feet, by so long travelling in hot or stony places, have the least swelling in them, or, as some translate it, *grow callous*. There are those that refer this last clause not to their feet, but to their shoes; according to what we read, xxix. 5.

Ver. 5. *Consider in thine heart,]* Often reflect and ponder.

That as a man chasteneth his son,] All the afflictions which God had sent upon them, he would have them think, were not for their undoing, but for their amendment, and correcting what was amiss in them; and therefore ought to be thankfully acknowledged as well as his benefits.

Ver. 6.] Howsoever therefore he dealt with them, it ought to have led them to obedience. In the re-

7 For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills;

8 A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey;

9 A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.

10 When thou hast eaten and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee.

petition of this so often, Moses doth but practise his own lesson, which he had taught them, vi. 7, that they should teach these words diligently to their children, &c.

Ver. 7. *For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land,]* Therefore there was the greater need they should enter into it with the pious resolution before mentioned, "to fear God and walk in his ways." Otherwise, they would be in great danger to be corrupted by such plenty and variety of all good things as this land afforded.

A land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths] The Hebrew word *tehom*, which we translate *deep*, and in the plural number *depths*, signifies sometimes those great caverns of water that are within the ground, which were made by the plentiful rains, which God sent upon this country while they were obedient to him; which both made it fruitful (though now barren), and abounding also with water for their cattle (Ps. lxxviii. 15. Ezek. xxxi. 4). But it is here commonly interpreted *lakes*, or *wells* of water.

Ver. 8. *A land of wheat, &c.]* Plentifully stored with all things necessary for the support and pleasure of life.

A land of oil olive, and honey;] The same word *debas*, which signifies *honey*, signifies also *dates*. And so De Dieu thinks it most reasonable to translate it here, being joined with four other sorts of fruits; and so Kimchi saith, the ancient Jews expounded it in this place, and in 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, where it is said, that "Israel brought in abundance, the first-fruits of corn, wine, oil, and honey, or dates," as we there translate it in the margin.

Ver. 9. *Wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness,]* Be in no want of any sort of provision, which is comprehended under the name of *bread*.

Thou shalt not lack any thing] No other conveniences of life.

A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.] Where there are useful minerals, as plentiful as stones are in other places. These are the rather mentioned, because there were no such mines in Egypt, where they had long dwelt, and were stored with plenty of other things (Numb. xi. 5).

Ver. 10. *When thou—art full,]* After a liberal meal. *Then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land]* Give solemn thanks to God, not only for that present repast, but for the plentiful provision he had made for them of all good things, in the land he had bestowed on them. From this place the Jews have made it a general rule, or as they call it, an affirmative precept, that "every one bless God at their meals," that is, as I said, give him thanks for his benefits: for he blesses us when he bestows good things upon us; and we bless him when we thankfully acknowledge his goodness therein: which is a natural duty which we owe to the Fountain and Original of all good.

11 Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day :

12 Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein ;

13 And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied ;

14 Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage :

15 Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and

scorpions, and drought, where *there was no water* ; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint ;

16 Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end ;

17 And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of *mine* hand hath gotten me this wealth.

18 But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God : for *it is* he that giveth thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he swore unto thy fathers, as *it is* this day.

Ver. 11.] He would have their thanksgiving for his benefits leave such a sense of God upon their minds, as should make them careful to yield him an entire obedience.

Ver. 12.] Feasted in stately houses, wherein they enjoyed their ease.

Ver. 13.] The sense of these two verses is, when they had great abundance of all good things within doors and without.

Ver. 14. *Then thine heart be lifted up.*] Which is a usual effect of great riches ; as Euripides observes in that known saying of his, "Ἔναι δὲ τίς τις πλοῦτος," "wealth breeds pride, scorn, and contempt of others." This Moses Kotzensis thought so great a sin, that he puts it among the negative precepts ; and pretends he was warned in a dream so to do, though Maimonides, and others, had omitted it. And when he awaked, he was confirmed in it, by reading a place in the Gemara upon Sota, cap. 1), which saith, whosoever we find these words in Scripture, *take heed lest*, there is a prohibition, as there is ver. 11, and here, *to take heed of pride* : "for whosoever is proud, he shall be brought low," as the Gemara there adds, which are, in a manner, the words of our blessed Saviour (St. Luke xviii. 14.)

Thou forget the Lord thy God.] This is another common effect of large possessions, which makes the owners of them fall into sloth and luxury, and such forgetfulness of the Donor of all good things, that they trust in uncertain riches (as the apostle speaks), and not in the living God, imagining now they can never want ; not because God is so good, but because they have such store of good things laid up, for many years.

Which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt.] No wonder if they forgot all his former benefits, when they were unthankful for the present.

Ver. 15. *Terrible wilderness.*] See i. 19.

Wherein were fiery serpents.] See Numb. xxi. 6.

Scorpions.] These are commonly joined with serpents in Scripture, even in the New Testament (Luke x. 19. xi. 12, 13), being found in the same places, especially in this desert of Arabia.

Drought.] The Hebrew word *tsinmaon* signifies a dry place, as we translate it, Ps. cvii. 33. Isa. xxxv. 7. And that best agrees with what here follows, *where there was no water*.

Who brought thee forth water out of the rock] From which one would have sooner expected fire than water (Numb. xx. 11).

Ver. 16. *Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna.*]

Ver. 3. The great Salmasius, in a treatise on purpose about manna hath said a great deal to prove that the manna which God sent the Jews did not differ in its form or substance from that which commonly fell in those countries, and doth so at this day ; but herein

consisted the miracle, that he gave them in a prescribed measure, and so abundantly, as to suffice such a vast number, and that every morning, in all seasons of the year. This made it a Divine manna ; for the common fell only in small quantities, and not always, but at some times in the year.

That he might humble thee.] This word is commonly understood of humbling by affliction ; which may seem not to belong to manna ; for that was a singular benefit, being an excellent nourishment, and of a delicious taste : but they, having nothing else besides this to live upon, were soon tired with it (as we find Numb. xi. 6). And much more did it seem an affliction to them, to live upon one thing alone for forty years together ; and God intended by it to humble them, at the same time that he was extraordinary kind to them.

Prove thee] Whether they would be thankful that they were not starved, and submit to his wise providence, and obey his laws ; which they had the greater reason to observe, because it was evident they owed their very life and being to him every moment : for without new supplies every day from heaven, they had been famished in that desolate wilderness.

Do thee good] That in conclusion his kindness to them might be more thankfully received, and more safely enjoyed. So Maimonides expounds this passage, in his More Nevochim (par. iii. cap. 24), "God was pleased to accustom them to labour in the wilderness, that he might increase their happiness when they came into the land of Canaan. For this is certain, a transition from labour to rest is far sweeter than continual rest. Nor could they so easily have subdued the land, and overcome the inhabitants of it, unless they had endured some hardship in the wilderness. For rest and idleness take away men's courage, but labour and hard fare augment it. And this is the good (saith he) which was in the issue to redound to them by this wise dispensation of God's providence."

Ver. 17.] Such vain conceits are apt to arise in men's minds, if they preserve not a sense of God, and of all his mercies to them.

Ver. 18.] *Remember the Lord thy God : for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth.*] Continually call to mind that they owed all they had, and the increase of it, to his almighty providence ; without whom they could never have gotten possession of this land, nor have prospered in it.

That he may establish his covenant, &c.] He would have them sensible of their own unworthiness also (which would make them more grateful to him) of all the blessings God had bestowed on them, and acknowledge them to his mere goodness, and fidelity to his promises ; for they had been a murmuring and rebellious people.

19 And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the LORD thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish.

Ver. 19. *It shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God,*] Luxury and pride (the usual effects of fulness) naturally made them unthankful and unmindful of God: and neglect of God's service made them easily fall to idolatry.

And walk after other gods,] The two last expressions are the explication of the first; for then they walked after the idols of the people (as Onkelos paraphrases it), when they worshipped and adored them. It is evident by this, that the drift of Moses, in all this discourse, is (as I observed before) to

20 As the nations which the LORD destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish; because ye would not be obedient unto the voice of the LORD your God.

press upon them the first and great commandment.

I testify against you this day] See iv. 26.

Ver. 20. *As the nations which the LORD destroyeth before your face,*] He speaks in the present tense, because he was about to destroy them: and when he began, he destroyed them by little and little (vii. 22), and there were still more to be destroyed.

So shall ye perish;] It was but just that they should perish as those nations did, because they fell into their sin.

CHAPTER IX.

Moses dissuadeth them from the opinion of their own righteousness, by rehearsing their several rebellions.

1 HEAR, O Israel: Thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself, cities great and fenced up to heaven.

2 A people great and tall, the children of the Anakims, whom thou knowest, and of whom thou hast heard say, Who can stand before the children of Anak!

3 Understand therefore this day, that the LORD thy God is he which goeth over before

thee; as a consuming fire he shall destroy them, and he shall bring them down before thy face: so shalt thou drive them out, and destroy them quickly, as the LORD hath said unto thee.

4 Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the LORD thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the LORD hath brought me in to possess this land: but for the wickedness of these nations the LORD doth drive them out from before thee.

CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *Hear, O Israel;*] He begins a new exhortation to them, at some distance of time from the former, but still aiming at the same thing, to represent to them the danger of idolatry.

Thou art to pass over Jordan this day,] That is, shortly, and not long hence; for it cannot be meant precisely: all these things being spoken in the eleventh month of the last year of their travels, and they passed not over Jordan till the first month of the next year. Between which and this time Moses died, and they mourned a whole month for him.

To go in to possess nations] A country inhabited by nations; for the people themselves they were to destroy.

Greater and mightier than thyself,] Whom notwithstanding God would deliver up into their hands.

Cities great and fenced up to heaven,] As the spies had represented them (i. 28). And they were, indeed, very strong cities, whose walls could not easily be scaled.

Ver. 2. *Great and tall,*] See Numb. xiv. 28. 32.

The children of the Anakims,] Who seem to have been the chief of those Nephilim or Rephaim (which we sometimes translate giants) in those parts (Numb. xiii. 22. 28. 33).

Who can stand before the children of Anak!] A common proverb in those days. The children of Anak being so famous, that the whole nation (as Bochart thinks) took its name from them. For Bene-Anak (i. e. children of Anak), or Pheneanek, is easily changed into Phœnicia. These Anakims were vanquished by Joshua, who drove them out of the cities where they dwelt, and made them flee to the Philistines. Where a remnant of them seemed to have lived till the days of David. For Goliath, and his brethren Lahmi, Sippai, and Ishbibanob (1 Chron. xx. 4, &c.) were Anakims; and so was that man with

six toes on each foot, and six fingers on each hand (2 Sam. xxi. 16), for they were all born at Gath; which was one of the cities to which the Anakims fled (Josh. xi. 22). Some think that from hence kings, among the Greeks, were called *Ἀνακτες*, because commonly they chose those to rule over them who were persons of a great stature, and carried majesty in their faces. But it is not improbable (as I observed before) that some of the Anakims fled into Greece, and settled there, when they were driven out of Canaan.

Ver. 3. *Understand therefore this day,*] Settle this therefore in your minds, before you go over Jordan, as undoubted truth.

Goeth over before thee;] Over Jordan (Josh. iii. 3, &c.).

Consuming fire] Before whom none can stand (iv. 24).

He shall destroy them,] See Josh. iii. 10, 11. The Hebrews have a conceit, that the fire which burnt upon the altar appeared in the form of a lion; to show what God would be to their enemies, if the Israelites obeyed him; otherwise what he would be to them.

So shalt thou drive them out,] Not the whole seven nations entirely; whom he said God would drive out by little and little (vii. 22) but so many, as to make a settlement for themselves, in Canaan without much difficulty.

Ver. 4. *Speak not thou in thine heart,*] When this is done, do not so much as entertain a thought.

For my righteousness] Nothing is more dangerous than pride and self-conceit; and therefore, as he taught them before (viii. 7) to have an humble opinion of their own power, so now not to arrogate any thing to themselves, on the account of their own righteousness.

But for the wickedness of these nations] Lev. xviii. 24, 25. 27, 28.

5 Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land: but for the wickedness of these nations the LORD thy God doth drive them out from before thee, and that he may perform the word which the LORD sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

6 Understand therefore, that the LORD thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a stiffnecked people.

7 ¶ Remember, and forget not, how thou provokedst the LORD thy God to wrath in the wilderness: from the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the LORD.

8 Also in Horeb ye provoked the LORD to wrath, so that the LORD was angry with you to have destroyed you.

9 When I was gone up into the mount to receive the tables of stone, *even* the tables of the covenant which the LORD made with you, then I abode in the mount forty days and forty nights, I neither did eat bread nor drink water:

10 And the LORD delivered unto me two tables of stone written with the finger of God; and on them was written according to all the words, which the LORD spake with you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly.

Ver. 5.] It was of great moment (which makes him repeat it again) that they should understand the true causes why God expelled these nations, and gave their land to the Israelites; which were these two; first, the abominable wickedness of the Canaanites; for which they deserved to be rooted: secondly, God's gracious promises to the pious ancestors of the Israelites, with whom he made a covenant, and confirmed it with an oath, to plant them there, in the room of the former inhabitants.

Ver. 6. *Understand therefore.*] He repeats it a third time, that, if it were possible, he might root out of the Israelites the opinion of their own deserts, before he rooted the Canaanites out of their country.

Thou art a stiffnecked people.] So far from being righteous, that they were very refractory. Of which God often complained (Exod. xxxii. 9. xxxiii. 3. 5), and Moses acknowledges it in his prayer to God for them (xxxiv. 9).

Ver. 7. *Remember,—how thou provokedst the Lord*] In order to destroy the opinion of their own righteousness, it was necessary to call to mind some of their most notorious provocations; which he exhorts them carefully to preserve in their mind, as a means to keep them humble.

Ye have been rebellious] This appears by the many murmurings we read of in the first two years after they came out of Egypt, and likewise in the last; of which only we have a particular account: but their behaviour, all the rest of the time they spent in the wilderness, was no better.

Ver. 8. *Also in Horeb*] Or rather, *even in Horeb* (for there is an emphasis in this, and he speaks it with some indignation); when they had newly received the law, and had a visible appearance of God in great glory upon Mount Sinai, and had entered into covenant with him, they so shamefully revolted from him, that he thought to have destroyed them (Exod. xxxii. 7, 8, &c.).

11 And it came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, *that* the LORD gave me the two tables of stone, *even* the tables of the covenant.

12 And the LORD said unto me, Arise, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted *themselves*; they are quickly turned aside out of the way which I commanded them; they have made them a molten image.

13 Furthermore the LORD spake unto me, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:

14 Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: and I will make of thee a nation mightier and greater than they.

15 So I turned and came down from the mount, and the mount burned with fire: and the two tables of the covenant *were* in my two hands.

16 And I looked, and, behold, ye had sinned against the LORD your God, *and* had made you a molten calf: ye had turned aside quickly out of the way which the LORD had commanded you.

17 And I took the two tables, and cast them out of my two hands, and brake them before your eyes.

18 And I fell down before the LORD, as at

Ver. 9. *When I was gone up*] See Exod. xxiv. 11. *I abode in the mount*] See Exod. xxiv. 18. xxxiv. 28.

Ver. 10. *Two tables of stone*] See Exod. xxxi. 18. *According to all the words.*] See Exod. xxxiv. 28. *Out of the midst of the fire*] When the whole body of the people were assembled, and heard God speak these ten words out of the midst of the fire (see Deut. iv. 10—13).

Ver. 11.] That is, having given him the two tables, as was said before, ver. 10.

Ver. 12. *The Lord said unto me.*] Immediately after he had delivered to him the tables (Exod. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 7).

Arise, get thee down] See Exod. xxxii. 7, 8.

Ver. 13. *It is a stiffnecked people.*] Who will not bend to the yoke of my laws (Exod. xxxii. 9).

Ver. 14. *Let me alone.*] Do not make any intercession to me for them.

That I may destroy them.] See Exod. xxxii. 10.

Ver. 15. *So I turned*] See Exod. xxxii. 15.

The mount burned with fire.] Was all in a flame, in token of God's high displeasure against them; and as if he intended presently to consume them.

And the two tables] Exod. xxxii. 15.

Ver. 16. *Had made you a molten calf.*] About which he found them dancing (Exod. xxxii. 19).

Ye had turned aside quickly out of the way] For a few weeks before he had commanded them, with his own mouth, not to make to themselves any graven image, &c. (Exod. xx. 4). And immediately after commanded Moses to repeat this precept particularly to them, "Not to make with him gods of silver or gold" (ver. 22, 23).

Ver. 17. *And brake them.*] By God's order, no doubt, in token that they had broken his covenant, and were unworthy to be owned by him for his people (Exod. xxxii. 19), or that the covenant was made void, and God no longer engaged to them.

the first, forty days and forty nights: I did neither eat bread, nor drink water, because of all your sins which ye sinned, in doing wickedly in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.

19 For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure, wherewith the Lord was wroth against you to destroy you. But the Lord hearkened unto me at that time also.

20 And the Lord was very angry with Aaron to have destroyed him: and I prayed for Aaron also at the same time.

21 And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, and ground it very small, even until it was as small as dust: and I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the mount.

22 And at Taberah, and at Massah, and at Kibroth-hattaavah, ye provoked the Lord to wroth.

23 Likewise when the Lord sent you from

Kadesh-barnea, saying, Go up and possess the land which I have given you; then ye rebelled against the commandment of the Lord your God, and ye believed him not, nor hearkened to his voice.

24 Ye have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you.

25 Thus I fell down before the Lord forty days and forty nights, as I fell down at the first; because the Lord had said he would destroy you.

26 I prayed therefore unto the Lord, and said, O Lord God, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness, which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand.

27 Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin:

Ver. 18. *I fell down*] To pray God for pardon; though not presently: but after he had broken the calf in pieces, reproved Aaron, and made a slaughter among the people (Exod. xxxii. 20, 21. &c.).

As at the first,] When he first heard of their sin, Exod. xxxii. 11—13, and the next morning after he had broken the calf, and done execution upon the offenders (ver. 30—32).

Forty days and forty nights,] Exod. xxxiv. 2. 28.

Because of all your sins] He spent this time, very much, in earnest supplication to God, to forgive not only this, but all other sins, whereby they had deserved to be cast off by him. For they provoked God at Marah (Exod. xv. 23), and in the wilderness of Sin (xvi. 2, 3), and at Massah (xvii. 2—4).

Ver. 19. *I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure,*] Which God had expressed both before he came down from the mount and after (Exod. xxxii. xxxiii. 3. 5). Inasmuch, that the Lord removed out of the camp; and would not, for the present, dwell among them (ver. 7).

But the Lord hearkened unto me] See Exod. xxxiv. 8—10, where the Lord tells him, he expected they should be more faithful hereafter, in observing their covenant with him, particularly this part, of worshipping no other God (see there, ver. 10—14).

Ver. 20.] This shows the heinousness of this sin, which had like to have cost Aaron his life; though he merely complied with the impetuous desire of the people, out of fear and want of courage to resist them.

Ver. 21. *I took your sin,*] So idols are termed in Isa. xxxi. 7. The object or occasion of sin, as well as the punishment of it, being called by the name of sin.

Burnt it with fire,] This he did before he went up the second time into the mount (Exod. xxxii. 20).

I cast the dust thereof into the brook] From the rock which Moses smote with his rod (Exod. xvii. 6), which constantly supplied them with drink; which for the present they could not but have mixed with their sin, as we read Exod. xxxii. 20.

Ver. 22. *At Taberah,*] Besides this great sin committed at Horeb, he puts them in mind of several other, that they might be more humbled, and have no opinion of their own righteousness remaining in them (see concerning this, Numb. xi. 1—3).

At Massah,] As the foregoing sin was committed after the making the golden calf, so this was before it. (Exod. xvii. 7).

At Kibroth-hattaavah, ye provoked the Lord] This provocation was immediately after that at Taberah (Numb. xi. 33, 34). All which three places had their names from the sin of the Israelites, or from their punishment.

Ver. 23. *Likewise*] And yet this was not all.

When the Lord sent you] Numb. xiii. 1—3.

Ye believed him not,] Numb. xiv. 1—3, of which unbelief God there complains, ver. 11.

Ver. 24.] To comprise all in a few words, you have been a disobedient people ever since I was acquainted with you. So he suspected they would prove (Exod. iv. 1), and upon the first disappointment found it to be true (Exod. v. 24, 25).

Ver. 25. *Thus I fell down*] Having interposed some other instances of their rebellious disposition, besides their making the golden calf, he returns to what he had begun to say concerning his intercession with God for a pardon; which he could not obtain without long importunity. For we cannot from these words gather, as some of the Jews do, that Moses was three times in the mount forty days and forty nights; it being plain, that he speaks here of the same time which he mentioned ver. 18. And if we should think he intended any other, we might conclude he was four times in the mount so many days and nights, because he mentions it over again in the next chapter, x. 10.

Because the Lord had said he would destroy you,] Exod. xxxii. 10, xxxiii. 5. This made him so earnest to obtain an assurance from God, that he would continue to be as gracious to them as he had been; of which he had given him some hope before he went up into the mount (see Exod. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 9, 13).

Ver. 26.] He used the same argument in his petition for them, when he went into the mount the second time, which he had urged before he came down the first time from it (Exod. xxxii. 12).

Ver. 27. *Remember thy servants,*] The very same he had said there, ver. 13.

Look not unto the stubbornness of this people,] He prays that the gracious promise of God to their pious forefathers would move him to overlook the high provocations of their posterity. Which he aggravates in several words, the more to humble them, and to magnify God's mercy in granting them a pardon. The word *stubbornness* seems to relate to their very evil disposition of mind; and their *wickedness* to all their undutiful murmurings; and their *sin* to their

28 Lest the land whence thou broughtest us out say, Because the Lord was not able to bring them into the land which he promised them, and because he hated them, he hath

idolatry; which is often called in Scripture peculiarly by the name of sin: it being the highest provocation, from whence sprang all manner of wickedness. Thus Jeroboam is said to have *made Israel to sin*, by setting up the calves at Dan and Bethel to be worshipped.

Ver. 28.] The sense of this also he had before urged (Exod. xxxii. 12).

Ver. 29.] They were redeemed by him out of the

brought them out to slay them in the wilderness.

29 Yet they *are* thy people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy mighty power and by thy stretched out arm.

land of Egypt, and, after a wonderful manner, separated from all other people, to be his peculiar (Exod. xix. 4—6). And besides, having repented of this sin in making the golden calf, God had again owned them to be his, and promised his presence should go with them, (Exod. xxxiii. 14). Inasmuch, that Moses there saith, before he went into the mount again (ver. 13), “Consider that this nation is thy people.” And see ver. 15, 16.

CHAPTER X.

1 *God's mercy in restoring the two tables, 6 in continuing the priesthood, 8 in separating the tribe of Levi, 10 in hearkening unto Moses his suit for the people.* 12 *An exhortation unto obedience.*

1 At that time the Lord said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood.

2 And I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark.

3 And I made an ark of shittim wood, and hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and

went up into the mount, having the two tables in mine hand.

4 And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments, which the Lord spake unto you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly: and the Lord gave them unto me.

5 And I turned myself and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *Hew thee two tables of stone*] After his anger was something appeased, he ordered Moses to come up to him, where he had been before, and bring with him two tables of stone like those he had broken, that God might renew his covenant with them. But there was this difference (as I observed Exod. xxxiv. 1), that God himself made the former tables, but he bade Moses make these: which signifies some abatement of his favour.

Make thee an ark of wood.] This command was given at his first going up into the mount (Exod. xxv. 10), and, perhaps, was renewed again now, upon the occasion of making these new tables which were to be put into it.

Ver. 2. *I will write on the tables*] So we read he told him, Exod. xxxiv. 1.

Put them in the ark.] As soon as it was made to receive them.

Ver. 3. *I made an ark of shittim wood.*] This looks as if he made an ark before he made the tables; that when he brought them down, it might be ready to receive them. And it hath given some ground to the Jewish doctors, to say that there were two arks; one made by Moses, wherein he put the tables of stone that were broken, and those that were renewed, until the other was made by Bezaleel: for we read expressly, “that Bezaleel made the ark,” Exod. xxxvii. 1, and here it is said that Moses made it. So that they conclude there were two made; and this made by Moses they fancy was the ark that went before them in their marches and battles; which the other never did by God's order, but only when they entered into Canaan (Josh. iii.), for when of their own selves they carried it forth in the days of Eli, God was angry with them, and delivered it into the enemy's hand (1 Sam. iv. 3, 4. 11). But Aben Ezra, Nachmanides, and Abarinel, have confuted this by strong reasons to the contrary, as may be

seen in Buxtorf's *Histor. Arcæ*, p. 35, 36, &c. And as to this place they are of opinion, that Moses speaks of the ark made afterward by Bezaleel, which Moses is said to have made, because he commanded him to make it. Just as Solomon is said to have built the temple, because he caused it to be built. Or, if it be granted that Moses made an ark before he went the second time into the mount (which this verse seems to countenance) it will not follow that there were two arks in use among the Israelites; for this ark now made of mere wood, not overlaid with gold, and designed only as a chest wherein to keep the tables handsomely, till the ark could be made by Bezaleel, and then the tables were translated into that, and this chest of Moses laid aside.

Hewed two tables of stone] See Exod. xxxiv. 4.

Ver. 4. *He wrote on the tables.*] Exod. xxxiv. 28.

Which the Lord spake unto you] When the whole congregation was gathered together at the foot of the mount (see ix. 10).

The Lord gave them unto me.] To carry down to the people.

Ver. 5. *I turned myself*] From the Divine presence, where he had been supplicating for mercy, and had received from thence the tables of the covenant.

Came down from the mount.] At the end of forty days and nights (Exod. xxxiv. 28, 29).

Put the tables in the ark.] Which he commanded to be made by Bezaleel (Exod. xxxvii. 1), and put into the tabernacle as soon as it was built, with these tables in it (Exod. xl. 20, 21).

There they be.] Though Moses mentions his making the ark before his hewing the tables, and going up into the mount (ver. 3), yet these words seem to determine that he speaks of the ark made by Bezaleel, according to his directions. For now that they were going over Jordan, the tables were in the ark, which he is said here to have made. Which was certainly “the ark of the covenant,” not that chest,

had made; and there they be, as the LORD commanded me.

6 ¶ And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead.

7 From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbath, a land of rivers of waters.

which some suppose Moses to have made to keep the tables in till the other could be fitted for their reception.

Ver. 6. *The children of Israel took their journey*] Not immediately; but after they had passed through several other places, and made some stay in them: for they went from Bene-Jaakan to Gudgodah (or Hor-hagidgad), and so to Jotbath, and the rest of the mansions mentioned Numb. xxxiii. 32, 33, &c. until they came to Mount Hor.

There Aaron died, and there he was buried;] At Mosera, or the top of Mount Hor; which was another part of the same mountain, as Horeb was of Sinai.

Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead.] The greatest difficulty is to give an account how this comes in here, and what connexion this and the following verse have with what went before. All the satisfaction that I can give to it is this, that Moses having told them, that he put the tables of the testimony or covenant into the ark, as a token God was reconciled to them, and that there they still were as the LORD commanded, he puts them out of all doubt of it, by telling them, that though Aaron (who had the special care of the holy place, and all things in it committed to him) was dead, yet Eleazar his son was still alive, who could testify those holy things remained, as when Moses first placed them there, he being consecrated to the priest's office instead of Aaron, and in this very mount (Numb. xx. 25, 26, &c.), which is the occasion of mentioning this station here, when most of the rest are omitted.

Ver. 7. *From thence*] Not from Mosera, but from Bene-Jaakan, as appears from Numb. xxxiii. 32, where a full account is given of their removals, which are but just touched here.

They journeyed unto Gudgodah;] Called in the book of Numbers by the name of Hor-hagidgad. And none will think it strange that there is such a variation in the proper names of places and of men, in profane writers, as well as the Scriptures, who considers (as Conradus Pellicanus here notes) how differently the names of places are pronounced now, from what they were in former ages; and how much one nation differs from another, when they speak of them; and what alterations are made from the first founders of nations and cities by those that conquer them, and change all names to their own glory. See how names were changed among the Israelites in no long time, Numb. xxvi. 15—17. 23, 24. 35. 38, 39, &c.

From Gudgodah to Jotbath;] And so to the rest of the places mentioned Numb. xxxiii. 34—36, till they came to Mount Hor.

A land of rivers of waters.] A place where there was plenty of water; which he mentions, I suppose, that they might reflect upon their foul distrust of God's providence a little after, when they murmured for want of water at Kadesh (Numb. xx. 3, 4, &c.)

Ver. 8. *At that time*] Not long after Moses came down from the mount the second time; of which he had been speaking, ver. 5.

8 ¶ At that time the LORD separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to stand before the LORD to minister unto him, and to bless his name, unto this day.

9 Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren: the LORD is his inheritance, according as the LORD thy God promised him.

10 And I stayed in the mount, according to the first time, forty days and forty nights; and

The Lord separated the tribe of Levi,] To his own special service, as we read Numb. iii. Some think that God renewed his choice of them to the employment here mentioned after Aaron's death, when he confirmed them in their office. But we read of no such thing; and it cannot be inferred merely from these words, *at that time*, which may well relate to the time mentioned, ver. 5.

To bear the ark] Here are three parts of their office mentioned in these and the following words. The first of which was to carry the ark; which peculiarly belonged to the Kohathites (Numb. iii. 27. 31). when the camp removed from one place to another. Who were good witnesses that the same ark still remained at that day wherein Moses first placed the tables of the covenant; for it never stirred but by their means.

To stand before the Lord] This is a phrase used of servants that wait upon their masters, before whom they are said to stand. Thus Gehazi attended the prophet Elisha (2 Kings v. 25). And the prophets themselves are thus said to stand before the Lord (1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 16). Therefore it here signifies that the Levites were separated to be God's ministers, as it follows.

To minister unto him.] As assistants to the priests in the tabernacle (Numb. iii. 6), and as a guard to the tabernacle (ver. 7, 8). Which was the second part of their office.

To bless in his name,] This was the greatest thing of all, and was peculiar to the priests, who were a part of the tribe of Levi, but had the sole privilege among them to bless in the name of the Lord, as we read expressly Numb. vi. 23, 24. If, indeed, it could be made out, that by "blessing in the name of the Lord," is meant only to "bless the name of the Lord," that was common to all the Levites, who sang praises and gave thanks continually to him in the temple, as I suppose they did in the tabernacle: but I find no example of the use of this expression in this sense; and therefore it must be restrained to the priests, who were sons of Levi, as well as the rest; and are so called when Moses mentions this part of their office, Deut. xxi. 5.

Ver. 9. *Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren;*] Because God would have them only attend to this service, and not look after other affairs; particularly of guarding the sanctuary, and keeping constant watch there, to secure all the holy things, especially the ark, which they took care none should meddle withal. And therefore the people might be sure it remained as Moses left it, when he put it into the tabernacle with the tables of the covenant in it.

The Lord is his inheritance,] He took care to provide for the Levites, without having any land to plough or sow, &c. (see Numb. xviii. 20).

Ver. 10. *I stayed in the mount, according to the first time,*] This doth not signify, that after the separation of the Levites he went up again into the mount, but having confirmed what he said concerning his

the LORD hearkened unto me at that time also, and the LORD would not destroy thee.

11 And the LORD said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the people, that they may go in and possess the land, which I swear unto their fathers to give unto them.

12 ¶ And now, Israel, what doth the LORD thy God require of thee, but to fear the LORD thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the LORD thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul,

13 To keep the commandments of the LORD, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good?

putting the tables of stone in the ark, which he made after he came the second time down from the mount (ver. 5), he returns to what he was speaking of in the beginning of the chapter, and had begun to say before (ix. 25), how he prayed to God for them, when he went to carry the tables he had hewn up unto God in the mount, that now he might relate to them the success of his prayers, which follows in the next words.

The Lord would not destroy thee.] As he feared he would, because he had so threatened, ix. 15.

Ver. 11.] This cannot refer to what he said unto him after making the golden calf (as I find some take it from Exod. xxxiii. 1), for that was before he went up into the mount again; but to what he said at the conclusion of their removals from place to place (some of which he mentions here, ver. 6, 7), for then he orders them what to do when they entered into Canaan, which, he saith, *I have given you to possess* (Numb. xxxii. 51—53).

Ver. 12. *What doth the Lord thy God require of thee.]* Unto whom he hath given tables, wherein he himself hath written his will with his own hand (ver. 4, 5), and hath graciously pardoned your foul breach of his covenant upon my intercession (ver. 10).

But to fear the Lord thy God.] The fear of God sometimes includes in it all religion; but here seems to signify one of the great principles of obedience (see vi. 2).

To walk in all his ways.] Unto which the fear of God inclines men, when their hearts are possessed with it.

To love him.] Especially if the love of God be in them; which is still a stronger principle of obedience (vi. 1).

To serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul.] Being constant in his worship and service, and worshipping him alone (vi. 13. xiii. 3). For loving him with all the heart and soul, seems here to have particular respect to their having no inclination to serve other gods (1 Kings viii. 23, 43), which the Jews, after they had smarted for their idolatry, understood to be the great commandment. As their father Jacob, they say, taught his twelve sons, when they came about him on his death-bed, saying to them: "Ye perhaps worship the idols which Terah, the father of Abraham, worshipped; or those which Laban, my mother's brother, worshipped; or ye worship the God of Jacob. To whom they all made this answer, with a perfect fear: Hear, O Israel, our father, The Lord our God is one Lord. Whereupon Jacob said, Let his great name be blessed for ever." Thus the Jerusalem Targum upon vi. 4. of this book.

Ver. 13.] Self-love should have inclined them to obedience to God's commands, which he gave them

14 Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the LORD's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is.

15 Only the LORD had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day.

16 Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiffnecked.

17 For the LORD your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward:

18 He doth execute the judgment of the fa-

for their good; though he rewarded their obedience to them as if he had received the benefit thereof.

Ver. 14. *Behold, the heavens]* Where the sun, moon, and stars shine.

And the heaven of heavens] And all the glorious regions beyond them.

Is the Lord's thy God,] Are all his possession, as they are his work.

The earth also,] As well as this earth, and all the creatures that are in it.

Ver. 15.] He would have them sensible, therefore, that the possessor of heaven and of earth could have no need of them, or of their services, who were a very inconsiderable part of his creatures: but it was his own mere good will and pleasure which moved him to show such love to Abraham as he had done, and to his posterity for his sake, above all other nations on earth.

Ver. 16. *Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart,]* Do not satisfy yourselves therefore with the bare circumcision of your flesh (and the observance of such external rites and ceremonies), but cut off and cast away all your naughty affections, which make you insensible both of God's mercies and corrections, and disobedient to his commands.

Be no more stiffnecked,] As he had often before complained they were, particularly Exod. xxxii. 9. and see ix. 6. of this book. It is a metaphor, as I observed, from oxen, who, when they are to draw in a yoke, and go forward, pull back their neck and their shoulder to withdraw themselves from the yoke. To both which the Scripture alludes, Neh. ix. 29. And sometime severally we find mention of them, as in the place before named in Exodus, he speaks of their *stiff neck*; and Zech. vii. 11. he saith, "they pulled away the shoulder." St. Stephen puts both these together in his character of the wicked Jews that killed our blessed Saviour, Acts vii. 51. that they were *stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart*. Therefore the contrary disposition God promises towards the conclusion of this book, as the greatest blessing he could bestow on them (xxx. 6).

Ver. 17. *For the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords,]* Superior to all other beings, whether kings on earth or angels in heaven.

A great God,] Who can do what he pleases everywhere; and therefore is to be greatly dreaded.

Which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward:] The most righteous judge of men, who will not connive at your sins because you are circumcised, nor be bribed by any sacrifices to overlook your wickedness (Exod. xxiii. 8. Lev. xix. 15. Deut. i. 17), nor, on the contrary, reject those that uprightly obey him, though they be not Jews. So St. Peter learnt to understand these words, Acts x. 34.

Ver. 18. *He doth execute the judgment of the father-*

therless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment.

19 Love ye therefore the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

20 Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God; him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and swear by his name.

less and widow,] Takes their part, as we speak, and defends them against those that would oppress them.

And loveth the stranger,] Provideth for those who are driven unjustly out of their own country, or, travelling on their honest occasions, fall into want; for he seems here to speak of those who were neither proselytes of justice, nor of the gate, as the Jews speak, but were mere gentiles.

Ver. 19. *Love ye therefore the stranger,]* Be kind and hospitable to such distressed persons: which is a virtue that flows from the love of God (ver. 12), to which it is in vain to pretend, if we love not all mankind. This love consists in imitating God's care of such persons, whereof he speaks in the foregoing verse, viz. doing them justice equally with others, and affording them food and raiment.

For ye were strangers] This virtue was particularly required of the Jews, who had been in that condition which he commanded them to pity (see Exod. xxiii. 9. Lev. xix. 33, 34). And if they had sincerely practised this duty towards aliens, the grace of God shown to the gentiles in our blessed Saviour, would not have seemed so strange to them as it did.

Ver. 20. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God;]* This was explained before, ver. 12.

To him shalt thou cleave,] Serve, that is, and worship none but him.

21 He is thy praise, and he is thy God, that hath done for thee these great and terrible things, which thine eyes have seen.

22 Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons; and now the LORD thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude.

And swear by his name,] See vi. 13.

Ver. 21. *He is thy praise,]* Whom thou oughtest therefore to praise; or rather, in whose love and favour thou oughtest to glory; and to think it the highest honour to be his servant, and to have him for thy God, as it here follows.

He is thy God,] Who hath bestowed upon thee all the good things which thou enjoyest.

That hath done for thee these great and terrible things,] In bringing them out of Egypt, destroying Pharaoh in the Red Sea, leading them through the wilderness, giving them the country of Sihon and Og, &c. Whom therefore they were bound to love and serve, and to confide in his mercy, and not in their own power or righteousness (viii. 17, 18. ix. 4—6).

Ver. 22. *Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons;]* See Gen. xli. 27. Exod. i. 5. Their family, he would have them remember, was very small about two hundred years ago.

And now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven] Vastly increased them, according to his promise unto Abraham, Gen. xv. 5. Exod. xii. 37. Numb. xxvi. 51, 62. Which alone (as Conradus Pellicanus here notes) was sufficient to fill their hearts with his love, and their mouths with his praise.

CHAPTER XI.

1 An exhortation to obedience, 2 by their own experience of God's great works, 8 by promise of God's great blessings, 16 and by threatenings. 18 A careful study is required in God's words. 26 The blessing and curse is set before them.

1 THEREFORE thou shalt love the LORD thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his judgments, and his commandments, alway.

2 And know ye this day: for I speak not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the chastisement of the LORD your

God, his greatness, his mighty hand, and his stretched out arm,

3 And his miracles, and his acts, which he did in the midst of Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land;

4 And what he did unto the army of Egypt,

His mighty hand, and his stretched out arm,] These are more words to express the same thing.

Ver. 3. *And his miracles, and his acts,]* Or, "his miraculous acts," &c. He uses so many words, to make them sensible how much they were obliged to God for their deliverance out of the slavery of Egypt; which nothing could have effected but God's almighty power, declared in various instances. This is the first argument wherewith he excites their love to God (which he pressed in the foregoing chapter, and begins this again with it), that God had loved them so much, as to work many astonishing miracles, rather than let them continue slaves to Pharaoh.

Ver. 4. *What he did unto the army of Egypt,]* Who pursued after the Israelites, and overtook them (Exod. xiv. 6—8); whereby the kindness of God appeared, after he had delivered them, in preserving them from being brought back to their slavery.

How he made the water of the Red sea to overflow them] See Exod. xiv. 23, 24. 27, 28.

How the Lord hath destroyed them unto this day;] Brought them so low, that they have not recovered

CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,]* Who of so small hath made thee so great a nation.

And keep his charge,] A phrase used frequently concerning the Levites, Numb. iii. 7, 8, &c. But here comprehends all the particulars following, *his statutes, and his judgments, and commandments*, which he had charged them to observe (see vi. 1).

Ver. 2. *And know ye this day:]* Consider seriously what I have said to you, till you be sensible of it (viii. 5. ix. 6.)

For I speak not with your children which have not known,] The words I speak are not in the Hebrew: and they may as well be supplied thus, "For not with your children have these things been done," &c. Which agrees well with ver. 7.

The chastisement of the Lord your God,] The plagues he sent upon the Egyptians.

His greatness,] Which appeared by the many great things he did, only upon the stretching out of Moses' rod.

unto their horses, and to their chariots; how he made the water of the Red sea to overflow them as they pursued after you, and *how* the Lord hath destroyed them unto this day;

5 And what he did unto you in the wilderness, until ye came into this place;

6 And what he did unto Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben: how the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, and their tents, and all the substance that *was* in their possession, in the midst of all Israel:

7 But your eyes have seen all the great acts of the Lord which he did.

their strength, to attempt anything against you since that time.

Ver. 5.] Provided for them, protected and preserved them forty years: giving them possession also of the country of Sihon and Og, two kings of the Amorites. These benefits, if they considered, which they could not but see they owed to his love alone, were powerful arguments to move them to love him.

Ver. 6. *What he did unto Dathan and Abiram.*] Numb. xvi. 1, &c. The remembrance and consideration of the terrible vengeance the Lord took upon rebellious people, he uses as another argument to make them obedient. And there was none more remarkable than this upon Dathan and Abiram. He doth not mention Korah; but they would not well forget him, when they thought of his confederates, though he suffered another punishment.

How the earth opened] See Numb. xvi. 32, &c.

Ver. 7.] In Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness (ver. 3—5). Some of which all of them had seen; and there was none of them who had not seen some.

Ver. 8. *Therefore shall ye keep all the commandments*] Remembering what had befallen both their enemies and themselves.

That ye may be strong, and go in] In hope that the same God would empower them to subdue the Canaanites, and give them full possession of their country.

Ver. 9. *Ye may prolong your days*] This may relate both to the present generation, and to their posterity; who, after their fathers had lived long in the land of Canaan, should succeed them, and enjoy it in future ages (see ver. 21).

A land that floweth with milk and honey.] This is a common description, in all authors, of a rich and pleasant country. Particularly in Euripides:

Ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πίδον,
Ῥεῖ δ' αἰνέει ῤεῖ δὲ μελισσῶν
Νέκταρ:

And the like Bochartus hath observed in Virgil, Horace, and other writers (Hierozoic. lib. iv. par. i. cap. 12).

Ver. 10. *For the land,—is not as the land of Egypt.*] He uses all manner of arguments to persuade them to obedience; from a grateful remembrance of God's former mercies (ver. 2, 3, &c.), from the terrible punishment of the disobedient (ver. 6), from the benefits that would redound to themselves by their obedience (ver. 9), and now he represents to them what a noble country he was going to bestow upon them: but of such a condition as would keep them in a constant dependence upon his favour for the blessing of it.

When thou sowest thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.] This doth not sig-

8 Therefore shall ye keep all the commandments which I command you this day, that ye may be strong, and go in and possess the land, whither ye go to possess it;

9 And that ye may prolong *your* days in the land, which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give unto them and to their seed, a land that floweth with milk and honey.

10 ¶ For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, *is* not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs:

11 But the land, whither ye go to possess it,

nify that the land of Egypt was not so fruitful as the land of Canaan (for their fertility is not to be compared), but that there they reaped the fruits of their labour with more pains. Diodorus Siculus, indeed, and Herodotus, say, that the Egyptians take the least pains of all other men about their corn, inasmuch that it may be affirmed, ἀπὸντότα καρπὸν κομίζονται, “they bring in the fruits of the earth without labour,” being at no such trouble about ploughing as other men are, &c. (see in his Euterpe, cap. 14). Yet it must be considered, that as the Nile, which made this fruitfulness, failed them sometimes, and did not overflow all the flat country, so the upper parts of Egypt had not the benefit of it; nor all the lower neither, without great pains in cutting rivers to bring the water to them. Which Pliny calls *rigua Nili*; for the word *rigua* properly signifies the “little rivers” and δῶρυγες, “cuts,” which were made to derive water from the Nile into places at a distance from it, as Salmasius observes, p. 588. in Solinum. Hesychius calls them δοχὰς ἰδαίων, “receptacles of water, ditches, or dikes,” which we now call canals, as the same author observes, p. 908. And this I find Strabo speaks so plainly in his Geography, (lib. xvii. p. 788), that his words may serve as a good commentary upon those of Moses: “Nature (saith he) doth much for Egypt by the Nile; but industry and art about that river doth a great deal more. For the higher it flows, the more ground it naturally waters and makes fruitful; Ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πολλὰκις καὶ τῆς φύσεως εὐσηχυσεν ἐπιαιτιοῦσης, &c. ‘but industry sometimes hath prevailed when nature hath failed.’ inasmuch, that as great a part of the country hath been watered in the smallest rise of Nile, as in the highest. Which was effected, διὰ τῶν διωρυγῶν καὶ τῶν παραχωμάτων, ‘by the cuts and banks which were made by art.’ For before the time of Petronius (he saith) there was the greatest fruitfulness when the Nile rose fourteen cubits; and when it rose only eight there was a famine: but in the time of his government there was as great plenty when it rose only twelve cubits: and no man felt any want when it rose only eight. This was by the care and industry of the people, who were forced also sometimes to carry water from these cuts, as well as from the river, in vessels, to moisten the ground, when the mud which the Nile left was baked into a crust by the great heat of the sun. So that the ground of Egypt might properly be said to be *watered by the fool*, as we water our gardens when there wants rain.” Concerning which expression, see Dr. Hammond upon the Psalms, p. 7. col. 2. of the first edition.

Ver. 11. *Is a land of hills and valleys*] Not a low flat country like that of Egypt; but full of hills, which could not be made fruitful but by rain from heaven, which seldom fell in Egypt; but the Israelites might expect in due season, if they were obedient

is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven:

12 A land which the Lord thy God careth for: the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.

13 ¶ And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul,

14 That I will give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil.

to God. Who, by this means, after they had ploughed their ground, and sowed their corn, made it spring up plentifully without any farther labour or care of theirs. Such a country also was more pleasant and healthy than that of Egypt, whose ground next Nile being overflowed more or less every year, by the rising of Nile to the fall of it (which was from the solstice to the equinox, or, as some say, a hundred days; see Salmasius upon Solinus, p. 427, &c. 436, &c.), they could not walk abroad into their fields; and many times there followed, after the water was gone off, great sicknesses and diseases, by the smell of the silt which it had left behind.

Ver. 12. *A land which the Lord thy God careth for:]* Takes care that it want not water, by sending showers of rain plentifully from heaven in their proper season.

The eyes of the Lord thy God] That is, the providence of God; whose majesty dwelt in the sanctuary.

Are always upon it,] To see what is wanting, and to supply it.

From the beginning of the year even unto the end] At all seasons, to give them both the first and latter rain (as he speaks ver. 14), and such weather as might both produce and kindly ripen the fruits of the earth. This he mentions as an argument to obedience; in which, if they failed, he plainly tells them, the land should not yield her fruit (ver. 17). For this country was not so fertile of itself, as by the peculiar blessing of God upon it, whilst they kept his laws.

Ver. 13. *If ye shall hearken diligently]* To hearken diligently here signifies, to consider them seriously, and lay them to heart.

To love the Lord your God, and to serve him] He repeats this so often, because it is the great commandment (as our Saviour speaks), and because nothing is more natural than to love our benefactors, God especially (our greatest benefactor, who gave us our being) with all our heart, and with all our soul (see x. 12). And being the first and great commandment, it draws along with it obedience to all the rest, and is, in effect, the whole duty of man to God. For constant experience shows us, that whosoever gets the firm hold of this affection, governs a man as he pleaseth.

Ver. 14. *I will give you the rain of your land]* As much as is sufficient for such a hilly country.

In his due season,] At the proper times which here follow.

The first rain,] Before the sowing of their seed, to prepare the ground; and after it was sown, that it might take root in the earth, and spring up.

And the latter rain,] When the corn was grown up towards earing time; and after it was eared, to make the ears full and plump. This appears from Amos, iv. 7, where he speaks of withholding the rain from them while there were "yet three months to the harvest."

15 And I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle, that thou mayest eat and be full.

16 Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them;

17 And then the Lord's wrath be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit; and lest ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you.

18 ¶ Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes.

19 And ye shall teach them your children,

Which is meant of this latter rain, whereby their corn was brought forward, when it was but in the blade to earing, and so on to harvest.

That thou mayest gather in thy corn,] Till the corn and all the fruits of the earth be brought to maturity.

Ver. 15. *I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle,]* To make them fat; or to give plenty of milk.

That thou mayest eat and be full,] Eat flesh if they pleased, as well as the fruits of the earth, in great plenty.

Ver. 16. *Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived,]* By the specious colours that other nations put upon their idolatry (as, the antiquity of it, universal consent, &c. there being no part of the world at that time, as Maimonides observes, where all were not accustomed to worship images, &c.) whereby the Israelites were in danger to be seduced into an imitation of their neighbours.

Ye turn aside, and serve other gods,] By this it is evident that Moses is still pressing them to care in observing the first and second commandments.

Ver. 17. *Then the Lord's wrath be kindled against you,]* For their being deceived into idolatry by false reasonings, which persuaded them what they did was lawful, did not excuse them before God; who expected they should have used greater caution, and governed themselves by his plain and express commands.

And he shut up the heaven,] The contrary to this is called "opening his good treasure," Deut. xxviii. 12, signifying that they lived upon the royal bounty of the King of heaven, which their sins would hinder from flowing to them.

That the land yield not her fruit;] To withhold rain from them was a sore judgment, which quickly brought a famine; which was very grievous to those who used to live so plentifully. And it was frequently attended with various diseases, whereby they were wasted and consumed.

Ver. 18. *Lay up these my words]* See ch. vi. 6.

Bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets] Always in sight: as the rule whereby they should order their steps, lest they trod amiss. This is one of the portions of Scripture (from ver. 13. to the end of ver. 21), which the Jews write in their *tephillin*, as they call them, which they use when they say their prayers, which they fancy are thereby made more acceptable unto God. This conceit began, not long before our Saviour's time, in the school of Hillel and Shammai, and took such root in the minds of the most religious, that it hath grown to a great superstition ever since. See upon ch. vi. ver. 8, 9, which is another portion of Scripture, that they wrote in these parchments; though at the first (St. Jerome saith,

speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

20 And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates :

21 That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the land which the LORD swore unto your fathers to give them, as the days of heaven upon the earth.

22 ¶ For if ye shall diligently keep all these commandments which I command you, to do them, to love the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, and cleave unto him ;

23 Then will the LORD drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves.

24 Every place whereon the soles of your feet

shall tread shall be your's : from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.

25 There shall no man be able to stand before you : for the LORD your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as he hath said unto you.

26 ¶ Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse ;

27 A blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the LORD your God, which I command you this day :

28 And a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the LORD your God, but turn aside out of the way which I command you this

upon Matt. xxiii. 5), they wrote only the ten commandments.

Ver. 19. *Ye shall teach them your children,*] This is repeated very often (iv. 10. vi. 7). And out of this place, and v. 1, the Jews have framed this as one of the affirmative precepts, "that they ought themselves to learn the law of God, and teach it unto others." And this they do so diligently, that as soon as their children are capable to understand any thing, they make them carefully read the holy books, and instruct them so, that before they can be called youths, they are acquainted with the whole law of God. In which we must confess, they shame a great many Christians, who scarce understand so much of our religion when they are men and women, as the Jews do of theirs when they are mere children.

From the Hebrew word *himmalethtem*, in this verse, "ye shall teach them," the Jews have framed a conceit that their Talmud hath its name ; signifying *teaching and instruction*, as R. Jehiel saith, in his disputation with Nicolaus, p. 9.

Speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, &c.] Taking all occasions to inculcate these precepts upon them (see ch. vi. 7), and upon their daughters as well as their sons ; though the Jewish doctors commonly fancy there is no command to instruct their daughters in the law (see *Mishna Sota*, cap. 3. sect. 3, with Wagenseil's Annotations, and the Gemara there, p. 471. 501).

Ver. 20. *Write them upon the door posts*] See ch. vi. 9. By this means God's word being so rooted in the hearts of the parents (to use the words of Dr. Jackson), as to bring forth this good fruit in their practice, the seed of it might be sown in the tender hearts of their children, and be propagated from one generation to another.

Ver. 21. *That your days may be multiplied,*] Nothing is wont to move men more than love to themselves, and love to their children, whom they love next to themselves.

As the days of heaven upon the earth.] As long as this world shall last. Which the Psalmist, speaking of David, expresses in this manner, "His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven." (Ps. lxxxix. 29), which doth not signify absolutely *for ever*, but a long time. For thus Baruch says, the Jews in Babylon were commanded to pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar, and the life of Baltasar his son, *ὡς ὅταν αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκείνῃ ; γὰρ*, "that their days might be as the days of heaven upon earth." Which is the very phrase of Moses here in this place, importing a very long life. And such hyperbolical expressions, every one knows,

are used by the heathen, particularly by Virgil (*Æneid*. 1).

—"Convexa potius dum sidera pascet."

Ver. 22. *If ye shall diligently keep all these commandments, &c.*] To love the LORD your God. This is still made the condition of all their happiness (see ver. 13. and x. 20).

To walk in all his ways,] In observance of his laws, which was the fruit of true love to him.

To cleave unto him ;] So as to serve no other God, but to persevere in the worship of the LORD their God alone. The Jews make this one of the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the law (as they count them) distinct by itself ; but they interpret it foolishly ; of "sticking to the cabala of their wise men," whereby they fancy themselves united unto God.

Ver. 23. *Then will the LORD drive out all these nations*] As he had often promised (vii. 23. Exod. xxiii. 27).

Ye shall possess nations] See ch. vii. 1.

Ver. 24. *Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be your's :*] That is, every place of the promised land ; as it is explained in the next words.

From the wilderness] viz. of Sin, which was on the south of Canaan.

And Lebanon, Which was its bounds on the north.

From the river—Euphrates,] Which was the eastern limits ; when in the days of Solomon their empire reached hither ; according to the promise unto Abraham in Gen. xv. 18.

Even unto the uttermost sea] Which is called the Mediterranean, or the Midland Sea, which bounded it on the west. See Numb. xxxiv. 6, where it is called the Great Sea ; and in that chapter the bounds of their country round about are described.

Ver. 25. *There shall no man*] See vii. 24.

For the LORD your God shall lay the fear of you, &c.] For God had promised to terrify the inhabitants of Canaan, and take away their courage (Exod. xxiii. 27). And accordingly the spies whom Joshua sent brought him an account of the great consternation wherein the whole country was, when they were about to enter into it (Josh. ii. 9. 21).

Ver. 26. *I set before you this day a blessing and a curse ;*] That is, he proposed them to their choice.

Ver. 27. *A blessing, if ye obey the commandments*] Which he more largely explains xxviii. 2—4, &c.

Ver. 28. *A curse, if ye will not obey*] Which is also more particularly laid before them, xxviii. 15—17, &c. The whole historical part of the Old Testament witnesses the truth of this, that God blessed or cursed

day, to go after other gods, which ye have not known.

29 And it shall come to pass, when the LORD thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon mount Gerizim, and the curse upon mount Ebal.

30 *Are they not on the other side Jordan, by*

them, according as they observed or broke his laws. And if the people of Israel had diligently marked, and considered, and laid to heart, that their happiness or misery was always corresponding to their good and bad behaviour towards God, it would have confirmed their belief of their law, as much as if they had seen all the miracles done before their forefathers, and supplied the want or the rarity of them in after ages; nay, this would have done more than all the miracles did, which were forgotten in a short time; whereas their own daily experience of the happy fruits of obedience, and the mischief of disobedience, would have sealed these truths unto their conscience.

But turn aside out of the way] It was not every sin that turned God's favour from them; but their idolatry and apostasy from him; against which he principally warns them, throughout all these chapters, iv. 3. 4. 15. 16. 23. v. 32. vi. 4. 14. vii. 4. 5. 25. viii. 19. ix. 12. x. 20.

Ver. 29.] To quicken them unto a strict care in their obedience, blessings and cursings were to be pronounced with great solemnity at their first entrance into the land of Canaan; as is more fully ordered xxvii. 11, 12, &c., and performed by Joshua (viii. 33—35). And Moses seems to enjoin them the like solemnity, every seventh year, xxxi. 10—13.

Ver. 30. *Are they not on the other side Jordan,*] With respect to the place where Moses now was, the mountains he mentions were on the other side of Jordan, in the land of Canaan. In which they had no sooner got footing, but Joshua took care to execute this command; that their hearts might be possessed with a sense upon what terms they were to enjoy it. And he describes the places so particularly, that they might be sure to know them.

the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh?

31 For ye shall pass over Jordan to go in to possess the land which the LORD your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein.

32 And ye shall observe to do all the statutes and judgments which I set before you this day.

Where the sun goeth down,] On that side which inclined to the west.

In the land of the Canaanites,] The people particularly so called, who were one of the seven nations; some of which lived here in the east, and others near the Midland Sea. As I have observed upon Gen. xv. 21.

Which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal,] Some think these mountains were at such a considerable distance from Gilgal, that they cannot be said to be "over against Gilgal;" because this phrase signifies them not to be far off one from the other. And therefore they translate these words, "looking towards Gilgal." But it is not said, that the mountains were over against Gilgal, but the dwelling of the Canaanites (in whose country these mountains were) was over against it.

Beside the plains of Moreh?] Of which mention is made Gen. xii. 6, where the Canaanites are also mentioned as in that land, when Abraham came into it. Which suggests to us, that these blessings were pronounced in that very place where Abraham anciently dwelt, and where he worshipped God, who there appeared to him.

Ver. 31.] He would have them be as careful in this matter, as it was certain that they should shortly go over Jordan, to take possession of the country which God was about to bestow on them; which he assures them they should get possession of, and settle themselves therein.

Ver. 32.] But then do not forget what I have so often said to you, which he thought he could not inculcate enough (see iv. 40. v. 32. vi. 1. vii. 11. viii. 1, &c.).

CHAPTER XII.

1 *Monuments of idolatry are to be destroyed. 5 The place of God's service is to be kept. 15, 23 Blood is forbidden. 17, 20, 26 Holy things must be eaten in the holy place. 19 The Levite is not to be forsaken. 20 Idolatry is not to be inquired after.*

1 *THESE* are the statutes and judgments, which ye shall observe to do in the land, which the LORD God of thy fathers giveth thee to

possess it, all the days that ye live upon the earth.

2 Ye shall utterly destroy all the places,

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Ver. 1.] Now, I suppose, he begins a new exhortation, which he made to them at some small distance from the former. And he enters upon it with the same words, which he used before, vi. 1. ix. 1, which could not be too often repeated, considering the great proneness of the people to neglect their duty.

Ver. 2. *Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations—served their gods,*] So that no opinion should be left of their being sacred places by any relic or memorial of the old idolatry remaining there. It was not sufficient that the gods which the seven nations worshipped were abolished, but the very places also where they were worshipped were to be made common, and employed to other uses.

Upon the mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree:] These were the places where the ancient heathen chose to worship their gods, imagining their sacrifices were more acceptable upon mountains than in valleys. Lucian himself gives this reason for it, because men were then nearer to the gods, and so more easily obtained audience: "Οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχολέων ἀγχιῦσθαι θεοῖσιν οἱ θεοί." And Tacitus saith the same in the last of his Annals. Demens also were wont to haunt woods and shady places, and there appear to men: and were thought also to be the presidents of mountains; others of woods and forests. And accordingly the heathen erected altars to them in these and such like places, particularly under great oaks, which were held sacred places, where their gods were thought to have a peculiar power. By this law

wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, under every green tree :

3 And ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place.

therefore God intended to root out this superstition; and commanded his tabernacle to be built low and humble. And though afterward the temple was set upon a hill, there was only one, and no more; and therefore it could not be thought to be out of any opinion that a hill was more sacred than another place.

Under every green tree.] Nothing can illustrate these words more, than what Pliny saith, in the twelfth book of his Natural History, concerning trees; which thus begins, *Hæc fuerunt numinum templa, &c.* "These were the temple of the gods; and even now the simple people, after the ancient rites, dedicate to God such trees as excel the rest. Nor do we more adore the images glittering with gold and ivory, quam lucos, et in iis silentia ipsa, than we do the groves, and the solemn silence therein." And then he reckons what trees were peculiarly sacred to Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, &c., concluding that several of their gods, such as the Sylvani, Fauni, and some of their nymphs, had their names from woods. This was a thing so notorious, that in their most sacred solemnities, they were wont to present the gods whom they worshipped with a crown or garland made of boughs and leaves of such trees in which they were thought to delight; as to Jupiter, a crown of oak; to Apollo, of laurel; to Minerva, of olive; to Venus, of myrtle; to Bacchus, of ivy; to Rhea, Pan, Neptune, and Vulcan, of pine, &c. (see Ezek. Spanhemius upon Callimachus' hymn to Diana, ver. 200).

Ver. 3. *Ye shall overthrow their altars, &c.]* See vii. 5, and Lev. xxvi. 1. He mentions all these so particularly, because this is the very foundation and hinge of the law (as Maimonides speaks), that all opinion of the sanctity of such things should be blotted out of men's hearts, and the memory of them extinguished, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29, where he reckons abundance of things of this kind, which were among the old idolaters called Zabii.

Destroy the names of them out of that place.] From this, and such-like places, the Jews have framed this affirmative precept, that "the gentile idolatry is by all means to be destroyed." For these nations having forfeited their land by their abominable wickedness, and God having bestowed it upon the Israelites (whom he took for his peculiar people, and among whom he dwelt, and therefore calls *this his land*, see vii. 6), he, as the King of the country, might enjoin what orders he pleased to have observed. And it was of the highest concernment, that there should not be the least footstep of the old idolatry left in the country; but that he who was the Lord of it, and the Lord of heaven and earth, should be alone acknowledged and worshipped. And there was a greater reason for this than at first sight may be imagined: for, as the host of heaven was worshipped, as the glorious bodies wherein their gods inhabited (which was the reason of the best of the heathen for this worship), so their demons were supposed to dwell in the images and pillars which for that end were erected to them; the sovereign celestial gods being worshipped in the sun, moon, and stars, wherein they were thought to dwell, and these petty deities, the demons, were worshipped in images and columns, which were made for them, and for no other deities, as our Mr. Mede observes, par. i. p. 778.

4 Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God.

5 But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, *even* unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come:

6 And thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and

Ver. 4. Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God.] That is, not serve him upon the mountains, nor in groves, nor under green trees. Which appears to be the sense, both from the foregoing words (ver. 2, 3), and from the following opposition in the next verse. And it is very probable, that, during their continuance in the wilderness, none sacrificed in high places, but offered all at the door of the tabernacle, which was not far from them. When they came into Canaan, and were many of them at a distance from the tabernacle, they did sacrifice in high places; and we do not find them reproved for it while they worshipped the Lord alone, and had priests who officiated there, and in other places, according to the precepts of the law: but when the temple was built, and the ark of God's presence no longer removed from place to place, the prophets required them not to sacrifice any longer in high places, nor anywhere else, but only at the temple. And they blamed even good kings for not taking away the high places; though no sacrifices were offered upon them to any strange god, but to the true God alone. Which connivance proved in time a great mischief; for here they first began to worship strange gods, the Israelites being very prone to choose mountains, and such shady places (as the rest of the world did), wherein to set up their images (2 Kings xvii. 10, 11. Ezek. xx. 28. Hosea iv. 13).

Ver. 5. *Unto the place]* Unto one certain place which God intended to set apart; unto which all the tribes should resort, as the only place where they might sacrifice. By which means the notion of the unity of God was preserved, and his worship kept pure and sincere, as long as they kept to this one place, where the priests of God constantly attended, to see his service rightly performed.

To put his name there,] By the name of God is meant God himself (as to call upon his name, is to call upon him), and therefore the sense is, where he would make his dwelling-place, by settling the ark, and the cloud of glory there, which was the token of his presence. This place at first seems to have been Mispeh, and afterward Shiloh. And when that was destroyed, the ark removed to several places (Kirjath-jearim, Mizpeh, Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, the house of Obad-Edom), till at last it settled at Jerusalem. Where, when the temple was built, God saith to Solomon, "I have chosen this place to myself, for a house of sacrifice" (2 Chron. vii. 12). Which is the plain sense of these words, "choose a place to put his name there."

Even unto his habitation shall ye seek,] This explains what he means by the place where he would put his name, viz. the place where his sanctuary was settled, which was his habitation; where he placed his majesty (as Onkelos paraphrases), that all might repair thither, to seek his grace and favour.

Ver. 6. *Your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices,]* By sacrifices, as distinct from burnt-offerings, must be meant their sin-offerings and peace-offerings. And the latter of these were sometimes for mercies received, and sometimes freewill-offerings, or vows, as we read in Lev. vii. 12. 16. Which, if they had been bound, as oft as there was occasion, to bring to one certain place (Jerusalem suppose), though they were at never so great distance from it, it would have

heave offerings of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks:

7 And there ye shall eat before the LORD your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein the LORD thy God hath blessed thee.

8 Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.

9 For ye are not as yet come to the rest and to

the inheritance, which the LORD your God giveth you.

10 But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the LORD your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety;

11 Then there shall be a place which the LORD your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there; thither shall ye bring all that I command you; your burnt offerings, and your sacri-

been an intolerable expense to devout people. And therefore the Jews think the meaning is, that they were bound to these sacrifices, either for offences committed, or for mercies received, &c. at the next feast at the farthest; and not to defer them beyond that time (see Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, p. 99, 100, of the first edition).

Your tithes,] Not those which were to be paid to the Levites, or by them to the priests, but another tithe which was to be set aside, after that to the Levites was paid, and employed as is directed, xiv. 22, 23, &c. (see here below, ver. 17).

And heave offerings of your hand,] The first-fruits, as the LXX. and Vulgar Latin rightly translate it, viz. of corn, and wine, and oil, and other fruits of the earth. Which are called the "heave-offerings of their hand," because they brought them in their own hand; and having heaved them up to the Lord, they gave them to the priests (see Numb. xviii. 11, 12, and Deut. xviii. 4. xxvi. 4. 10).

Your vows, and your freewill offerings,] Which were comprehended before under the name of sacrifices, but here more particularly expressed, to signify, that though they might choose whether they would offer them or not, or whether they would vow them, yet they could not choose the place where they should be offered (if they vowed, or were disposed to it), but must be determined by this law.

The firstlings of your herds] This shows, that the heave-offerings of their hand comprehend only the first-fruits of the earth; besides which, these firstlings also belonged to the priests (Numb. xviii. 15—17).

Ver. 7. *There ye shall eat*] Their part of the things before mentioned; the people being wont, in ancient time, before the law of Moses, to feast upon part of the sacrifices of peace-offerings; as appears from Exod. xviii. 12. xxxiv. 13, 14.

Before the Lord your God,] Not in the tabernacle or temple, where only the priests might eat the most holy things, which were peculiarly theirs (Numb. xviii. 10), but in some place very near to the sanctuary: it being the custom of other people (and perhaps before the time of Moses) to feast with their gods in their very temples, or near their altars, according to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. viii. 10. Therefore God entertained his people also at his own house, commanding them here, and in other places, to eat their sacrifices before him at his sanctuary, and nowhere else; that is, in some place adjacent to the sanctuary. Whereby they declared that they had communion with him, and not with idols, by partaking with him at his table, that is, his altar: for there could be no need of their eating there, but only to signify this, and to secure them in his religion by feasting in his presence, and thereby owning themselves to belong to him. This is repeated very often in this book (ver. 18, of this chapter, xiv. 23. 26. xv. 20. xvi. 5), but especially xxvii. 6, 7, where they are required, before the temple was built, to eat their

sacrifices near the altar which was erected after they came over Jordan. This being a profession of the true religion, to eat at God's altar, as to eat of things sacrificed to idols was to profess the heathenish religion. So all have understood it, as Elmenhorstius hath shown from a great heap of authors, in his Annot. ad Minutium Felicem, fol. 69.

Ye shall rejoice] This signifies either that they should rejoice at these feasts in the goodness of God, who had blessed the labour of their hands (of which the tithe they brought thither was a fruit), or that, doing thus, God would bless all their future labours, and make them and their families prosper, and take comfort in all their enjoyments.

Ver. 8. *Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day,*] This doth not signify, as if there was no civil government, or that the courts of justice did not sit and execute judgment between man and man, but relates to the place of offering sacrifice (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 15, n. 4), which, in their wandering condition, they did not so strictly observe as God expected when they came to be settled. Our learned Dr. Spencer thinks it relates also to other old customs, which were rather childish than profane; and therefore tolerated by God for the present. To which he thinks those words of St. Paul have respect, Acts xiii. 18. Many things also perhaps they omitted, which they could not, or did not, observe in the wilderness; as their new moons, and other solemn days; with several rites of purification and cleansing prescribed by the law of Moses.

Every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.] This doth not import that there was no good order kept among them, or that they were left at liberty to sacrifice where they pleased; but that, in such an uncertain state, when they were removing from place to place, many took the liberty in such matters to do as they thought good.

Ver. 9. *For ye are not yet come to the rest*] This explains what goes before, and gives the reason why God connived at some irregularities, because they were not fixed to a place, but uncertain when they should have a sign to pack up their goods, and be gone to another station.

To the inheritance,] Where they were to abide, as long as they observed God's commands.

Ver. 10. *But when ye go over Jordan,*] When their condition was altered for the better, God expected that they should be so too.

When he giveth you rest] This intimates, that the fear they were in, while they wandered in the wilderness, of the incursions of their enemies, might make them sometimes offer sacrifice where they ought not, and commit other disorders.

Ver. 11. *Then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose*] God was not pleased (as Maimonides observes) to declare anywhere in the law where this place should be: but though he often determines them to one place (ver. 26. xiv. 23. xvi. 6), yet he leaves the place undetermined. Which he ima-

fices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto the LORD :

12 And ye shall rejoice before the LORD your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your gates ; forasmuch as he hath no part nor inheritance with you.

13 Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest :

gines might be for these three reasons: first, lest the gentiles should get possession of it, and make war upon that account; thinking that this place was the end of the law (as he speaks). And, secondly, lest they, in whose hands it was, should do all they could to destroy it. And, thirdly (which is the truest reason), lest every tribe should desire to have it in their lot, and strife should arise among them about it (More Nevoeh. par. iii. cap. 45).

Thither shall ye bring all that I command you, &c.] All that he mentioned before, ver. 6. This may seem a heavy imposition, that they might not offer them in any place, and at any time; but Maimonides makes this wise reflection upon it; "That God intended to teach them, not to have so high an opinion of sacrifices, as of prayers and deprecations, and such-like parts of Divine worship (viz. acknowledging his goodness, praising him, and giving him thanks), which are the things God mainly intends, and may be offered everywhere. Whereas sacrifices are not of that account with him; which made him limit them to one place where he should appoint them to be offered; and not suffer any but one certain family to discharge this office. These and such-like things were to diminish the value of sacrifices; for which reason the prophets often reprehend men for their too great diligence and zeal in bringing sacrifices, of which God had no need, and did not principally intend as the worship he delighted in: for which he cites 1 Sam. xv. 22. Isa. i. 11. Jer. vii. 22. Sacrifices being appointed, and one place for them, not for any good in themselves, but only that all idolatry might be abolished, and the belief of the unity of God preserved" (More Nevoeh. par. iii. cap. 32).

All your choice vows] In the Hebrew the words are as our margin notes, *the choice of your vows*. So their peace-offerings, which were vows, were called; because they were to be selected out of those creatures which were perfect, and without the least defect. Whereas those creatures which had something superfluous, or lacking in any part, might be accepted for a freewill-offering, which a man was not bound to make, but brought it merely out of good-will. So we read expressly in Lev. xxii. 23.

Ver. 12. *Ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God, ye, and your sons, &c.]* The whole family was to feast with God, and one with another: whereby brotherly love and friendship were increased and strengthened, by their meeting and eating together at one place. And nothing is more joyful than to see brethren dwell together in unity (see ver. 7).

And the Levite] See x. 9. This whole tribe (as Maimonides well notes) being devoted to the Divine service, and the study of the law, neither minded ploughing nor sowing, but were wholly consecrated unto God. And, therefore, we find them very commonly reckoned among the strangers, the fatherless, and the widows, because they had no certain possessions; which made it the more reasonable they should constantly be entertained at these feasts, which were kept at God's house (More Nevoeh. par. iii. cap. 31).

14 But in the place which the LORD shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee.

15 Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh in all thy gates, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee: the unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roebuck, and as of the hart.

Ver. 13. *Offer not thy burnt offerings]* Under *burnt-offerings* are comprehended all the other offerings before mentioned; for these were the chief, and the most usual; and if they might not be offered but at a certain place, much less might any other, as every body might understand, without repeating them all again.

In every place that thou seest:] To be beautiful, lovely, and inviting, by its situation, and shady trees, and fountains, &c. Such as are mentioned ver. 2. Which the gentiles chose, perhaps, wherein to sacrifice, because they were more delightful or solemn than other. Whence Ezekiel, vi. 3, mentions rivers and valleys (together with mountains) where there were fine pastures, and springs of water; which were so pleasant and refreshing in those countries that they fancied the gods delighted in them. So St. Jerome notes upon Jer. vii. that this gentile error, *omnes provincias occupavit, &c.* "spread itself in all parts of the world," that they should offer their sacrifices at the heads of fountains and delightful groves.

Ver. 14. *But in the place which the Lord shall choose]* This he had said before, ver. 5, 6, 11, but repeats it again, because of the great importance of it, to prevent all strange worship. Elijah, indeed, offered upon Mount Carmel, after the temple was built, but it was by prophetic inspiration; and if any one at that time had asked him if they might take that liberty, he would have answered, By no means; but he that offers out of Jerusalem shall be cut off (Lev. xvii. 4), as for what I do now, it is an extraordinary case, to convince the lying prophets of Baal, &c. Thus Maimonides in Seder Zeraim.

There thou shalt do all] Bring their tithes and first-fruits before mentioned, ver. 6, and eat and rejoice before the Lord (ver. 7).

Ver. 15. *Thou mayest kill and eat flesh]* For common food.

In all thy gates,] In any city, town, or house. While they were in the wilderness, indeed, they might not kill their beasts but only at the door of the tabernacle; and, consequently, they ate nothing but peace-offerings, which had been first presented unto God, and part of them burnt at his altar (Lev. xvii. 3, 4, &c.). But when they went into Canaan, they were freely indulged to kill their beasts in any place, without bringing any part of them to the altar.

Whatsoever thy soul lusteth after,] Of all sorts of creatures, not prohibited in the eleventh of Leviticus.

Which he hath given thee:] Suitable to every man's estate and condition.

The unclean and the clean may eat thereof,] They who were under any legal uncleanness might not eat of the sacrifices; but of common food, at their ordinary tables, they might, as well as others.

As of the roebuck, and as of the hart,] He instances in these, because there was great plenty of them in that country, as Elian observes in the end of his fifth book; where he saith they were *ἐν μεγάλῳ ὄρει*, "in the highest mountains" of Amanus, Libanus, and Carmel. These creatures might not be sacrificed to

16 Only ye shall not eat the blood; ye shall pour it upon the earth as water.

17 ¶ Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil, or the firstlings of thy herds or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, or heave offering of thine hand:

18 But thou must eat them before the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter,

God: but they might eat of others which were used in sacrifice (sheep, goats, oxen), as freely as of these which were not.

Ver. 16. *Ye shall not eat the blood;*] But of the blood of those creatures they might no more eat, than of those that were sacrificed at the altar. But, as there it was to be sprinkled upon the altar, and then poured out at the foot of it, so here it was to be poured on the earth.

Ye shall pour it upon the earth as water.] So that it might sink into the ground and disappear, as water doth when it is poured on the earth. Which is so strictly enjoined, though it was not the blood of an oblation, to prevent those superstitions which were exercised by the old idolaters about the blood of their sacrifices, in which they thought their demons delighted, and by eating of which they hoped to have communion with them, as Maimonides observes, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46.

Ver. 17. *Thou mayest not eat within thy gates*] In their own private habitations.

The tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil,] This cannot be meant of the tithe paid to the Levites, which the people might not eat anywhere, being appropriated to the Levites alone: he speaking therefore of a tithe which the people might eat, though not at home, yet in the place where the sanctuary was, it must be meant of that which the Hebrews call the *second tithe*, which was set out after that to the Levites was paid. Concerning which he speaks, xiv. 22, 23, &c.

Or the firstlings of thy herds, or of thy flock,] These were entirely the priests' portion by an express law (Numb. xviii. 15, 17, 18), and therefore could not lawfully be eaten by the people, either at home, or at the sanctuary. Which makes it necessary to understand this of some other *firstlings*; and it is not improbable that it is meant of the females which open the womb: for the males only were the Lord's (as appears from Exod. xiii. and other places), who gave them to his priests; but he would have the first-born females also to be in some sort sacred, by requiring them to be eaten at his sanctuary, where his priests had their share of them. For I see no ground to think, that as there was a *secondary tithe*, so there was a *secondary firstling* set apart by every man to this use.

Nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, &c.] All such things were also wholly the Lord's (Lev. xxvii. 28), and given by him to his priests (Numb. xviii. 14). But that is only to be understood of what was vowed to God absolutely, without mentioning any particular use to which it was designed. Besides which, they might vow what they pleased to be spent in solemn feasts with the Levites, the widows, the fatherless, and other poor people; and of such Moses here speaks.

Heave offering] These were first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, as I said upon ver. 6. which were also the priests' portion (Numb. xviii. 12). Therefore this can be meant of no other first-fruits but such as

and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates: and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God in all that thou puttest thine hands unto.

19 Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon the earth.

20 ¶ When the Lord thy God shall enlarge thy border, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul longeth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after.

men freely offered, without any obligation to it, to be spent in this fashion: for he was speaking before of such kind of things; unless we will understand this of the first-fruits of young trees, which might not be eaten in three years after they were planted, but in the fourth year were "to be holy, to praise the Lord withal" (Lev. xix. 24), which, as Josephus saith, were spent in these sacred feasts (see there).

Ver. 18.] See before, ver. 11, 12.

Ver. 19.] He gives this caution, lest covetousness should make them defraud the Levites of their tithes, and not let them have convenient habitations, or profaneness make them not invite them to the sacred feasts before spoken of. This is repeated xiv. 27. And in this the Jews were so careful, that when there was such increase of the Levites that their cities could not contain them, they assigned them more than were given them at first: for Joshua gave them only forty-eight; but before the captivity of Babylon they had twenty more added to them, as appears from 1 Chron. vi. 65, 66, &c. where, after the mention of the old number, there is an account given of twenty more added to them out of several tribes: for though they could not enlarge the bounds prescribed to their cities, yet, as the number of Levites increased, they might give them new cities. And so they did, that they might not be straitened in their dwellings among them.

Ver. 20. *Shall enlarge thy border.*] That is, when he had brought them out of this wilderness, where they were encamped round about the tabernacle, into a spacious country, where they might live far distant from it.

As he hath promised thee,] Which he promised to enlarge, even as far as Euphrates, if they were obedient to him (Gen. xv. 18).

I will eat flesh,] Have a desire to eat it.

Because thy soul longeth] There were several sorts of flesh that were lawful to be eaten, which they could not have in the wilderness, and therefore might be supposed to desire them very much when they came into Canaan, which abounded with them. And besides, they would have more plenty of such cattle as they now had, which might incline them to keep greater tables.

Thou mayest eat flesh,] This was said before, ver. 15, and now repeated with all the rest that belongs to this matter, to let them see God did not intend to abridge them too much of their liberty: for though they might not eat the tithe of their corn, wine, and oil, (and the rest mentioned ver. 17), at their own home, because they were holy things, and therefore to be eaten in one certain place, where God's sanctuary was; yet all sorts of flesh, used at their private tables, he now gives them leave to kill anywhere, without bringing it to the tabernacle, and offering the blood at the altar, as they were tied to do while they were in the wilderness (Lev. xvii. 3, 4, &c.). For then the tabernacle was very near to every one of them; but when their border was enlarged, it must

21 If the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the Lord hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after.

22 Even as the roebuck and the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat them: the unclean and the clean shall eat of them alike.

23 Only be sure that thou eat not the blood: for the blood is the life; and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh.

24 Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water.

25 Thou shalt not eat it; that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when thou shalt do *that which is right* in the sight of the Lord.

26 Only thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go unto the place which the Lord shall choose:

27 And thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the Lord thy God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of the Lord thy God, and thou shalt eat the flesh.

28 Observe and hear all these words which I commanded thee, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee for ever, when thou doest *that which is good and right* in the sight of the Lord thy God.

29 ¶ When the Lord thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest to possess them, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their land;

30 Take heed to thyself that thou be not

needs be at so great a distance from some of them, that it would have been too heavy a burden to oblige them to kill every thing they ate at the tabernacle, and therefore he dispenses with it.

Ver. 21. *If the place, &c.*] The particle *chi* may better be translated here *because*; which makes these words a reason of the allowance given in the foregoing verse, "Because the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to put his name there, is too far from thee, thou mayest kill," &c.

Of thy herd] Such creatures as are now allowed for sacrifice, oxen, sheep, lambs, and goats.

Which the Lord hath given thee,] For food as well as other uses.

As I have commanded thee,] Given thee leave to eat at home, without carrying them to the tabernacle: so it follows, "And thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after;" i. e. all manner of things, of which there was great variety, not prohibited by this law.

Ver. 22. *Even as the roebuck and the hart is eaten,*] Which were creatures not allowed to be offered to God in sacrifice (see ver. 15), and therefore they might less doubt to eat of them, than of such as were peculiarly appointed for that use. From which they might possibly have thought, that out of reverence to God they should abstain; but are here satisfied they might as freely eat of them as of the other.

The unclean and the clean shall eat of them alike.] Whereas, while they were in the wilderness, only such as were clean might eat flesh, because it was sanctified by being killed at the altar; now all are indulged the same liberty, whether "they were removed from holy things (as the Jerusalem Targum expresses it), or were pure to use them, both might eat flesh alike."

Ver. 23. *Eat not the blood.*] Take great care, as the word signifies in the Hebrew (which is, *be strong*), use thy utmost diligence to prevent this.

For the blood is the life;] See what I have noted upon Gen. ix. 4. Lev. xvii. 11. 14.

Ver. 24. ¶ Since they could not pour it out at the altar, where nobody could meddle with it, they were to pour it out on the earth, that it might sink into it: Or, as the law required in Leviticus (xvii. 13), cover it with dust, that the cattle might not lick it up: or, the meaning may be, pour it as a common thing (which *water* is), without any religious rite used about it.

Ver. 25. *Thou shalt not eat it;*] This is repeated here so often, as it is also in Lev. xvii., to show the weightiness of this command.

That it may go well with thee,] When they neither followed the idolatrous customs which the gentiles used about the blood, nor profanely meddled with that which was peculiar to God, when it was offered at the altar: which was the great reason why they were prohibited to eat blood.

Ver. 26. ¶ Only he would have them not to forget that the things mentioned ver. 17. they were not to eat at home, but at the house of God, though it was never so far distant from them.

Ver. 27. *Thou shalt offer—upon the altar*] No sacrifices were to be offered anywhere but at the sanctuary, as he had said before, ver. 6, and now reminds them of it, that they might observe it, and do accordingly.

The blood—shall be poured out] All their peace-offerings, as well as others, were to be there offered, and their blood poured on the altar as a holy thing; whereas the blood of those creatures they killed at home was poured out, as a common thing, like water.

Thou shalt eat the flesh.] After God and his priests had their parts.

Ver. 28. *That it may go well with thee,*] This was the great commandment, to serve God alone: and the observance of it was the great condition upon which all their happiness depended; which makes him again press their care in this matter.

When thou doest that which is good and right] Please God by a strict obedience to this precept.

Ver. 29. ¶ See ix. 1.

Ver. 30. ¶ *Take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them,*] It is plain from hence, that in this chapter, as well as in the foregoing, he is still endeavouring to secure them from the idolatrous customs of the country which they went to possess; which is the ground of the following prohibition, about which he could not say too much, they being so prone to idolatry, and the danger they incurred thereby so exceeding great. There are some of the Jews who think, that by *following them* is meant following their fashions in their clothes, and in their ornaments (as it is explained in the book Siphri), which might entice them to imitate their religious rites, which it appears by the next words are principally intended.

After that they be destroyed] It was the most unaccountable folly to worship the gods of those nations, whom they saw expelled their country for their idolatries.

Inquire not after their Gods,] They were not so much as to ask what gods they worshipped.

Saying, How did these nations serve their gods?]

snares by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise.

31 Thou shalt not do so unto the LORD thy God: for every abomination to the LORD, which

he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods.

32 What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

Nor endeavour to know the manner of their worship: Which was very different, as Maimonides observes, according as their gods differed one from another; for that sort of worship which was acceptable to one god, might not be given to another. As they uncovered themselves (if we may believe him) before Baal-Peor, and threw a stone to Mercury. See his tract concerning the worship of the Planets, cap. 3. sect. 2, &c. and Dionys. Vossius' annotations there; where he resolves, that, if they uncovered themselves to Mercury, or threw a stone to Baal-Peor, it was not idolatry, because not their proper worship: which is a foolish opinion; for they were not to use any of their religious rites, no more than to offer sacrifice, burn incense, or bow down to any of their idols, which he acknowledges was idolatry. In short, if they gave the idol the worship proper to him, or that worship which was proper to the true God, he acknowledges they were guilty.

Even so will I do likewise.] Though men only resolve to do it, yet they were guilty of committing this sin. The Jews, indeed, make no great account of sins committed in the heart, yet in this case they are very strict, having framed this maxim, as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. cccxvi. which their rabbins industriously inculcate into their scholars, that "the blessed God imputes no thought of any transgression to an Israelite, as if it were the fact itself, except only the thought of idolatry, which is imputed to a man as if he had committed idolatry." Now it was a reasonable presumption, that he who inquired how the people of Canaan worshipped their gods, intended at least to worship the God of Israel, as they did those idols: and this gave too much cause to suspect, that he had an inclination to worship their idols instead of God: for otherwise he would have rested content with that way of worshipping God which the law had prescribed. Whereupon the Jews have determined (as our Mr. Thorndike hath observed), that there are four ceremonies, which, whosoever performs to any thing but to God alone, must be understood to worship it for God; which are sacrificing, burning incense, pouring out drink-offerings, and adoration. But others there are, by doing which men cannot be concluded to worship any thing but God, till they do it in that way and fashion as is done by those who profess to worship it for God. (See his Principles of Christian Truth, chap. 26.)

Ver. 31. *Thou shalt not do so*] See ver. 4. of which the reason is here given.

Every abomination—have they done unto their gods;] For instance: "The Zabii (saith Maimonides), I find in their books, offered to their great god, the sun, seven bats, and seven mice, and seven other creeping

things: which alone may suffice to demonstrate how vile and abominable their worship was, and what reason there was so severely to prohibit their idolatry and every thing pertaining to it" (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29).

Their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire.] This is the great instance of their abominable wickedness. Of which, see Lev. xviii. 21. xx. 2. This was notoriously practised by the Carthaginians, who, it is certain, derived it from the Phœnicians, the ancient inhabitants of this country. Plato mentions it in Protagora, where he saith, "The Athenian laws did not permit them to sacrifice men; but among the Carthaginians it was a holy rite; so that some of them permitted their sons to be offered to Saturn:" which wicked custom at last overspread all nations, even the Greeks themselves, as Joh. Gensius hath demonstrated, lib. De Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 11. and par. ii. cap. 6.

Ver. 32. *Observe to do it:*] Keep close to the precepts I have given you about my worship, ver. 28, and see iv. 2.

Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.] They were not to add any other rites of worship of their own devising, or from the idolatrous customs of those countries, nor omit any of those which God had commanded them to use: for if they had used any of the gentile ceremonies, whereby they honoured their gods, it would easily have introduced the worship of the gods themselves; and if they had omitted any of the rites which God had ordained, some other would have easily stepped into their room which were used by idolaters.

Maimonides, from these words, labours to prove the "eternity of the law of Moses." But it is very strange that so great a man should be so blind as not to see what some of his brethren could discern, that God did not bind up himself neither to change nor alter these laws, though he did not permit the Israelites to do it. So the author of Sepher Ikkarim wisely glosses upon these words (lib. iii. cap. 14): "The Scripture prohibits us to add unto, or detract from, these precepts, according to our will and pleasure; but what hinders the blessed God either to add or detract, when his blessed wisdom shall think fit? Which he illustrates in the foregoing chapter, by this example among others: A physician prescribes a diet to his patient, for such a time as he judges convenient, which he doth not declare to the sick man. Now when the time comes that the physician hath obtained his end, he changes the diet, and permits his patient what he formerly forbade, and prohibits that which he formerly permitted, Which exactly agrees to what our blessed Saviour had done."

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Enticers to idoiatry, 6 how near soever unto thee, 9 are to be stoned to death. 12 Idolatrous cities are not to be spared.*

1 If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder,

2 And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them;

3 Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the LORD your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul.

4 Ye shall walk after the LORD your God, and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him.

5 And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the LORD thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *If there arise among you*] In future times.

A prophet.] One that pretends to have a message from God delivered to him in a vision, or by the word of the Lord: for there was a constant succession of prophets (to whom God revealed his mind several ways) among the Jews, to preserve them in the true worship of God, and instruct them in their law, and admonish them on some occasion of things to come; which was the more necessary, because there were such kind of persons among the gentiles.

Or a dreamer of dreams.] Who pretended God had appeared to him in a dream, (as he did unto Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 11.) and revealed his mind to him. Such there were in Jeremiah's time (Jer. xxix. 8).

Giveth thee a sign] Foretell something.

Or a wonder.] By what follows one would think this belongs to the foregoing words, which are to be understood as if he had said, "If he foretell some wonderful thing," which shall shortly come to pass. Or, it may be interpreted, "shall work a miracle;" unto which the heathen did not so much pretend, as they did to predictions, which were common among them.

Ver. 2. *And the sign or the wonder come to pass.*] The event confirms the prediction; so that he seem a true prophet.

Saying, Let us go after other gods.] And, consequently, he persuade you to worship other gods, which he pretends is demonstrated to be lawful, by the fulfilling of his sign and wonder.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer*] Notwithstanding, look upon him as a liar, and not as a true prophet: for God cannot contradict himself, nor do any thing to persuade men to forsake him, and give his worship to another. This shows that he still pursues his intention (in this chapter, as well as all the foregoing), to establish them in the belief and worship of one God, according to the first commandment, from which nothing was more likely to seduce them, than false prophets, who were the great instruments of establishing the foulest idolatry in Israel, as appears from 1 Kings xviii. 19, where we read of no less than four hundred prophets of Baal, and four hundred and fifty prophets of the groves, that is, of other false gods, particularly Astarte, as Mr. Selden conjectures, in his Syntagma ii. De Diis Syris, cap. 2. And there could not be a greater demonstration that a man was a false prophet, than if he endeavoured to draw them to the worship of other gods, or if he pretended to speak in the name of any

other God (Deut. xviii. 20), or if he commanded them to offer such sacrifices as God abhorred. Thus Aristander (as David Chytraeus notes) discovered himself to be a false prophet, though he foretold the destruction of Babylon; for he required human sacrifices to be offered: as Tiresias also predicted victory to the Thebans, provided Creon's son was offered up in sacrifice: and Chalcas at the time of the siege of Troy, but together therewith commanded the sacrifice of Iphigenia. These, and such-like things, plainly discovered they were not inspired by God, who is the lover of mankind, and cannot delight in their blood.

For the LORD your God proveth you.] That there might be an open and public discovery made, whether they sincerely loved God or not, or were steadfast in their religion. So Maimonides in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 21. "God would make known to the nations of the world the measure of your faith, in the truth of this law, and of the approbation wherewith you apprehend it," &c. For it had been a great weakness to suffer even a miracle to shake their faith, after it had been confirmed by so many miracles.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall walk after the LORD your God.*] Follow the will of God (as Maimonides interprets it), declared by himself (More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 33). Which is a plainer and more genuine interpretation than that of the Gemara of Soto, cap. 1. sect. 52. where R. Chama expounds it of imitating God, in clothing the naked, visiting the sick, burying the dead, &c. for "beneficence is the beginning and the end of the Divine law." Which is a pious sense, but not here intended.

Fear him.] Worship him alone, (vi. 2.)

Keep his commandments.] The greatest of which is this (xi. 13).

Obey his voice.] Which you heard from Mount Sinai, saying, "Thou shalt have no other gods but me."

Ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him.] Steadfastly adhere unto his service, and not be drawn from it by any persuasion.

Ver. 5. *That prophet, or that dreamer*] These two signify persons who pretend to different sorts of revelations, by vision or by dreams.

Shall be put to death.] This the Jews interpret to signify strangulation, unto which, upon good proof of the fact, he was to be sentenced by the great Sanhedrin: for that was a received maxim among them, that "a lying prophet was to be judged no where but by the council of seventy." (See Selden, lib. iii. De Synedriis, cap. 6. n. 1).

Because he hath spoken to turn you away from the

6 ¶ If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers;

7 *Namely, of the gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth;*

8 Thou shalt not consent unto him, nor

hearken unto him; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him:

9 But thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people.

10 And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die; because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.

Lord] Persuaded you to forsake your God and his service, to whom you owe your liberty and all your possessions in the land of Canaan.

To thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in.] These words express how zealous such impostors were in their importunities, and how restless in their endeavours to draw men to idolatry, pressing them so earnestly, as if they would force them to it.

So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee.] i. e. The danger of idolatry; by taking away the life of him that would have seduced others unto it.

Ver. 6. *If thy brother,*] Who lay in the same womb with him.

Or thy son, or thy daughter,] Who were dearer than a brother.

Or the wife of thy bosom,] Who was still dearer, sleeping in the same bed with him, as the Jerusalem Targum expounds it.

Or thy friend, which is as thine own soul,] Whom thou lovest as thou dost thy life. He puts a friend in the chief place, (as the son of Sirach also doth, Eccles. xxxiii. 19.) which their wives, by the ill choice they made of them, had not always in their affection.

Here is no mention of father or mother, because a child, as the Hebrews fancy, was to have more reverence for them, than to accuse them of any crime whatsoever. As if a greater regard was to be had to them than to God himself. The true reason is, because there was no need to name them; for, if their piety to God was to overcome their love to all those relations before mentioned, it could not be supposed that respect to parents was to come into competition with it.

Entice thee secretly.] In the foregoing verses he speaks of an open seducer, and here of a secret one; there of one that came with authority, and here of one of the ordinary people.

Saying, Let us go and serve other gods,] The Jews think this is meant of one who invited others to idolatry, but did not press them with reasons, as in the former case. Which is not likely; for all men pretend some reason or other for such a great alteration as that to a new religion.

Which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers;] This aggravates the crime; to entice them to forsake God, who was known to have done such wonders for their fathers, and was so good to them, and go to serve gods with whom they had no acquaintance.

Ver. 7. *Of the gods of the people which are round about you,*] Whosoever they were (for several nations had several gods), whether in the neighbouring countries, or in remote parts; it made no difference at all, if they were strange gods.

From the one end of the earth even unto the other] The enticer might possibly suggest the universality of the worship to which he invited him, as an argument to embrace it.

Ver. 8. *Thou shalt not consent unto him,*] As many words as there are in this verse, the Jews think there are so many precepts. The first of which is this, not

to be led by affection and kindness to yield unto his motion. So they interpret these words, "thou shalt not love him."

Nor hearken unto him;] I do not see how this differs from the former; but they interpret it, that "they ought to hate him," as well as his motion. So Maimonides, in his book of the Worship of the Planets (cap. 5. sect. 6, 7).

Neither shall thine eye pity him,] This they fancy signifies, that, if he were in danger of death, they should not help him, but let him perish.

Neither shalt thou spare,] When he was brought before the judge, they were not to intercede for him, nor say any thing in his favour, nor assist him to defend himself.

Neither shalt thou conceal him;] Dissemble any thing that might make against him. And, no doubt, God intended by all these words to signify, that he ought to be looked upon as his greatest enemy; upon whom therefore they were to have no mercy, but to prosecute him unto death, as guilty of the highest treason against the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 9. *But thou shalt surely kill him;*] Not privately, as he enticed others, but by a legal process against him in a court of judgment. And that not the highest, but in the court of twenty-three, who might proceed against him, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 6. The only difficulty was, how to prove him guilty who enticed another *secretly* (as the text saith), and not before witnesses. To which the Jews answer, That he who was enticed was to dispose some persons as secretly near to the place of their next meeting, who might hear all he said, and testify it in court.

Thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death,] He was to be stoned to death, and the accuser was to throw the first stone at him, together with the witnesses (xvii. 7). For it would have weakened the credit of his accusation if he had not been the foremost in the execution (see xvii. 7).

Afterwards the hand of all the people.] Who were to assist in the execution of this sentence.

The first words of this verse, which we translate, "Thou shalt surely kill him," the Vulgar Latin translates, "Thou shalt forthwith kill him." And so the Jews understand the Hebrew phrase, "Killing thou shalt kill him;" i. e. immediately have him before the court of judgment. As the LXX. understood it, ἀναγγέλων ἀγγέλεις πρὸς αὐτοῦ, "informing thou shalt inform against him," that is, without delay. And accordingly the Jews add, that, after he was condemned, he was immediately also put to death. Whereas in other crimes the execution was respite, after the sentence was pronounced, for a day and a night, that the man might have time to clear his innocence, if he were able, by any new proofs. Such severity was but needful among a people prone to idolatry, and encompassed on all sides with idolatrous nations.

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt stone him with stones, that he*

11 And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is among you.

12 ¶ If thou shalt hear *say* in one of thy cities, which the Lord thy God hath given thee to dwell there, saying,

13 *Certain men, the children of Belial, are*

die;} But if, upon admonition, he desisted from his enticement, and repented of what he had said to his neighbour, and resolved himself not to worship other gods, he was not bound to inform against him.

Because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord, &c.] See ver. 5. The very attempt of this was criminal, though he did not prevail in his seducement.

Ver. 11.] The end of this severity was to preserve the body of the people from the contagion of idolatry. Nothing being more apt to deter men from crimes than such exemplary punishments of them. So Callimachus, in his hymn to Ceres (ver. 23), makes this the design of the punishment she inflicted on Erysichthon,

ὅνα καὶ τὴς ὑπερβουλίας ἀνέστηται

"that others might shun the like transgression."

Ver. 12.] If the infection was spread into a city, or a considerable part of it, there was still more danger, and greater severity was to be used, to prevent the whole country about it from being drawn away from their allegiance to the Divine Majesty. And therefore, upon such an information as follows in the next verse (which is here meant by *thou shalt hear say*), given to the great Sanhedrin, they were to do as is directed ver. 14.

Ver. 13. *Children of Belial*.] So the most profligate wretches are called in Scripture (Judg. xix. 22. 1 Sam. i. 16. x. 27. xxv. 17. 25), signifying lawless persons, who had no regard either to God or men.

Gone out from among you.] Left the worship of God at the tabernacle: for it doth not signify their forsaking the city (in which they continued to seduce men from their religion), but forsaking their communion in Divine service. By which many have well observed that place in St. John may be interpreted, 1 John ii. 19.

Have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city.] The Hebrew word which we here translate *withdraw*, is twice before (ver. 5. 10) translated *thrust away*; signifying only earnest endeavors to seduce men from their religion. But here it seems to signify also the effect of those endeavors, whereby they had prevailed with men to forsake the God of Israel, or to worship other gods with him.

Let us go and serve other gods.] Strange gods, as they are often called in Scripture, which the nations round about them worshipped (ver. 7), but were always abhorred by true Israelites.

Ver. 14. *Then shalt thou enquire, and make search, and ask diligently*;} The great Sanhedrin, who only could take cognizance of this crime, were upon this information to send some, on whose fidelity they could rely, to examine the truth of the report which was spread abroad, concerning the defection of a city to the worship of other gods; who were to use their utmost care and diligence in this inquisition, and, by all possible means, endeavor to find whether or not the information was true. For it was a matter of great concernment, that neither the innocent should suffer, nor apostates go unpunished. But the punishment being so dreadful, there was the greater exactness used to be certain of the crime; and there were likewise a great many *temperaments* (as Mr. Selden calls them) found by the Jewish lawyers (partly from the nicest interpretation of every syllable

gone out from among you, and have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known;

14 Then shalt thou enquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and, behold, *if it be truth*, and the thing certain, *that* such abomination is wrought among you;

in these two verses, and partly from the pretended tradition of their elders), whereby they mitigated the sharpness of this law. For they would not proceed upon it to destroy a city, though they found them idolaters unless the seducers were *two*, or more; and those also *men*, not *women*; because the law here speaks in the plural number, of *certain men*, children of Belial. As if their forsaking God was not a crime, whether they were persuaded to it or not by others. They say, also, it was not to be a mere *town*, or *village*, but a *city*; because the words here are *in one of thy cities*, in which there were more than a hundred houses: if there were fewer, it was no city in their account, and so escaped. They who seduced a city also were to be of the same city; because it is said here, These men of Belial are gone out from *among you*. All which are mere quirks, which have no solid reason in them. They are all mentioned together in the title Sanhedrin, set forth by J. Coch, cap. 11. sect. 4. and by Maimonides more largely, in his Avoda Zara, and our Selden, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 5. n. 2.

But there are other *temperaments* of this law, which have no foundation in reason. As, first, that a city was not to be destroyed, unless the major part of the inhabitants were fallen off to serve other gods. And, secondly, that the law speaks only of lesser cities, not of those which were so large that the greatest part of a tribe lived in it; for God would not have a whole tribe cut off by the senate. Thirdly, they might not destroy any of the six cities of refuge, because they were none of theirs, but God's: and the words of the law are, "In one of *thy cities*, which the Lord hath given thee to dwell in;" whereas these were given for a further purpose. And, fourthly, some add, not a frontier town; because it is said, "in the midst of thee" (so the words are in the Hebrew, which we translate *among you*), to which they subjoin a better reason, because the whole country might have been exposed to be overrun with the gentiles. And, lastly, they except Jerusalem from this law, because it was God's seat; and (as Maimonides will have it) it was not distributed to any particular tribe. Which, how it is to be understood, see Selden in the place above named, sect. 3, 4, where he touches upon all these. But, if Jerusalem was to be excepted from the judgment of men, God took care to have this sentence executed upon it by his own judgment; for he sent Nebuchadnezzar against it, whose soldiers burnt with fire both the house of the Lord, and the house of the king, and all the houses of Jerusalem (Jer. lii. 13).

If it be truth,—that such abomination is wrought among you;} If the inquisitors found, upon due examinations, that there was a plain and evident proof of their guilt, they were to make their report to the great Sanhedrin; who, being satisfied that either the whole city, or the greater part of them, were fallen to idolatry, sent to them two men of extraordinary wisdom (who were candidates for the senatorial dignity) to admonish them, and, by arguments and persuasions, to endeavour to reduce them to the worship of the Lord God of Israel. And if they prevailed, they were pardoned, and no further proceedings against them; but if they continued obstinate, then

15 Thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword.

16 And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof every whit, for the Lord thy God: and it shall be an heap for ever; it shall not be built again.

17 And there shall cleave nought of the

the Sanhedrin commanded the people of Israel to raise an army, and besiege the place, and enter it by force, if they could not otherways. And when the city was taken, several courts were appointed to try and condemn all that were guilty. Thus Maimonides, in the forenamed treatise, reports the method of proceeding, out of their ancient authors (see Selden, sect. 6).

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city*] The same author there saith, that, in the hearing of their cause, every one who was found guilty of idolatry, after admonition, by two witnesses, was set aside: and if they proved to be the lesser part of the city, they were stoned (according to the law of single apostates), the rest being freed from punishment: but if they were the greater part of it, they were sent to the great Sanhedrin, who adjudged them to be cut off by the sword, together with their wives and children. And thus the whole city was to be punished if there was an universal defection.

Destroying it utterly,] In the Hebrew the word is, *Thou shalt make it a cherem, or "an accursed thing."* And so the LXX. *'Αναθήματα ἀναθηματίζεσθαι*, where the Vulgar translates it as we do, "*Thou shalt utterly destroy it;*" which is consonant to the notion of the Hebrew word (see Selden, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 7. p. 131). So that if any righteous man had any thing therein at that time, it was to be destroyed, as the very words are in the title Sanhedrin, cap. 11. sect. 5. But it is to be supposed, that all who feared God would remove their effects, together with themselves, from so wicked a place, before sentence was pronounced against them. On the contrary, they say, the goods of the idolaters, whosoever they were found, whether within the city or without, were to be burnt.

Ver. 16. *Gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street*] Into the market-place, as the Jews interpret it. Or, if it had none, they were to make a spacious place, into which all the spoil and the household stuff was to be brought, and fire set to it, to consume it, as an anathema, or cursed thing. What temperaments, as they called them, there were to mitigate the severity of this sentence, see Mr. Selden, in the place forenamed, sect. 7.

And shalt burn with fire the city,] For the vindication of God's honour, and preserving men in their allegiance to him. R. Simeon, in the title Sanhedrin, interprets it in this manner, sect. 6. "Thus saith the Lord, If you do justice upon a city full of idolatry,

cursed thing to thine hand: that the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and shew thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee, and multiply thee, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers;

18 When thou shalt hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep all his commandments which I command thee this day, to do that which is right in the eyes of the Lord thy God.

I will account it, as if you had offered a whole burnt-offering unto me."

It shall not be built again.] The Hebrew doctors do not entirely agree in the interpretation of these words. For some of them say (in that place of the Sanhedrin now named), that they were not so much as to make a garden or orchard in that place. Others of them say, though it might not be restored into the form of a city, yet they might employ the ground in plantations of trees. But there are those who interpret the words so rigidly, that they think it was not lawful to erect any building there, not so much as a dove-house, but it was to lie waste (see Selden, sect. 8). If any man did attempt to build such a city, he was to be beaten, as the same great man observes, lib. i. De Synedr. cap. 13. p. 558.

Ver. 17. *There shall cleave nought of the cursed thing to thine hand:*] They were not to take the smallest part of the spoil to their own use. "For as long as the wicked are in the world (say the Jews in the forenamed title Sanhedrin), the fierce anger of God will remain in the world; but when they are removed the wrath of God also will cease." Now the wickedness of purloining any thing that was a *cherem*, as the Hebrews call it, or an *accursed thing*, appears in the story of Achan, who brought all Israel into danger by it, as we read in the seventh of Joshua. And Saul is an eminent example of it also, for he lost his kingdom for this sin (1 Sam. xv. 3. 9. 19. 26, &c.).

That the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger,] This explains, in part, what he means in the former verse, when he bids them burn the city and the spoil, "for the Lord their God," i. e. to pacify the Divine Majesty, who was highly incensed by such a wickedness. The punishment of which was, indeed, very terrible, but very necessary; because the crime was of so high a nature, that it struck at the very foundation of their religion and government.

Shew thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee,] God promises to deal the better with them, for executing this judgment upon such dangerous offenders.

Multiply thee,] They were not to fear any want of people, by cutting off such a multitude; for God promises to increase them by this loss.

Ver. 18.] It was not sufficient that they kept themselves from idolatry, unless they also executed his vengeance upon idolaters: for the inflicting the punishment before named was as right in his eyes, as the observance of any other of his precepts.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *God's children are not to disfigure themselves in mourning.* 3 *What may, and what may not be eaten, 4 of beasts, 9 of fishes, 11 of fowls.* 21 *That which dieth of itself may not be eaten.* 22 *Tithes of divine service.* 23 *Tithes and firstlings of rejoicing before the Lord.* 28 *The third year's tithe of alms and charity*

1 YE are the children of the LORD your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.

2 For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God, and the LORD hath chosen thee to be a

peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth.

3 ¶ Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing.

4 These are the beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat,

CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *Ye are the children of the Lord your God:]* So the Lord had owned them to be, when he sent Moses unto Pharaoh; to command him to dismiss Israel; telling him he was "his son, even his first-born" (Exod. iv. 22, 23). This was a good reason, therefore, why they should own no other God but him; and, consequently, follow none of the customs of idolatrous people, but be wholly governed by his laws.

Ye shall not cut yourselves:] This might seem to forbid the making any incisions in their body, as the heathen did (at least in future times), who marked themselves thereby to belong to such and such gods (for the Israelites had received the mark of God in their flesh by circumcision, which obliged them to receive no other), if the following words did not plainly determine this to their cutting themselves for the dead; which hath been sufficiently explained in Lev. xix. 28. Yet it is fit to note, that the Jerusalem Targum expounds this of "incisions here and there for idolatry." And it may be further observed, that the heathen were wont to cut themselves in pangs of devotion (as appears by the priests of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 28), as well as when they were full of sorrow and grief for the dead (Jer. xvi. 6), and in all public calamities (Jer. xli. 5, xlvii. 5). All which arose from an opinion they had, that the more they afflicted themselves, the less they should be afflicted by God.

Nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead:] Some of the heathen, saith Theodoret (Quæst. 13, upon this book), cut off all their hair, and offered it to the dead; others shaved their beards; and others their eye-brows and eye-lids, or (which some think is the meaning of "between their eyes") the hair in the forefront of their head, or near their temples, as R. Solomon interprets it. Which seems to be the meaning of the Jerusalem Targum, which translates it "Ye shall not make any baldness in the house of your countenance." And whether it were done with a razor, or they used any art, by plasters or ointments, to make the hair fall off, it was the same crime, as Maimonides saith, that is, a piece of idolatry. For this was practised, not merely to make themselves look ruefully, but there was some respect to their gods in it, which is the reason it is here prohibited. Certain it is, that in aftertimes the gentiles pulled off their hair, or cut it off, and laid it upon the face or the breast of the dead, or in their sepulchres, to pacify the infernal gods. We find instances of it in Homer. And likewise they made incisions in their flesh, and spilt their blood at funerals, with the same intention, to appease the gods below, and make them kind to the dead (see our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 2, 3).

All which shows that Moses still pursues the argument, which he begins at the sixth chapter, and hath continued ever since, to press upon them the strict observance of the first commandment. Inasmuch,

that he would not have them use any of the rites which were used at their funerals by those that worshipped other gods.

Ver. 2.] The very same words, in a manner, we had before, vii. 6, as a reason why they should destroy the images of the heathen, &c. Which shows he is still speaking of the idolatrous customs which they should eschew, because they were separated to God as a peculiar people by laws different from all other nations. The author of Sepher Cosri speaks not amiss, That the people of Israel were called God's *Segullah*, because they were elected by him to enjoy special privileges above other people; and brought by him for that end out of the land of Egypt in a wonderful manner, and then had his glory dwelling among them. From whence it is, that he doth not say in the preface to the ten commandments, "I am the Lord of heaven and earth," or "thy Creator," and therefore thou shalt have no other gods but me; but "I am the Lord thy God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt," &c., to show that this law was given peculiarly to them; and that they were tied to it, by virtue of their deliverance out of Egypt, and God's placing his glory among them. Whereas, if they had been bound to it by virtue of their creation, it would have belonged to other nations as well as to them (par. i. sect. 27).

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing.]* All the meats forbidden by God to be eaten are called *abominable*, not merely because his prohibition made them so, but because the gentile superstition had consecrated most of them to their gods (see upon Lev. xi. 2.) However, after this law was given, the Jews were to look upon them as *abominable*; by which means they were kept from having such free conversation, as otherwise they would have had, with their idolatrous neighbours. So that this law also was intended to preserve them in the true religion.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall eat:]* The original of the difference of meats, see in the learned J. Wagenseil, in his *Tela Ignea*, p. 553, &c., where he shows it was not to continue for ever. And it is a rational account of this, which I just now gave, that hereby they were preserved from common conversation with other nations, and consequently from their idolatries. But it is a mere fancy, and indeed a proud imagination, which some of the Jews have (particularly the author of Schebet Judah), that as men are more excellent than beasts, because they have better food, so Jews are more excellent than all other men, because they do not feed upon all sorts of animals, but only of some certain kinds; and that after much preparation, by rejecting the blood and the fat, &c. whereby they fancy the flesh is so much altered, that it is not so much flesh as some other food.

The ox, the sheep, and the goat,] These were the only beasts that were offered in sacrifice to God; and therefore are the first that are mentioned as clean for their use.

5 The hart, and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois.

6 And every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, *and* cheweth the cud among the beasts, that ye shall eat.

7 Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the cloven hoof; as the camel, and the hare, and the coney: for they chew the cud, but divide not the hoof; *therefore they are* unclean unto you.

8 And the swine, because it divideth the hoof, yet cheweth not the cud, it is unclean unto you: ye shall not eat of their flesh, nor touch their dead carcase.

9 ¶ These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: all that have fins and scales shall ye eat:

10 And whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye may not eat; it is unclean unto you.

11 ¶ Of all clean birds ye shall eat.

12 But these *are they* of which ye shall not

eat: the eagle, and the ossifrage, and the ospray,

13 And the glede, and the kite, and the vulture after his kind,

14 And every raven after his kind,

15 And the owl, and the night hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind,

16 The little owl, and the great owl, and the swan,

17 And the pelican, and the gier eagle, and the cormorant,

18 And the stork, and the heron after her kind, and the lapwing, and the bat.

19 And every creeping thing that flieth is unclean unto you: they shall not be eaten.

20 *But* of all clean fowls ye may eat.

21 ¶ Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat of it; or thou mayest sell it unto an alien: for thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not see the kid in his mother's milk.

Ver. 5. *The hart, and the roebuck,*] These, and the rest that follow in this verse, though they might not be offered in sacrifice, were allowed to be eaten; and seem to be mentioned as the principal food in the land of Canaan (xii. 15, 22).

Fallow deer,] It is not very material what the word *jackmur* signifies, because we are not now concerned in this law about difference of meats; therefore we may follow our translation, as well as any other: and the famous Bochartus hath made it probable, that it signifies either a kind of deer or of goat (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 23).

Wild goat,] So the Hebrew word *akko* signifies (which is nowhere else to be found), the same author proves in the same book, cap. 19.

Pygarg,] This is also a kind of doe or goat (as he shows, cap. 22), which the Hebrews call *dison*. We find mention of *pygargus* in Juvenal's eleventh satire; where the old scholiast gives this account of it: that it is a kind of deer, *quæ retriores partes albas habet*, "whose hinder parts are white." From whence it had its name among the Greeks, who call the buttocks *Πύργος*.

Wild ox,] So we translate the Hebrew word *theo*, or *tho*. But herein Bochartus dissents; because there were no such creatures in Judea (as he observes there, cap. 26), which are bred in colder countries. And therefore he reckons this also among his deer or goats (cap. 28).

Chamois,] The Hebrew word *zemer* he also thinks signifies as the former, a kind of goat or hart; of which there was great variety in those countries. And this he thinks of all other was *maxime à τοῖς*, "remarkable for jumping;" which is the signification of the word *zemara* in the Arabic language (see cap. 21).

Ver. 6.] He forbears to reckon up any more particulars, and only sets down the general marks whereby they might be known; which he had delivered in Lev. xi. 3 (see there).

Ver. 7.] These exceptions from the general rule have been explained, Lev. xi. 4—6.

Ver. 8.] See upon Lev. xi. 7.

Ye shall not eat of their flesh,] See Lev. xi. 8.

Ver. 9.] See Lev. xi. 9.

Ver. 10.] See Lev. xi. 10—12.

Ver. 11. *All clean birds ye shall eat.*] He doth not

name any (as he did of beasts), but by enumerating those of which they might not eat, all the rest were left free to be used for food.

Ver. 12.] All these are mentioned just as they are here in Lev. xi. 13.

Ver. 13. *Vulture*] There are only two of these mentioned in Lev. xi. 14, the last of them, *hadajah*, being there omitted; for it is so near to *haajah*, which goes before, that the transcriber (as Bochart imagines), might there leave it out. But rather, Moses now adds this sort of bird, which was not so like in nature as in name; otherwise he would not have distinctly forbidden it.

Ver. 14.] The same words with those Lev. xi. 15.

Ver. 15.] All the birds mentioned in this and the three next verses, 16—18, are the very same which are forbidden in Lev. xi. 16—19. And therefore I refer the reader to what I have noted there; only adding, that from hence it appears how false their opinion is, who think the Hebrew word *tzippor* is a general name only for small birds (such as sparrows); for it is evident from this place, that it is a name for all birds whatsoever, even the greatest, such as are here mentioned.

Ver. 19.] See Lev. xi. 20.

Ver. 20.] This is not the same precept with that ver. 11, for there he speaks of birds, but here of other winged creatures, which are not birds, but insects, as we call them. And in Lev. xi., he describes the flying creeping things which they might eat; and particularly mentions several sorts of them (ver. 22).

Ver. 21. *Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself:*] Unto this discourse about food, it was very proper to add a caution (which he had given before, Lev. xi. 39, 40), that, though they might kill and eat any clean creature, yet if it died of itself, it was unlawful to eat it, because the blood was in it.

Some verses ascribed to Phocylides contain this sense so fully, that one would think he had read Moses (see Jos. Scaliger in Eusebium, p. 88).

Thou shalt give it unto the stranger] The proselytes of the gate (as they called them) who had not embraced their religion, but were not idolaters, and therefore suffered to dwell among them, might eat such meat, having no obligation upon them to observe these laws; for they were not circumcised.

Or thou mayest sell it unto an alien:] To a mere

22 Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed, that the field bringeth forth year by year.

23 And thou shalt eat before the LORD thy God, in the place which he shall choose to place his name there, the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herds and of thy flocks; that thou mayest learn to fear the LORD thy God always.

gentile, who might happen then to be in their country. For there were three sorts of people called by the name of *strangers*, being not of the Jewish nation. First, such as had received circumcision, and consequently embraced the Jewish religion, who were called *gere-izdek* strangers, or proselytes of justice. Others were not circumcised, but yet worshipped the God of Israel, who were called strangers of the gate, or *gere-tosha*, strangers dwelling among them; because they were to abide in their country constantly. But there was a third sort, called *nocherim*, which we here translate *aliens*, who were mere gentiles, and not suffered to have a habitation among them; but only to come and go in their traffic with them.

[For thou art a holy people] This reason was given in the beginning of this discourse (ver. 2), and so it is in Leviticus, in the conclusion of it (see xi. 44, 45).

[Thou shalt not see thee a kid in his mother's milk.] Now he plainly returns to caution them against idolatrous customs. For this was practised among the heathens in the end of harvest, when they sprinkled their fields and their gardens with this broth, to make them fruitful. It is mentioned twice before (see Exod. xxiii. 19, and xxxiv. 26).

Ver. 22. *Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed.*] This doth not seem to reach unto herbs, as the pharisees interpreted it; of which see Grotius on Matt. xxiii. 4. But though Casaubon and Drusius, and other great men, are of this opinion, yet the contrary is maintained by persons of no small note; because our Saviour, when he determines this case, saith, "These things ye ought to have done, and not left the other undone."

As for the *tithe* here mentioned, I have shown elsewhere, that it was the manner of the eastern princes to receive the tenth of the fruits of their country, for the maintenance of their ministers and officers; as we read 1 Sam. viii. 15. In like manner, God, the great king of all the earth, and the peculiar sovereign of this country, required a tenth of all their increase for the maintenance of his priests and Levites in his service. After which he ordered also a further tithe to be taken out of the nine parts remaining (which was called the *second tithe*) to be spent in feasts at his tabernacle. And this is, with great reason, thought to be particularly enjoined in these words; for of such tithes he speaks in the next verse. It might seem indeed a little hard, to give another tenth part, after they had paid one already, which they might be tempted not to perform exactly; and therefore he saith, *Thou shalt truly*, that is, faithfully, without any deceit or fraud, *tithe all the increase of thy seed.* And when this was done, he required also, once in three years, a *third tithe*, for the use of the poor (see ver. 28), that they might also be entertained at his cost, though not at that time at his house. For it was suitable to his royal greatness, that all his subjects should be feasted by his order at his palace; and that the poorest of them should not be neglected, but some time or other partake of his bounty; as they did at those feasts I mentioned, where their

24 And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it; or if the place be too far from thee, which the LORD thy God shall choose to set his name there, when the LORD thy God hath blessed thee:

25 Then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which the LORD thy God shall choose:

men-servants and maid-servants were to be entertained as well as the Levites (xii. 12. 18).

Ver 23. *The place*] See xii. 5, 6.

The tithe of thy corn, &c.] This cannot be meant of the tithe paid to the Levites; of which the people were not to partake, but only the priests, to whom the Levites were to give a tithe. Therefore it must be understood of the second tithe, separated (after the other was paid) for this holy use. The design of which was, that they might be secured in his religion, by eating and drinking in his presence; and thereby professing that they belonged to him, and were his thankful servants.

The observation of R. Bechai upon these words ["thy corn, thy wine, and thine oil"] is something curious, but it hath a great deal of truth in it:—If thou pay the tithe, saith he, then it is *thy* corn; if thou do not, it is *my* corn, and not thine (in like manner, if they paid the tithe of wine and oil); for it is said in Hosea ii. 9, "Therefore I will return, and take away my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof." For they forfeited the whole, who did not pay the tenth, which was the rent God reserved to himself. And the same R. Bechai represents this as a very merciful law: For it is the fashion of the world, saith he, if a man have ground of his own, to let it out to tenants at what rate he pleases, for a half or third part, to be paid to him: but it is not so with the Almighty, whose the earth is, and who raises clouds, and waters it with rain, and sends down drops of dew, and makes fat the fruits of the earth; and yet requires but one part of ten, for his own uses. This made it highly reasonable, that Moses should admonish the Israelites so often diligently to pay their tithe.

Firstlings of thy herds] See concerning these, xii. 6.

[That thou mayest learn to fear the LORD thy God always.] This justifies what I said, that the design of this was to preserve them steadfast in their religion, by having communion with him, in so solemn a manner, every year: for that is meant by "fearing the LORD always:" continuing in the worship and service of him alone (see vi. 1).

Ver. 24.] If they lived at so great a distance from the sanctuary, or the way was so bad, that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to carry those tithes in kind, here they have a liberty granted them to make money of them, and with that to buy provision for the feast at the sanctuary, when they came thither; as it follows in the next verse. All things, likewise, which would not keep so long as till they could go to the house of God, they were to turn into money; but things that were not perishable, they were to carry in kind, if they did not dwell too far off from it.

Ver. 25. *Then shalt thou turn it into money,*] Adding a fifth part to it, as the law is, Lev. xxvii. 31.

And bind up the money in thine hand,] Put it into a bag by itself, and not mix it with other money, but keep it bound up till the next feast; and then carry it in thine hand, to the place where God's house was settled.

26 And thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul desireth : and thou shalt eat there before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou, and thine household,

27 And the Levite that *is* within thy gates ; thou shalt not forsake him ; for he hath no part nor inheritance with thee.

God would not have them excused from going to that place with these things in kind upon every slight reason ; and therefore made it something chargeable to exchange them into money, by requiring a fifth part to be added. And besides, the elders made a constitution, That this liberty should be allowed to none, but those who lived above a day's journey from Jerusalem, which at last was the fixed place of God's worship. And, that it might be known certainly what was a day's journey, the places at that distance were fixed from every quarter ; viz. Lydda on the west, the river Jordan on the east, Acrabatta on the north, and Elath on the south, as J. Wagen-seil hath observed in his confutation of that blasphemous book, called Toldos Jeschu, p. 22.

Ver. 26. *Thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after,*] Purchase such provision as they most delighted in, of all meats that God's law allowed.

Thou shalt eat there] Make a holy entertainment at the house of God.

Rejoice, thou, and thine household,] Men-servants, and maid-servants, as well as sons and daughters, (xii. 18), together with the Levites, widows, orphans, and strangers.

Ver. 27. *And the Levite*] They were always to be invited to these feasts (see xii. 19).

For he hath no part nor inheritance with thee,] They being wholly devoted to the worship of God, and the study of the law, as Maimonides observes, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39 (see xii. 19).

Ver. 28. *At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe*] The opinion of the Hebrew doctors is, That this was not a distinct tithe from that which they call the *second tithe* paid every year, but the very same, which every third year was not to be carried to the sanctuary, but to be employed to the comfort of the poor, in their own cities and houses. For thus they explain it : That in the third year after the year of release, and in the sixth year, the tithe that was wont to be carried to the place where the sanctuary was, and there spent in feasts before

28 ¶ At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates :

29 And the Levite, (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee,) and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which *are* within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied ; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.

God, was to be spent upon the poor in every town where they that paid the tithe lived ; but every first, second, fourth, and fifth year, from the year of release, it was spent in holy entertainments at the house of God. In the year of release itself (which was every seventh year), no tithes at all were paid of any kind, because all lay common. So that every year the owner of the ground set out a second tithe ; but he was not bound to carry it every year to Jerusalem ; for in the compass of seven years, four of those years only were appointed for their journey thither, and two they stayed at home (see Selden, of Tithes, and lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. p. 693). But this is contradicted by other great men, particularly by Bishop Montagu, who asserts these to be two distinct tithes : see p. 332, &c. especially p. 346, and those that follow. And Josephus seems plainly to be of his mind, p. 349. Old Tobit calls it τριτην δεκάτην, "the third tithe," i. 8.

The tithe of—the same year,] i. e. Of the third year.

And shalt lay it up within thy gates :] It was not to be carried to the place where God's house was, but to be spent at home.

Ver. 29. *And the Levite,*] See ver. 37.

The stranger, &c.] This tithe was not spent in joy and gladness, as the second tithe was (ver. 26), when they went to God's dwelling-place, but merely in the relief and comfort of the poorer sort of people, who otherwise might have been forced to beg, or to serve strangers, and thereby be in danger of being perverted from their religion.

That the Lord thy God may bless thee] This tithe, the Jews say, was called the "consummation of tithes ;" because herein the love of their neighbours was most eminently apparent. For it is likely they themselves had no share in this, as they had at the feasts upon the second tithe, but was wholly spent upon the persons here named. Whose hearts could not but be moved to pray to God for his blessing upon them in all their labours, which he here promises to bestow.

CHAPTER XV.

1 The seventh year a year of release for the poor. 7 It must be no let of lending or giving. 12 An Hebrew servant, 16 except he will not depart, must in the seventh year go forth free and well furnished. 19 All firstling males of the cattle are to be sanctified unto the Lord.

1 At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release.

CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *At the end of every seven years*] It appears, from ver. 9, that this phrase signifies as much as "every seventh year."

Thou shalt make a release.] Perfectly free their brethren from all their debts which they owed to their creditors. This year was famous not only for this, but for letting servants go free (as some think,

2 And this is the manner of the release : Every creditor that lendeth *ought* unto his

Exod. xxi. 2), and for letting their ground rest (Lev. xxv. 34), and for reading this law publicly to all the people (Deut. xxxi. 10).

Ver. 2. *This is the manner*] It is thus to be understood.

Every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbour shall release it ;] It was an entire acquittance, not of debts contracted by sale of lands or goods, to those who were able to pay, but of money lent to a

neighbour shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbour, or of his brother: because it is called the LORD's release.

3 Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it again: but that which is thine with thy brother thine hand shall release;

4 Save when there shall be no poor among you; for the LORD shall greatly bless thee in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it:

5 Only if thou carefully hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all these commandments which I command thee this day.

neighbour or friend, merely to relieve his poverty, not to carry on trade, or to make a purchase. For nothing could have been more absurd, than to have extinguished such debts, whereby the borrower was enriched.

He shall not exact it of his neighbour.] Here the word *brother* is added, to explain what is meant by a *neighbour*: viz. an Israelite or a proselyte entirely of their religion, who had all the privileges of an Israelite. Some think, that by not *exacting* money lent to such a man, is meant no more but only forbearing to demand it in this year, because there was no sowing or reaping in it; or if he did, that he should not have power to recover it by law this year, though afterward he might. But the plain meaning seems to be, that he should be perfectly free from his debt, as a servant, after six years, was from his service: though, if afterward he grew rich, in good conscience he was bound to pay it.

The Lord's release.] In the Hebrew the words *schemitta laihova* signify, that this year was "a release to the Lord, or for the Lord." In honour, that is, of him, who made this a year of great charity: in obedience to whom they were bound to be very kind to their poor brethren. But the Jews fancy they were not bound to be so kind as to make this release, till the very last day of the year. So that if a man had borrowed money in the beginning of it, he was not acquitted till the year expired.

Ver. 3. *Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it again.*] Of an alien, as we translate the word *noeri*, in the foregoing chapter, ver. 21, that is, of one who was neither an Israelite, nor proselyted to their religion, but a mere gentile. The only question is, whether they were not to remit the debts of a proselyte of the gate, who, I think, is nowhere called their *brother* in the law; and therefore they were not obliged to discharge them from what they owed.

But that which is thine with thy brother thine hand shall release.] This seems to restrain it wholly to those who were Jews, or had all the privileges of Jews.

Ver. 4. *Save when there shall be no poor among you.*] Whether we follow this translation, or that in the margin of our Bibles, it appears that they were obliged to acquit only their poor brethren; of whom they were not to exact their debts, lest they should be tempted to flee to the gentiles, and forsake their religion: so this was a provision still against idolatry. Or, if we understand it as it is in the margin, "to the end that there be no poor among you," the sense is the same; that they were by this charity to keep men from extreme necessity, which might force them to go a begging, or to seek for relief in strange countries.

For the Lord shall greatly bless thee] He would not have them think that they might become poor themselves by this means; for he assures them God would

6 For the LORD thy God blesseth thee, as he promised thee: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt reign over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee.

7 ¶ If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother:

8 But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth.

9 Beware that there be not a thought in thy

prevent that, by sending his extraordinary blessing upon them. Cardinal Cajetan, and some others, understand this verse as if it were all of it a promise, and contained no precept in it; viz. That God would take care they should not be burdened by this law, for he would so bless them, that they should have no poor among them; and then they were not obliged to acquit those of their debts, who were able to pay them.

Ver. 5.] Particularly this, of releasing their poor neighbours from their debts; which would entitle them to the blessing he promises again in the next verse.

Ver. 6. *Blesseth thee, as he promised thee.*] God had many ways blessed them already, and he promises to reward their obedience with greater blessings.

Thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow.] Grow so very rich, that other nations should come to borrow of them; but they be beholden to none.

Thou shalt reign over many nations, &c.] I suppose he means no more than Solomon doth, when he saith, "the borrower is servant to the lender" (Prov. xxii. 7). But it may extend to their dominion over many nations, whom they conquered, till they enlarged their bounds as far as Euphrates.

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother.*] As they might be inclined to do, after the passing of this law; thinking with themselves, that what they lent to such a man they should never have again, but must lose it if he were not able to repay it before the year of release. This seems to be the meaning of this verse, which the Jews interpret not of lending, but of giving alms. It is not much material which way we take it: for he that lent to a poor man, was willing to give what he lent, if he could not pay him before the year of release, after which he could not demand it.

Thou shalt not harden thine heart, &c.] Covetousness proceeds from want of pity, tenderness, and compassion towards others in their miseries; unto which nature itself inclines us, especially towards members of the same society. And the Jews had several particular obligations to be tender-hearted, as they were all children of God after a peculiar manner, who had been wonderfully kind and merciful to them (xiv. 2).

Ver. 8. *Open thine hand*] Bountifully supply him with what he wants.

Lend him sufficient for his need.] The Jews understood this, not merely of affording him food sufficient to satisfy his hunger, and clothes to cover his nakedness and keep him warm, but furnishing him with household goods (if he had been forced to sell all he had), that he might live comfortably. Yea, they proceeded so far, as to determine, that the neighborhood should join together, and make a purse for him, to

wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee.

10 Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.

11 For the poor shall never cease out of the

put him in as good condition as he was before he fell into this want. They determine also the quantity that every man should give; a very liberal person the fifth part of what he had, if need required; a man of moderate bounty, a tenth part. If any man gave less when the case required more, he was accounted a niggard; or, as they phrase it, a man of an evil eye. But, notwithstanding all these precepts, and their interpretations, the Jews so little minded their poor, that their governors were at last forced (as we now, alas! do) to lay a rate upon the rich for the maintenance of the poor, which they enabled their officers to exact. See Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6, and Maimonides De Donis Pauperum, set forth by a very learned friend of mine, Dr. Prideaux, cap. 7, who argues from this place, that if a poor man wanted a wife, they were bound to provide him one, &c.

Ver. 9. *Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart,*] If such a thought came into their mind, that they should lose what they lent, because the seventh year approached, they were bound to stifle it immediately, and not suffer it to lodge there.

Thine eye be evil] This move thee to be unkind and unmerciful to him. So a man of an evil eye, signifies in Prov. xxiii. 6, one that grudges what another eats at his table.

Thou givest him nought;] Lending was in this case giving; when a man was very poor, and the year of release so near, that he could have no prospect of his being able to repay him.

And he cry unto the Lord] Make his doleful complaint unto God, finding no relief from men.

And it be sin unto thee.] God charge it upon thee as an offence against his majesty, yea, a great offence. For so the word *sin* sometimes signifies (John xv. 24. James iv. 17).

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt surely give him,*] Not fail to relieve his wants.

And thine heart shall not be grieved] They were not only to relieve him, but to do it cheerfully.

In all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.] There is no difference between all their works, and all that they put their hand unto (for all works are performed by the hand), unless one refer to what they did within doors, and the other to their labors in the field.

Ver. 11. *For the poor shall never cease*] There would always be some or other among them, who stood in need of the forenamed charitable relief, by which they might be preserved from extreme poverty; which God intended to prevent, as is plain from ver. 4 (see Grotius upon St. Matt. xxvi. 11). The Jerusalem Targum understands this, as if there should have been no poor amongst them, if they had been obedient to God's precepts.

Thou shalt open thine hand wide] If any one refused to give, or gave less than became him, Maimonides saith, in the forenamed place, the sanhedrin compelled him to it, and whipped him with the stripes of

land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and thy needy, in thy land.

12 ¶ *And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee.*

13 And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty:

14 Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-

rebellion or contumacy (i. e. very sorely), till he gave as much as they judged he ought to do.

Unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy] Here are evidently three different sorts of persons mentioned as objects of their charity, which may be looked upon as directing the excellent order of it. For, first, they were to relieve those that were nearest to them in blood, called here their brethren. Then secondly, such as were in great misery. And, thirdly, such as were low in the world, and required some help, but not so much as the former sort. Some indeed will not admit such a difference between the words *poor* and *needy*, but think the last signifies such whose condition was calamitous; about which I think it is not worth while to dispute. I shall rather observe, that God took exceeding great care that none should come to very great want, by the large provision he made for the poorer sort of people: who had the benefit of the third tithe, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, which was wholly given to them every third year; and of the sabbatical year, when all that grew of itself was common to every body; and of this release of debts in the same year; and of the large quantity of corn, which they were bound to leave every year, in the corners of their fields, with the ears that fell, and the sheath that was left, &c.

Ver. 12. *If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee,*] Whether sold by themselves, or by the court of judgment, for theft. But there was some difference between a man and a woman (see Exod. xxi. 2, 3, &c.). And the same law, they say, was to be observed about those who were sold by their father, or were born of Hebrew slaves.

And serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free] He doth not speak of the year of release, as if he were then to be set free, though he had served but one year, or perhaps no more than half a year before that time came, but of the seventh year from the time of his sale: for he was to serve six complete years, unless the jubilee happened to intervene, when every one was set free, though he had not served so long; but such servants as were taken in the wars, or were sold by Canaanites, or born of them, might be kept perpetual slaves, unless they were maimed by their masters, with the loss of some member of their body.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not let him go away empty;*] But bestow something upon him for his more comfortable subsistence when he was a freeman. And this comprehends women as well as men, as appears by the foregoing verse: but then it is to be understood of such as went out free by virtue of this law, after they had served six years, not of such as were redeemed by their friends, or redeemed themselves with their own money (Lev. xxv. 18). For such might he supposed not to need their masters' kindness, as they did who had nothing to help them out of their slavery.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock,*] That they might put themselves in a way of

press : of that wherewith the LORD thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him.

15 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee : therefore I command thee this thing to day.

16 And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go away from thee ; because he loveth thee and thine house, because he is well with thee ;

17 Then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy servant for ever. And also unto thy maid-servant thou shalt do likewise.

living well in the world : which they were not able to do without this assistance, because what they got in their six years' service was wholly for their master, and not for themselves. He doth not prescribe a certain measure to their bounty, but leaves every man to express his affection freely towards God and towards his neighbour. But the Hebrews say, they were bound to give them at least thirty shekels of silver.

Of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee] Considering how God hath enriched thee, even by his service.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman*] And did not bring them empty out of their slavery, but loaded with silver, and gold, and raiment (Exod. xii. 35). By which bounty of God to themselves, they might take the best measure of their duty to their poor brethren when they were dismissed from servitude.

Therefore I command thee this thing to-day.] In remembrance of that great benefit, he enjoined this benevolence to poor slaves.

Ver. 16. *I will not go away from thee ;*] Refused to enjoy his liberty, when his six years' service was expired.

Because he loveth thee and thine house,] The phrase in Exod. xxi. 5. being, "saying, shall say, I love my master," &c. Abarbinel from thence gathers, that it was necessary he should often profess how loath he was to leave his master and his family, and make repeated declarations of his affection to them.

Because he is well with thee ;] Lives happily. Out of these words Maimonides infers that there was to be reciprocal love between the servant and his master, for if the servant loved his master, yet if his master did not love him, his ear was not bored : for he could not take content in his staying with him. But these words suppose his master's kindness to him by his good usage of him.

Ver. 17. *Take an awl, and thrust it through his ear*] But first he was to bring him before the judges, that he might there in open court profess the same that he had done to his master ; and thereby make it appear there was no fraud or deceit in the business : and that his master did not keep him against his will contrary to this law. See Exod. xxi. 6, where all this is explained.

And also unto thy maid-servant] This relates only to the not sending maid-servants away empty ; not to the boring their ears, if they had no mind to be freed ; for that was not used, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors, to maid-servants. It was sufficient, if they had a mind to stay with their masters, that they addicted themselves, in solemn words, to their service for ever. But there were many differences between a man-servant and a maid-servant, at least in some cases (see upon Exod. xxi. 7), which are explained with great nicety by the Hebrew doctors : with which

18 It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou sendest him away free from thee ; for he hath been worth a double hired servant to thee, in serving thee six years : and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest.

19 ¶ All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto the LORD thy God : thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thy bullock, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep.

20 Thou shalt eat it before the LORD thy God year by year in the place which the LORD shall choose, thou and thy household.

I need not trouble the reader, because there is no such slavery among us in these days.

Ver. 18. *It shall not seem hard unto thee when thou sendest him away free from thee ;*] It is plain by this that he returns to what he was speaking of, ver. 12, 13, &c. concerning their not letting their servants go away empty when they had their freedom : for this was the chief thing that could seem hard to them.

For he hath been worth a double hired servant to thee,] Who served at most only for three years, and had wages paid him all the time (Isa. xvi. 14).

In serving thee six years :] Twice as long as a hired servant, and for nothing. So that, considering what wages he gave the other, and how small a price, perhaps, they paid for him, they would find themselves gainers by such slaves, and therefore should not think much to give them a gratuity when they send them away.

The Lord thy God shall bless thee] He encourages them to hope they should be greater gainers otherways by this charity, which would procure God's blessing upon their future labours. This argument he had pressed twice or thrice before in this chapter, ver. 4. 6. 10.

Ver. 19. *All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify*] All the first-born males were the Lord's, by a law made at their coming out of Egypt ; and he gave them to his priests for their portion (Exod. xiii. 2. 15. Numb. xviii. 15).

Thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thy bullock, &c.] Besides the firstling males, which alone were separated to the Lord, there were also firstling females ; which, though they were not sanctified to him as the males were, yet were not to be employed by the owners, as the rest of their cattle, but offered as peace-offerings to God. Of which they themselves had a good share, though some part of them was given to the priests.

Ver. 20. *Thou shalt eat it before the Lord*] It is evident from hence, that he speaks of such female firstlings as I mentioned in the foregoing verse ; for of the males they might not eat, but they belonged entirely to the priests.

Year by year] At their solemn festivals, when they were first to offer them unto God ; and then the feasts upon these peace-offerings followed.

Thou and thy household.] With the Levites and strangers, &c. whom they were to invite to these sacred entertainments : for this is but a repetition of the law twice or thrice mentioned before, xii. 6, 7, &c. 17, 18. 26. xiv. 23. and upon this occasion here again inculcated, because it was of exceeding great moment, to preserve them in the worship and service of God alone.

Ver. 21. *If there be any blemish therein,*] This is another reason why he mentions these feasts again, that he might admonish them what to do with their

21 And if there be *any* blemish therein, *as if* it be lame, or blind, or have any ill blemish, thou shalt not sacrifice it unto the Lord thy God.

22 Thou shalt eat it within thy gates : the un-

firstlings, if there were any blemish in them, which made them unfit for sacrifice. These blemishes he had spoken of in Lev. xxii. 21, 22, 24. But here adds the *lame* to those there named. Which the prophet Malachi also mentions (and so do the heathens), as unacceptable unto God (Mal. i. 8).

Thou shalt not sacrifice it] No, not to make such a charitable feast at the sanctuary.

Ver. 22. *Thou shalt eat it within thy gates :*] It was free for them to eat it at home : though it is very probable God expected they should invite the Levites and the strangers, the fatherless and the

clean and the *clean person shall eat it* alike, as the roebuck, and as the hart.

23 Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof ; thou shalt pour it upon the ground as water.

widows, to partake of it (as they did of the third tithe, xiv. 29), because, if it had been without blemish, it must have been so employed at the sanctuary.

The unclean and the clean person shall eat it] Whereas, if it had been sacrificed at their feasts, only the clean could have eaten of it.

As the roe-buck, and as the hart.] See xii. 15. 22.

Ver. 23. *Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof ;*] He takes all occasions to mention this, because it was designed to preserve them free from idolatry (see xii. 16. 23, 24).

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *The feast of the passover, 9 of weeks, 13 of tabernacles.* 16 *Every male must offer, as he is able, at these three feasts.* 18 *Of judges and justice.* 21 *Groves and images are forbidden.*

1 OBSERVE the month of Abib, and keep the passover unto the Lord thy God : for in the month of Abib the Lord thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night.

2 Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God, of the flock and the

herd, in the place which the Lord shall choose to place his name there.

3 Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it ; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, *even* the bread of affliction ; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste : that

CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1 *Observe the month of Abib,*] Which God, by a special order, made the beginning of their year (see Exod. xii. 2. xiii. 4. xxxiv. 18).

Keep the passover] He now begins in this chapter, to admonish them about their great feasts which they were to keep ; whereby the whole nation was preserved in the worship of one only God, which Moses still pursues to press upon them.

For in the month of Abib the Lord thy God brought thee forth] In memory of which the feast of the passover was ordained.

By night.] For then Pharaoh pressed them to be gone, when he saw his first-born slain in the night (Exod. xii. 29—31), and then they immediately prepared themselves for their journey, and borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of gold and silver (ver. 25). Inasmuch that Moses calls this “a night much to be observed unto the Lord,” and “that night of the Lord to be observed by all the children of Israel in their generations” (Exod. xii. 42), though it was daylight before they began their march, as we read there, ver. 22. So that Moses bid them “remember the day when they came out of Egypt” (Exod. xiii. 3), which comprehends both that which is properly called *day* and *night*.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover*] The word *passover* signifies here not only the *lamb* (which was properly called *pesach*, or *passover*), which was offered the fourteenth day at even, but all the paschal sacrifices which followed after, as appears by the next words [“of the flock, and of the herd”]. Which sacrifices were appointed for all the seven days of unleavened bread (Numb. xviii. 17—19, &c.). See Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50, where he shows at large that the word *passover* is here a general word, comprehending the particulars after-mentioned (p. 565, 566), and thus translates these words (which he justifies by many like instances), “Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover

unto the Lord thy God,” viz. “of the flock and of the herd.” Which last words are added exegetically, to explain what that *passover* was which they were to offer unto the Lord. Such sacrifices as were offered in the solemn passover of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxx. 22. and of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—9, where it is apparent, that the king and the princes gave to the people, and to the priests, oxen as well as sheep, *lepesachim*, for the passover-offerings. And thus it is used in the New Testament, John xviii. 28, where it is said, the Jews would not go into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled ; “but that they might eat the passover,” i. e. these passover-offerings, which were holy things, of which none might eat in their defilement.

In the place which the Lord shall choose] At the sanctuary, as hath been often said, xii. 5. 11, &c. where all sacrifices were to be offered.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it ;*] That is, with the *passover* before mentioned. Which is a demonstration that all the sacrifices of the flock, and of the herds, spoken of in the foregoing verse, are comprehended under the name of *passover*. For with the *lamb* they could not eat unleavened bread seven days, it being to be eaten presently in the evening when it was offered ; after which followed the seven days of unleavened bread, which could not be eaten so long with the *passover*, unless *passover* signifies all the seven sacrifices.

Seven days] See Exod. xvii. 15. xiii. 6, 7.

Even the bread of affliction ;] So called, because it was insipid, and also heavy upon the stomach, and not easily digested. Whence it had the name of *matzah*, because it was lumpish, and could not rise as leavened bread doth.

For thou camest forth—in haste :] Wanting time to put any leaven to their dough (Exod. xii. 34. 39).

That thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth] That their affliction there, and their speedy deliverance from thence, might never be forgotten. For their eating this bread seven days to-

thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.

4 And there shall be no leavened bread seen with thee in all thy coast seven days; neither shall there any *thing* of the flesh, which thou sacrificedst the first day at even, remain all night until the morning.

5 Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee:

6 But at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place his name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down

gether every year, one would think, could not but make great impressions on their mind; and the more to impress the sense of God's mercy there, the master of every family, when he brake this bread at the paschal feast, and gave every one a piece of it, said, *This is the bread of affliction which your fathers did eat in the land of Egypt.* So Maimonides and others tell us (see Exod. xii. 17).

Ver. 4. *Noleavened bread*] See Exod. xii. 18—20. xiii. 3. 7.

Remain all night until the morning.] This is a plain description of the paschal lamb, which was to be eaten in the even wherein it was sacrificed (Exod. xii. 10), which he forbears here to call the *passover* (though that name properly belonged to it), because he had called other sacrifices by that name (ver. 2), and would not have them confounded.

Ver. 5. *Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates.*] Not at home, as they did when they first came out of Egypt, and that because it was a sacrifice; which was now required to be offered at the sanctuary, as was said before (xii. 5. 11).

Ver. 6. *But at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose*] From whence Maimonides infers, that even whilst high places were allowed, the passover could not be killed anywhere but at the sanctuary: if any man did offer it in a private high place, he was beaten, as he saith in his treatise concerning the passover, cap. 1. sec. 3.

At even.] Between the two evenings, concerning which see Exod. xii. 6. After the offering of the evening sacrifice, they began to kill the passover, and continued this sacrifice till sun-set.

At the season that thou camest forth] Then they were preparing themselves for their journey, and had warning to be ready, and eat the lamb with their staves in their hands, as men going forth to travel (Exod. xii. 11), though they did not actually go forth till the next morning.

Ver. 7. *Eat it in the place*] See Exod. xii. 8, 9.

Turn in the morning and go unto thy tents.] Unto their own habitations, which are called *tents*, because they had no other dwellings when these words were spoken. The only doubt is, whether he permits them to go home the next morning after the even before mentioned, or the morning after the whole feast of unleavened bread was over. It seems most reasonable to expound it of the former, that if men's occasions called them home, they were not bound to stay any longer at the place where the sanctuary was, but till they had eaten the paschal lamb; after which they might return home if they pleased. So Bochartus, who from hence proves that the most solemn days of the feast of unleavened bread were not observed like a sabbath, because men might travel home upon the first day of unleavened bread, as the whole nation travelled out of Egypt on this day, from

of the sun, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt.

7 And thou shalt roast and eat *it* in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose: and thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents.

8 Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on the seventh day *shall be a solemn assembly* to the Lord thy God: thou shalt do no work *therein*.

9 ¶ Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: begin to number the seven weeks from *such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn.*

10 And thou shalt keep the feast of weeks

Rameses to Succoth; yet pious people, who were able to bear so great a charge, were wont, no doubt, to stay the whole seven days before they returned home; because the first and last days of the feast were great solemnities. So they did in the passover of Hezekiah and Josiah, 2 Chron. xxx. 21. xxxv. 17. And there being special sacrifices to be offered every day during this festival (as was before said), Solomon ben Virge observes, that all the country thereabouts brought their oxen and their sheep to be sold at this time to those who came from far; so that the mountains round about Jerusalem were covered with them, and not a bit of grass to be seen. He adds also, that whosoever did not come up to this feast, all his goods were forfeited and converted to sacred uses (Schebet Judah, p. 378).

Ver. 8. *Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly*] This is to be understood as if he had said, that after they had eaten unleavened bread six days, they should conclude the solemnity upon the seventh day with a *solemn assembly*, or, as it is in the Hebrew, *with a restraint*; but still continue also on this day to eat unleavened bread. For this feast was to last seven days, and in all the foregoing books they are expressly required to eat unleavened bread seven days (Exod. xii. 15. Levit. xxiii. 6. Numb. xxviii. 17).

A solemn assembly] Which the Hebrews call *azereh*; of the meaning of which see Lev. xxiii. 36.

Thou shalt do no work therein.] That is, no servile work, as it is explained Numb. xxviii. 25, but they might dress their meat, which the LXX. seem to mean by those words, which they add, *πάρε ὅσα ποιήσεται ψυχῇ*, “save only such things as shall be done to preserve life.”

Ver. 9. *Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee*] From the morrow after the sabbath, when they brought the sheaf of the wave-offering, as it is explained in Lev. xxiii. 15 (see there).

Begin to number—as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn.] For they began to cut barley at the passover, as is manifest from hence, that Joshua passed over Jordan to enter into Canaan, in the time of harvest (Josh. iii. 15), and this was in the month of Nisan, when they kept the passover, as appears from Josh. v. 10. which month could not be called Abib, or “the month of new fruits,” if some corn was not then ripe, viz. barley. This Josephus confirms, lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10. which must be understood, as Hermannus Conringius observes (in his treatise De Initio Anni Sabbatici, &c.), of that sort of barley which was sown in autumn (as it is this day in Frisia), which required a stronger soil than that sown in the spring, and produced a much richer crop. See Mr. Mede's works, p. 355. who observes how very different their climate was from ours.]

Ver. 10. *Keep the feast of weeks*] The reason of

unto the LORD thy God with a tribute of a free-will offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give unto the LORD thy God, according as the LORD thy God hath blessed thee :

11 And thou shalt rejoice before the LORD thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are among you, in the place which the LORD thy God hath chosen to place his name there.

12 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt: and thou shalt observe and do these statutes.

13 ¶ Thou shalt observe the feast of tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine :

14 And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-ser-

vant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy gates.

15 Seven days shalt thou keep a solemn feast unto the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD shall choose : because the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thine increase, and in all the works of thine hands, therefore thou shalt surely rejoice.

16 ¶ Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose ; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles: and they shall not appear before the LORD empty :

17 Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee.

this name is given in the foregoing verse. And see Exod. xxxiv. 22. It was called also the *feast of harvest* (see Exod. xxiii. 16).

With a tribute of a free-will offering.] Besides those offerings which are prescribed, Lev. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27, &c. The quantity is not directed, but left to every man's piety. And whatsoever it was he brought, it was wholly given to God, and he that brought it had no share in it; but God gave it to his priests.

According as the LORD thy God hath blessed thee:] Though no quantity was prescribed, yet God expected every man should offer proportionably to his estate: and they who had a religious sense of God's goodness in blessing their labours, no doubt acknowledged it by a liberal tribute.

Ver. 11.] This feast was made of such offerings as are mentioned, xii. 7. 17—19.

Ver. 12. *Remember that thou wast a bondman]* They are often put in mind of this as an argument to charity, particularly towards their servants (see xv. 15).

Observe and do these statutes.] There was a particular reason for keeping this feast, because it was in remembrance of God's giving them his law from Mount Sinai; where he speaks with them himself.

Ver. 13. *The feast of tabernacles seven days.]* This is the third great feast, at which all their males were bound to appear every year, as we read, Exod. xxiii. 16, 17, xxxiv. 22, 23. Of which he puts them in mind again, Lev. xxiii. 34—36. and here, ver. 16.

Ver. 14.] There was the like law at Athens, where king Cecrops ordained (as Macrobius tells us, lib. i. Saturnal. cap. 10.) the master of every family should, after harvest, make a feast for his servants, and eat together with them, who had taken pains with him tilling his ground; delectari enim Deum honore servorum, contemplatu laboris, “for God delighted in the honor done to servants, in consideration of their labor.” This, it is likely, he learnt from Moses, for he reigned at Athens much about the same time that Israel came out of Egypt; and was the first, as Eusebius saith, who taught the Greeks to call God by the name of Ζεύς (lib. x. Præpar. Evangel.), which we may interpret “the living God.” Though therein he seems to be a little mistaken, for Pausanias saith more than once (both in his Arcadia and his Attica), that Δία Διόσκειρον ἑταίρον πρῶτος, “he was the first that called Jupiter by the name of the Most High,” or Supreme. And the same we read in St. Cyril against Julian, lib. i. (see Joh. Meursius De Legibus Atheniensium, lib. i. cap. 9).

Ver. 15. *Seven days shalt thou keep a solemn feast]* In order to which, that it might be kept the more solemnly, it is once more enjoined, and all the sacrifices that were to be offered in each of the seven days appointed in Numb. xxix. from ver. 12. to ver. 35. where he orders also the eighth day to be solemnly observed for a special reason (see there).

Because the LORD thy God shall bless thee] Thankfulness to God for blessings bestowed was the way to procure more.

Thou shalt surely rejoice.] In God the giver of all good things; whom the whole nation, by the institution of this feast, were incited to bless and praise for the fruits of his bounty to them. And peace-offerings were sacrificed on purpose for this end (xxvii. 7). From the repetition of this command. “Thou shalt rejoice,” the Jews infer, that though all festivals were times of joy, yet the feast of tabernacles was to be celebrated with greater joy than all the rest. And accordingly Maimonides tells us, the whole festival was spent in music, and dancing, and singing, night and day.

Ver. 16. *Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the LORD]* This is so frequently enjoined (see ver. 13), because it was of the greatest consequence that they should meet as often as they could conveniently, at one and the same place, to worship the Divine Majesty; whereby the notion of the unity of God was preserved among them.

They shall not appear—empty:] This is also frequently repeated, where the feasts themselves are enjoined (Exod. xviii. 15. xxxiv. 20). And from these and the following words, *That every man should give as he was able*, &c. came the pious custom in the beginning of our religion, that the people when they came to the Lord's table offered bread, and wine, and corn, and oil, and such like things, for the support of God's ministers and the relief of the poor, every one according to their ability. Which was done in acknowledgment of God as the author of life, and of all good things; for which they, in this manner, showed their gratitude to him. And the priests, in the presence of all the people, lifted them up, and gave God thanks, and besought him to accept them: and out of these, in many places, they made their *agape*, or feasts of charity, for the poor. Mention is made of these oblations in the Canons ascribed to the apostles, ch. 3, 4, which, though not made by them, yet contain a great many apostolical customs.

Ver. 17. *Every man shall give as he is able,]* It was but reasonable, that the more bountiful God had been

18 ¶ Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth

to them, the more liberally they should offer a grateful acknowledgment to him. For all the forenamed three feasts had relation to the fruits of the earth, which God had blessed them withal, as well as commemorated former great benefits bestowed on their forefathers: the passover being at the beginning of barley harvest, Pentecost at the beginning of wheat harvest, and the feast of tabernacles, when they had gathered in all the fruits of the earth. At which seasons all mankind were ever wont to be full of joy, and to offer sacrifices. So Aristotle tells us (lib. viii. ad Nicomachum, cap. 2), Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ οἰνοδοὶ φαίνονται γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς, "The ancient sacrifices and conventions seem to have been after the gathering in of the fruits of the earth, as a first-fruit, at which time chiefly they rested from their labors." And so Strabo, likewise (lib. x. Geograph. p. 467). "It is common, both to Greeks and barbarians, to offer their sacrifices with a festival intermission of their labors, &c. καὶ τοῖς ἡ φύσις οὕτως ἀπαγορεύει, and so nature taught them to do," that is, to thank God with rejoicing and cessation from labors. For which he gives this surprising reason, ἥτις γὰρ ἀνεύσις τὸν νοῦν ἀπάγει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσχολημάτων, τὸν δὲ οὕτως νοῦν ἔρπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον "for remission of labor abstracts the mind from human affairs, and turns it towards God." This certainly was the ancient intention of all such festival times, as the heathen themselves could discern.

Ver. 18. *Judges and officers shalt thou make thee*] To see that these and all other laws were duly observed. Moses de Cotzi, upon these words, makes this difference between *schofetim* and *schoterim*: that the former (viz. judges) were the senators in the several courts, who decided causes; and the other (*officers*) were no more than ministers attending the court, to keep the people in order, with a staff and a whip, and to execute the decrees and orders of the judges; whom they appointed not only in the court, but in the streets, looking after weights and measures in the market, and correcting offenders. Maimonides also makes them the same with our *apparitors*, or those who, in the Roman law, are called *officiales*, as Constantine l'Empereur observes, p. 362. upon Cornelius Bertram (who mistook them for a sort of judges), and in the digests *executores*: and in the New Testament πρᾶκτορας, "exactors," Luke xii. 58. Josephus makes them to have been *public criers*; and so we find them employed, xx. 8. Josh. i. 11. But then some of them, at least, seem to have been an honorable sort, like our *heralds* (Josh. xxiii. 2), and all of them were men of authority, though but young men (as Maimonides describes them), who had not attained the years and knowledge of the doctors of the law, and therefore unfit to be judges. But the Jews place them next under their wise men, or doctors, and above their scribes and clerks, as Mr. Thorndike observes, in his Review of the Rites of the Church, p. 94. But that they were certainly only *under officers*, and not *judges*, there is another argument; which is, that Solomon upon this account commends the ants, that they carefully do their business, though they have no *schoter* set over them (Prov. vi. 7), οὐ φαῖ δόικους, οὐ ἐργωδῶντας, to force or affright them into it.

In all thy gates,] That is, in every city, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Jewish writers, lib. vii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 5. sect. 1. where he shows they interpret it, "in all the cities of Israel, both within the land and without, where Israel had any jurisdiction." Which is so true, that they had consistories wheresoever they were dispersed, for the

thee, throughout thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgment.

determining all differences arising out of the law, though not as to the power of life and death, which was seldom granted them by their sovereigns. Thus we learn from Philo, that there was such a consistory at Alexandria; and the little chronicle, called Seder Olam Zuta, tells us of the like in Babylonia. And after the destruction of the temple, it is manifest, not only by the Jewish writings, but by Epiphanius and others, that there continued a consistory at Tiberias for many ages, &c. (see Mr. Thorndike's Rites of the Church, p. 56, 57. and his Review of it, p. 56).

But though this be granted, yet these words ("in all thy gates") may suggest also the part of the city where they kept their court, which was in the gate: for there, as I observed, Gen. xxiv. 24, all public business was transacted in the time of Abraham and Jacob, and continued so afterward. Insomuch, that the highest court in Moses' time met at the door of the tabernacle (Numb. xi. 24), the gate among the Hebrews being the same with *forum*, as I observed, among the Romans. As we see by 1 Kings vii. 1. where Elisha foretells at what low rates provision should be sold on the morrow "in the gate of Samaria." Where it is evident there was a place so spacious, that Ahab assembled four hundred prophets there before him and king Jehoshaphat, who had, no doubt, both of them numerous attendants (2 Kings xxii. 10). And before this time, David, it is said, upon the news of Absalom's death, went up to "the chamber over the gate," and wept; which we may well think was the council-chamber (2 Sam. xviii. 33. And when Joab advised him to come down, and show himself publicly, it is said, "he rose and sat in the gate, and all the people came before him" (xix. 6). And therefore in these cities, which were so large, there was some place, I make no question, where there were benches for the judges.

Which the Lord thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes:] In the cities of every tribe there was to be such a court erected, that people might have justice easily and speedily done them. And the Talmudists unanimously agree that the number of judges was proportionable to the greatness of the city wherein they were placed, and of the causes which they judged. Where there were less than a hundred and twenty families in any town or city, there was seated the lowest court of all, consisting of three judges, which tried only actions of debt, or damages done by man or beast, or defamation, &c. But in cities where there were above a hundred and twenty families, there was placed a higher court, consisting of three-and-twenty judges, who tried capital causes. Josephus, indeed, differs from the Talmudists about the number, for he saith they were but seven. Both of them, it is likely, may say true, with respect to different times and places; for it cannot but be presumed that both he and they understood the state of their country in such public matters. But at the place where God chose to settle his sanctuary, unto which all the country resorted at certain times, there was the supreme court of all, consisting, as the Talmudists say, of seventy persons, besides their president, who judged all manner of causes; and none but they could judge a false prophet, or a city fallen to idolatry. All appeals were made to them; but from them there was none, their sentence being final (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 4.).

Such a court, it is certain, there was in future ages, whose number was according to that of the seventy elders chosen by God himself to assist Moses in the government, and endued with the spirit of judg-

19 Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.

ment to qualify them for that office (Numb. xi. 25). In Moses's time they sat at the door of the tabernacle, as I observed before; and afterward at Shiloh, or wheresoever the sanctuary was. Though it may be doubted, whether, after Moses's death, and the death of the elders, there was a court consisting of so many judges. Nay, it is highly probable that this consistory itself was not constantly settled there, according to law, till the time of Jehoshaphat; at least, not the inferior consistories before mentioned, which were to be settled in every city. For if they were, what reason can be given why the judges (Judg. v. 10. x. 4. xii. 14), and Samuel should ride circuit up and down the country to minister justice according to the law, when the people might have had it every day in their several cities! And for this reason, it is likely Jehoshaphat himself, desiring to put this law in force, first sent some great men, "who went about through all the cities of Judah" (2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9), and then settled judges according to this law "throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city," as well as in Jerusalem (2 Chron. xix. 5, 8). See Mr. Thordike, in his rites of the Church in a Christian State, ch. 4. p. 226, where he observes that Josephus, in express terms, rendering a reason of the great lewdness, upon which the war against Benjamin followed, attributes it to this, that these courts of judgment were not established according to this law (lib. v. Antiq. cap. 2). But though this, I think, be very evident, yet it is scarce credible that David, after he was set upon the throne of God in peace, did not take care to settle these courts, as he did to regulate a great many other things. And, indeed, we find a plain intimation of it in 1 Chron. xxvi. 29. But succeeding kings, it is probable, were negligent in keeping up this constitution, till the time of Jehoshaphat, who exercised his authority to enforce the exact practice of this law.

Judge the people with just judgment.] According to the rules of this law. The judges, saith R. Solomon, were to judge the people; and the officers, to constrain them to do as the judges commanded.

Ver. 19. *Wrest judgment;*] See Exod. xxiii. 6.

Respect persons,] See Lev. xix. 15, and Deut. i. 17.

Neither take a gift;] The very same is said, Exod. xxiii. 8.

Ver. 20. *That which is—just shalt thou follow,*] The words in the Hebrew are far more emphatical (as they are in the margin), "Justice, justice shalt thou follow." Mind nothing but the justice of the cause, and do it to all persons equally.

That thou mayest live, and inherit the land] Be happy, and continue long in the land of Canaan: for nothing contributes more to the establishment of a government, than the exact and impartial administration of justice.

Ver. 21.] It is evident from this, that his great aim is to keep them from idolatry; which he still pursues, as he hath done from the beginning of his exhortation in this book. And their history teaches us, that it was very useful to inculcate this so often; for, notwithstanding all that Moses could say, they fell immediately after Joshua's death into the idolatrous customs of Canaan, and could never be wholly purged from their idolatry till the captivity of Babylon. And these words may be translated, "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove, nor make any wood (i. e. a wooden image) near to the altar of the Lord thy God." So

20 That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

21 ¶ Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any

the LXX. For the very word we translate *grove*, sometimes imports the idol in the grove, as well as the grove itself (see 2 Kings xxiii. 6. and Selden, De Diis Syris, Syntagma ii. cap. 2). Certain it is, that nothing was more ancient in the east, than altars with groves of trees about them; which made the place very shady and delightful in those hot countries. They are so often joined in Scripture, that it would be tedious to number all the places (Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. xii. 3. Judg. vi. 25, &c.). Cadmus is thought by some to have brought this custom into Greece out of the east. And they planted the trees so thick, and they were so large and shady, as to make the place very dark and solemn; whereby a kind of horror was struck into those who went into them. And they became hereby fitter for the devil to play his pranks there; and for the practice of these obscene and uncouth rites whereby he was worshipped. For the gentile custom had made these places proper to the infernal gods, and anciently consecrated them as sepulchres or temples for their heroes. That the Israelites, therefore, might be preserved from sacrificing to the dead, and from filthy lusts (by both which they afterward polluted themselves), they are forbidden to place a grove near to God's altar, nay, so much as *any tree* (as the words may be translated); for the heathen thought there was a sacredness in trees themselves, which they dedicated to their gods, and honored several ways (see xii. 2, 3). And therefore the Jews say, they might not plant trees in the court of the temple, or in the mountain of the house (as they call it), for the ornament or beauty of God's house. And they gave this reason for it, because it was an idolatrous rite to plant trees near their altars, that the people might there meet together (see Selden, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. p. 186, and Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. chap. 16. sect. 1, 2). And more lately, Ezekiel Spanhemius (in his most learned observations upon Callimachus), hath shown that they planted odorous trees in some groves, to make them more inviting. Whence the grove dedicated to Pallas is called by that poet *τρυφαῖος ἄλσος*, though that may signify only a grove consecrated by many sacrifices. And the vulgar groves were planted with pines, fir-trees, cypress, laurel, olives, vines, and other lovely trees, especially oaks, which grow to a great height, in which both altars and temples were erected. See in Hymn. in Dianam, ver. 38. p. 156, and in Palladem, ver. 61. p. 595, and in Cererem, ver. 38, 39. p. 689, where he mentions the black poplar, as a tree of which her grove consisted, under the shade of which the nymphs delighted to dance at noon. And thence these shady places, consecrated to their gods, were called *ψυχρῆς*, because of their refreshing coolness, as he observes out of Athenæus (ad ver. 47. p. 695). And indeed nothing is plainer in the Holy Scripture, than that these groves related to idolatry; for all pious princes took them away, and bad ones planted them (1 Kings xviii. 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 14. 2 Chron. xiv. 3. xv. 16). And they are frequently joined with statues and images, both here, and vil. 5. xii. 3. 1 Kings xiv. 23, &c.

Ver. 22. *Neither shalt thou set thee up any image;*] The Hebrew word *matzebah* is commonly translated by the LXX. *στῆλην*, "a pillar;" and so we translate it in the margin. For as it was unlawful to set up the statue of a man, or any other creature, so it was as contrary to religion to set up a pillar, or an altar,

trees near unto the altar of the LORD thy God, which thou shalt make thee.

22 Neither shalt thou set thee up *any* image; which the LORD thy God hateth.

or any such-like structure, for public assemblies to be held about them, though they worshipped there the true God. So Maimonides reports the sense of their doctors; "a statue or pillar signifies any work raised up, that religious assemblies may be made there, though they be for the worship of the Divine Majesty; for this is a practice among idolaters." And so Pausanias confesses (in Achaïcis) that in the most ancient times, among all the Grecians, *τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀγροὶ λιθοί*, "rude stones had Divine honors given them, instead of statues or images" (see Selden, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6, in the beginning;

and Maimonides, of the Worship of the Planets, ch. 6, sect. 8—10, and Dionys. Vossius's annotations there).

[Which the LORD thy God hateth.] Hence it sufficiently appears, that this was an idolatrous practice; which is more odious to God than any thing else. And thus the Israelites we see understood it, being ready to take arms against their brethren on the other side Jordan, when they heard they had erected an altar there (taking it to be such a structure as is here forbidden); but were appeased when they understood that it was not intended for worship (Josh. xxii. 18).

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *The things sacrificed must be sound.* 2 *Idolaters must be slain.* 8 *Hard controversies are to be determined by the priests and judges.* 12 *The contemner of that determination must die.* 14 *The election, 16 and duty of a king.*

1 Thou shalt not sacrifice unto the LORD thy God *any* bullock, or sheep, wherein is blemish, or any evilfavouredness: for that is an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

2 ¶ If there be found among you, within any of thy gates which the LORD thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the LORD thy God, in transgressing his covenant,

3 And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded;

4 And it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, and enquired diligently, and, behold, it be true, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in Israel:

5 Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that

CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *Wherein is blemish,*] Having warned them, as he had done often, against idolatrous practices, he here interposes a caution against profaneness in the worship of the true God; for it was a great disrespect to him, to offer any thing that was not perfect, the heathens being ashamed of such sacrifices.

Wherein is blemish,] Of this see Lev. xxii. 20, &c.

Or any evilfavouredness:] In the Hebrew, "any evil thing, or matter;" that is, if it had any disease, or was sick.

That is an abomination] This is more than is said in Leviticus, where the words are, "for it shall not be acceptable for you." For here he expresses the greatest disdain and abhorrence of such sacrifices.

Ver. 2. *Within any of thy gates*] In any cities or towns within their country.

Man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness] Now he returns to the business of idolatry; which is the wickedness here said to be wrought, as appears by the next words.

In transgressing his covenant,] For this was the principal part of the covenant, that they should have no other gods but him (Exod. xx. 22, 23); upon this all depended: so that the whole covenant was void, if they served other gods. Which was so foul a sin, that he would have none spared who were guilty of it. Which is the reason, as Maimonides thinks (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37), why he here saith, *man or woman*, because men are naturally more tender towards the female sex, and inclinable to be favourable to them; against which he warns them in case of idolatry, and of profaning the sabbath; in which two cases only he uses these words.

He had shewn in the thirteenth chapter, what they should do with him that seduced others to idolatry,

whether he were a pretended prophet, or a private man (ver. 1. 9, 10). And then, what should be done with a whole city that was seduced (ver. 12, 13, &c.). And now he shows how they should proceed against any particular person who apostatized from God.

Ver. 3. *And hath gone and served other gods,*] The most ancient idolatry (of which Abarbinel makes account there were ten sorts) was the worship of the heavenly bodies, as I have observed before, iv. 19, and see Job xxxi. 26. The forenamed doctor, indeed, places first the worship of angels; about which I will not dispute, but only observe, that by condemning those who worshipped the host of heaven, though very glorious creatures, Moses suggests plainly enough how vile they were who worshipped images of wood and stone.

Which I have not commanded;] This is a way of speaking in this language, importing the quite contrary, "which God hath forbidden," and that most strictly (see Prov. xvii. 21. xxiv. 23, and many other places).

Ver. 4. *It be told thee,*] Thou hast had information of such wickedness.

Hast heard of it, and enquired diligently,] Upon information, they were to make diligent search, whether the report was true or not.

And the thing certain,] They were not to proceed upon rumors, nor yet to slight them; but endeavor to be satisfied, whether or not there was ground for them; and if upon examination they found there was no doubt of the truth of the thing, to do as is here directed.

That such abomination] So idolatry is frequently called (see xiii. 14).

Ver. 5. *Bring forth that man or that woman,—unto thy gates,*] Set them before the court of judgment in the city to which they belonged (see xvi. 18). For

woman, which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, *even* that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones, till they die.

6 At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death; *but* at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.

7 The hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the

hand of all the people. So thou shalt put the evil away from among you.

8 ¶ If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, *being* matters of controversy within thy gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose;

9 And thou shalt come unto the priests the

particular persons were tried and sentenced in the lower courts, but a tribe or a city, accused of idolatry, only by the highest court of all; as Maimonides and the rest of the Jewish doctors inform us (see Selden, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 4. n. 3, and cap. 5. n. 1).

Stone them with stones.] This was a punishment of a particular person, as a city fallen to idolatry was to be killed with the sword; and a false prophet, who seduced others to idolatry, to be strangled (see xiii. 5).

Ver. 6. *At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall—he be put to death;*] No man could be convicted but by two witnesses, at least, and those of a competent age, of good fame, and not convicted themselves of having borne false witness, &c. Many other qualifications, of lesser moment, the Jews required in a witness: which Mr. Selden reports, and the reason of them, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 11.

At the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.] Because, though the witness was never so credible, it was possible he might be mistaken. But it was not likely that two or three honest men, agreeing in the same testimony, should all be deceived. Yet in pecuniary matters, the Hebrew doctors say, the testimony of one credible witness was sufficient to put a man to his oath for his purgation. And they set a mark of infamy upon him, who, in such matters as are here spoken of, had such a single witness against him (see Maccoth, cap. 1. sect. 8. and J. Coch's annotations there).

Ver. 7. *The hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him.*] This was great reason, that they might thereby still confirm the truth and certainty of their testimony by being the first executioners of the sentence; which no men would easily venture to be, who were not sure they had testified the truth.

Afterward the hands of all the people.] From hence some infer, that he was to be put to death at a public feast.

So thou shalt put the evil away.] See xiii. 5.

Ver. 8. *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment,*] Now he returns to speak of the courts of judgment, which he had ordered to be erected in all their cities, when they came into the land of Canaan, (xvi. 18) who might find some causes to be so difficult that they could not determine them.

Between blood and blood,] The Jews, I think, interpret this absurdly concerning menstruous women, and the tokens of virginity (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 2), where there is a plain and obvious meaning of these words: That there might be a doubt whether a man had committed wilful murder, or only casual, and consequently, whether he should have the benefit of the city of refuge, or be taken from it.

Plea and plea,] As the former words belong to criminal causes, so these to civil; such as suits about debts, or purchases of lands or houses, &c.

Stroke and stroke,] It doth not seem reasonable to me, that this should be interpreted of the leprosy (which is often called a *plague* or *stroke*), though the Jews so understand it, for that was to be judged solely by the priests; whereas he speaks also of other judges: therefore the meaning is, concerning any wound

or hurt that was done to a man in his body. About which, if the judges could not agree, but were divided in their opinions, either about the fact itself, or about the punishment to be inflicted, an appeal was to be made to a higher court.

Being matters of controversy.] Or contention and strife; that is, disputes arising about them, which could not be determined by the judges in those courts below.

Within thy gates.] Where God had commanded judges and officers to be settled (xvi. 18). And therefore here he speaks of the inferior courts of judgment, that were in the lesser cities of their several tribes.

Get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose;] Where the supreme court was settled in the chief city of the kingdom. While they continued in the wilderness, the captains of thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, and tens (whom Moses constituted by the advice of Jethro), judged the causes of the people under Moses himself, to whom God joined seventy persons for his assistance; all hard causes being brought before him. But this authority of the captains lasted no longer than during their pilgrimage in the wilderness; for when they came to Canaan, the law, as I now observed, required judges and officers to be ordained in every city; who, if there fell any difference about the law, are here ordered to repair to the place where the sanctuary was, for there the highest court sat as the successors of Moses, and his consistency of seventy elders, (mentioned Numb. xi. 16. 24, &c.) who judged all difficult causes while he lived.

Ver. 9. *Unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge.*] Who must be supposed to be resident in this place, where the sanctuary was. And these words, “the priests the Levites,” the Jews understand as if he had said, “the priests of the tribe of Levi, or the sons of Levi;” for so he speaks in xxi. 5. And Mr. Selden produces a great many other instances of the like phrase (lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 8. n. 2, 3), and shows they are so described (as the Jews think) to exclude all others that had been priests, before God took the sons of Aaron peculiarly to serve him in this office. But the Levites, as well as priests, they unanimously agree, were capable to be members of this great Sanhedrin; which, they all likewise say, did not consist only of priests and Levites, but of any other persons of other tribes, who were fit to be promoted to this dignity. Nay, they say, if there was not one priest or Levite in the court, it was a lawful judicature; for the high-priest himself, no more than any man else, had a place here, merely for his birth, unless his learning in the law was answerable: so Maimonides and others. And those other members who were not priests, nor Levites, they think are comprehended under the word *judge*, which, though it be in the singular number, may be thought to signify more than one, as appears from xix. 17. where it is said expressly, they shall bring the controversy there mentioned, “before the priests and the judges.” And farther, that *judge*, after the manner of this language, may signify *judges*. Constantine I. Emperor gathers from ver. 12. where priest in the singular number is used for those who

Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment :

are here called priests in the plural (Annot. in Corn. Bertram, p. 389).

But howsoever this be, it seems to me, that though the priests and Levites were not the only persons of whom this high court consisted (the members of which might be chosen out of any tribe where they could find men qualified), yet they are here first mentioned, because they were likely to be the most capable persons to exercise this authority, especially in the first constitution of this commonwealth, when they were newly entered into Canaan. For all other persons were then busily employed in looking after the inheritance that was fallen to them, and settling the affairs of their several families; whereby they were rendered less able to attend unto this weighty office. But the tribe of Levi having no inheritance among them (as is often repeated in these books), and no care about husbandry, and such like affairs, had a full leisure both to study the laws of God and to judge according to them; especially being appointed by God to "teach Jacob his judgments and Israel his law," xxxiii. 10. Besides, this court being settled at the place of God's worship, where a great many priests and Levites always necessarily attended, they were most ready, without any inconvenience to themselves, to execute this office of judges, having their maintenance from the public, which no other persons had. But otherwise, as I said, they had no more right than other men to be members of this court, which we cannot certainly say consisted of seventy judges, together with their *nasi*, i. e. their *prince* or *president*: nor that they always sat at the place here appointed: for there were sometimes great troubles in the land, and they were under the power of their enemies, which extremely disturbed their government, and made it necessary for God to raise them up extraordinary judges, because the power of this court was broken in pieces. So Mr. Selden himself acknowledges, that there were great intermissions of their sitting in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, and of Herod the Great (lib. ii. De Syne-dri. cap. 14. n. 3). And therefore, why not in the times when they were oppressed by the Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and other cruel neighbours, in the days of the judges? and thus Grotius, Herman-nus Coringius (to name no more), here understand the word *judge*, who is joined with the priest and Levites.

Unto the judge] The forenamed authors thus translate this verse, "Thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, or unto the judge that shall be in those days." Where by *judge* they understand such as Othniel, Ehud, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Samuel, and others whom God raised up when they were oppressed by their enemies, and in great confusions, to govern his people; which they did with the highest authority, being equal to kings, save only that they kept not royal state or equipage, but are plainly called by that name, Judg. xvii. 6. xix. 1. xxi. 25. Now, though the priests and Levites (i. e. that court, of which they made a considerable part) were the ordinary supreme judges of controversies, yet the judge, when God raised one up, was endued with an extraordinary power above theirs; to whom the people therefore resorted for his decision. For just as all ordinary magistrates among the Romans gave place to a dictator, when they had one, so all the Hebrew magistrates did to such a judge, when God appointed him, who determined all manner of controversies, as, at other times, the other judges, whether priests or

10 And thou shalt do according to the sentence, which they of that place which the Lord shall choose shall shew thee; and thou shalt ob-

others, were wont to do (see Herman. Coringius De Republ. Ebraeorum, sect. 39).

I know but one objection against this, which is, that those extraordinary judges were not fixed, as far as we can find, in the place where the sanctuary was; unless we may judge of all the rest by Eli and Samuel, who seem to have been settled there. But we must consider that they were not confined by their commission, which was not grounded on this law, to any one certain place, but left at liberty to live where they thought most convenient for the discharge of their trust, in the reformation of the people. And the truth of what I said concerning their supreme power, plainly appears in Samuel, who went up and down the country executing judgment, when Shiloh was destroyed, and had no court, like that which the Jews speak of, to assist him. But when he needed assistance, he appointed his sons to be judges (1 Sam. viii. 1), of whom, when the elders complained (ver. 4), because they did not discharge their duty well, it was to himself, and not to any other persons; and they desire not a Sanhedrin, but a king to judge them (ver. 5). Which petition we do not find that he communicated to the Sanhedrin, but only unto God; nor is any mention made of them in the choice of a king, or, after he was chosen, in the history of their kings, till Jehoshaphat's time, no more than there is in the books of Joshua and Judges; where we read, that when there was no king (that is, judge) in Israel, every man did what was right in his own eyes; which is a sign that there wanted such a court, to keep them in order. After the time of Jehoshaphat, who settled judges in every city (as I observed, xvi. 18), they continued, it is plain, till the captivity; but what number there was of them we do not know. After the captivity, Ezra and Nehemiah seem to have done all themselves (see Neh. ix. and x.). Which makes it very probable, that though there were judges appointed according to the direction of this law, yet the exercise of their power was often interrupted by the great changes which were in that nation; and that there was no such Sanhedrin as the Talmudists describe till the time of the Maccabees. For the very name of Sanhedrin plainly shows its original to have been when the Greek tongue was common among the Jews; and that was, when the kings of Syria and Egypt (who were of the Macedonian race) had the chief power in Palestine (see Coringius, in the fore-named book, sect. 37).

And enquire;] They were to lay the cause before this high court, and desire their opinion in it.

The sentence of judgment:] They were bound to determine the controversy; and whatsoever sentence they gave, it was to stand good till it was reversed by other judges of the same authority; for the Jews (who understand all this of the great Sanhedrin, and scan every syllable with great nicety) will have the words just before ["that shall be in those days"] to signify that every sentence must hold in the time when it is given: so that if this court determined a matter, which in aftertimes, by other judges of the same court, should be judged otherwise, that second sentence was to stand, being the opinion of those days. For this sentence was, in their judgment, the meaning of the law, by which they were all to be governed; and, if there was no tradition in the case, they judged themselves as well as they could.

Ver. 10. Of that place] That is, the high court which sits there, or the judge who is in those days.

serve to do according to all that they inform thee :

11 According to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left.

Which the Lord shall choose] The Jews, who understand this only of the Sanhedrin, say, it was not lawful for them to judge causes, at least not those which were capital, in any other place (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 15. n. 6, 7, 10).

Shall shew thee ;] Shall pronounce.

Observe to do according to all that they inform thee ;] Some fancy that he speaks to the inferior judges, who brought the cause thither to have the opinion of this highest court, who were then to pronounce sentence according to it: but whoever brought the controversy before this court (when the inferior could not determine it), they gave the sentence, in which he requires the contending parties to acquiesce, and to do according to their determination; which did not concern questions of faith, as if men were to believe whatsoever they should teach them, but such controversies as are mentioned ver. 8. about civil or criminal matters, which they were finally to determine; so that men should not farther controvert the matter, but rest in their decisions. For in all governments there must be an end of suits, somewhere or other; and God required all his people to submit to the sentence of this court: for so the words run in the Hebrew, "And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they shall show thee, from the place which the Lord thy God shall choose;" that is, from the supreme court of judicature, which resided where God himself did. For if men had been permitted to disagree to their sentence, the very end and use of this court had been taken away: as Maimonides speaks, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41.

Ver. 11. *According to the sentence of the law*] In the Hebrew, according to the "mouth, or the word of the law," which they shall teach thee; that is, according to the interpretation which they gave of the law.

According to the judgment] That is, according to the order or decree which they made thereupon.

Thou shalt do ;] Pay, suppose, the money, which they judged to be due to another man: for he doth not speak of their doing whatsoever they bade them (as if they could control the commands of God), but of obeying the sentence of this court, about those matters which were in question between one man and another (ver. 8), who were not to be judges in their own case, but rest in the judgment of those whom God had made the supreme interpreters of his law.

Thou shalt not decline from the sentence] They were not to make the least alteration in their sentence: for though they might think it was wrong, and the senate perhaps did really err, and be better informed afterward (which the law supposes, and in that case orders an expiatory sacrifice, Lev. iv. 13), yet it was not lawful for any man to act contrary to their present decree, nor to teach the contrary, whatsoever his private opinion might be.

Ver. 12. *The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken*] This they understand, not barely of a private man, that would not stand to their sentence, but of an elder, or inferior judge, who presumed to contradict it; as Mr. Selden shows, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 3.

Unto the priest] It is commonly thought, as I observed, ver. 8, that the singular number is here put

12 And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.

13 And all the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously.

for the plural; and that the meaning is, if any man would not hearken to the highest court of judgment, which consisted commonly of a great many priests, he should die for his contempt: but they have a great deal of reason on their side, who insist upon the letter of this word *priest*, and of that which follows, or the *judge* (understanding both of single persons), and take the *high-priest* only to be here meant; who seems to be described in the next words, "that stands to minister there before the Lord thy God." For when God did not raise up a *judge* to govern his people, the high-priest was the supreme governor under God until the days of David; and so he was after the captivity. Hence it is, as Grotius observes (lib. De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra, cap. 9, sect. 4), that *cohen* is a name common to priests and princes: for, among a great many nations anciently, he shows, the priests had the highest power; particularly among the Cappadocians (Strabo, who was of that country, saith), the sacerdotal dignity was next to the regal; but howsoever this word be interpreted, the crime here mentioned was contumacy, in not submitting to the sentence of the highest authority, whether it were vested in one person or more, whereby the government was in danger to be broken; and therefore God orders such a person to be put to death.

Or unto the judge,] See before, ver. 9.

Even that man shall die ;] The Jews, who interpret this, as I said, of a judge in inferior courts, who presumed to contradict the judgment of the supreme court, have tempered the severity of this law by several explications and exceptions; which have regard, either to the manner of passing this decree by the highest court, which an inferior disobeyed (and that was when a cause came before them upon an appeal, for it was not so criminal to disobey every sentence of the supreme court, but only such as these), or to the place where it was made, which was to be nowhere else but at God's dwelling-place, or to the things about which the decree was made; which some will have to be only weighty matters: and the act of contumacy also was considered; for he was not put to death, they say, unless in open court he declared a contrary sentence. The death he suffered was strangling; and he could suffer in no other place but where this high court sat (see Selden, of all these, in the place before mentioned, n. 2—6). And it may be farther observed, that the prophets themselves were subject to the power and jurisdiction of this high court, by whom they might be sentenced to capital punishment, if they taught contrary to the law of God. But our Mr. Thorndike makes a doubt, whether the constitution which the Jewish writers mention about a rebellious elder (as they call him who taught any thing contrary to the determination of this supreme court), was ever in force or not? For it was made, because of the differences between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, who lived not long before our Saviour's time; when, it appears by the gospel, that nation had lost the power of life and death (see Rites of the Church, ch. v. p. 256).

Put away the evil from Israel.] This may refer either to the evil person, or to the great scandal and dangerous example he gave, by resisting the highest

14 ¶ When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me;

15 Thou shalt in any wise set *him* king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king

authority, and thereby breaking the bond of unity and peace.

Ver. 13.] This punishment was intended to strike a terror into all the people, that they should not adventure to oppose the supreme authority. And for this end the offender was to be kept in custody, as R. Aquiba understood this, till the next great feast (either of the Passover, or Pentecost, or tabernacles), and then executed, when the whole nation, i. e. all the males were present. This Mr. Selden observes (in the forenamed place, n. 7), is the most received opinion; though R. Jehuda saith, they did not make the sentence sharper by a long delay, but executed it presently: and for the farther publication of it, they sent letters to all the tribes and cities of Israel, to give notice, that such a man was executed at such a time for this crime (see Selden there, n. 8).

Ver. 14. *When thou art come unto the land*] When they had conquered the land of Canaan, and were settled in it.

I will set a king over me,] The Jews commonly, from this and the next verse, fancy that God commanded them to make a king when they came to the land of Canaan, and had a quiet possession of it; following herein the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 2. Inasmuch, that they have presumed to make this an affirmative precept, "a king of the people should be chosen;" and quote this place for it. To which some learned men among Christians have seemed to incline; particularly Petrus Cuneus, lib. ii. De Republ. Hebr. cap. 14. and Guil. Schickardus, in his Jus Regium, cap. 1. Theor. 1. But Abarinell himself contradicts this; and so doth Josephus, who observes, that God intended they should keep their present government; but if they would have a king, he should be one of their brethren. For thus he interprets this place (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 8), that "they should not affect any other government, but love the present, having the law for their master, and living according to it;" ἀγαπῶν τὸν νόμον τοῦ κυρίου ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, "for it is sufficient that God is your ruler." And then he adds, But if you desire to have a king, ἵνα μὴ οὗτος ὑμῶν ἦ, "let him be one of your own nation," as it here follows in the next verse.

Like as all the nations that are about me;] Such as the Edomites, who had been governed by kings before the days of Moses (see Gen. xxxvi. 31).

Ver. 15. *Set him king over thee,*] Install, and receive him into the throne.

Whom the Lord thy God shall choose;] They could not elect whom they pleased, but the first king, at least, was to be appointed by God himself, who was their supreme governor. So the people understood it, when they desired Samuel, who was their chief ruler under God, to make them a king (1 Sam. viii. 5), but durst not to presume to set one up of themselves. And to confirm them in this opinion, Samuel saith to Saul (1 Sam. x. 1), "The Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance;" and saith to all the people (ver. 24), "See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen." And accordingly, when the lot was to be cast, to show who was to be their king, Samuel bids all the tribes present themselves before the Lord

over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

16 But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

17 Neither shall he multiply wives to himself,

(ver. 19). And when it fell upon Saul, and they could not find him, they inquired of the Lord, and the Lord answered where he was (ver. 22). In like manner, when Saul was rejected, the Lord himself appointed David to be anointed their king, and settled that authority in his family. And to determine which of his sons should have it, God himself appointed his immediate successor, viz. Solomon. For so David declares to all the princes and the great men whom he assembled before his death: "Of all my sons, the Lord hath chosen Solomon to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord God of Israel" (1 Chron. xxviii. 5). And again (xxix. 1), "David said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, is yet young," &c. But though it was thus in the beginning of this kingdom, yet God intended at length to make it hereditary, as appears from ver. 20 of this chapter.

One from among thy brethren] i. e. Saith the tradition, mentioned by the Jews out of Tosphta, the most select and choice person that could be found, not one of mean extraction or employment. This they fancy is meant by "from among thy brethren."

Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.] This the Jews extend to all offices whatsoever, as Maimonides reports their sense (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 20. p. 647). And by thy brother some of them understand one that was an Israelite, both by father and mother; though others think it sufficient, if a king was an Israelite by the mother's side. See there, cap. 22. which in his book De Succession. ad Pontificat. lib. ii. he shows was sufficient for any dignity among the Israelites, but only the priesthood. See also, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 9. n. 6. where he observes the Talmudists say, the great Sanhedrin was to see that no king but one thus qualified was set over the people; which, when there was such a court, may be allowed to be true; though all the power which they ascribe to their Sanhedrin over their kings, is by no means to be admitted; but is an apparent figment: for it is manifest out of the Bible, that their kings had that very power which they ascribe to the Sanhedrin: particularly, it is notorious that Solomon, by his own power, put Abiathar out of the office of high-priest (1 Kings ii. 6. 26), which judgment the Talmudists say belonged only to the great Sanhedrin. In like manner other kings judged prophets; which they appropriate to the same court.

Ver. 16. *He shall not multiply horses to himself,*] There is no certain number determined; but the Jews well resolve, that he was not to keep them for mere pomp and state, but only so many as were for use and service; to draw his chariot, for instance, and for the guard of his person; but he was to take care that he did not burden his people by too many, under this, or any other pretence: and therefore not to keep up a body of horse for war. For among the Jews their armies consisted altogether of footmen; there being no breed of horses in that country; and their people, who were all husbandmen and shepherds, being accustomed to labor, and to run as swiftly as a horse (2 Sam. ii. 18. xviii. 19. 22, &c.). Certain it is, that in the days of David they had no

that his heart turn not away : neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.

horsemen in their army ; for when Absalom lost the battle and fled, it was upon a mule that he endeavored to make his escape. And though Solomon was so prodigiously rich, that he was able to maintain forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen (1 Kings iv. 26), yet succeeding kings could not keep up such an expense ; but when they had occasion sent for succours from Egypt, which commonly consisted of horsemen. Now one of the reasons the Jews give why their king was "not to multiply horses," is, lest he should be puffed up with pride ; for a horse being a stately creature, his rider is often swollen with a high conceit of himself, as more than one of the heathen have observed (see Bochart, in his Hierozoicon, lib. ii. cap. 9). Nachmanides gives another good reason, lest he should confide and trust in the power of his horsemen more than in God (see Schickard, in his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 3. Theor. 10). But the chief reason is given by Moses himself in the next words, Lest they should be tempted to go to Egypt, with which country it was dangerous to have familiarity.

Nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to multiply horses :] Send his people thither to buy horses for him, it being a country that abounded with them, as Judea did with asses. For when Sheshak, king of Egypt (whom the Greek writers call Sesostris), came against Jerusalem, there were threescore thousand horsemen in his army (2 Chron. xii. 3). Which shows how they abounded with horses in that country in those days, though in aftertimes they did not care to breed them. They might indeed have horses out of other countries, as well as Egypt, but not so easily, nor so good : which made Solomon send thither, and Pharaoh set a great price upon them ; because he knew their value, and that they could not furnish themselves so easily with them elsewhere (1 Kings x. 28, 29).

Forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.] Or the first words may be rendered, "forasmuch as the Lord saith unto you," &c. as he did now by him, that they should not maintain traffic with the Egyptians, at least while they continued idolaters. We read, indeed, that many Jews went thither, and Urijah the prophet fled thither (Jer. xxvi. 21) : of which the Jews give this account : first, some say this was but a temporary constitution, which was not to last always : secondly, they distinguish about the way of returning thither ; conceiving that they might not go thither out of the land of Israel, but they might out of another country whither they were driven. Maimonides thinks they might go thither as merchants, but not fix their dwelling there. But the true meaning is, that they might not voluntarily go thither upon any account, at least while they remained, as I said, so corrupted in their religion and manners, as they were at this present : for there is an express law, Lev. xviii. 3, "According to the works of the Egyptians ye shall not do" (see Schickardus, in the forenamed place, p. 78). Whence those words of the prophet Isaiah, where, when he saith the land of Israel was "full of horses," he adds, "their land also is full of idols" (Isa. ii. 7, 8). For by multiplying the one, they multiplied the other. And, therefore, though David did reserve some chariots and horsemen, which he took to his conquests, for his own use, yet no great number (2 Sam. viii. 4). But still great men rode upon mules (2 Sam. xviii. 9. 1 Kings i. 33. 38, 41), as they had done in the days of the judges (Judg. v. 10. x. 4. xii. 14).

18 And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a

Ver. 17. *Neither shall he multiply wives to himself.*] This is not a prohibition to take more wives than one, but not to have an excessive number, after the manner of the eastern kings, whom Solomon seems to have imitated : I see no ground for what the Jews say, that he might have eighteen (see Schickard, in the book above named, cap. 3. Theor. 9. Selden's Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 8. Buxtorf. De Sponsal. par. i. sect. 40). For the proof which R. Solomon and Bechin give of it is very weak ; which is, that David having already six wives (2 Sam. v. 13), the prophet tells him, if he had not offended God, he would "moreover have given him such and such things," i. e. say they, twice as many wives (2 Sam. xii. 8). Much less is there any ground for what they say, that if he took more than his number, he was to be scourged by the authority of the Sanhedrin, as he was, they pretend, for the breach of any of these precepts here mentioned (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 9. n. 5). Which Grotius, indeed, endeavors to soften, by affirming that these lashes were no disgrace to him, because he received them voluntarily, in token of his repentance : and therefore was not scourged by the common executioner, but by such a person as he himself chose to give this correction ; and he received also such a number of stripes as he himself pleased, and no more (lib. i. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 3. sect. 20). But this is directly against Maimonides, who saith, in downright words, that the Sanhedrin appointed this chastisement ; as Selden observes in another place (lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 9. n. 5). And there is no example in the whole book of God of any such jurisdiction which the Sanhedrin had over their kings ; but all this may well be looked upon as a mere invention of the Jewish doctors, to magnify the power of their great council.

That his heart turn not away :] From all serious business and employment, whilst he was caressing and studying to please a multitude of women : some understand it, lest they turned his heart away from God, and the duties of piety, of which there was great danger, if he married worshippers of strange gods, as Solomon did. Otherwise, I should think it might be interpreted, of turning his thoughts from minding his people, and their good and welfare ; which must needs suffer much, when they were burdened with a great company of wives, who were to be richly maintained and provided for.

Neither—multiply to himself silver and gold.] No more, saith the Sanhedrin (cap. 2), than would pay stipends to his servants, &c. Others of them scan the words more nicely ; and observe, that, first, he is forbidden to multiply gold and silver greatly, that is, to content himself with moderate riches, and not set himself to heap up treasure, which could not be done commonly without great oppression of his subjects. And, secondly, he is forbidden to multiply them to himself : but for the public benefit he might lay up money in the treasury at the temple, though in his own coffers, for his private interest, he might not. See Schickard in his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 3. Theor. 11, where he produces their answer to this question,—How should the king be able to manage a war, or do any other great thing, if he did not furnish himself with good store of gold and silver ? He might, say they, fill the public exchequer, though not his own private bags : and that for two reasons ; first, lest he should wax proud and haughty, when his purse swelled : and secondly, lest he should be tempted to squeeze his subjects, and exact more from them than they were able to bear ; as Solomon seems

copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priests the Levites :

19 And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life : that he may learn to fear the LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them :

to have done, whose treasurer the people stoned (1 Kings xii. 18).

Ver. 18. *He shall write him a copy of this law in a book*] Not only of this book of Deuteronomy, but of the whole law, and that with his own hand, as a means to fix it more in his mind : inasmuch, that though a copy was left him by his father, he was, notwithstanding, to transcribe one himself, as the Jews say, in the Gemara Sanhedrin (cap. 2. sect. 13). All this is very agreeable to these words : but whether he was bound, if he had not written a copy before he was king (as every private Israelite, they say, was bound to do), to write two when he sat on the throne, may be doubted ; for it cannot, without violence, be drawn from these words ; and their authority is not sufficient to warrant it : they give, indeed, a plausible reason for it, that the one he was to carry about with him whithersoever he went, and to read in the other at home : but why one copy might not serve for both these purposes, I do not see.

Out of that which is before the priests the Levites :] He was not to write one word of it out of his memory merely, or any private man's copy, but out of the book which was in the sanctuary, where the original and uncorrupted copy was in the custody of God's ministers : there are a great many rules the Jews give about the right writing of this copy, which may be seen in Gnll. Schickardi Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 2. Theor. 5.

Ver. 19. *It shall be with him,*] Whersoever he was, either in the camp, or at home, or in any other place provided it was pure, and free from filth, as the Jews limit it (see there, Theor. 6).

He shall read therein all the days of his life :] Diligently study it, not spending his time, as Maimonides glosses, in drinking and making merry, but in learning the law of God (see there, p. 53). From the neglect of this precept, their kings became so ignorant of the laws of God, and of their obligation to observe them, that, in the days of the good king Josiah, he was strangely started at what he heard read out of this book of the law, when it was found in the temple, where it had long lain without any knowledge of it.

That he may learn to fear the Lord] Be preserved in the true religion.

To keep all the words of this law] Be acquainted with his whole duty, and perform it constantly (see Josh. i. 8).

20 That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left : to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.

Ver. 20. *That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren,*] Not imagining himself to be above all laws, nor slighting his subjects as unworthy of his notice, but taking a due care to promote their happiness. "For as the Scripture (saith Maimonides) provided the king should have great honour done him, obliging all to reverence him, so it commands him to be lowly in heart, and not carry himself insolently : let him be gracious, and full of clemency to little and great, so shall he go out and come in with the love and good wishes of them all." Unto which Nachmanides adds this pious reflection : "If the Scripture deters kings from pride and haughtiness of heart ; how unbecoming is it in other men, who are far inferior to them !" &c.

That he turn not aside] Neither by changing the laws on pretence of making better ; nor by abrogating them, on pretence of their inconvenience : but where the Divine law was not clear, or where nothing was there defined, he might by his authority make new constitutions, as David and Solomon did, as well in sacred as in civil matters.

To the end that he may prolong his days] This shows that God intended to establish a successive right in that family to which he chose to give the kingdom, if they continued in a constant observation of his laws. And indeed, there is no way to establish and perpetuate a family in the throne, like the due observation of laws, though they be but human, not Divine laws : for as Aristotle truly said, "He that commands the law shall govern all, (i. e. all things be ordered according to law), δοκεῖ μέλειν ἄρχειν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους," seems to command that God should rule, and the laws : but he that bids a man rule without laws (according to his own will), προστάζειν θηρίον, 'sets up a beast to govern.'" And above all things, he ought to endeavor to win the love of his subjects, by humility and clemency ; as the same Aristotle taught Alexander, if we may believe R. Jedaja, in his book called Mibchar Happeninim, where he reports a letter of his to that great prince, advising him to gain the affection of his people by a gentle government, which is far better than to rule tyrannically by force and violence : "For to what purpose is it to have possession of their bodies, when the true possession is to be master of their hearts ? get possession of their hearts by clemency, and that will draw their bodies along with them."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 *The Lord is the priests' and the Levites' inheritance.* 3 *The priest's due.* 6 *The Levite's portion.* 9 *The abominations of the nations are to be avoided.* 15 *Christ the prophet is to be heard.* 20 *The presumptuous prophet is to die.*

1 The priests, the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with

Israel : they shall eat the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and his inheritance.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *All the tribe of Levi,*] Or, even the whole tribe of Levi (see xvii. 9.).

Shall have no inheritance with Israel,] As had been said Numb. xviii. 20, and here in this book

x. 7. Which made it the more necessary Moses should remind the people of that maintenance God had appointed for them ; which unless it was duly given them, religion could not be supported ; and consequently the government (of which he had been speaking) would be quite confounded.

2 Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren: the LORD is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them.

3 ¶ And this shall be the priest's due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep; and they shall give unto the priest the shoulder, and the two cheeks, and the maw.

4 The firstfruit also of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the first of the fleece of thy sheep, shalt thou give him.

They shall eat the offerings—made by fire.] Not the burnt-offerings, which were wholly God's: but all other offerings, of which a share was appointed for the priests the sons of Aaron (Numb. xviii. 9—11. 18, 19).

His inheritance.] That is, the inheritance of the Lord, of whom he spoke before, who had reserved certain oblations to himself and bestowed them upon the priests: They are mentioned Numb. xviii. 8, 9, and ver. 12—15, where he first speaks of the first-fruits, and the first-born, which were all "brought unto the Lord," and by him given to them. In like manner, all the tithes of the land are said to be a "heave-offering unto the Lord," ver. 24, where he saith, "I have given them to the Levites to inherit," so these two, "the offerings of the Lord made by fire," and "his inheritance," comprehend all that belonged to his ministers, whether priests or Levites.

Ver. 2.] The Lord had given them that part and portion of the offerings which were peculiarly his own; and therefore is said to be their inheritance, because they enjoyed *his inheritance*, as these holy things are called in the foregoing words (see Numb. xviii. 20, 24, and Josh. xiii. 14. 33).

Ver. 3. *This shall be the priest's due*] Besides those things that God gave them, which peculiarly belonged to him.

From them that offer a sacrifice.] Of peace-offerings, which are sometimes called simply a *sacrifice* (Lev. xvii. 5. 8. Numb. xv. 3), in which the people had a considerable interest.

Ox or sheep.] Under sheep are comprehended goats also, as I have observed (see Lev. iii.).

They shall give—the shoulder.] Together with the breast; as we read Lev. vii. 32—34.

The two cheeks, and the maw.] These were not given to the priests before, but were now added to their portions, being accounted the best part of the beasts: for, as the cheeks were the best part of the head, and the shoulder and breast the best of the other members of the body, so the maw was the principal part of the entrails, as Maimonides observes, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 39.

By the *maw* is meant the stomach; and in beasts that chew the cud, who have four stomachs, that which is called by the Greeks *πυλор*, viz. the lowest of them, which had this name, because the digestion which is begun in the other, is here perfected and completed: and it appears that this part of the entrails was accounted by the ancients a great dainty, as Bochartus proves out of Aristophanes, in his *Hierozoicon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 505.

Ver. 4. *The firstfruit also of thy corn.*] See Numb. xviii. 12. To which it may be useful to add this out of Maimonides (who hath distinctly represented the order wherein all oblations were made), that after the fruits of the earth were gathered, every man was bound to bring a fiftieth part of them, as a first-fruit to the priests, which was called *trumah gedolah*, "the great oblation," of which Moses speaks in this

5 For the LORD thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand to minister in the name of the LORD, him and his sons for ever.

6 ¶ And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which the LORD shall choose;

7 Then he shall minister in the name of the LORD his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before the LORD.

place: and next of all, he separated a tenth part of the whole from the rest, which was *maasher rishon*, "the first tithe," and given to the Levites (Numb. xviii. 24). Then, out of what remained, another tenth part was taken, called *maasher sheni*, "the second tithe," which was every third year given to the poor, and in the two intermediate years, spent in feasting at the house of God (Deut. xiv. 28). So that, for instance, if a man had pressed out a hundred and two logs of oil, he sent two of them as first-fruits to the priest, and then ten more, as tithes to the Levites, and deducted nine parts more out of the residue for the poor; by which it appears, that one-and-twenty parts of a hundred and two, that is, a fifth part of the whole, was separated for pious and charitable uses (see Schickard, in his *Jus Regium*, cap. 4. Theor. 15).

The first of the fleece of thy sheep.] This is comprehended under first-fruits, but never particularly mentioned before now: and though the quantity is not mentioned, yet the Jews have adventured to determine, that less than one fleece in sixty was not accepted. For so they say of all other first-fruits, that a sixtieth part of the whole was the least that any man gave; and he was accounted a covetous man if he gave no more; they that were indifferently good, giving a fiftieth part, and liberal persons the fortieth. By this means the priests were provided with clothes, and by other offerings with food. And the wool also, as they call it, of goats (which were shorn in these countries) is comprehended under the *fleece of sheep*.

Ver. 5. *To stand to minister*] This was the office of a priest; to offer sacrifices unto God, and to bless the people in his name.

Him and his sons forever.] The family of Aaron, of which he is principally speaking. Who, when they were few in number, all ministered unto God; but afterward they took their courses of attendance. And, as the Jews say, there were eight courses before Moses died; four of the family of Eleazar, and as many of Ithamar's, which in David's time were enlarged into four-and-twenty courses (see Selden, lib. i. De Successione, in Pontificat. cap. 1.)

Ver. 6. *If a Levite*] By a Levite he seems here to mean a priest (see ver. 1). For they only could minister unto God, and the Levites ministered unto them.

Come from any of thy gates] From any city, in any tribe of Israel.

Where he sojourned.] i. e. Leave the country where he hath been wont to live.

Come with all the desire of his mind] With a sincere affection to devote himself to the perpetual service of God, at the sanctuary; so that, instead of coming in his course, he would always wait there, and never stir from that place.

Ver. 7. *Then he shall minister in the name of the Lord*] Attend continually at the altar, to do all the service of the sanctuary. The LXX. translate it,

8 They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.

9 ¶ When thou art come into the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not

“He shall minister to the name of the Lord,” i. e. to the Divine Majesty, who dwells there.

As all his brethren the Levites do,] As all those do who live at that place.

Which stand there.] To minister unto him: this was the case of Samuel.

Ver. 8. *They shall have like portions to eat.*] This shows that he is speaking of the priests; for the Levites did not eat of the holy things offered at the altar: and the meaning is, that the rest of the priests who waited there, should allow him the same portion which they themselves had in the sacrifices.

Beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.] Which was to remain proper to himself, and not be divided with other priests at Jerusalem (suppose) where he ministered. The Hebrew words are something obscure, being “besides his sales by, or unto, the fathers,” that is, such possessions as their fathers purchased, and left to them: for though the priests had no share in the land of Canaan given them at the division of it, yet they might purchase houses, and goods, and cattle; and sometimes they purchased fields, as we read Abiathar had fields of his own at Anathoth, 1 Kings ii. 26, and the prophet Jeremiah, who was a priest also, purchased a field of his uncle’s son, in his own town, Jer. xxxii. 7, 8, &c.

But the Jews make a quite different construction of these three verses, which they understand in this manner, that if any Levite (i. e. priest, for they only ministered before God) came up out of the city where he commonly resided, out of pure devotion to attend at the three solemn feasts, which were held at the place where the sanctuary was (where they were bound to wait, only when their course came, but at these feasts might all come and minister in the sanctuary), his brethren, whose week it was then to attend, should both admit him to minister before God with them, and also give him an equal portion with themselves in the extraordinary sacrifices which were then offered at those festivals, except only those which were peculiarly assigned to them whose week of waiting at the altar it then was; who, by the ordinance of God, delivered to Moses and Aaron, (who, they suppose, are here called the fathers), were to have the right shoulder of the peace-offerings. See Lev. vii. 33, where it is said, “He among the sons of Aaron that offereth the peace-offerings and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for his part;” in which none other was to participate. But why this should be called the sales, I do not understand, unless we interpret it as Forsterus doth, *venditiones*, i. e. *res venditæ à patribus*, “things sold by the fathers,” that is, appropriated by them (to the particular priest that offered the sacrifice), as things sold are to those that buy them.

Ver. 9. *Come into the land*] The land of Canaan, which the Lord was about to bestow upon them, according to his promise.

Thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations] Now he returns to warn them again not to fall into the idolatry and the superstitions of the country whither they were going (see Lev. xviii. 3).

Ver. 10. *There shall not be found among you*] So as to be tolerated.

That maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire,] This was the most abominable idolatry practised in that country whither they were going, who consecrated their children in this manner to

learn to do after the abominations of those nations.

10 There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass

Moloch, or the sun, of which I have said sufficient, Lev. xviii. 21. Therefore I shall only add here that this wicked custom seems to have flowed from this country of the Phœnicians and Tyrians unto the Carthaginians; who were guilty of the impiety of sacrificing their children, as they did also here unto Moloch (Lev. xx. 2, 3), which spread itself, in a manner, over all the world, as many have shown; particularly Joh. Gensius, in his treatise *De Victimis Humanis*, par. i. cap. 11, and it was found among the Americans, when that new world was discovered (see also par. ii. cap. 5).

Or that useth divination.] Of which there were many sorts; and one was, by raking into the bowels of their sacrifices, particularly of human sacrifices; by the observation of which they pretended to foretell things, as many authors testify. Yea, they offered little children on purpose, that thereby they might make their auguries, as the same Gensius hath observed in that book (cap. 21). Unto which, perhaps, there is a peculiar respect in this place; for I find most of the things here mentioned, joined in other places with “making their children pass through the fire,” particularly 2 Kings xxi. 6. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6. And the prophet Ezekiel seems to intimate, that hereby they divined, when he charges the Israelites with this crime, xx. 26, 31. For he adds, “Shall I be inquired by you, O house of Israel,” who have inquired, that is, by making your children pass through the fire?

But it must be confessed, that the Hebrew words *kosem kosemim* (which we translate “useth divination”), are by many thought to have a peculiar respect unto such as used to divine by casting or drawing of lots. And the word, as our learned Dr. Castell observes, is so used in the Arabian language for “distribution of lots.” Which sort of divination was much in use among the Greeks and Romans; and had been so, it is very likely, in more ancient times among the eastern nations: for nothing is more known than the *Sortes Prænestinæ* and *Patvinæ* among the Romans; and the *Dodonææ*, and *Dindy-menææ*, and many others, among the Greeks, particularly that at Bura in Achaia, where there was a cave in which was the image of Hercules; before which they, who resorted thither to inquire directions in any case, or the success of any affair, used to fall down, and say their prayers, and after that to throw four dice upon the table, and by the letters or marks upon which they fell, the divination was made; as Pausanias describes it in his Achaica. In other places they used them in a different manner, and the ancient Arabians divined by arrows, as our famous Dr. Pocock has shown in his notes upon Gregor. Abulfaragus’s book, concerning the Original and Manners of the Arabians, p. 327, 328, &c. where he describes the manner of it, and shows that it was performed before some idol, and therefore was strictly forbidden, by Mahomet in his Alcoran, as a diabolical invention. In which he seems to have imitated Moses, who may be thought here to forbid such kind of divination; which was in use among the eastern people in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, xxi. 21, where we find the same word *kosem*, which that learned author thinks is illustrated by that Arabian custom.

It is to be noted, also, that they used to divine by a dead man’s skull, as our Dr. Windet hath observed out of the Sanhedrin (cap. 7), and Maimonides.

through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch,

11 Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.

12 For all that do these things are an abomi-

Which custom the Greeks likewise followed; for Palladius relates how Maecius inquired *πρὸς τὸν ξηρὸν κρῖνον*, "at a dry skull," &c. (see Windet, in his book *De Vitæ Functorum Statu*, sect. 1).

Several sorts of such kind of persons there were among the Edomites, Moabites, and other nations near Judea, who, in the days of Jeremiah, deceived the people with their divinations, prophecies, dreams, enchantments, and sorceries, as we learn from Jer. xxvii. 3, 9.

An observer of times, or an enchanter,] Of these I have said enough upon Lev. xx. 26.

A witch,] This word signifies worse than any of the former, viz. one that doeth mischief unto men or beasts by evil arts: concerning which see upon Exod. xxii. 18. Unto which I shall here add, that the Jewish nation have been extremely addicted to witchcraft, and some of their famous rabbins have been suspected of it (see J. Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 529).

Ver. 11. *A charmer,*] There are various conjectures about the meaning of the Hebrew words *chober chaber*; which importing something of *society* or *conjunction*, some translate *fortune-teller*, who by the conjunction of the planets pretends to predict future things; others, one that bath society with evil spirits, which is mentioned afterward in another word. Job Ludolphus seems to me to have given the plainest account of the words, which he translates *congregans congregationem*, "gathering together a company." For it was an ancient way of enchantment, to bring various kinds of beasts into one place, which the rabbins distinguish into the "great congregation," and the "little congregation:" the great was, when they assembled together a great company of the larger sort of beasts; and the less, when they gathered together as great a company of the smaller, such as serpents, scorpions, and the like: but we cannot be certain of this; though Telezius tells us, it is in use at this day in the eastern countries. For so he describes the election of the king of Gingir, that he stood compassed about with lions, tigers, leopards, and dragons, which, by magical arts, were gathered together as his guard and courtiers (see Ludolphi Comment. in Hist. Ethiop. cap. 16. n. 116).

But the common interpretation which the Jews give of *chober chaber* is, that he is one who uses strange words, which have no signification; but he pretends are powerful to charm a serpent (for instance), that it shall not sting, or to preserve from any other harm. So Maimonides in Avoda Zara, cap. 11. And to this sort of superstition the world was so addicted, that this precept of Moses could not bring the Jews quite off from it; but, when they threw away other charms, they used the words of Scripture instead of them; pretending, for instance, to cure wounds by reading that verse in the law, Exod. xv. 26. I will put none of these diseases upon thee," &c. So we find they themselves acknowledge in Sanhedrin, cap. 2, sect. 1. And Maimonides saith, in the forenamed treatise, this is forbidden by Moses in this place, as much as any other kind of charm; "for the words of the law are turned hereby to another use than God intended in them; which was not for healing the body, but curing the soul." And I see no reason why it should not be thought as great a crime to use the Schem Hamphorash (as they call the name Jehovah) to such purposes; and yet the Jews are so stupid as to ima-

nation unto the LORD: and because of these abominations the LORD thy God doth drive them out from before thee.

13 Thou shalt be perfect with the LORD thy God.

gine Moses wrought all his miracles by the virtue of it. Maimonides, indeed, was so sober as to reject this common conceit, condemning those who think there was a power in the very letters and pronunciation of the word (lib. i. More Nevochim, cap. 62).

A consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard,] Of these two see what I have noted, Lev. xix. 31. and Lev. xx. 6.

A necromancer.] In the Hebrew, "one that seeks to, or inquires of, the dead." It is not easy to tell wherein this differs from one that had a *familiar spirit*, as we translate it. For the woman whom Saul consulted, who had a spirit, called *Ooth*, inquired also after this manner; their spirit, it seems, teaching such persons to call for the dead to appear to them: but some, perhaps, had not such a spirit, who notwithstanding consulted the dead, by going to their graves in the night, and there lying down, and muttering certain words with a low voice, that they might have communion with them by dreams, or by their appearing to them: unto which the prophet Isaiah is thought to allude, viii. 19. xxix. 4. Maimonides, in Avoda Zara, cap. 11. sect. 15. thus describes a *necromancer*: he is one, who, having afflicted himself with fasting, goes to the burying-place, and there lies down, and falls asleep; and then the dead appear to him, and tell him what he desires. Such are they also who put on a certain kind of garment, speak some uncouth words, and make a fume, and then lie down alone, that the dead whom they desire may come to them, and discourse with them in their sleep. To the same purpose Aben Ezra. To this the gentiles were very prone; and it was thought so high an attainment to come to this knowledge, that Julian the apostate, who was ambitious to be acquainted with all the heathen mysteries, secretly practised this *Necromantia*, in the most retired part of his palace, cutting up the bodies of virgins and boys to bring up the dead to him; which was far more impious than what the Talmudists say (in the title Beracoth), that such kind of people were wont to burn the secundine of a black cat, when she had her first kittens, and beating it very small, put some of the powder upon their eye, whereupon demons appeared to them (see Greg. Nazianz. in his invectives against Julian, p. 91. and St. Chrysostom, in his oration upon St. Bahylas). I shall only add, that this was not only privately practised among the gentiles, but there were also public places to which men resorted to consult the dead, particularly at Thesprotis, near to the river Acheron, where Herodotus, lib. v. mentions a *Νεκρομαντήριον*; and Plutarch (to name no more) mentions another at Heraclæa, which Pausanias, in his distress, went to consult, as he relates in the life of Cimon.

Ver. 12. *All that do these things are an abomination*] Because they were invented by idolatrous people, if not by the suggestions of evil spirits.

Because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out] Expelled the Amorites and other wicked inhabitants of the country, where they practised these abominations; which, no doubt, had some relation to idolatry, and therefore were forbidden to the Israelites.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God.*] This shows there was something of idolatrous worship, in all the forenamed practices; which, if they followed, it was, in some degree, to forsake the

14 For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners : but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do.

Lord, on whom they were wholly to depend, and seek to him alone in the ways which he had prescribed in his laws. For this was to be "perfect with the Lord;" to have nothing to do with any other God, nor with the rites and ceremonies that were used in their worship : and therefore the LXX. translate this word sometimes by ἀπὸς (Job xxii. 3), as well as by τελειῶς; for then they were perfect with God, when they kept his worship simple and pure, without the mixture of any foreign religion; which the whole context shows to be the sense, both in the words foregoing and following.

Ver. 14. *For these nations,—hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners :*] The ancient heathen, as Strabo tells us, lib. vi. had these diviners in such esteem, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐ ἀξιοῦντας, "that they thought them worthy of the highest authority." But God would not have his people so much as to consult such persons : for it appears by these words, that not only they who were diviners (for instance), but they who hearkened to them, were odious to God. For that even the art of divination depended upon some idolatrous opinions and practices, appears evidently, even from the most refined account we have of it in ancient authors : for instance, Ammianus Marcellinus, who, to acquit his master Julian from the suspicion of sorcery, which some said he used, to get the foreknowledge of things future, makes it a principal point of wisdom, not unworthy such a prince, who was a professed lover of all sciences, to offer placatory sacrifices to draw in the spirit of all the elements, to endue him with a spirit of divination : for so his words are in the beginning of his one-and-twentieth book : "The spirit of all the elements, being all way and every way invigorated with the foreperceiving motion of the everlasting (i. e. the heavenly) bodies, makes us partakers of the gifts of divining; and the substantial powers, ritu diverso placate, 'being rendered favorable by respective rites' (i. e. such as were proper and suitable to each of them), convey predictions to mortality, as from so many perpetual springs or fountains, over which (substantial powers) the goddess Themis is said to preside," &c. Which shows that Julian, who called Jupiter the most high God, the King of all, yet courted other inferior powers, by such rites as he imagined would win their favor : which was rank idolatry.

The Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do.] But absolutely forbidden it, Lev. xix. 31. xx. 6. where he warns them to have nothing to do with some of the persons here mentioned; and not only instructed them in the way to live happy, but established an oracle among them, to be consulted on all weighty occasions, and governed them by men whom he had endued with his Spirit (Numb. xi. 16, 17. 25). Therefore if any Israelite practised any of the things here forbidden, though he did not worship any idol, he was scourged by the sentence of the court of judgment (see Selden, lib. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7).

Ver. 15. *Raise up unto thee a Prophet*] Since the Jews, as all other nations, were extremely desirous to know things to come, Moses reveals unto them from God a thing future of the highest importance, viz. the coming of Christ, and the greatness of his authority; and in after times, God revealed to them, by degrees, the time of his birth, his death, resurrection, &c. The Jews, indeed, commonly take these words to be a promise of a constant succession of prophets that

15 ¶ The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken;

should be among them, to preserve them from going to such diviners as were famous among their heathen neighbors; and thus many Christian interpreters make out the connexion of these words with the foregoing. But though this may be allowed to be intimated, and this promise be acknowledged to be partly verified in those prophets which God raised up, from age to age, after Moses, for further knowledge of his will (as the promise of a Saviour was in part verified in those judges and kings by whom God delivered his people from their enemies), yet it is very evident that he speaks of a single prophet, more eminent than all the rest; and that these words, in their most literal sense, cannot belong to any other person but the Messiah. So that albeit the continuance of prophets among this people, was a means to prevent all occasions of consulting sorcerers or witches; yet the chief ground upon which Moses dissuades them from such practices, according to the literal connexion of these words with the foregoing, "the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so," i. e. to hearken unto observers of times and diviners, was, the consideration of their late mighty deliverance by Moses; the excellency of their present law, which God had given them for their direction; and their expectation of a greater Lawgiver in future times, when the first covenant should wax old, and prophecy itself for a long time fail, as it did before the coming of this great prophet, the Lord Christ. To this purpose Dr. Jackson, in his third book upon the Creed, ch. 21. parag. 19.

From the midst of thee,] It was a great honour to them to have such a prophet as is here spoken of arise out of their nation; but as he was after a peculiar sort raised up by Jehovah, not merely by the external assistances or impulsion of his Spirit (to use the words of the same excellent person, parag. 9), but by intrinsic assumption into the unity of his person; so likewise he was raised up, in a strict and proper sense, "from the midst of them;" being, as it were, extracted out of a pure virgin, as the first woman was out of the man, by the Almighty's own immediate hand.

Like unto me;] This shows he speaks of a single prophet, and not of a constant succession of prophets, there being none of them like to Moses, whom God himself distinguished from them all (Numb. xii. 6—8). And accordingly that Divine writer, who added those verses which are at the end of this book (concerning the death of Moses), testifies that there never rose in Israel a prophet like to Moses (see Deut. xxxiv. 10). It is commonly thought to be done by Ezra, who hath effectually confuted all the conceits of R. Bechai, Aben Ezra, Abarinel, and other Jewish doctors, who take either Joshua or Jeremiah to have been this prophet. If Joshua, as some fancy, added these words, then he excluded himself from being the person; nor did Joshua act as a prophet, but as a judge or governor : and Jeremiah is acknowledged by Abarinel himself to be inferior to Isaiah : for though in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah he mentions fourteen things wherein he was like unto Moses, and saith he prophesied just forty years, as Moses did; yet, in his commentary upon the lesser prophets, he prefers Isaiah before them all, and censures the rudeness of Jeremiah's language, in many things preferring Ezekiel to him. So little do these doctors agree in their interpretation of this prophecy

16 According to all that thou desiredst of the LORD thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the LORD my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not.

17 And the LORD said unto me, They

which can belong to none of their prophets which succeeded Moses (who were all much inferior to him), until *He* came, who perfectly resembled him, but was much superior to him (see ver. 18). And thus the ancient Jews understood this prophecy; for though Maimonides only saith, the Messiah should be endued with wisdom greater than Solomon's, and should equal their master Moses, yet those before him proceeded a great deal further. This being a common saying among them, which Abarbanel himself remembers, in his commentary upon the small prophets, "He shall be exalted above Abraham, lifted up above Moses, and higher than the angels of the ministry." Nor is the cabalistical observation mentioned in Baal-Hat-turin to be quite neglected; which is, that this verse begins and ends with the letter *nun*, which is the numeral letter for *fifty*, importing, that to the prophet here promised should be opened the fifty gates of knowledge, forty-nine of which only were opened to Moses. And that this verse also consists of ten words, to signify that they were to obey this prophet no less than the ten commandments: which observation, it must be confessed, is weakly grounded, but contains a most illustrious truth, and shows that they believed Moses here speaks of the Messiah.

Unto him shall ye hearken;] As they had engaged themselves to do: it will appear from the following words.

Ver. 16.] So we read Exod. xx. 19. where they made this request unto Moses, saying, "Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die." In which words the whole multitude bound themselves solemnly to hear the words of the Lord, being delivered not immediately from his own mouth, but by Moses, as is more fully expressed in this book, Deut. v. 27—29. where God highly commends this good resolution in them, as Moses here observes again in the next verse.

Ver. 17. *They have well spoken*] He approved their desire, and resolved not to speak to them any more, as he did from Mount Sinai, with a voice out of the fire and cloud; but by Moses himself while he lived, and afterward by one like to Moses, as it here follows.

Ver. 18. *I will raise them up a prophet*] These words seem to have been spoken to Moses by God, when they desired God would not speak to them any more immediately by himself, but by a mediator. Then God was pleased to promise them a great deal more than they desired, which was to raise up another Prophet like to Moses, who should acquaint them more fully with his mind and will in as familiar a manner as Moses did, without striking any such terror into them, as they were in at the giving of the law, though the words of this prophet came from the mouth of God himself: in which two things the Israelites excelled all other nations (i. e. in that they had such an excellent law delivered by Moses, which was to be bettered by an everlasting covenant, made by this Prince of the Prophets). In respect of both (as the same Dr. Jackson expresses it), the name of *soothsayer*, or *soreerer*, was not to be named in Israel, as they were in the nations that knew not God, much less expected such a Mediator. In whom the Spirit of life should dwell as plentifully, as splendor doth in the body of the sun; from whose fulness, ere he

have well *spoken* that which they have spoken.

18 I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.

visibly appeared in the world, all other prophets were illuminated: so that Moses himself, and all the prophets that followed him, were but as messengers sent from God, to solicit his people to preserve their allegiance free from all commerce or compact with familiar spirits, until the Prince of Glory came in person to visit them, and dwell among them.

Like unto thee,] This is well explained by Eusebius, δὲύτερος κατὰ Μωυσῆα νομοδότης, "a second law-giver, as Moses was:" for in saying not simply he would raise them up a prophet, but *like unto thee*, it must signify, saith he, that this Prophet should be a lawgiver as well as Moses, which none of the prophets were, till our Saviour came. Neither Isaiah nor Jeremiah were the makers of laws, but only called upon them to observe the law of Moses; whereas, when the Lord Jesus came, he gave laws to all the world, and those far superior to the laws of Moses, who only said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" but our Lord saith, "I say unto you, Ye shall not lust; and instead of 'Thou shalt not kill,' he saith, 'Be not angry with thy brother,' &c. Whence it was that they who heard him were astounded at his doctrine, and said, that he spake "not as the scribes," who were expounders of the law, but "as one that had authority," that is, power to ordain and enact laws, and not only to explain those that were already written (lib. 1. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 2. lib. ix. p. 443. &c. See also what Joh. Wagenseil hath said upon these words, in his annot. in Lipmau. Carm. Memoriale, p. 548).

He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.] Reveal the whole mind and will of God (John xii. 49, 50). For he was herein like to Moses (though far superior to him), that he was intimately acquainted with God's counsels, being "in the bosom of the Father" (John i. 18), and confirmed all that he said to be from God by miracles, and wonders, and signs, far more mighty than those of Moses, and more in number than had been wrought by all the prophets, from the beginning of the world. Particularly, he fed multitudes with a little food (which made the people cry out, "This is of a truth that Prophet which should come into the world." John vi. 14), but above all this, gave them "that bread from heaven," of which the manna which Moses gave them was but a shadow, as he took occasion to show the people, upon their admiration of that miraculous feast he had made for them, with five barley loaves, and two small fishes: for he himself was that bread of life, who nourished men's souls with the word of eternal life, which he had in himself, as he showed by his resurrection from the dead, which he himself predicted, and thereby proved himself the greatest of all the prophets: for though Moses foretold his own death, yet neither he, nor any other prophet whatsoever but our Saviour, spake of his being raised up again. In which he may be thought to be like to Moses, who was raised up by God to be a saviour of his people out of that ark, which, without the special providence of God, had been his tomb. And unto this resurrection of Christ doth the propriety of this phrase, "from the midst of thee," agree: for this was done, as Dr. Jackson also well observes, in the midst of Jerusalem, the metropolis of Judea, not without express notice given of it to the rulers of the people; and such a

19 And it shall come to pass, *that* whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require *it* of him.

20 But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in

the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die.

21 And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken?

22 When a prophet speaketh in the name of

confirmation it was, that "he was the prophet they should all hear;" that there could not be a greater; as all strangers, both to their religion and ours, must agree, and they themselves cannot deny: for Nachmanides, relating, in a letter of his to the rabbins at Marseilles, how there was a man in those days, in the southern countries, who pretended to be the fore-runner of the Messiah, unto whom great numbers both of Jews and Arabs resorted, tells us, that he being apprehended by the king of the country, and asked what miracle he showed to confirm his commission, he answered boldly, "Cut off my head, and I will come to life again." To which the king of the Arabs replied, "There is no sign greater than this; which, if it come to pass, both I and the whole world will believe thee." Whereupon his head was cut off, and there was an end of all his pretences; though some of the Jews were so mad, as Maimonides there saith, that they still expected his return to life. Thus R. Gedaliah reports in his Schalsheet Hakkabalah.

Ver. 19. *Whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name.* This is the proper character of a prophet, to deliver in the name of God what he received from God. Thus did Moses: but Christ most eminently, as I before observed from John xii. 49, 50, where he saith, "I have not spoken of myself," but the Father which sent me; he gave me a commandment what I should say and what I should speak, &c. whatsoever therefore I speak, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak." Which is a perfect commentary upon these words of Moses, who here calls Christ a prophet, not a priest, or a king (though he was to be both), because he would not have the Jews mistake, and expect to find in his person the worldly grandeur of a mighty prince, or the high honour and splendour of Aaron; but have the greatest regard to the heavenly doctrine which he taught them, as he himself (he told them) was taught by the Father: "For I proceeded forth (says he) and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me; and I do nothing of myself, but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things," John viii. 28, 42. This was the highest honour of all, to speak God's words (ver. 47), in the name of God (ver. 42).

I conclude this with the remarkable words of the Midrash upon Ecclesiastes, who thus expresses the sense of this prophecy, "As was the first Redeemer, such shall be the last Redeemer." Which plainly determine the prophet here spoken of to be one single person; and he no other but the Lord Christ (see Huetius, in his Demonst. Evang. propos. 7. n. 9).

I will require it of him. Severely punish him, so as to destroy him from among his people, as St. Peter interprets it, Acts iii. 23. And so this phrase is used, Gen. ix. 5, xlii. 22. And there was great reason for this severity, seeing they had so solemnly bound themselves to hearken to this prophet, when they desired God not to speak any more to them by himself, but by a mediator, which God then promised, as I observed, ver. 18. A mediator of a better covenant, who should secure them from such dreadful flames, as they then saw, if they would hearken to him, as they promised to do; otherwise, what could they expect, "but a certain fearful looking-for of judgment, and fiery indignation, to devour the adversaries?"

For since "he that despised Moses's law died without mercy, under two or three witnesses, of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God," in the open face of all the world? Heb. x. 27—29, which is a full explication of these words, "Whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him:" or, as Onkelos translates it, "my Word shall require it of him:" where *Memra*, Word, can signify nothing but a Divine person, distinct from him who speaks these words, even that very person to whom the apostle applies them.

Ver. 20. *But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, &c.* These words plainly suggest to us, that Moses intended, in the foregoing discourse, to admonish the Israelites to hearken diligently to all such prophets as God should at any time raise up to them; though it be most evident, if we examine the propriety of every word or clause in the whole context, they cannot be exactly fitted unto any prophet but Christ; unto whom the whole discourse is as fully accommodated, as a well-made garment to the body that wears it. They are the words of the same excellent person, so often mentioned, Dr. Jackson, book iii. on the Creed, ch. 21. par. 1, 2.

That shall speak in the name of other gods. It was a manifest sign a man was a false prophet, if he spake in the name of Baal, or any other god, but the God of Israel: or if he said, Such a star by its spiritual influence coming upon me, said, Worship me after this manner, or, Thus call upon me, as Maimonides (who gives an account of the several sorts of false prophets) speaks in his preface to Seder Zeraim. But how should they know a man to be a false prophet, when he spake to them in the name of the Lord? For men might pretend, as some did, that God had sent them, and given them a command, when he had not. To which he answers in the next verses.

Even that prophet shall die. He was to be strangled, say the Jews, by the sentence of the great Sanhedrin; for it is a tradition of their rabbins, saith the Gemara Babylonica upon that title, that in the business of prophecy there are three sorts of persons, who are to be punished by the judgment of men, and three by the sentence of Heaven. He that prophesied what he did not hear from God (an example of which we have in Zedekiah, 1 Kings xxii. 11), or spake what was not said to him, but to another (an example of which they make Hananiah, Jer. xxviii. 11), or prophesies in the name of an idol (suppose Baal); all these were to be put to death by the sentence of the court of judgment: but he that suppressed his prophecy (like Jonah), or despised the words of a prophet, or did not observe his own words, was to be punished by the hand of Heaven (see Seldon, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 6. n. 1).

Ver. 21.] Which was but a reasonable question, there being as great care necessary, not to hearken to falsehood, as to be attentive unto truth. And this relates unto such prophets as came to them in the name of the Lord: for if a man came in the name of any other God, there needed no other mark to discover him to be an impostor.

Ver. 22. *When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord,* Predicting some wonderful thing to come

the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not

to pass, as a token he is sent of God to deliver what he speaks to the people.

If the thing follow not, nor come to pass,] For if the Lord had sent him, he would have accomplished what he gave as a sign of his mission; which not coming to pass, he was proved to be a false prophet, who spake out of his own heart, and not the word of the Lord. But here the Jews distinguished between a prophet who predicts evil things, as famine, or pestilence, &c. and one that predicts good things, as rain (when there is great need of it), and fruitful years, &c. Though the predictions of the former sort did not come to pass, he was not to be reputed presently a false prophet, because God is very merciful, and often repented him of the evil, as he did in the case of Nineveh : but, in the latter case, if any one of the good things he foretold did not come to pass, he was to be taken for a deceiver; which they understand also of the very time and place, when and where he said the things he predicted would be fulfilled : and here they bring in the example of Haniah, the son of Azur, mentioned before, Jer. xxviii. 11, and see ver. 8, 9 of that chapter. But this doth not give us the true difference; for both God's promises and threatenings many times depend upon a condition, as appears from that famous place in the prophet, Jer. xviii. 7—9. So that the good things a prophet foretold might not come to pass, and yet he might be a true prophet; because the people proved unworthy of them, and God did not absolutely intend them. Therefore the true meaning seems to be, that if a prophet foretold such a thing as the power of nature cannot produce, and gave it as a sign God sent him, who would justify his mission by doing that wonder, and the thing did not come to pass, he was to be looked upon as not a man of God : for example, when Moses threw his rod on the ground, and said it should become a serpent, if it had not been turned into a serpent, he had been convicted of falsity : or a prophet said fire should come down from heaven, and consume the sacrifice which lay before him, which was the case of Elijah ; if it had not come down, he would have been no more owned for a true prophet, than the prophets of Baal. And, as Maimonides well observes, if a prophet's words were fulfilled in one or more things, he was not to be judged a true prophet, unless every thing he spake in the name of God came to pass; which he proves from those words concerning Samuel (1 Sam. iii. 19, 20), "The Lord let none of his words fall to the ground : and all Israel knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord."

The Jews also made this addition to the rule forementioned of trying prophets, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 5. n. 3), that "whatsoever prophet had the testimony of another undoubted prophet, was to be taken for a true prophet." By which rule they might have known the great Prophet whom God promised to them in the foregoing verses : for

spoken, *but* the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously : thou shalt not be afraid of him.

John the Baptist, whom the whole nation took for a prophet, testified to them that Jesus was the Christ. And besides all other undoubted marks of his being sent from God, his rising from the dead, which he himself foretold, was enough to satisfy all men of the truth of what he said : for though every prediction of what afterwards comes to pass, will not necessarily prove a man to be a true prophet; yet the fulfilling of a great number of things (not one of which fails, as was said before of Samuel), especially of such a thing as this, which was impossible to be brought to pass but by an almighty power, is an uncontrollable evidence of a Divine mission.

R. Solomon, upon this verse, hath a note which is worth our observation, though it be not to the purpose of Moses's words : "A prophet (saith he) that bids thee not observe some of the precepts, is not to be heard, unless he be known to be a man of eminent virtue, and upright life, as Elijah was, who bade them build an altar on Mount Carmel, even when the sacrifices upon high places were forbidden. But there was a necessity for it, that he might restore the true worship of God in Israel." Which should have made them hearken to our blessed Saviour better than they did, he being so perfectly holy and pure, that he challenged any of them to charge him with sin; especially, when he only laid aside some of their vain traditions, but conformed to all the rites of Moses : so that if in conclusion we should grant that Moses (in the fourteenth and sixteenth verses, &c.), speaks of all the prophets that should succeed him (which it is certain he doth not principally intend), the Jews were impious in rejecting our Saviour, who came as a prophet to them, and had all the marks that a prophet could have of his being sent from God.

Hath spoken it presumptuously:] For it was an act of high presumption, and arrogant pride, for any man to pretend a commission from God, when he had not sent him. Which was done two ways, as the Jews interpret this, either when a man spake in the name of God that which was false, or when he pretended that to have been spoken to him which was revealed by God to another (see Jer. xxii. 30). Both these were impudent impostors, and accordingly to be treated.

Thou shalt not be afraid of him.] Have no reverence or regard to him, though he be never so confident : nor be afraid to lay hold of him, and endeavour to bring him to the Sanhedrin, to have their sentence passed upon him (as the Jews understand it), though he have never so powerful an interest to support him, and preserve him from punishment. Thus Maimonides, in the forenamed preface to Seder Zeraim : "Thou shalt not be terrified, or averted from endeavoring to have him put to death, by his religion, goodness, or knowledge, since in his proud brags he hath spoken false things of God." For to be afraid of such a person, and of his partakers, was to distrust God, who is the defender of those that defend the cause of religion.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *The cities of refuge.* 4 *The privilege thereof for the manslayer.* 14 *The landmark is not to be removed.*
15 *Two witnesses at the least.* 16 *The punishment of a false witness.*

1 WHEN the LORD thy God hath cut off the nations, whose land the LORD thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, and in their houses;

2 Thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it.

3 Thou shalt prepare thee a way, and divide the coasts of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every slayer may flee thither.

4 ¶ And this is the case of the slayer, which shall flee thither, that he may live: Whoso kill-

eth his neighbour ignorantly, whom he hated not in time past;

5 As when a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the head slippeth from the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die; he shall flee unto one of those cities, and live:

6 Lest the avenger of blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and slay him; whereas he was not worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in time past.

CHAP. XIX.

Having sufficiently pressed upon the people the great commandment, of loving God with all the heart, and soul, and strength, and him alone, Moses now proceeds to remember them of other precepts belonging to the *second table* (as we now speak), but not in an exact method, nor without interspersing some ceremonial matters. And he begins with what concerns that commandment, "Thou shalt not kill."

Ver. 1.] The very same words we had before upon another occasion, xii. 29, which are now used to signify, that they were not bound to what follows, till God had subdued the land of Canaan for them, and they were settled in it; as the last words of the verse imports, *dwellest in their cities, and in their houses*. Accordingly, after the division of the land, God puts Joshua in mind of this business (Josh. xx. 1, 2, &c.).

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt separate three cities*] According to an order God had given to Moses, Numb. xxxv. 14, 15, to set aside six cities in all, for the use here mentioned; three on this side Jordan, where they now were, and three on the other side in the land of Canaan. The former part of which command Moses himself had executed (Deut. iv. 42, &c.), and now gives them a charge to perform the other.

In the midst of thy land,] In the "midst of their land," signifies no more but "within their land:" for if they had been all three in the very heart of the country, it would have crossed the end and intention of them, which was, that they should be placed so conveniently in several parts of the country, that men might easily and speedily flee to them. And therefore "the midst of the land," may be opposed to the skirts of the country, where they would have been too far distant from some parts of it; or may denote, that they should be set in an eminent place, upon the top of mountains, where they might be seen afar off. And so they all three were, it is apparent from Josh. xx. 7, where they are said to be in Mount Naphtali, Mount Ephraim, and the mountain of Judah.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt prepare thee a way,*] Make a plain road to them, and keep it in good repair, that, both in winter and summer, the manslayer might without difficulty flee thither. And for his more safe passage, the Hebrews say, where there were any turnings, or two ways parted, they were bound to set up a post, or stone, whereon was engraven, in great letters, the word מִקְלָט, i. e. *refuge*, that he might not mistake his way to the place.

Divide the coasts—into three parts,] The Jews un-

derstand it, that they were to be placed at an equal distance, in three several parts of the country, that all might have the same benefit by them; and nobody have a longer journey to go than his neighbour for his safety.

That every slayer may flee thither.] Have the convenience of preserving himself in one or other of them. It is observable, that there were as many of these cities in the two tribes and a half, as there were in all the other nine tribes and a half; in which there seems to be a great inequality. I have given some account of it upon Numb. xxxv. 14. And the Hebrews fancy there was another reason for it, because of the frequent murders which were likely to be committed by the fierce nature of the Gileadites (see the book of Judges, ch. x. and xi. and Hosea vi. 8).

Ver. 4. *That he may live:*] Be preserved from the avenger of blood, who otherwise might kill him.

Whoso killeth his neighbour ignorantly,] These cities were not to be a protection to a wilful murderer, but to an innocent person, who, against his intention, was so unhappy as to kill a man, *belidaoth* (as the words are in the Hebrew), "without his knowledge," being free, that is, from any design to do him the least harm. But as for such as, out of hatred and malice in their hearts, killed another, they were so far from finding safety in these cities, that they were to be pulled from the altar, if they fled thither for sanctuary, as we now speak (Exod. xxi. 12, 14). Or, if they would not stir from thence, they might be killed there, as appears by the case of Joab, 1 Kings ii. 28, 30, 31.

Ver. 5. *As when a man goeth into the wood,* &c.] By this all other like cases were to be judged; that is, when a man was about a lawful business, if any thing happened which he intended not, he was not accountable for it (see Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2).

He shall flee unto one of those cities, and live:] He might get to which of them he could most conveniently, and there be preserved. The Jews, from this word *live*, conclude, without any other ground for it, that a master was bound to go along with his scholar who fled thither; because, without the doctrine of the law, men did not live, but were dead.

Ver. 6. *Lest the avenger of blood pursue the slayer*] With anger, which might boil up to such a degree as to move him to kill the slayer, before he had examined whether there was a just cause.

It is evident that this verse is to be connected with verse the third (the next two, ver. 4, 5, coming in as

7 Wherefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt separate three cities for thee.

8 And if the LORD thy God enlarge thy coast, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers;

9 If thou shalt keep all these commandments to do them, which I command thee this day, to love the LORD thy God, and to walk ever in his ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, besides these three:

10 That innocent blood be not shed in thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon thee.

a parenthesis, to show who should be preserved in these cities, and who not), being a reason why the cities of refuge should be placed at an equal distance in the several parts of the country, that the journey might not be too long to any of them, but a man might soon flee thither, before the avenger of blood could lay hold of him.

Because the way is long, and slay him;] If he could not have gotten thither in a short time, he might have been in danger to lose his life, though not worthy of death. For, as the law did not punish him that killed a manslayer, when he found him out of the bounds of the city of refuge (Numb. xxxv. 27), so it seems to have indemnified him, if he killed him before he got thither.

Whereas he was not worthy of death,] Which, in his rage, the avenger of blood did not consider; and therefore was guilty before God of shedding innocent blood, though the law did not punish him for it.

Ver. 7.] To prevent which mischief, God commanded, not merely one, but three cities, and those in several places of the country; where men might find safety, if they made haste to flee to them.

Ver. 8.] As far as unto the river Euphrates (Gen. xv. 18. Exod. xxxiii. 31. Deut. i. 7).

Ver. 9.] *If thou shalt keep all these commandments*] This seems to have been the condition, upon the performance of which depended the enlargement of their border. Which is more fully expressed xi. 22—24. And so the covenant made with Abraham (in Gen. xv. 18), is to be understood, as including in it this condition.

Then shalt thou add three cities more for thee,] We do not read of any more added to these, though their border was enlarged in David's and Solomon's time; and that as far as Euphrates. But those nations which they subdued, were only made tributaries to the kings of Israel, who did not people and possess those countries; and consequently there was no occasion for such cities there; unless the Israelites had been the inhabitants of those countries, as they were of the land of Canaan (ver. 1).

Ver. 10. *That innocent blood be not shed*] As there would, if, upon supposition of such an enlargement of their borders, there had been no cities nearer to flee unto than these six; which were sufficient only for the land of Canaan, and the land they possessed on this side Jordan, where they now were.

So blood be upon thee.] The guilt and punishment of blood, in not taking care of the safety of innocent persons.

Ver. 11.] When there was a manifest design of killing another, and known hatred, he that committed the murder was to receive no benefit by fleeing to a city of refuge. And then a man was judged to

11 ¶ But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally that he die, and fleeth into one of these cities:

12 Then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die.

13 Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee.

14 ¶ Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it.

hate his brother, when for three days together he had never spoken to him, though they had kept one another company; as I observed before out of Mr. Selden (lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 473).

Ver. 12. *The elders—shall send and fetch him thence,*] Demand him of the elders of the city to which he fled; that he might be sent to them, and tried by them, whether he was guilty of wilful murder, or ought to have the benefit of their protection, being innocent of that crime (Numb. xxxv. 12. 24). It is likely there were probable reasons given why he was suspected to be guilty of murder; and therefore they desired the matter might be examined; otherwise, if the case was known to be like that in ver. 5, they did not make this demand.

Deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood,] That is, if they found him guilty of wilful murder; otherwise they were to "deliver him out of the hand of the avenger of blood, and restore him to the city of refuge," that he might not die (Numb. xxxv. 25).

Ver. 13. *Thine eye shall not pity him,*] Nor take any satisfaction for the life of a murderer, as the law is, Numb. xxxv. 31.

Thou shalt put away the guilt] By putting him to death.

That it may go well with thee,] By having no guilt upon them; as they had when they let this crime go unpunished.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark,* &c.] The Jewish doctors think that this hath respect to the holy land (as they call it), and to the terms or bounds which were set by Joshua in the division of the country, which no man might take away; for that made him both guilty of theft, and also of the breach of this precept; and consequently he incurred a double punishment, and was whipped twice as much as another offender (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3, in the latter end). This was a law among the Greeks, as appears by Plato, lib. viii. De Legibus, *Μη κινεῖτω γῆσόντα μέρη, &c. νομίσας τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν ἀλτὴρως τοῦτο ἔσθαι*, &c. "Let no man presume to remove the bounds of land; looking upon this, as being truly to remove things immovable;" i. e. to unsettle and overturn all things: Numa Pompilius therefore made this crime capital. Which makes Josephus's explication of these words seem more reasonable than that of the Talmudists, who extend this precept to the grounds of all their neighbour nations who were at peace with them: *ὅς πολεμῶν ἐντέθεν στάσιον γινόμενον*, "as being the occasion of wars and insurrections," which arise from the covetousness of men, who would thus enlarge their territories, (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8). Which may be thought a reason why Moses joins this to the foregoing precept, about punishing mur-

15 ¶ One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.

16 ¶ If a false witness rise up against any man to testify against him *that which is wrong*;

17 Then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before the Lord, before the priests and the judges, which shall be in those days;

18 And the judges shall make diligent inqui-

der; and made this one of the curses they were bound to pronounce, and consent to it, at their entrance into the land of Canaan (Deut. xxvii. 17).

Which they of old time have set in thine inheritance,] This may seem to determine this precept peculiarly to the preserving the bounds in the land of Canaan; and by *those of old time* they understand Joshua and the elders, who divided the land, and fixed every one his lot. But it was as necessary to be observed in all other countries as that which was their proper inheritance. For, as Josephus truly observes, "they that remove the bounds of lands, are not very far from subverting all laws."

Ver. 15. *One witness shall not rise up]* They that gave their testimony in any cause always stood up.

Against a man for any iniquity,] A single witness was not to be admitted, as sufficient to convict a man of any offence whatsoever, whether in civil or criminal matters. For an inquisition into the fact one was enough; but not for the condemnation of him that was accused. Yet in pecuniary matters, one witness was sufficient to bring a man to purge himself by an oath (xvii. 6).

Shall the matter be established,] The accusation shall stand, or fall to the ground.

Ver. 16.] In any matter, whether against God, or against man. For though one witness could not condemn another; yet if it were proved he was a false witness, it was sufficient to condemn himself.

Ver. 17. *Then both the men,]* That is, the accuser and the person accused.

Shall stand before the Lord,] They were to come, in cases obscure, to the supreme court, where the sanctuary was settled. Who sat, it is likely, at the door of the tabernacle in Moses's time (see xvii. 8. 22), and so might properly be said to try them *before the Lord*.

Before the priests and the judges,] This they all understand of the highest court, which consisted partly of *priests*, and partly of other great persons, whom he calls *judges*; under which name, the whole court is comprehended in the next verse (see xvii. 8, and Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 8. n. 2, 3).

Ver. 18. *The judges,]* The court beforenamed; who are all (whether priests or others) comprehended under the name of *judges*.

Shall make diligent inquisition:] For it was not easy to prove a man to be a false witness; and therefore the matter was brought before this supreme court.

If the witness be a false witness,] If, upon strict examination, he was found to have given a false evidence against his brother, in a matter which touched his estate, or his body or his life.

Ver. 19. *Ye do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother:]* That is, saith Maimonides, if he designed to have taken away his brother's life,

sition: and, behold, *if* the witness *be* a false witness, *and* hath testified falsely against his brother;

19 Then shall ye do unto him, as he had thought to have done unto his brother: so shalt thou put the evil away from among you.

20 And those which remain shall hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil among you.

21 And thine eye shall not pity; *but life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.*

he was to lose his own; if to have him scourged, he was to be lashed himself; if to lose a sum of money, he was to be fined the very same sum (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41). But though in most cases a false witness was to suffer the very same kind of punishment, which he intended to have brought upon another, if his testimony had not been disproved; yet in some it was not exactly observed. As, if one falsely accused a priest's daughter of playing the whore, he was not to be burnt, as she should have been, but to be strangled as an adulterer. So J. Coch observes upon the title Maccoth, ad cap. 1, where the whole business of false testimonies is handled. But some foolish decisions were made by the rabbins, in opposition to the Sadducees, as he observes in his Annot. 20. in sect. 6.

Among the Athenians there was an action lay not only against the false witness, but against the person who produced him. Upon whom they set a fine; and they were made infamous. And if they were found thrice guilty of this crime, not only they but their posterity were made infamous throughout all generations; as Sam. Petitus observes, out of Andocides, and others (lib. iv. in Leges Atticas, tit. vii. p. 359). It is something strange they were not more severe against such offenders, many of their laws being plainly borrowed from Moses. And among the ancient Romans, by the law of the twelve tables, false witnesses were thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, as A. Gellius tells us (lib. xx. chap. 1), which was altered indeed, in latter times, for such punishments as the judges thought they merited: but he there tells Phavorinus, that, if the old punishment had continued to their days, they should not have had so many false testimonies given as they then saw.

So shalt thou put the evil away] This may be understood either of the false witness, or of his crime: the guilt of which was taken away by the just punishment of it.

Ver. 20. *Those which remain]* The remainder of Israel, who see him suffer in his kind.

Shall hear, and fear,] The end of punishment is to deter others from such wickedness (see xiii. 11. xvii. 13).

Henceforth commit no more any such evil] Learn to beware by other men's sufferings.

Ver. 21. *Thine eye shall not pity;]* He speaks to the judges, who were not, out of compassion, to moderate the punishment, but make it equal to the damage he intended to another. Examples he gives of this in the words following.

Life shall go for life, &c.] Concerning this *lex talionis*, see Exod. xxi. 23—25. Lev. xxiv. 19, 20. And see Grotius on Matt. v. 38, 40, where he well observes, that the party injured might forbear to require this punishment; but the judge, if it were required, could not deny to inflict it.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *The priest's exhortation to encourage the people to battle.* 5 *The officers' proclamation who are to be dismissed from the war.* 10 *How to use the cities that accept or refuse the proclamation of peace.* 16 *What cities must be devoted.* 19 *Trees of man's meat must not be destroyed in the siege.*

1 **WHEN** thou goest out to battle against thine enemies, and seest horses, and chariots, and a people more than thou, be not afraid of them: for the LORD thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.

2 And it shall be, when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people,

3 And shall say unto them, Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them;

4 For the LORD your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.

CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *When thou goest out to battle against thine enemies,*] Who either invaded them (as in Judg. xi.), or with whom they had a just quarrel, because of injuries done them, without satisfaction: such as that mentioned 2 Sam. x. 4, &c.

And seest horses,] Which the Israelites wanted (as I observed upon xvii. 16), their armies consisting of footmen; who were taken from the plough, or from the sheepfolds.

Chariots,] Which carried a certain number of men in them; and when they were *falcati* (as they called them) were very formidable. For they made terrible slaughters among the enemy, cutting down men as we do grass, with a scythe or sickle. The Canaanites had great numbers of them, Josh. xi. 4, and Judg. iv. 3.

Be not afraid of them:] The Israelites were trained up to confide in God, and not in horses (which their country, as I said, did not afford, and consequently they had no chariots), nor in multitude of soldiers. And we find remarkable instances of this, particularly in Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 6, &c. 17), who followed the example of David, whose words are most memorable, Psalm xx. 7. "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God" (see also Prov. xxi. 21).

For the Lord thy God is with thee,] That was such an instance of his power, as made it unreasonable to doubt of good success, when he was present with them; as he always was while they continued faithful worshippers of him. The translation of Onkelos is here very remarkable; which is, "The Lord thy God, his word is thy help:" which plainly denotes another Divine person, the same with Jehovah.

Ver. 2. *When ye are come nigh unto the battle,*] Are about to give or receive the assault.

The priest shall approach and speak unto the people,] The Jews say there was a priest appointed for this very purpose, whom they call Mashuah Milchama, "anointed of war," he being set apart, as they say, to this office by an unction, and that with the same oil with which the king was anointed withal. His office was to blow with the trumpets, to make the following speech unto the army, when they were preparing to join battle; and when they first went out, to exhort all new builders, planters, and married men to return back; and when they were drawn up in battalia, to exhort all that were faint-hearted to leave the army and go home (see Num. xxxi. 6). A great many of the Jewish Doctors thus explain this, particularly Maimonides, who may serve instead of all. See Schickard, Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 18, and Hottinger, in his Histor. Eccles. Seculum xvi. par. ii. p. 689, 690, &c. where he produces an excellent discourse out

of R. Levi Barzelonita's Catechism, to show the office of this πολεμάρχος, "anointed for the war;" and the reason why he was appointed to it. For soldiers (saith he) in the time of war, have great need to be heartened and confirmed in their resolution. And because the more honorable any one is, the more willingly men hearken to him; there the law required, that he, who was to encourage others, should be a select person himself, and a priest, to whom they would be apt to pay a great reverence.

Ver. 3. *Shall say unto them, &c.*] Going from one battalion (as we now speak) unto another: or else, ordering the officers (mentioned ver. 5), to go about and speak everywhere what he did at the head of the army. And he was to speak in the Hebrew language, and no other, as the Jews say, in Mischna Sota. cap. 8. sect. 1. And they have a conceit, that the Romans learnt both the form of encamping out of Moses's law, and also to make orations to their soldiers before they went to fight, as J. Wagenseil observes out of Shilte Hagibborin: though it is more reasonable to think, that common sense taught those that were leaders of others to encourage them to follow them.

Ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies:] Who often appeared very formidable, by the vast number of their horses and chariots, which the Israelites wanted.

Let not your hearts faint,] So we well translate the Hebrew word, *be soft or tender*. Which though it be a quality highly commendable with respect to God (2 Kings xxii. 19), yet the contrary became them towards their and his enemies.

Fear not, and do not tremble,] Trembling, or as the Hebrew word is, "making haste," i. e. running away, is the effect of fear.

Neither be ye terrified] Sometimes a great dread of danger made men run away; and sometimes so dismayed them that they could not stir, much less strike a stroke.

Some of the Jewish doctors fancy, that the four several words here used are opposed to so many actions of their enemies, whereby they hoped to strike a terror into them. "Let not your hearts faint," when your enemies brandish their swords, and clash them one against another. "Fear not," when you hear the prancing of their horses, and the terrible rattling of their chariots. "And do not tremble," when they shout, as if they were sure of victory. "Neither be ye terrified," when ye hear the trumpet sound an alarm to the battle. So Moses Kotzensis (see Schickard, cap. 5. Theor. 16. p. 115). And such a passage Wagenseil observes out of Philostratus, lib. ii. cap. 5, upon the Gemara of Sota, cap. 8. sect. ii. p. 876.

Ver. 4. *For the Lord your God is he that goeth with*

5 ¶ And the officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it.

6 And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? let him

you.] Sometimes the ark of God's presence went before them, when they entered into Canaan (Josh. iii. 3, 10, 11, &c.), and in the midst of them, when they compassed Jericho (Josh. vi. 9). So that God was properly then said to go with them, or "in the midst of them," as the Vulgar Latin here translates it. And at all other times he was present, by his power, to aid them, especially against the people of Canaan, with whom their battles were said to be *the wars of the Lord*.

To save you.] To preserve them by the defeat and overthrow of their enemies.

Ver. 5. *The officers shall speak unto the people,*] This the Jews, particularly Abarinel, think was spoken by the priest before mentioned, and then proclaimed by the officers, called *shoterim*, of whom I have observed enough before, xvi. 18, and other places. They that would see more may consult J. Wagenseil upon that title, in the *Mischna* called *Sota*, cap. 8. p. 854. But by whomsoever this was spoken, it seems most likely to have been delivered before they drew nigh to the battle (see ver. 2), at the first mustering of the army.

What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it?] i. e. Hath not yet dwelt in it. For at their first entrance to dwell in a house, they made a feast, which being the first meal they made there, was called *chanach*, or *dedication*: as the same Wagenseil observes out of Michlol Jopli (see in cap. 8. *Sota*, sect. 2. annot. 3). And because a year is allowed to a man to enjoy his wife, before he be obliged to go to the wars (xxiv. 5), they allow the same time in these other cases, for the enjoyment of a new house, or of a vineyard; as many have observed, particularly Selden (lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 1, and Schickard, in his *Jus Regium*, cap. 5. Theor. 16, 17). And they understand this, not only of a new-built house, but of a house newly come into a man's possession, either by succession, purchase, or gift; yet not of such houses as were not fit for habitation, as Mr. Selden reports their opinion (lib. iii. De Uxor. Hebr. cap. 3). In which he seems to have forgot himself: for the *Mischna* in *Sota*, cap. 8. sect. 2. saith expressly, this is to be understood of him that built a house, wherein to lay straw, to make a stable, a barn, or a granary: because, as Wagenseil there notes, such places might in case of necessity, be turned into a dwelling house.

Let him—return to his house, lest he die in the battle.] This was allowed in those wars only which they made voluntarily but not of those which were *ex præcepto*, by the Divine commandment, against the seven nations of Canaan and Amalek, in which every man was bound to engage. And so are the other cases, which here follow, to be understood, as all the Jewish writers agree.

Another man dedicate it.] First enjoy it: for this word here does not denote any consecration (as in other places), but beginning to use a thing; which in our English language (as Mr. Selden observes in the place forenamed) we call "taking handsel of it;" and so the Spanish Jews express it in their translation.

Ver. 6. *What man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it?*] Which he could not lawfully do for the first three years after it was planted (see Lev. xix. 29, &c.). And in the fourth year

also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it.

7 And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her.

8 And the officers shall speak further unto the

the fruit of it was to be carried to Jerusalem, and eaten there; after which, the fruit of the fifth year was wholly his own, when it was no longer sacred (as the Hebrew word *chillel* signifies), but common for every body's use. Aben Ezra takes the word in the sense of *rejoicing*; as if he had said, "Who hath planted a vineyard, and hath not danced in it:" for that was the custom (he saith) when they first enjoyed the fruits of their vineyards. And to this the LXX. seem to have had respect, when they translated it, οὐκ ἐνθάδε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, "he hath not been made merry by it." But the other notion is more proper; and the Jews understand it, not only of *vineyards*, but of all other plantations wherein there were fruit-trees fit for food, if there were five of them planted together in good order, such as R. Solomon and Wagenseil have described; and see Selden, Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 3. p. 334.

Let him also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle.] The ground, both of this and the foregoing proclamation (and of the next also), seems to have been, that the minds of such men were commonly very much disturbed, to think of leaving what they had taken a great deal of pains about, and enjoy nothing of it; which would naturally make them fight with less courage. So R. Solomon. And Josephus much to the same purpose: μή πόδα τούτων φιλόμαρτοι τοῦ ζῆν, &c. "lest, out of a longing desire after these things, they should be sparing of hazarding their lives; and, reserving themselves for their enjoyment, not fight manfully." But many think this was a bare concession to such persons; who, if they could overcome their affection to all things, but the safety of their country, might remain in the camp, and go to battle. Yet Abarinel disputes strongly against this, and will have all these to be precepts, enjoying such persons as are here mentioned, not to stay in the army, but to return home.

Ver. 7.] The Jews interpret this law, either of one who had espoused a wife, and not yet brought her home; or of one that had but newly completed his marriage. And whether he had married a widow or a virgin, an old woman or a young, it was the same thing. Yea, they extend it to him who had married his brother's wife; but not to him who had married a person prohibited to him by the law, or him that took his own wife again, whom he had formerly put away, because she was not a *new wife*, as the phrase is, Deut. xxiv. 5, where the time being limited, how long such a man should be free from the war, viz. for one year, they extend it, as I said, to the other two cases; that so long men might enjoy a new house, or a vineyard, after the first use of them, as the law allowed them to enjoy a wife before they went to war (see Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 3. and Schickard in his *Jus Regium*, cap. 5. Theor. 17). And it must be confessed, that this is a law of great equity, founded in nature, that conjugal love should not be disturbed; but have some time to knit into a strong and stable affection, by an uninterrupted conversation together in its beginning. The Jews were so favorable in this matter, that they say, if five brethren were in the war together, and one of them was slain, leaving a widow without issue, all the remaining four returned home; because every one of them, in their order,

people, and they shall say, What man *is there that is fearful and fainthearted?* let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart.

9 And it shall be, when the officers have made an end of speaking unto the people, that they shall make captains of the armies to lead the people.

10 ¶ When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it.

11 And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, *that* all the people *that* is found therein shall be

in case those before him refused, was to raise up seed to his dead brother.

Ver. 8. *The officers shall speak further*] Make this new proclamation throughout the camp.

What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted?] This some of the Jews understand of a natural timorousness, which makes men quake at every danger; and others refer it to those that were old, in whom that heat and vigor, which make men valiant, were quite abated. Upon which account they would not admit one who had no children to go to war (if we may believe Maimonides), because he was not thought masculine enough; or rather, because they would not cut off all hope of his having posterity. But there are those who understand this of the terrors of an evil conscience (See Sota, cap. 8. sect. 5). For they did not do as we are wont in these days (who send the wickedest villains into the wars); but if they knew any man to be guilty of a great crime, thrust him out of the army, lest they should all fare the worse for having him among them (see Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 17. p. 124).

Let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint] For the cowardice of some might enfeeble the rest. Yet all these who were thus dismissed, were bound (if required) to furnish the army with victuals and water, to clear the ways, and to take up their quarters; as it is in the foregoing place in Sota, cap. 8, where Joh. Wagenseil observes, that they, who restrain these offices only to the fearful, are mistaken.

Ver. 9.] This shows that what I noted, ver. 5, is true; that the foregoing proclamation was made before they marched forth to the war: for how should they march till there were captains chosen, to lead the several *armies* (as those companies, into which they were divided, are called), which was not done till he had spoken all the forenamed things. And if we translate the words as they may be out of the Hebrew [*they shall place or set captains of the host in the head, or the front, of the people*], still it must be supposed, that this was done before they stirred a foot; for no order could be observed without leaders.

Ver. 10.] I have often noted, that there were two sorts of war which the Jews undertook: one by the Divine commandment against the seven nations of Canaan; another voluntarily, when they themselves found just cause to make war upon any other neighboring nation. Now this precept many of the Jews will needs understand only concerning the latter sort of war; for the Canaanites were to be utterly destroyed, without mercy. But Maimonides and Moses Kotzensis take it to belong to both sorts of war. So the former of them in express words: "It was not lawful to make war upon any one whatsoever, before they offered them terms of peace," &c. Only they think the Ammonites and Moabites were to be excepted by that law (xxiii. 6): yet they temper it

tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee.

12 And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it:

13 And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword:

14 But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, *even* all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee.

thus; that if those nations desired peace of themselves, it was to be granted to them, though not offered. And the most ancient writers of the Jews say, that Joshua sent three messages to the seven nations of Canaan before he invaded them, though he undertook the war with a command from God to destroy them; viz. if they did not submit to the summons which was sent them, either to flee, or to make peace; which was the subject of the first two messages. The next was a denunciation of war against them, as they say in the Jerusalem Talmud, quoted by Mr. Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13, and see the learned J. Wagenseil, in Annot. upon Sota, p. 845. Maimonides was of opinion, that the Gibeonites had not heard of these proclamations, which made them use craft to procure mercy from the Israelites. But P. Cunæus thinks it more probable, that they had refused, at first, to submit to Joshua's summons; but seeing him victorious, they betook themselves to that artifice, mentioned in the book of Joshua, when they could not hope for peace by any other means (lib. ii. De Republ. Hebr. cap. 20).

Ver. 11. *If it make thee an answer of peace, and open unto thee*] Accept of the conditions offered to them, which were three. First, that they should take upon them the observation of the several precepts of the sons of Noah, and consequently renounce idolatry. Secondly, pay them a yearly tribute: and thirdly, become their subjects (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4, and Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 16).

All the people that is found therein shall be tributaries] Here are two of the conditions before mentioned; and the first was necessarily supposed, because the Israelites were not to suffer any of their gods to remain among them. For though by *serving* the Israelites is not meant being made their slaves, yet it imports that they were to live in due subjection to them as their governors, who might employ them in their public works, as repairing the king's palace, the walls of cities, &c.

Ver. 12.] Without any further summons to yield upon conditions of peace.

Ver. 13. *When the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands*] Of which they were not to doubt, ver. 4.

Thou shalt smite every male thereof] Which was a just punishment for their obstinacy; of which the men, who were here condemned to destruction, were the authors, and suffered the more justly, because they were told, no doubt, beforehand, that if they did not yield when conditions were offered to them, they must expect this execution.

Ver. 14. *But the women, and the little ones*] Who had not offended, by rejecting conditions of peace, nor could do any harm. And by *little ones* are to be understood male children, as well as female.

And the cattle,—even all the spoil thereof] Money, household-stuff, and all manner of goods.

15 Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations.

16 But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth :

17 But thou shalt utterly destroy them ; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the

[*Shalt thou take unto thyself, &c.*] This was granted to them as a reward of their service in the war.

Ver. 15.] This clemency to the women and little ones, is limited to those that were not inhabitants of the land of Canaan ; who, in the following verses, are ordered to be otherwise treated. For by the laws of war among all nations, the conqueror might use those whom he subdued as he pleased. See Grotius, lib. iii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4. sect. 5, where, among other things, he quotes that saying of Marcellus in Livy, Quicquid in hostibus feci, jus belli defendit, " whatsoever I have done with enemies, the right of war defends it."

Ver. 16. But of the cities] The cities of the land of Canaan.

Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth :] i. e. Neither man, woman, nor child, as we speak. But their cattle, (except in a few cases, when they were appointed to be a *cherem*, i. e. *accursed*) were not to be killed, as appears from Josh. xi. 14. And the slaughter of all the people, is to be understood only in case they did not surrender when they were summoned, but rejected the conditions of peace that were offered to them. After this, no mercy was to be had upon them (see Exod. xxiii. 32). In which their condition was worse than any other people's, whose men were only to be slain (ver. 14.), but not women and children. For which difference there was a great reason, as I shall show presently ; but if we could see none, we ought to consider that it was done by God's command ; who, as he is most just and merciful, so hath a greater right over men, than we have over beasts, as Grotius well observes ; who alleges many examples of the like practice in the heathen world, both among Greeks and Romans (see lib. iii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4. sect. 9).

Ver. 17. Utterly destroy them :] After they had slighted all offers of peace. Some of the Jews, indeed, have been so merciful as to think this not a command, but a permission ; which warranted them to kill all, without any distinction of sex or age ; yet did not so enjoin it, but that they might, after they had taken a city, spare such as repented, and offered to become proselytes of the gate. This was the opinion, one would think, which anciently prevailed, as Selden observes (lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 16), because we find the relics of these people often mentioned in the Bible. And this is agreeable also to the law of nations, that such as beg mercy should be spared ; which flowed from the ancient right which such persons were thought to have to it, as David Chytraeus observes out of Thucydides, lib. iii. and the known verse of the oracle,

Μὴς ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέτας ἱεροῦ τε καὶ ἀγροῖ.

"Not to hurt supplicants, who are sacred, and acquitted of their offences." He doth not mention the place where this oracle was uttered ; but Ezekiel Spanhemius hath lately observed out of Pausanias, that it was at Dodone. See observations in Callimachi Hymnum in Dianam, ver. 123, where he notes, that from hence Jupiter was called ἱκέτιος, because he was accounted a severe and implacable avenger of all violence done to supplicants. And they are sup-

pliants, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites ; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee :

18 That they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods ; so should ye sin against the Lord your God.

19 ¶ When thou shalt besiege a city a long

pliants (says the same Chytraeus) who confess their sin, and acknowledging they deserve punishment, give themselves up to the pleasure of the conqueror ; but beg the punishment may be mitigated by mercy and clemency.

Namely, the Hittites, &c.] He distinctly mentions the nations which were to be utterly destroyed, that this severity might be extended no further. And so he had done before, vii. 1, where he mentions seven nations, though here are only six, the Girgashites being omitted. The reason of which Maimonides (in Hilcoth Melachim) thinks to be, that they upon the first summons of Joshua fled the country into Africa ; and therefore are not named in Josh. ix. 1, 2, among those that "gathered themselves together to fight against Israel." But I take the true reason of this to be, that the Girgashites were a people mixed among the rest, and did not live in a separate part of the country by themselves : but that they opposed Joshua, as well as others, and were delivered into his hand, appears from Josh. xxiv. 11. Now this looks like a great cruelty, to kill so many nations ; till we consider who these people were, that God commanded to be utterly extirpated, viz. most abominable idolaters, who offered their children to Moloch, as a piece of pious worship ; magicians, witches, necromancers ; and guilty of all those filthy lusts mentioned in Lev. xviii. For which crimes God thought them not fit to live any longer upon the face of the earth ; and therefore commanded them to be utterly destroyed in this war, which was undertaken by his order, and called therefore *the war of the Lord*. And so was that against Sihon and Og, who were likewise Amorites, and upon that score rooted out by God's order, Numb. xxi. ult. Dent. ii. 34. For it was mercy to others not to suffer such a wicked generation to live.

Ver. 18. That they teach you not to do after all their abominations.] Here is the great reason given of the forenamed severe execution, that if they had been spared, they would have infected the Israelites with their filthy idolatry. Which some make an argument why peace was not to be proclaimed to these nations (ver. 10.), because they were so wicked, that on no terms it was fit to suffer them to live. But they that object this against what was before said, forget, or do not consider, that the great condition of peace with them was, that they should renounce their idolatry ; and then there was no such danger in sparing them. And this was so settled in the opinion of the ancient Jews, that, after they had taken a city, they thought, upon these terms, there was room for mercy. So the book Siphri, upon these very words, "lest they teach you to do after all their abominations." From whence it is to be observed (saith that author), "if they repented, the Israelites might let them live." And so R. Solomon himself : "It is to be understood, that if they repented, and became proselytes, it was lawful to receive them."

So should ye sin against the Lord] Both by suffering them to live, and imitating them in their wickedness.

Ver. 19. Thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof] It is very plain that he speaks of fruit-trees, such as

time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by forcing an ax against them: for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field *is* man's life) to employ *them* in the siege:

bear apples, olives, dates, &c. which were to be preserved both in war and in peace: except in a few cases. In war, if the enemy made advantage of them, for their archers to lurk and shelter themselves behind them, by which the Israelites were much annoyed, then they think they might be cut down to shorten the siege. And in peace, if they did not bring forth fruit, or if the fruit would not be so profitable as the wood would be for building, and other uses; or if they hindered the growth of better trees: in all these cases they might be cut down, as the Jewish doctors resolve. Who when they please, mind the reason of a law, and not the bare words; inasmuch, that they extend this law to a great many other things, which they say might not be destroyed, if they were useful and profitable. No houses, for instance, nor garments, nor household-stuff; nor were they to stop up fountains, &c. (see Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 15, and Guil. Shickardus in Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 18).

[For the tree of the field *is* man's life] The word *life* is not in the Hebrew text; but we add it to make out the sense. In which we follow many good authors among the Jews, particularly Aben Ezra, who observes many such elliptical, i. e. concise forms of speech in Scripture. As in 1 Sam. xvi. 20, where an "ass of bread" is an ass loaded with bread. So here the tree is a man, i. e. the life or support of man. Just as (xxiv. 6) it is said a man should not take the upper or nether millstone to pledge, *ki nephesh hu*, "because it is his life," i. e. that whereby he gets his livelihood. But there are a great many who translate the words by way of interrogation (and the Hebrew will bear it), and, joining them with those that follow, make this the sense, "Is the tree of the field a man, that it should come against thee in a siege?" So the Vulgar, the Greek, and the Arabic translation, and the Chaldee paraphrast, and Josephus, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 12.), as much as to say, They need not fear any danger from the trees, as if they were soldiers that could fight against them. And if this sense do not seem dilute (as some have censured it), there is no need of rendering the words by way of interrogation, but only of repeating the word *not* out of the foregoing words, in this manner, "Thou shalt not cut them down, for the tree of the field is not a man," &c. Of this there are many examples, as Glassius and our Gataker have shown. And thus R. Bechai among the Jews expounds these words; and the famous Abarbinel, who thus glosses upon them: "It is not decent to make war against trees, who have no hands to fight with thee, but against men only." And this sense Grotius follows, lib. iii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 12. sect. 2. where he produces Philo for this opinion, and Josephus, who says, "If trees could speak, they would cry out that it was unjust, that

20 Only the trees which thou knowest that they *be* not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued.

they who were no cause of the war should suffer the mischiefs of it." And thus Onkelos translates these words, and those that follow: "For the tree of the field is not as a man, that it should come against thee in the siege;" that is, they had no cause to fear trees, and therefore should not hurt them. But this is a reason against cutting down any trees whatsoever; whereas Moses speaks only of fruit-trees. From whence Grotius thinks that saying of the Pythagoreans took its original, *ἕμπερον φυτόν καὶ ἔχον καρπὸν*, &c., "trees that do not grow wild, and bear fruit, ought not to be hurt, much less cut down." And yet it seems to be more agreeable to the Hebrew words, than our marginal translation, which makes this sense, "That there are trees of the field sufficient to employ in the siege;" so that they need not cut down fruit-trees to carry it on.

Ver. 20. *The trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy*] If it were necessary for the raising bulwarks (as it here follows), or otherways to distress the enemy, they had liberty to cut down trees that did not bear fruit; but not merely to make waste and desolation.

Thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee,] From whence they battered the city and threw great stones into it; as well as begirt them round, that no provisions might be brought in to them. Thus we find they did in after times, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. 2 Sam. xx. 15. And they must have had some such inventions in Moses's days; or else how could they take cities fortified with such high walls as are mentioned Dent. i. 28? Or to what purpose should they build bulwarks, and cast up banks, but from thence to batter the city with some engine or other?

Until it be subdued.] From these words the Jewish doctors conclude, that it was lawful to make war even upon the sabbath; because, having set down before a city, they were to proceed till it was subdued; which these words suppose might not be in a short time. Only they say, that the siege was to be begun at least three days before the sabbath. Thus these superstitious people, not thinking common reason sufficient to justify them in so plain a case, make the Scripture speak what it intended not for their warrant. See Shickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 18. where he alleges Maimonides in his Hilkoth Melachim to this purpose. And Joh. Benedictus Carpzovius produces a plainer out of Hilkoth Schabath, where he delivers their sense in these words: "A siege is to be begun three days before the sabbath; and then it may be continued every day, even upon the sabbath, until the city be taken: and this may be done in a war that is voluntarily undertaken. For thus our wise men understand these words by ancient tradition, *until it be subdued.*"

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *The expiation of an uncertain murder.* 10 *The usage of a captive taken to wife.* 15 *The firstborn is not to be disinherited upon private affection.* 18 *A stubborn son is to be stoned to death.* 22 *The malefactor must not hang all night on a tree.*

1 If one be found slain in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it, lying in the field, and it be not known who hath slain him :

2 Then thy elders and thy judges shall come

CHAPTER XXI.

Ver. 1. *If one be found slain in the land*] This follows very properly after the law he had delivered about making war; because then the bodies of dead men were most frequently found. About which the wisest lawgivers took the greatest care that inquisition should be made, how and by whom they were slain. This appears by Plato, who, in his ninth book of *Legibus*, hath a law something like to this, though far short of the solemnity that is here required to be used; as I shall observe in the conclusion of this statute.

Lying in the field,] The Hebrew doctors here stick too much to the letter of these words; for they will not have them reach to a dead body hanging in the air upon a tree, or hid in the sand or dust, or floating upon the water, which is extremely absurd.

Ver. 2. *Then thy elders and thy judges shall come forth.*] The great Sanhedrin were to send forth some of their members (so the Jews interpret it) to do what here follows. And indeed it may be thought that none but they could take care of this matter, the doubt being to which of the neighboring cities (where the other judges lived) it belonged. Therefore the paraphrase ascribed to Uzielides saith, "Two of the wise men or elders, and three of the judges, were sent by the great Sanhedrin about this business" (see Selden, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 7. n. 2).

Yet he observes, in another part of that most learned work (lib. ii. cap. 7. n. 3), that there was a sort of elders who were not ordained by laying on of hands, but only were venerable persons for their age and prudence, who, some think, might serve for this employment. And they called such elders *zickne hashuck*, "elders of the street, or vulgar elders." But none, I think, hath discoursed more critically upon these words, *thy elders*, and *thy judges*, than our Mr. Thorndike; who observes, that there had been judges consistory to determine causes by Jethro's advice (Exod. xviii.), the greater causes being reserved for Moses alone. For whose assistance God afterward appointed seventy elders (Numb. xi.), who made up the great court of judgment in that nation. Now they of this great consistory are called "the elders of Israel;" but they of other consistories, or inferior courts, are called, barely *elders*, or "elders of such a city." See Review of the Rites of the Church, p. 70. where he alleges this very place for it; and by *thy elders*, understands the elders of Israel; the lower elders being mentioned in the next verse. And so those of the great consistory are commonly called in the gospel: and in like manner, "the scribes of the people," and *thy scribes*, signify there those of this high court. Whereas the bare name of *scribes* is extended further, to the inferior doctors of the law. As also the name of *rulers*, and that of "rulers of the people," are to be understood with the like difference.

They shall measure unto the cities which are round about him that is slain:] That is, if it were dubious

forth, and they shall measure unto the cities which are round about him that is slain :

3 And it shall be, that the city which is next unto the slain man, even the elders of that city shall take an heifer, which hath not been

what city lay nearest to the dead body, as it sometimes happened. But commonly, it is probable, at the first view they easily discerned this, and so did not trouble themselves to measure. It is a frivolous dispute in the *Michna*, from whence they were to measure; whether from the navel, or the nose, or the forehead: which last seems more rational to Maimonides, who calls it the centre of the body. But they did not (if we believe the Jewish doctors), in their measuring, take notice of any city wherein there was not a court of twenty-three elders; and Jerusalem was always excepted (see Selden in the place forenamed, n. 3. and L'Empereur upon *Bava-kama*, p. 173), and Wagenseil upon *Sota*, p. 899. If the dead body lay nearest to the country of the gentiles, then they did not measure at all; but it was presumed the man was killed by them.

Ver. 3. *The city which is next unto the slain man,*] From whence it might be presumed the murderer came, or was fled thither, as Abarbanel discourses.

Even the elders] Who were different from the elders before mentioned (see the foregoing verse), for they returned to Jerusalem when they had seen the body buried, if there was no discovery of the murderer: and then the senators of the city next to the dead body, who were twenty-three, performed what is here ordered.

Shall take an heifer,] That was not above two years old; for if it were a day more, they may not use it for this purpose, as Maimonides and others affirm. Yet the Scripture, in other cases, mentions one of three years old (Gen. xv. 9. Isa. xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 5), as Wagenseil observes upon the *Mischna* of *Sota*, cap. 9. sect. 3. annot. 2. If two cities happened to be equidistant from the dead body, they then joined together to provide this heifer.

Which hath not been srought with,] Never used in ploughing the ground.

Not drawn in the yoke;] This may seem to be included in the foregoing expression, as Maimonides observes; but it is added, he thinks, to signify, that if it had been employed in any other labor, it became improper for this use. Such heifers were accounted by the heathen to be most acceptable to their gods, as appears by Homer, in whom Diomedes and Nestor promise such an offering to Pallas (see Bechart lib. ii. Hieroz. cap. 33. p. 1. out of *Iliad* K. and *Odysse*. r).

But there was a particular reason for such a one in this case (wherein the heifer was not to be offered), that it might the better represent, as many think, the person that had committed this murder, who was a son of Belial, subject to no law, and deserved to be beheaded as this heifer was. It is not required that it should be without blemish, as those heifers were to be that were offered at the tabernacle: but it sufficed if it had never been accustomed to the yoke. Yet this is not to be taken without all limitation; for if it wanted any member, or were diseased, it might not be

wrought with, *and* which hath not drawn in the yoke;

4 And the elders of that city shall bring down the heifer unto a rough valley, which is neither cared nor sown, and shall strike off the heifer's neck there in the valley :

5 And the priests the sons of Levi shall come near; for them the LORD thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of

the LORD; and by their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried :

6 And all the elders of that city, *that are* next unto the slain *man*, shall wash their hands over the heifer that is beheaded in the valley :

7 And they shall answer and say, Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it.

8 Be merciful, O LORD, unto thy people

employed in this service, as Wagenseil observes out of Maimonides, in the place before named, p. 907.

Ver. 4. *The elders of that city shall bring down the heifer*] Their cities, it seems, were commonly seated on hills or high grounds.

Unto a rough valley,] The Hebrew word *nachal* signifies both a *valley* and a *torrent*. The LXX., Josephus, and the Vulgar, understand it as we do; and the following words favor this interpretation. But the Talmudists and the rabbins, who generally follow them, take it to signify a *torrent*, which is the sense of Maimonides himself; and the next word, *ethan* (which we translate *rough*), they interpret a *rapid* torrent. Chaskuni thinks there is some reason for this in the sixth verse, where they are required to "wash their hands over the heifer" in the water that is of the brook. I see nothing to hinder the putting both senses together, torrents being wont to run down violently from the mountains, through the valleys which lie beneath them, which is the cause that the same word signifies both.

Which is neither cared] Or rather, *ploughed*.

Nor sown,] Being a stony, craggy ground, representing the horridness of the murder, and the cruelty and hardness of the man's heart who committed it. They that follow the other interpretation of *nachal*, understood the foregoing words, asher lo jeabeth bo, which we translate "neither cared," as if they signified the torrent did not serve to water the neighboring ground: and these words to be meant of the soil which lay next to the torrent, in which nothing was sown. And, besides this variety, there are those who take *ethan* not to signify either that which is hard or rapid, but the most fertile ground: So R. Bechai, and lately R. Jac. Abendana, in his marginal notes upon Michal Jophi, where he gives this reason for it; that the inhabitants of each city might be the more careful to prevent such murders, being in danger otherwise to lose the best ground belonging to their inheritance. For the land where the body was found (if we may believe the Mischna) was never to be sown any more (see Sota, cap. 9, sec. 5).

Strike off the heifer's neck] Coming behind the heifer (saith the Mischna), as the murderer was supposed to have treacherously surprised the slain man; and should have been thus used, if he could have been found.

Ver. 5. *The priests*] See ch. xvii. 9. 18. xviii. 1.

Shall come near:] To see all performed according to the law, and to pray to God for the country in the words prescribed, ver. 8.

For them the Lord thy God hath chosen] See Exod. xxviii. 1, &c. Numb. vi. 23, &c.

By their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried:] They did not determine all matters whatsoever, but all of this nature; in which the law appointed them to take care things were done according to it. As in the killing the red heifer; the examination of the woman suspected of adultery by the water of jealousy; the leprosy, whether in men, or houses, or garments. Thus the Hebrews explain these words (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 8). And so

Bonfrerius here acknowledges, that they did not come hither as judges, but as directors; and that they might purge themselves, together with the elders, from all guilt of this crime.

Ver. 6. *All the elders*] If there were never so many elders in the city, they were all to clear themselves by doing what follows.

Shall wash their hands over the heifer, &c.] In the water of the brook which flowed through the valley; protesting their innocence, in the words prescribed in the next verse. So Chaskuni glosses, "As our hands are clean, so are we from the guilt of this blood." See Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 910. who thinks Pilate had respect to this rite when he condemned our Saviour (Matt. xxvii. 24), notwithstanding all that learned men have said to the contrary.

Ver. 7. *They shall answer*] Being asked, perhaps, whether they knew any thing of this murder.

Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it.] That is, they professed solemnly they knew not who shed it, nor how the man came to be slain. And the Michna beforementioned adds, that they said (for how can any one think that elders would be murderers?), "This man did not come into our city that we know of, and dismissed without necessary provisions; nor was seen by us, and permitted to go away without company." Which Maimonides expresses more largely in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40. where he represents the wisdom of this law in these words: "The elders called God to witness that they had not neglected to secure the ways, nor to set watches to examine diligently those that travelled, saying (as our rabbins express it), 'This man was not killed through any negligence or forgetfulness which we are guilty of, in not observing our public constitutions; nor do we know who killed him.' Now, by this inquisition into the fact, by this going forth of the elders, and the striking off the heifer's head, &c. a great deal of discourse necessarily arose about this business, which made the thing public, and was a probable means of discovering the murderer, by some or other who were there, or should hear of all this." And if any one came, and said he knew the author, then they forebore to behead the heifer: but the man being apprehended, if the house of judgment did not put him to death, the king had power to do it: if he neglected it, the avenger of blood might kill him wheresoever he met him. By which it appears, that this solemn process here mentioned tended very much to detect the murderer. Unto which this also contributed, that the place where the heifer's head was struck off might never be ploughed or sowed hereafter (as I noted before), which made the owners of that ground employ their utmost diligence to find out the murderer, that their land might not lie waste for ever; for they might not so much as plant a tree upon it.

Ver. 8. *Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy people Israel, &c.*] The priests alone pronounced these words, as the Michna there saith; though Josephus (who often differs from the Talmudists) saith, both priests and elders prayed God to be propitious unto them, and

Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Israel's charge. And the blood shall be forgiven them.

9 So shalt thou put away the *guilt of innocent blood* from among you, when thou shalt do that *which is right in the sight of the Lord*.

10 ¶ When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God hath

to prevent the like evil from falling out again in their region (see Selden, lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 7. n. 5, 6).

The blood shall be forgiven them.] These are not the words of the priests, saith the same Mischna, but the Holy Ghost pronounces, that when they observed these rites, the guilt should be removed from them; which, in some sort, would have laid upon them, if they had taken no notice of a murder committed so near to their city, nor made inquisition after it, and expressed their abhorrence of it.

Ver. 9.] Sincerely protesting their innocence and detestation of this fact: which was to be done in the day-time, and not in the night; and the body of the heifer was to be buried, but none of it eaten, or any part employed to other use. If the murderer was found before its head was struck off, it was to be let go into the pasture among other beasts; if after, he was to suffer capital punishment, that is, to be cut off by the sword, as the Mischna before mentioned explains it, cap. 9. sect. 7.

By all this it appears, that no ancient law made such provision for the discovery and expiation of secret murders as this of Moses. For the very best of them, which is that of Plato, enacts no more than this, that if a man was found dead, and he that killed him, after a diligent search, could not be heard of, public proclamation should be made, that he who was guilty of the fact should not come into any holy place, nor any part of the whole country; for if he were discovered and apprehended he should be put to death, καὶ ἴσῃ τῇ τοῦ κακόντος χώρα ἐκβαλεῖσθαι τον ἄνθρωπον, "and be thrown out of the bounds of the country, and have no burial" (lib. ix. De Legibus, p. 874).

Ver. 10. *When thou goest forth to war*] To a voluntary war against any of their neighboring nations, not against the people of Canaan, none of which were to be spared, if they stood out and fought, but destroyed by the Divine precept, which required this war.

Thou hast taken them captive.] As the manner was, to make them slaves to their conquerors.

Ver. 11. *And seest—a beautiful woman.*] It was indifferent whether she was a virgin or a widow, or a wife, according to the Jewish doctors.

And hast a desire unto her.] The plain meaning is, fell so passionately in love with her, as to desire to marry her, though a stranger, of another nation and religion. It is a common opinion, indeed, among the Jewish doctors, that a baser sort of passion is here indulged; for it was lawful, they imagine, for a soldier to lie with such a captive once to satisfy his lust (which some make to be the meaning of this expression, "hast a desire to her," or, as it is in the Hebrew, "hast cleaved to her,") but not repeat it, unless he would take her for his wife: which they think was allowed to military men when they were absent from their wives, to prevent greater outrages, which were wont to be committed by the heathen. But the best nations severely prohibited all such abuses, as Grotius observes, lib. iii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4. sect. xix. 1. And though Shickard, in his Mischpat Hammelech, endeavors to make out the wisdom of

delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive,

11 And seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife;

12 Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house; and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails;

this law in permitting a Hebrew soldier to enjoy a captive once (see p. 130, 131, and Mr. Selden, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13), yet he cannot but acknowledge that some of the Jews do not allow of this interpretation, but are of opinion, that he might not touch a captive till she became a proselyte, and he took her for his wife. Thus R. Bechai, as Grotius observes in the place forenamed, sect. xix. 2, "God would have the camp of Israel holy, and not defiled with fornication, and other abominations, as the camps of the gentiles." Unto whom Alexander himself gave a better example; who being extremely taken with the beauty of Roxana, did not abuse her as a captive, but vouchsafed to marry her, and make her his wife; for which he is justly commended, both by Arrianus and by Plutarch; and therefore I think it is most reasonable to expound this law, only of taking such a captive in marriage; which Abarbinel also shows is the most ancient interpretation of it, and hath the best authority on its side among the Jews. For though he acknowledges it is the common opinion of their wise men, that a soldier might lie with a fair captive once, whilst she was a mere gentile; yet herein they followed the doctors in the Babylonian Talmud, which is not of so great antiquity as the Jerusalem Talmud, where R. Johannes (in Massecheth Sanhedrin) delivers the quite contrary doctrine, that it was not lawful for any Israelite to lie with such a woman at all, till the conditions, mentioned in the following words of this law, were fulfilled, when he was to make her his wife. And according to the judgment of this R. Johannes, Abarbinel explains this law in a large commentary on this place.

Ver. 12. *Thou shalt bring her home*] The forenamed doctors, who are so indulgent to the soldier's lust, will have this to signify, that they were to observe the rules of modesty in the camp, and not openly lie with her like beasts, but privately in their tents. Thus, Maimonides himself, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41. But it is evident Moses doth not speak of any thing done in the camp, but of what was to be done when he returned to his house; where he was to dispose her, in the manner following, to be his wife.

She shall shave her head,] These and the following words are variously interpreted, some taking these things to be done to her, with a design to abate his affection to her, that he might not marry her at all; and others, to prepare her, and make her fit for his bed. For shaving her head (which every one knows was used in mourning) deprived her of one of her greatest ornaments, and made her less amiable, and consequently might extinguish his affection, which was kindled by her beauty. So Clemens Alexandrinus understands it (see lib. ii. Strom. p. 398, 399, and lib. iii. p. 456.) And many of the Hebrews are of the same mind, that these things were ordered to lessen his affection to her, by making her appear less lovely in his eyes (see Schickard's Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 5. Theor. 17. p. 134, 135). But there are others who take this to have been a kind of purification, and cleansing her from her gentilitism; and a token of her becoming a new woman, that she might be meet to be made his wife.

13 And she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month: and after that thou shalt go in unto

Pare her nails;] This likewise was a piece of cleanliness and neatness. But they who are of the other opinion translate the words, "Let her nails grow," as our marginal translation bath it, and the Arabic, and Chaldee, and the Hebrew doctors commonly understand it; which was intended to make her look ugly, and to slack his love to her. At least, it was suitable to the condition of a mourner, as she plainly was, it appears by the next verse. The Hebrew words, indeed (which are, *make her nails*), are dubious; from whence arose that dispute we find in the Talmud, between R. Eliezer, who expounds it *pare her nails*, to make them look handsome; and R. Akiba, who expounds it, *let them grow*. The former reasons thus: The hair and the nails are to be used alike. Now her hairs plainly ordered to be cut; and therefore so were her nails to be. But the other doctor turns it quite contrary: What was ordered about her hair, was to make her abominable; therefore this also was intended to make her appear ill-favored. And, indeed, the Hebrew word being indifferent to either sense, we must judge of the meaning by the circumstances of the place: and here they seem to lead us to R. Akiba's interpretation; which Onkelos, a most judicious paraphrast, follows; and many learned men in later times, particularly Schickard in the book before mentioned, p. 134, and Martinus Gierus De Luctu Hebræorum, cap. 14. sect. 5.

Ver. 13. *She shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her.*] Her fine clothes, wherein they suppose her to have been taken captive; instead of which she was to put on sordid apparel, which was the habit of mourners. This still tended to cool his love; the drift of these things being (as the Jews commonly think) to take away from her all that was inviting and tempting, that so such marriages might not be common among them.

Shall remain in thine house.] Nor stir out of doors, but be retired; as persons in a mournful condition are wont to be.

Bewail her father and her mother.] Who, perhaps, were killed in the war; or rather, whom she was likely to see no more. And this also the Jews supposed might help to abate his affection to her; sorrow and grief very much spoiling one's beauty.

A full month.] So long the Jews were allowed to bewail their dead relations, or at least those who were eminent, as they did Aaron and Moses. And here I cannot but observe how Philo magnifies this constitution, and plainly shows he was of the opinion of R. Johannes before mentioned, that this captive might not be touched till all those things were performed. παν καὶ ἐκαστα διαταξάμενος (saith he, in his book, περί φιλαρμόνειας, p. 545, &c.). "Moses ordered every thing most excellently in this law: first, in not letting the reins loose to men's desires, but restraining them for thirty days. In which time, secondly, a trial was made of his love; whether it was a furious ungovernable passion, or had something of reason in it, which advises us to do nothing suddenly, but after serious and long deliberation. And, thirdly, ἐπεὶ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον. This was a merciful law to the captive, that, if she were a virgin, she might bewail her unhappiness, in not being disposed of in marriage by her parents: if a widow, that she had lost her first love, and was now to be married to one who would be her lord, as well as her husband."

her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife.

14 And it shall be, if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go wither she will;

After that.] Upon these words R. Johannes grounded his opinion, that, till a full month was spent in the forementioned ceremonies, he might not lie with her.

Thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband.] If he continued, that is, to love her at the end of the month, and she was willing to embrace the Jewish religion, in which, while she remained retired in his house, she was instructed. For the Jewish doctors agree she was to be baptized, and not merely made a proselyte of the gate (i. e. renounce idolatry), otherwise he might not marry her. And if she refused to embrace their religion entirely, Maimonides saith, they gave her a year's time to consider of it; at the end of which, if she remained still obstinate, they required her at least to observe the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and so to become a proselyte of the gate; otherwise she was to be slain. But though she was so converted, no Jew might take her to wife; for such a marriage, Maimonides saith, was counted impious.

Those Hebrew doctors who think a soldier might enjoy her once, at the first taking her captive, have added another conceit to this, viz. that there was not only this month's time allowed her to bewail her parents, but that he was to stay two months more, before he "might go in to her and be her husband," that he might see whether she were with child or not, by his first enjoyment of her. For if she were, a great difference was to be made between that child, and those she might have by him after marriage. Concerning which, see Selden, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13, where he observes, they make Tamar, the daughter of David, an instance of this; whose mother being a captive, they suppose he lay with her as soon as she was taken, and had this issue by her; but afterward she becoming a proselyte, he made her his wife, and she bare him Absalom. Whereby it came to pass, that there was not such a relation between her and the other sons of David by other women, but that it had been lawful for Amnon to have married her.

But all this is judged by the famous Abarbanel (upon 2 Sam. xiii.), to be very absurd; neither does he believe that David would have committed such a fact, as to lie with a woman in her gentility; nor, if he had, that this child would have been looked upon as a gentile, since he afterward married her mother. And therefore he takes those words of Tamar, ver. 13, "Speak to the king, and he will not withhold me from thee," to be a mere put-off, as we speak, to get rid of his company; which Amnon understood very well, who, knowing he could not have her to wife, proceeded to force her.

Ver. 14. *If thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go whither she will.*] If at the month's end, or before, his mind was changed, and he did not like to take her for his wife, then he might neither meddle with her any more (as the Hebrew doctors understand it), nor keep her any longer as a slave, nor sell her, or make merchandize of her (as the text here expressly orders), but give her liberty to go whither she herself thought good. This he lost, say the Jews, by his short pleasure he took at first. For other captives, whom a man had made himself master of, by the law of war, he might employ in his work as slaves, or make money of them; but one whom he had lain with, he was either to marry, or set her at

but thou shalt not sell her at all for money; thou shalt not make merchandise of her, because thou hast humbled her.

15 ¶ If a man have two wives, one beloved, and another hated, and they have born him children, *both* the beloved and the hated; and if the firstborn son be hers that was hated:

16 Then it shall be, when he maketh his sons to inherit *that* which he hath, *that* he may not make the son of the beloved firstborn before the son of the hated, *which is indeed* the firstborn:

17 But he shall acknowledge the son of the

hated for the firstborn, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath: for he is the beginning of his strength; the right of the firstborn is his.

18 ¶ If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and *that*, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them:

19 Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place;

liberty. This they ground upon the last words of this verse, which I shall show may have another interpretation. And therefore I shall not insist upon their sense (which depends upon the same words), who think Moses speaks of his not liking her after she was become his wife, her humor, manners, and conversation, being disagreeable to him; in which case he was to give her a bill of divorce as he might do another wife, but not keep her as a slave.

Because thou hast humbled her.] It must be acknowledged that this is an usual phrase, for having had carnal knowledge of a woman, as the Scripture modestly elsewhere speaks, in the like case. It signifies so in the very next chapter of this book, Deut. xxii. 29. Judg. xix. 24. xx. 2, and many other places, where it is used for violence offered to a woman, which was the greatest affliction to her, as the Hebrew word properly signifies. From which I see no reason why we should depart in this place; for it was sufficient affliction and humiliation to a captive woman (as Carpzovius observes, in his annotations upon Schickard's book, which I have so often named), that, after she had been brought into a soldier's house, and kept there a month, having her head shaved, garments changed, &c., in hope of marriage, she was rejected at last, when it should have been consummated. And thus Abarbinel here understands the word *humbled*, not of his lying with her, but of all the forementioned conditions, which were imposed upon her as a preparation for his bed, and of her disappointment after she had submitted to be baptized. And, indeed, the Hebrew word denotes any sort of affliction (see Exod. i. 11. Ps. lxxxviii. 8. lxxxix. 23. xc. 15. xciv. 5, &c.).

Ver. 15. *If a man have two wives, one beloved, and another hated.*] That is, less loved; as the word *hated* sometimes signifies, Gen. xxix. 31. Matt. vi. 21. R. Solomon thinks that this case follows the other, because it might so happen, that, if a man suffered himself to be carried with too violent a passion towards such a woman as is before mentioned, it might turn into hatred, when he found her not to be agreeable to him.

And they have born him children.] Towards which it was likely he would be affected very differently, as he was to his wives.

If the firstborn son be hers that was hated:] As it fell out in the case of Leah and Rachel.

Ver. 16.] He speaks of sons; for daughters were not to have a double portion. And he speaks of sons (as the Jews will have it) born before the death of their father; to whom he divided his inheritance. For a posthumous son had not a double portion, as the Gemara upon Bathra saith (see Selden De Successionibus, cap. 7. p. 29).

Ver. 17. *He shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the firstborn.*] Which had his first love, and was to enjoy the effects of it.

By giving him a double portion] Of all that he was

in possession of when he died; but not of that which was his in reversion after his death: as Mr. Selden shows the opinion of the Jewish lawyers is, lib. De Success. cap. 6. p. 24.

The beginning of his strength; See Gen. xlix. 1. The right of the firstborn is his.] By a very ancient custom, antecedent to the law, which made the first-born the head of the family, and gave him as much more as any of his brethren of the estate belonging to it, that he might be able to maintain and support the dignity of it (Gen. xxv. 31). But if there was no son, and the inheritance was to be divided among daughters, the eldest daughter had not a double share of the estate; as Mr. Selden shows in the same book, cap. 8.

Ver. 18. *If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son.*] By a *stubborn* son, the Jews understand one that will not do as he is bidden, and by a *rebellious*, one that doth what he is forbidden. And they imagine this law is annexed to the foregoing, about the marriage of a soldier to a captive woman, because the issue of such marriages commonly proved refractory, or at least gave their parents great trouble. So Schickard observes out of Tanchuma. And they confirm it by an example out of Scripture, viz. the two children of David, Absalom and Tamar, who were both born of a captive woman, made a proselyte: the former of which conspired the death of his father; and the other being ravished by Amnon, was the occasion of the death of some of her brethren (Mischpat Hanmelech, cap. 5. Theor. 17).

Which will not obey the voice of his father, or—his mother.] Behaved himself not only undutifully but crossly to them; and with such contempt of their authority, as argued he had not only lost all filial affection and reverence to them, but would, if he could, undo them.

Will not hearken unto them:] Is never the better for admonitions, reprehensions, and corrections, which they were bound to give him.

Ver. 19. *Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him.*] It is absurd to say, as the Hebrew doctors do (in their qualifications of this law), that his parents were with their own hands to apprehend him, and bring him before the court; though it seems reasonable enough, that both father and mother should agree in the complaint against him, and desire officers might be sent to lay hold of him. In which one cannot well suppose that they would consent to have such a punishment as follows inflicted upon him, unless he were intolerable.

Bring him out unto the elders] Who were to examine the proofs, and accordingly to pass sentence upon him. Concerning these elders, see ver. 3. 4.

Unto the gate of his place:] Where the court of judgment was wont to sit (see xvi. 15). The paternal power among the ancient Romans was so great, that they might put their children to death, as they did their slaves, without any process before a magis-

20 And they shall say unto the elders of his city, This our son *is* stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; *he is* a glutton, and a drunkard.

21 And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die: so shalt thou put

trate. And this some have taken to be a natural right; and imagined God would not have commanded Abraham to kill his son, but that it was a part of his inherent power. However this be, they were not thought fit to be long entrusted with it; for God here orders, by Moses, that it should be committed to the public judges, as the most disinterested persons.

Ver. 20. *They shall say unto the elders*] This seems to intimate the authority of parents was still so preserved, that their testimony alone was sufficient to convict a rebellious son, without any further proof. The Hebrew doctors, indeed, are of another mind, as I shall show in the explication of what follows.

This our son is stubborn and rebellious.] This is to be understood, say they, of a son that was no less than thirteen years old and a day; and so might be presumed to know his duty, and to be capable of being governed by counsel and good advice, and this is reasonable enough: but what they say concerning the time when he became his own man is monstrously absurd (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. p. 559, 560). What they say of a daughter, not to be comprehended under this law, may be admitted, because she was not capable to do so much mischief in a family as a rebellious son.

He is a glutton and a drunkard.] These sins are nowhere made capital by the law of Moses, but when they were accompanied with rebellious disobedience to parents, who were to bring witnesses, as the Hebrew doctors say, that this son had stolen some of their goods, and sold them, that he might spend the money in these vices; under which others are comprehended, which usually attend them; and that he had done this, after he had been admonished and chastised: so that he was not to be punished as this law at last prescribes, till he was grown incorrigible. For, they say, the court was first to order him to be whipped, and not to proceed further till, upon a new complaint, it was proved that he had run into the same riotous courses since that punishment. Then, upon this second testimony (as they call it), the court gave sentence against him, that he should be stoned to death, unless the parents, before the sentence was pronounced, said they gave him their pardon. There are a great many little niceties about the quantity of meat and wine that he ate and drank, and other matters; with which I do not think fit to trouble the reader.

Ver. 21. *And all the men of his city shall stone him*] This is such a severe sentence, that it inclines me to think, the parents looked upon such a son as so debauched, that he would not only spend all their estate, if he had it, but was inclined to kill them, that he might get it into his own hands. For the sentence of death is denounced, elsewhere, against one that struck his father or mother (Exod. xxi. 15), or that cursed them (ver. 17). It is not said, indeed, he should be stoned, but *put to death*; which they interpret of strangling; this punishment of stoning being appointed for idolaters and blasphemers of God; next to whom parents are to be revered, being in God's place, with respect to their children (see upon the fifth commandment). And therefore other nations were very severe in their punishment of such children as are here described; and particularly the Romans, after the power was taken from pa-

evil away from among you; and all Israel shall hear, and fear.

22 ¶ And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree:

23 His body shall not remain all night upon

rents to sell them, or put them to death, and the censure of them committed to the magistrates (see Hen. Stephen. in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis, p. 18). And among the Athenians, Lysias saith (in his oration against Agoratus), He that beat his parents, or did not maintain them, and provide a habitation for them, when they were in want, ἀξίός ἐστι θανάτου ζῆναι, “deserved to be put to death.” The law indeed did not inflict that punishment, but only said ἀρετός ἐστω, “let him be infamous;” that is, as they expound it, he might not come into the public assemblies, nor enter into their temples, nor wear a crown in their public festivals; and if any such persons presumed so to do, they were brought before the magistrates, who set a fine upon their heads, and committed them to prison till they paid it (see Sam. Petitus, in his Commentary upon the Attic laws, lib. ii. tit. 4. p. 163). No wonder therefore Moses ordained this punishment, when a son was come to such a degree of profligate wickedness, that he endeavored to undo his parents. Which some states have thought fit to follow in these latter ages: for David Chytræus saith, he himself saw an example of this severity at Zurich, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty; where a disobedient son was beheaded, who had cursed his mother, and beaten her.

So shalt thou put evil away] See concerning this before upon xix. 20.

Ver. 22. *If a man have committed a sin worthy of death,*] There were several sorts of capital punishments; viz. strangling, burning, cutting off by the sword, and stoning. Now the Hebrew doctors limit this unto such offenders as were stoned; of which punishment he speaks in the foregoing verse. But there being eighteen sorts of offenders, who were to be sentenced to this death, they put a further limitation upon these words; their tradition being, as they tell us, the “sin worthy of death” (or stoning) is only idolatry or blasphemy. So we read in the Sanhedrin, cap. 6. sect. 4. “All that were stoned were also hanged, according to the opinion of R. Eliezer: but the wise men say none were hanged but the idolater and blasphemer.” And they add there, that only men, not women, were thus used; for which I can see no reason, but the sticking to the mere letter of these words; as if the word *man* did not comprehend both sexes.

But if we examine the Scripture, we shall find this not to be true (that no men were hanged but they that were stoned), for the king of Ai was hanged (Josh. viii. 29), and five kings more (x. 26), and they were not hanged because they were blasphemers or idolaters (for then all the rest of the Canaanites should have been so treated), but because they were such enemies of God, as had rebelliously withstood the gracious summons of surrender. And there are other examples also which confute this; as, the two traitors that murdered Ish-bosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12), and the five sons of Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 9). It is more probable, therefore, that all those whom the Judges thought to be such great offenders, that it was fit to make them very public examples, were hanged up after they had suffered the punishment of death to which they were sentenced. This seems to be denoted in the word *chalta*, which signifies sometimes a very great crime, as appears from Hosea xii. 8, where he speaks of

the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is accursed of

"iniquity, which is sin;" not as if all iniquity were not sin; but some acts of iniquity were not so heinous, as to be called by that name.

Thou hang him] After he had been put to death, as appears by the foregoing words, which speak of his being put to death before this suspension: which shows that this punishment was not the same with the Roman crucifixion (as Baronius, Sigonius, Lipsius, and others, have mistaken), for they hanged men alive upon the gibbet; whereby they expired before they were taken down: but this was only hanging up their bodies after they were dead, and exposing them to open shame for a time.

On a tree:] On a piece of timber (saith the Sanhedrin) struck into the ground; out of which came a beam, whereunto his hands were tied, as they tell us in the place before mentioned: and so Schickard, in his *Mischpat Hammelech*, cap. 4. Theor. 14. So that his body hung in such a posture as crucified men did.

Ver. 23. *His body shall not remain all night upon the tree.*] This is excellently interpreted by Josephus, lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8. *Μείνας δ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς διαρ τῶν ἀπάντων, διατίθεσθαι νεκρός.* "Having remained the whole day a spectacle unto all, he was to be buried at night:" for as soon as the sun went down, the body also was taken down. Examples of which we have in the book of Joshua, viii. 29. x. 26, 27. In which he is far more sincere than their rabbins, who say the law was satisfied if they hanged up the body just before the setting of the sun, and presently after took it down again: which exposition seems to have been contrived in favour of their countrymen; for only Israelites, they confess, were to be thus exposed, not "proselytes of the gate," as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. &c. cap. 12.

For he that is hanged is accursed of God:] The Jews interpret this clause, as if the meaning were, he was hanged "because he blasphemed God." So Onkelos himself, and the Samaritan versions, with those of the Spanish and Mauritanian Jews, as Selden observes, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 4. and Hottinger in his *Smegmat Orientale*, p. 96, 97. But though this be a common opinion among the Hebrew doctors, yet the LXX. have taken the sense right, *Ὅτι καεστραμένους ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμνόμενος ἐπὶ ξύλον.* "Cursed of God is every one that is hanged on a tree." And so St. Paul, Gal. iii. with very little difference. For they observed what those doctors did not, that Moses doth not here give a reason why the man was hanged up, but why he was to be taken down from the gallows. Now what consequence is there in this, "Let him be taken down and buried, because he cursed God?" Every one sees that (though the word *cursed* should be taken in an active sense) this is not a right interpretation of these words: for though it had been good sense to have said, Let him be hanged, because he cursed God, yet not let him be taken down for that reason. Now such persons are here said to be accursed of God, not because they were hanged up, but because of their sin, which deserved they should be thus exposed. So St. Jerome upon Gal. iii. *Non ideo maledictus quia pendet sed ideo pendet quia maledictus:* "he was not accursed because he was hanged, but he was therefore hanged because he was accursed:" hanging up being a token that the man had committed

God;) that thy land be not defiled, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

a horrid crime, whereby he had incurred the high displeasure of Almighty God. So that every one who saw him hang on that fashion was to think with himself, This man was under the curse of God, because of his sin; and unless he had undergone this curse, he could not have been buried, and put into the condition of other men. But when he had undergone it for his sin, then it had been sin in the people not to have taken him down, or prolonged his suspension longer than God imposed this curse upon him. And the land had been defiled, if, after this suffering which God had appointed, they had not buried him. To this purpose Abarinel, who refutes several other accounts of this matter, particularly that of Sol. Jarchi, who thinks he was not to hang longer than till the evening, because it would have been a dishonor to the Sovereign of the world, after whose image man was made. This is followed by many, and even by Grotius himself, who gives no other reason of it, in his book *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, lib. ii. cap. 19. sec. 4. But this is a reason, as Abarinel notes, why he should not have been hanged up at all. It may be also usefully noted further, that they say in the tract called *Sanhedrin*, that not only the malefactor, but all the instruments of punishment, were to be buried at the going down of the sun. Even the tree itself, upon which he was hanged, was to be buried, "that no memory of so foul a thing might be left in the world; nor any might say, behold, this was the tree upon which such a one was hanged."

That thy land be not defiled.] By the stench of the body, after it putrified, as the same Abarinel expounds it, who observes, that the dead body of no creature corrupts and stinks sooner than that of a man, which is exceeding offensive to the living. For which cause, saith he, the book *Sephri* determines, not only that all malefactors should be buried as soon as the law here orders (that they might not imitate the manners of the Egyptians and Philistines, and such like people, who let bodies rot in the air after they were hanged up), but that every man should bury his dead the same day they died, or be deemed to have transgressed a negative precept; which may pass for a very good natural reason of it: but there is something more in it, respecting a legal pollution, under which their whole country lay, as long as an accursed thing hung openly among them; just as all that entered into the tent where a dead body lay, and all that was in it, were made unclean by it (*Numb. xix. 14, 15*). Upon which score St. Paul might well apply this passage to Christ crucified for us, not only because he bare our sins, and was put to death, and exposed to such shame as these sinners were, who were accursed of God; but was also taken down in the evening, in token now the guilt was removed; as the curse upon the man that was hanged ended at the going down of the sun: and as the land of Israel was pure and clean, after the dead body was taken down and buried with the tree upon which it was hanged. Joh. Coch hath well explained this, in his notes upon the *Sanhedrin*, cap. 6. sect. 5. whose sense in short is this: "As our blessed Saviour, while he hung upon the cross, was made a curse, and an execration; so, when, according to the law, he was taken down and buried, both he ceased to be a curse, and all they that are his."

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Of humanity toward brethren.* 5 *The sex is to be distinguished by apparel.* 6 *The dam is not to be taken with her young ones.* 8 *The house must have battlements.* 9 *Confusion is to be avoided.* 12 *Fringes upon the vesture.* 13 *The punishment of him that slandereth his wife.* 20, 22 *Of adultery,* 25 *of rape,* 28 *and of fornication.* 30 *Incest.*

1 Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt in any case bring them again unto thy brother.

2 And if thy brother be not nigh unto thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it unto thine own house, and it shall be with thee until thy brother seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again.

3 In like manner shalt thou do with his ass; and so shalt thou do with his raiment; and with all lost things of thy brother's, which he hath lost,

and thou hast found, shalt thou do likewise: thou mayest not hide thyself.

4 ¶ Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fall down by the way, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.

5 The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God.

6 ¶ If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree, or on the ground, whether

CHAPTER XXII.

Ver. 1. *Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself*] They were not to turn away their face, as if they did not see them, and so neglect them. And by *brother* is to be understood, not only an Israelite, but any man that lived among them; this being a matter of common right, and extended to their enemies as well as their friends. (Exod. xxiii. 4).

Thou shalt in any case bring them again] Not merely give notice to the owner where he saw them, but take care himself to bring them back, that they might not go further astray, and perhaps be quite lost, before the owner could have notice of them. This and many that follow are precepts of humanity, and care of each other's welfare, without which society could not be preserved.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt bring it unto thine own house,*] And preserve it there, till he could send to him, or find who the owner was.

Until thy brother seek after it,] He was to give notice, by the public crier, that such a beast was with him, and that, as the Jews say, three or four times, that the owner might seek after it. But here they are pleased to make a distinction: that they were to do this, if there were marks upon the beast; but if there were none, they were not bound to cry it: which doth not seem to be reasonable (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4).

Thou shalt restore it to him] He paying the charges of keeping it, from the time it was brought to his house till its being restored. But if nobody could prove a right in the beasts that were lost, they became his who found them, and he might lawfully keep them; for no other owner appearing, they were his that was in present possession of them, who did very piously, if he gave the value of them to the poor (and so the law was in many places); but he was an honest owner of them, if he kept them to himself: as Grotius observes, lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 10. sect. 11.

Ver. 3. *In like manner shalt thou do with his ass, &c.*] In all other cases of like nature, the same law was to be observed.

Thou mayest not hide thyself.] Pass them by with neglect, or pretend they did not see them.

Ver. 4. *Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fall down—and hide thyself*] Turn away, as if they did not see the danger they were in.

Thou shalt surely help him to lift them up] This hath been explained upon Exod. xxiii. 5. I shall only add here a famous example of this sort of piety, in Alphonsus, king of Naples; who, travelling upon the road, attended by a great number of courtiers, and seeing a poor ass with a burden fall into a deep slough (whom all that went before him passed by without any regard), when he came to the place, stopped, and went himself to the driver, and lent him assistance to help the ass out of the dirt. So David Chytræus upon this place.

Ver. 5.] The last words of this place plainly indicate, that it was an idolatrous custom, which is here prohibited. For Moses and the prophets are wont to speak in these terms of utmost abhorrence concerning such matters. And nothing was more common among the heathen, than for men, in the worship of several of their gods, to put on the garments usually worn by women, and women those worn by men; particularly in the worship of Venus, women appeared before her in armor, and men in women's apparel. And thus the words literally run here in the Hebrew; "Women shall not put on the armor of a man (so the word *cali* frequently signifies armor, as well as other sorts of instruments, nor a man (*τολιν* the LXX. translate it) the stole of a woman" (see Selden, Syn-tag. ii. De Diis Syris, cap. 4). And thus Maimonides saith he found this precept in an old magical book, that men ought to stand before the star of Venus in the flowered garment of women, and women put on the armor of men before the star of Mars (More Nervoehin, par. iii. cap. 37). Servius also, upon the second book of *Æneids*, mentions a statue of Venus at Cyprus (in which island were anciently many colonies of Phœnicians), to whom the women sacrificed in men's garments, and the men in women's. Many other nations did the same (see 1 Ger. Vossius, lib. ii. De Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 27. 31. but especially our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. cap. 17. sect. 1, &c.).

But setting aside all this, every one knows, that if there were no distinction of sexes made by their habits, it would open a door to all manner of impurity; for which reason, if there were no other, this law was very wise and pious.

Ver. 6. *If a bird's nest chance to be before thee, &c.*] By this place, among others (particularly Ps. viii. 8), it appears the word *tsippor* signifies all kinds of birds, and not only the smaller sort, as some have imagined, but he seems particularly to speak of clean birds, such as it was lawful for them to eat. And this pre-

they be young ones, or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young :

7 *But thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee ; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.*

8 ¶ *When thou buildest a new house, then*

cept seems to have been given, to breed in the Jews a sense of a Divine Providence, extending itself to all creatures, and to teach them to exercise their dominion over them without any kind of cruelty.

Thou shalt not take the dam with the young : R. Menachem, mentioned both by Drusius and Bochartus, was of opinion, that it is not pity towards birds which is intended in this law, but kindness to mankind ; whom God intended by this usage of other creatures, to form unto gentleness and commiseration towards one another. But others, I think, have more truly determined, that this is a merciful constitution, with respect to birds as well as men : it being a sufficient affliction, as Maimonides calls it, to the old one to lose her young ; it being unreasonable also that men should consider only their own present interest without regard to posterity, to whom the breed ought to be continued, by letting the old one go free. Unto which those verses, commonly ascribed to Phocylides, have respect :

Μῆδὲ τις ὄρνιθας καλῶς ἅμα πάντα ἐλίσσω,
Μῆτέρα δ' ἐκπορεύεις, ἐν ἑχρῇ πάλιν τὴν τε νεοττόν,

i. e. "Let no man take all the birds together out of a nest ; but let the mother go, that thou mayest have young ones again of her."

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee ;* For there is a great deal of ill-nature in it, to take away the liberty and the life of any creature, from whom we have received a benefit ; as Bonfrerius glosses upon these words.

That it may be well with thee. Some of the Jews, from these words, have fancied, that the observation of this single precept was of such great value, as to procure for them even forgiveness of sins, and a long life ; which is such a foolish conceit, that it makes all other precepts unnecessary. The plain meaning is, that God would reward them for their kind usage even of brute creatures, if other virtues were not wanting, such as charity towards their poor neighbors. And so the Mishna, in the conclusion of the tract called Cholin, discourses very well : "If in a light precept concerning a thing which is scarce worth a farthing, the law says, 'That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest prolong thy days ;' how much more may this be expected in the weightier things of the law ?"

Ver. 8. *Make a battlement for thy roof.* The Jews, I think, are a little too curious, in setting a mark upon the word *thy*, fancying he saith not simply the roof, but *thy* roof, to except the temple, and the synagogues, and schools, from this rule ; which were no private man's house, but belonged to the whole congregation. They say, indeed, the temple had battlements ; but not for necessity, but for ornament, because the roof of the temple was not flat, as the roof of another house was ; for nobody walked upon the temple, as they did upon their own houses, to take the air, and discourse together, or to meditate and pray (in little closets they had there), which made it necessary to have these battlements, of three feet and a half high (as the Jews say), to prevent any man's falling down, when he did not attend, but was think-

thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence.

9 ¶ *Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds : lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard, be defiled.*

ing of some other thing (see Constant L'Empeur, in his annotations on Codex Middoth, p. 160).

That the roofs of their houses were flat, which was the ground of this precept, we have many proofs in the scripture. For hither Rahab brought the spies, and covered them with the stalks of flax, which she laid upon them (Josh. ii. 6). Here Samuel communed with Saul, upon the top of the house (1 Sam. ix. 25), David also was walking upon the roof of his palace, when he saw Bath-sheba washing herself (2 Sam. xi. 2). And in the same place Absalom caused a tent to be spread, that he might go in to his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel (xvi. 22. see also Isa. xv. 3. xxii. 1. and in the New Testament, Acts x. 9). Nor was it the manner of the Hebrews only, but of the Greeks and Romans also, to make the roofs of their houses so that they might walk upon them ; and stand there to see any public show, or take the air ; as Is. Casaubon shows, in a multitude of instances, lib. iv. in Athenæum, cap. 12, where he observes also out of Pliny and Seneca, that the Roman houses wanted these battlements, which Moses here ordered in this law. By all which we may easily understand those places in the gospel, that speak of proclaiming these things on the housetop, &c. (Matt. x. 27. Luke v. 19).

That thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence. And be killed by the fall. For his neglect being the cause of his death, it made him guilty before God of his blood, and liable to be punished by the judges for slighting so profitable an institution as this is : which the Jews extend to a studious care about every thing that might bring a man's life in danger. For example's sake : they might not keep a mad dog, nor set up a broken ladder in their house, &c. as L'Empeur observes upon Bavakama, cap. 5.

Ver. 9. *Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds :* What he had said concerning their fields, Lev. xix. 19, he now says of their vineyards, which they were not to sow with seeds of a diverse kind : for this was an idolatrous custom, as the reason given against it plainly shows. This Maimonides saith he found in a book of the Zabii, and in one rabbi Josiah, who taught, that "these three things, wheat, barley, and grapes dried in the sun, should be sown together in the ground with one and the same east of the hand : which was so senseless a thing, that he could not but think they learnt it from the ways of the Amorites, as his words are, that is, from the wicked idolaters of the country to which the Israelites were going. For wheat being sown properly at one season of the year, and barley at another, and a vineyard being an improper place for the growth of either of them, this custom could not have its original either from God or from man, but from the devil, the author of confusion, who taught them this uncouth rite, in honor of Ceres, perhaps, and Bacchus, whom they joined in the same act of worship.

Lest the fruit of thy seed—be defiled. If the Israelites had followed this custom, it would have made both the corn and the grapes that sprung up from such seed impure, because polluted by idolatry ; the very smell of which God would not have to remain among

10 ¶ Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together.

11 ¶ Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together.

12 ¶ Thou shalt make thee fringes upon the four quarters of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.

the Israelites, as Maimonides speaks in his *More Nivochim*, par. iii. cap. 37 (see Dr. Spencer, in his very learned work *De Leg. Ritual.* Hebr. lib. ii. cap. 18). Every one also knows, that it was unlawful for the Israelites to eat any of the fruits of the earth, till the first-fruits of them had been offered unto God; which would not have been accepted by him of such things as these, that were expressly forbidden by his law; and consequently the whole crop became unclean to them, and might not be used by them.

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together.*] Lest that law should be violated which we read Lev. xix. 19. "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind." So some give the reason of it; even Maimonides, in the book forementioned, par. iii. cap. 49. But it seems also to have respect to those magical rites of the idolatrous nations in those countries: who thought their fields would be more fruitful, if, according to some directions which had been given by their gods, they were thus ploughed. For one cannot well think that men, of themselves, would join together two creatures so different in their temper and motions, to draw in the same yoke, if they had not been led to it by some superstition or other. For their strength is unequal, as Aben Ezra here observes, "the strength of an ass is not as the strength of an ox." Whence it was that Ulysses, to make it be believed that he was mad, joined a horse and an ass to plough; and Homer, *Odyssey*. 5. would have oxen *ισοφόρους*, joined together; that is, *ἰσὺς φέροντας καὶ ἔλκοντας*, "equally bearing and drawing," as Bochart observes the scholiast there glosses.

The Jews commonly think this law extends to all other creatures of different species, which might not be yoked together. But some understand it so, that they might join several kinds together; provided one was not unclean and the other clean. Baal-Hatturim finds this mystery in this prohibition, "That the righteous ought to have no society with the wicked." And there are those who think the apostle alludes to this, when he saith (2 Cor. vi. 14), *Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγῶντες ἀπίστοις*, "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers;" which Bochart himself thinks not improbable (see *Hieroicoicon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 13. and cap. 40. p. 401. where there are other reasons of this precept).

Ver. 11.] The ancients think God intended hereby to teach his people simplicity in their manners (see Bochart, in the same book, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 491). But there was something farther in it, as I have observed upon Lev. xix. 19. to which I refer the reader. And shall only add here, that the Jews carried this so far, as not to sew a woollen garment with linen thread; nor on the contrary.

Ver. 12. *Make thee fringes*] What these were, is sufficiently explained upon Numb. xv. 38, 39 (see there).

Upon the four quarters of thy vesture,] They wore long garments in those countries, as most people do still at this day. And I suppose the garments of the Jews had usually four skirts: but perchance they sometimes had more or fewer than four; and in this case, if they had but three, their doctors have resolved they were not bound to make any fringes for them; but, if they had five or six, they were bound to annex

13 ¶ If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her,

14 And give occasions of speech against her, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a maid:

15 Then shall the father of the damsel, and

them to the four most remote quarters, in which the intermediate were included. But this is a very unreasonable subtilty; the intention of the law being, that they might be put in remembrance of God's commandments by these fringes, which therefore were to be worn in the skirts of their garments, though they had been divided into no wings or quarters at all.

Wherewith thou coverest thyself.] Which they commonly wore: and it seems to signify the uppermost garment, which covered all the rest, and was most seen; whereby they were distinguished from the people of other nations: for that was one end of these fringes, to be a distinctive mark that they were of the Jewish religion. And therefore I do not see any reason in the determination of their doctors, who say, *women servants and little children* were not bound to wear fringes: for though little children could not think of the commandments of God, yet it was fit they should wear the note of their religion. There is no reason neither in their resolution, when they say, that if women and servants (who were bound as much as others to observe the laws of God) would wear fringes, though they were not obliged by their constitutions, yet they might not put them on with the common form of benediction which they used. But I think they observe rightly enough, that these fringes were so peculiar to the Jews, that the Samaritans, though acquainted with the law, did not wear them. Nor do the Jews themselves at this day use them upon their upper garment: for that being no longer four-cornered (because it made them a laughing stock), they wear only under their other garments a kind of square frock, with the aforesaid tassels or pendants fastened to it (as Leo Modena relates in his history of the Jews, par. i. chap. 5). Only in their synagogues or schools, at morning prayer, every man puts over his head a square woollen garment, with the tassels fastened at each corner, which they call *talith*. Concerning which Bartoloccius, in his late Rabbinical Lexicon, tom. i. hath a long dissertation, p. 576, &c.

Ver. 13. *If any man take a wife, and go in unto her,*] Have carnal knowledge of her.

And hate her,] Do not like her; but is desirous to be rid of her.

Ver. 14. *And give occasions of speech against her,*] The LXX. translate it *ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προπαλαιαῖς λόγοις*, "lay to her charge such things (for so words sometimes signify) as are opprobrious."

Bring up an evil name upon her,] Or, as the Hebrew words are, "bring forth a name of evil, or infamy: which signifies, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1. p. 321) the action itself, which he brought against her in the court of judgment. This appears from the words following.

And say, I took this woman, &c.] This was the form wherein the action was laid against her (as the same Selden there observes), in those words, as the Jews say: "Having lain with this young woman, not of full age, as her husband, I found not in her the tokens of virginity; and making inquisition into the matter, it appears to me that she hath been guilty of adultery, after I had espoused her: and these are eye-witnesses of her guilt."

Ver. 15. *Then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's*

her mother, take and bring forth the *tokens* of the damsel's virginity unto the elders of the city in the gate :

16 And the damsel's father shall say unto the elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her ;

17 And, lo, he hath given occasions of speech against her, saying, I found not thy daughter a maid ; and yet these are the *tokens* of my

virginity] If the accusation, as they say, was to be made good by witnesses of her adultery, then her defence was to be made, no doubt, by contrary witnesses, who endeavored to disprove the testimony which was brought against her. For so they are constrained to interpret the words we translate "tokens of her virginity;" as I shall show upon ver. 17. The Hebrews have many nice subtilties about the word *damsel*, with which I shall not trouble the reader (see Selden, in the forenamed place, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1).

Unto the elders] The court consisting of twenty-three judges ; who had the cognizance of common, capital, and penal causes, in every city.

In the gate :] Where the court sat, as I observed before upon xvi. 18. And this may be added to what I noted there, that by this may be explained those words in the book of Job, v. 4. concerning the children of the wicked, that they are "crushed in the gate," i. e. lose their cause, and are condemned in the court of judgment, and those of the wise man, Prov. xxii. 22, "Oppress not the afflicted in the gate" i. e. do him justice, and not let him be overthrown, because he wants money to defend his cause. This appears to be the sense from the very next words (ver. 23), "For the Lord will plead their cause," &c.

Ver. 16. *The damsel's father shall say unto the elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife.*] The Jews say, the mother had no power to espouse her daughter but the father only, before she was of age. Mischna Sotâ, cap. 3. sect. 8. where Wagenseil notes, that the mother, and brethren also, had some power in this matter ; but such, that the daughter, within a time limited, might make the contract void.

He hateth her ;] Hath no affection which a husband ought to have to a wife. If she had no parents alive, the judges appointed her a guardian : and Josephus saith the next of kin were to patronize her, as if they had been her parents.

Ver. 17. *He hath given occasions of speech against her.*] See ver. 14. He doth not add what there follows, "and brought up an evil name upon her" (i. e. accused her publicly before you of adultery), because it is sufficiently comprehended in this.

I found not thy daughter a maid ;] As such and such give evidence.

These are the tokens] I have good witnesses to the contrary ; which are here ready to be produced before the court, to disprove the former testimony.

And they] That is, the witnesses which the father produces.

Shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city.] Though such tokens of virginity, as are commonly understood by these words, might always be found in those countries (being very consonant to the opinion of the chiefest Arabian physicians, as Mr. Selden observes out of Avicenna, and of the Africans and other people at this day, by many authors testify, see Joh. Gesius De Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 9. and par. ii. cap. 2. and Wierus L. Medicarum Observationum, sect. De Hymene), especially in such virgins as the Jews say were here meant, who were under thirteen

daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city.

18 And the elders of that city shall take that man and chastise him ;

19 And they shall amerce him in an hundred *shekels* of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel : and she shall be his wife ; he may not put her away all his days.

years of age ; and though all that some physicians and lawyers in these parts of the world have said to the contrary is of no consideration ; yet there are weighty reasons to incline us to think, that no man of common sense would bring such an action against his wife, wherein he was sure to be cast, whether his cause was right or wrong, if these were the evidences whereby it was to be tried. For if he accused her falsely, he knew her friends were able to produce the sheet wherein they lay when they were married, with such tokens upon it as would disprove him, and render him guilty of defamation. And if he had a just ground to accuse her, because he knew they could produce no such tokens ; yet this was no proof she had been vitiated since she was espoused to him : for she might have been corrupted before ; and then he could not attain his end, which was to be rid of her, not by way of divorce (for then he must have given her a dowry, which he was desirous to save), but by having her put to death as an adulteress, which ver. 21. shows to be the present case. Such evident reasons as these have constrained the Jews to understand these words, not according to the very letter of them, but figuratively, of such witnesses produced by her parents, as convinced the other of falsity so evidently, that they made it appear as plainly as a piece of cloth that is unfolded, and laid before men's eyes to view it. And they think the Hebrew word *simlah*, which we translate the *cloth*, favors this exposition : for it never signifies a *sheet*, or linen-cloth, (which is wont to be called *sadin*, Judg. xiv. 12. Prov. xxxi. 24) but such cloth as men's garments are made of, which commonly is woollen, not linen. And so it is used in this book, Deut. x. 18. and in this very chapter, ver. 5. So that the sense is "They shall produce evident proofs, and lay them before the court, like a piece of cloth, which is spread for all that please to look upon it." Whether this be the truth or not, I will not dispute, but refer the reader to Mr. Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1, 2.

Ver. 18. *The elders of that city shall take that man*] If they were convinced that he had accused his wife falsely, he was to be delivered into the hands of the officers who executed the sentence of the court.

Chastise him ;] Condemn him to receive forty stripes save one, as both Josephus and the Talmudists agree ; and it was to be done with a scourge made of thongs of an ox's hide. The woman was dismissed with a solemn benediction ; the form of which is set down in the Jewish rituals : and as for the false witnesses against her, they were condemned to be stoned, according to the law, ch. xix. 18, 19.

Ver. 19. *And they shall amerce him in an hundred shekels of silver, and give them unto the father*] Who was to receive this satisfaction for the reproach which was thrown upon his family. It is something strange that Josephus should mention only πενήκοντα σίκλους "fifty shekels" to be paid to her father, when the Scripture expressly saith a *hundred* (lib. iv. Archæolog. cap. 8). But it is supposed, by some, that he means *fifty* besides her dowry, which he was to have given her, if he had put her away : which, that he

20 But if this thing be true, *and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel* :

21 Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die : because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house : so shalt thou put evil away from among you.

22 ¶ If a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband, then they shall both of them die, *both the man that lay with the woman, and the woman* : so shalt thou put away evil from Israel.

23 ¶ If a damsel *that is a virgin* be betrothed

might save, he designed to take away her life ; and therefore was punished double to what it would have cost him, if he had been so wicked.

Because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin] Laid the most infamous crime to the charge of an innocent virgin ; and that out of hatred to her and love to his money. For if he would have put her away, according to the law of divorce, no man could have hindered him, as Maimonides observes : but then he must have paid her *fifty shekels*, which they take to be the dowry of virgins, mentioned Exod. xxii. 16, 17. To keep which to himself, and be rid of her, he brought this scandalous action against her ; for which he was thus justly punished.

She shall be his wife ; he may not put her away all his days.] Besides the two former punishments, in his body and his purse, he was deprived of the common benefit which all men had who did not like their wives ; which was to sue out a divorce. Here Maimonides calls upon his readers to admire the wise ordination of God, which appears in his judgments, as well as his works. For because this man took away his wife's reputation, therefore God ordered him to be rendered vile, by being whipped : and because he basely contrived to save her dowry of fifty shekels, he ordered him to be amerced as much more : and because he indulged his lust, and sought nothing but his pleasure, therefore he was bound to keep her as long as she lived (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49).

Ver. 20. *But if this thing be true,*] If the witnesses which appeared for her could not prove the falsity of their testimony who appeared against her.

Ver. 21. *Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house,*] Where she was to be punished, as a disgrace to her parents, who had taken no better care to preserve her chastity while she lived with them.

And the men of her city shall stone her] This was the punishment of such adulteresses, except only of a priest's daughter, who, if she was guilty of this crime, was burnt alive (Lev. xxi. 19). And it plainly shows he speaks here of a woman corrupted between the time of her espousals and her husband's completing the marriage : otherwise he could not have had this capital action against her, none being put to death for simple fornication. And this Maimonides saith, in Seder Zeraim, that, from Moses to his time, it was never doubted, the woman he here speaks of was one that proved false to her husband after she was contracted to him.

Because she hath wrought folly] A great wickedness ; as the word *folly* signifies in Scripture, and as the Vulgar translates it.

To play the whore in her father's house.] Where she remained after her espousals, as in a safe place, till her husband brought her home to his own house.

unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her ;

24 Then shall ye bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die ; the damsel, because she cried not, *being in the city* ; and the man, because he hath humbled his neighbour's wife : so thou shalt put away evil from among you.

25 ¶ But if a man find a betrothed damsel in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her : then the man only that lay with her shall die :

26 But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing ; *there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death* :

Put evil away] See ch. xix. 19.

Ver. 22.] It is not said what death, either here, or Lev. xx. 10. But the Jews say they were to be strangled : which is an opinion so settled among them, that Buxtorf saith he never saw any Hebrew book which assigned any other punishment for adultery but this. Stoning, indeed, was the punishment of her that, after her espousals, played the whore (as was noted before) between that time and her marriage : but after the marriage was completed, if she were guilty of this crime, this was the only punishment, according to their tradition (see upon Lev. xx. 10. and Buxtorf. De Sponsal. et Divortii, p. 32, 33. and Grotius, in John viii. 5).

Ver. 23. *If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed to an husband.*] But not yet known by him : for there was generally some space between the espousals and the bringing her home to her husband's house. And the time allowed was, more or less, according to her age (see Selden, lib. ii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 8).

A man find her in the city, and lie with her ;] If he lay with her anywhere else, the crime was the same ; but it was not so easy to corrupt her in her father's house, or among her friends, where she remained till the completion of the marriage, as it was to do it abroad in the city, or in the field.

Ver. 24. *Ye shall bring them both out unto the gate*] That is, to the court of judgment, which sat there ; as I noted upon xvi. 18.

Ye shall stone them] After they had been sentenced to this death by the court.

The damsel, because she cried not, Which was a demonstration she was not forced, but lay with him by consent.

Being in the city ;] Where the neighbors might have heard her cry ; and the force, if there had been any, prevented.

The man, because he hath humbled his neighbour's wife :] For so she was by such a contract, as made her only his. This is supposed to be the case of the woman taken in adultery, mentioned John viii. 5. (see my notes upon Lev. xx. 10).

So thou shalt put away evil] See ver. 21, 22.

Ver. 25. *If a man find a betrothed damsel in the field,*] Where nobody was near, as in the city.

And the man force her.] It was presumed, by the circumstances of the place, that she did not consent, but was under a force ; as she also affirmed, and he could not prove the contrary.

Then the man only—shall die :] Because he only was guilty of a crime, as it follows in the next words.

Ver. 26. *But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing ;*] To make her liable to suffer death : for it was her misfortune, as we speak, not her fault, that she was ravished.

For as when a man riseth against his neighbour,] He not being able to defend himself.

for as when a man riseth against his neighbour, and slayeth him, even so is this matter :

27 For he found her in the field, and the betrothed damsel cried, and *there was none to save her.*

28 ¶ If a man find a damsel *that is a virgin*, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found ;

Even so is this matter :] It is here observed by many (particularly by Grotius and De Dieu) that chastity is equal unto life.

Ver. 27. *For he found her in the field,*] Far distant from all company.

The betrothed damsel cried,] For help, as she affirmed, and as it was presumed ; because, if she had consented, some other place might have been found, more convenient for their purpose than the field.

There was none to save her.] None appeared to rescue her, as she desired.

Ver. 28. *If a man find—a virgin,*] In the field, before mentioned.

Which is not betrothed,] To a husband.

And lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found ;] There be witnesses of it ; or they themselves confess it. This case is different from that in Exod. xxii. 16, 17, in many respects. For that law speaks of one that was drawn in to consent to the man's lying with her by enticing words (which is expressly there mentioned), and fair promises, perhaps, of marriage ; but here Moses speaks of one that "laid hold of her," i. e. deflowered her by force and violence. In this case the man was bound to marry her, if she and her father pleased (for both their consents were required, though the man that deflowered her could not refuse) ; but in the former case the man himself might choose whether he would marry or not, which he could not refuse in this ; and besides, was bound to pay *fifty shekels*, as a mulct upon him for the crime, as follows in the next verse (see Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 16.)

Ver. 29. *Then the—man shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver,*] Here is another difference between this case and that in Exodus ; where the man was bound to settle a dowry upon her ; but here to pay a fine unto her father. The reason is plain ; because there was no need of settling a dowry in this case as in the former ; for the dowry was settled upon her in that case, lest the husband might lightly and wantonly put her away by divorce, and she have nothing to maintain her ; of which there was no danger here, because this law saith expressly, in the conclusion of this verse, that "he may not put her away all his days." Yet there are those who think it likely, that in this case also he settled a dowry of *fifty shekels* upon her, besides what he paid to her father ; for otherwise the condition of a virgin deflowered by force, was worse than hers deflowered by her own consent.

They have some exceptions concerning this pay-

29 Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father *fifty shekels* of silver, and she shall be his wife ; because he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days.

30 ¶ A man shall not take his father's wife, nor discover his father's skirt.

ment to her father, which are not very material, nor certain. But this is considerable, that this fine was the same whether the woman was of noble or of mean parentage, neither more nor less was paid by the law. But in aftertimes, the Sanhedrin, they tell us, added some other mulcts besides this here mentioned ; because it seemed so small, that the honor of a virgin was not thought sufficiently repaired by it. Therefore, he that enticed a virgin paid other two ; one for the shame and dishonor he had done her ; and the other for the loss of her virginity, and vitiating her body. And he that forced a virgin paid a third besides these two, upon the account of the pain unto which he was supposed to have put her. And in these three they proportioned the penalties to the quality of the person, and other considerations, which made them vary (see Selden, in the forenamed place, p. 123).

She shall be his wife ;] Though she were blind, or lame, or leprous, he could not refuse her, if she and her father required him to marry her.

He may not put her away all his days.] This was a third part of his punishment for the force he had committed, that he should be forced not only to take her to wife, but constrained also to keep her as long as she lived, and not have the liberty of giving her a bill of divorce, as other men might do, who were desirous to part with their wives.

If it be asked, how it could be known whether she was enticed or forced ; they answer, as was observed before, that it was reasonably presumed that he forced her, if the thing was done in the field, or in a place far from inhabitants ; but if in the city or town, that she consented, unless the contrary was evidently proved.

Ver. 30. *A man shall not take his father's wife,*] That is, shall not marry her.

Nor discover his father's skirt,] Nor so much as lie with her. For this is a modest phrase, borrowed from the ancient custom in those countries ; where the bridegroom, when he brought his bride into the *chuppa*, as they called it, or *bridal chamber*, spread the skirt of his robe over her, to signify his right to her and power over her, and that he alone might lawfully enjoy her (Ruth iii. 9. Ezek. xvi. 8).

And this verse seems to me to be here inserted as a short memorandum, that they should be careful to observe all the laws which he had delivered against incestuous marriages in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus (see there, ver. 8. and xx. 11).

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 Who may or may not enter into the congregation. 9 Uncleaness to be avoided in the host. 15 Of the fugitive servant. 17 Of filthiness. 18 Of abominable sacrifices. 19 Of usury. 21 Of vows. 24 Of trespasses.

1 He that is wounded in the stones, or hath his privy member cut off, shall not enter into the congregation of the LORD.

2 A bastard shall not enter into the congre-

gation of the LORD; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the LORD.

3 An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter

CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *He that is wounded in the stones,*] bruised or compressed in those parts; as the manner was of making eunuchs, who are here spoken of, and were sometimes made that way when they were infants; or by taking them quite away; which was done in some when they were grown up. And there were those who had none of these parts left remaining; as it follows in the next words.

Or hath his privy member cut off,] In whole, or in part; which was not used till they found the other did not effectually answer their purpose in this unnatural practice. Wherein some thought they honored their gods, particularly Cybele, the mother of the gods, unto whose service her priests devoted themselves by cutting off their genitals. So not only Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and several other of the ancient Christian writers testify, but many also of the pagan (see Joh. Geusius De Victimis Humanis, par. ii. cap. 1).

Shall not enter into the congregation] These persons were so much abhorred by some among the pagans, that Lucian saith they were excluded not only from the schools of philosophers, but, which was more, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ περιβασιτέρων, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων συλλόγων, "from their holy offices, and their sprinklings, and all common meetings." So Diocles is introduced speaking in his Eunuchus. But nobody thinks this to be the meaning here, that they should not entertain such a person as a proselyte; or that he should not come to worship God at the temple; for that was free for all nations if they renounced idolatry. But the meaning of this law is, either to forbid the Israelites to marry with such persons, or not to admit them to bear any office in the Jewish commonwealth. The Hebrew doctors generally take it in the first sense: see Selden, De Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. v. cap. 16. and so do a great many among Christian writers. And there is an eminent example of the use of this phrase in this sense, Neh. xiii. 1—3. But some think it was superfluous to forbid this, because none would marry with such persons as were incapable to perform the marriage duty; and therefore they follow the second sense, it being certain that the Hebrew word *kahal*, congregation, signifies in many places, not the whole body of the people of Israel, but the great assembly of elders, into which no such person was to be admitted; because they were unfit for government, eunuchs being observed generally to want courage. Thus Simeon De Muis, and others, who seem to have great reason on their side. Yet it is so plain that "the congregation of the Lord," in the following part of this chapter, signifies the people of Israel, who might not marry with the persons mentioned, ver. 2, 3, 8, that I cannot but think it ought to be so interpreted here. For though such marriages were useless and unprofitable, as Maimonides speaks, yet they made a distinction between those who were made eunuchs by God (that is, born so) and those made by men:

and this law, they say, is not to be understood of the former, but only of the latter. Some of which, it is certain, were left in such a condition, that they were desirous of marriage, as appears by the constitution of the Emperor Leo, who did not think it superfluous to forbid marriage with them. For it appears by it, that some women choose such husbands. See also Eccles. xxx. 20, but especially the book ascribed to St. Basil, De Vera Virginitate, tom. i. p. 719, &c. where there is too free a description of the unextinguishable lust of such eunuchs as were only deprived τῶν διδύμων, whose company he charges virgins to avoid, not only because they hoped to corrupt them without danger of discovery, but were insatiable in their desires. And on the other side, though they were unfit for marriage, yet it appears by many instances in history, that they were not unfit for government, nor wanted courage for the greatest undertakings. I need only refer the reader for this to Xenophon's Cyropædia, lib. vii.

They that follow allegorical senses free themselves from all these difficulties (see Filesacus, lib. i. Selectorum, p. 169, 185). But one cannot think that Moses intended any of these things; though such pious use may be made of his words.

Ver. 2. *A bastard*] The Hebrews do not understand by the word *mamzer*, one that was begotten in simple fornication, out of the state of marriage; but one that was begotten of such persons as the law forbade them to marry, or lie withal, under pain of being *cut off*; viz. those mentioned in the eighteenth of Leviticus. They only except this single case, if a man lay with a menstruous woman, and begat a child of her at that time, it was not a *mamzer*. See Selden, lib. De Successione, in Bona Defuncti, cap. 3. and lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 16, and Wagenseil lately in his very learned Annotation upon Mischna Sotah, cap. 4. sec. 1, where he observes, out of a MS. which he calls very precious (Fitz-Hachajim in Hilcoth Nidda), that *mamzer*, whether male or female, was excluded from the congregation of the Lord. And they were *mamzers* who were born of any woman whom the law prohibited them to have knowledge of; whether it was by violence or by consent, by error or advisedly, it made no difference.

Shall not enter into the congregation] Nor marry with an Israelite. So all the doctors, none excepted, expound it, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Successione in Pontific. cap. 2. p. 209. If any man of Israel married such a woman, or any woman of Israel married such a man, and they were found in bed together after espousals, they were both whipped, for violating this precept. But if they lay together without any espousals, this punishment was not inflicted on them.

Even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation] That is, *never*, as the Hebrew doctors expound it. And Maimonides (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49), gives this reason for it, that people might be deterred from such marriages or conjunctions, which would leave an indelible blot upon their pos-

into the congregation of the LORD; even to their tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the LORD for ever:

4 Because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when ye came forth out of Egypt; and because they hired against thee

terity. And, indeed, some heathens anciently put such a mark of infamy upon mere bastards, as to prohibit both males and females to come to their sacred offices. Such a law there was at Athens, mentioned by Isæus; as Casaubon observes upon Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 6. p. 410.

There were some also of these *manzers*, who were not manifestly born of such incestuous, or other forbidden mixtures, but were called dubious, because their fathers were not known, or being exposed, and found in the fields, or the streets, neither father nor mother was known. Yet it being uncertain whence they were descended, the Israelites might not marry with them, for fear they should be polluted by those who, perhaps, were born of incestuous parents. But proselytes of justice, they say, might marry with *manzers*; and that they might not for ever be excluded from the congregation of the Lord, they contrived this remedy for the restitution of their blood. They might marry a slave (who was baptized and become a Jew), whose children were not reputed *manzers*, but only slaves: who, being made Jews, and having their freedom given them, might lawfully marry with a Jewish woman; and then they were entirely incorporated into the congregation of the Lord: for proles sequitur matrem, "the issue follows the mother" (as that MS. of Wagenseil hath it, p. 565), and there was no regard had to the father.

Ver. 3. *An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to their tenth generation*] These last words for ever, in this verse, the Jews think warrant them to interpret those words *to the tenth generation*, in the foregoing verse, as if he said, *never*. It is certain, indeed, that Moses intended to exclude the Moabites and Ammonites from marrying with the Jews for ever; for so Nehemiah understood him when he quoted this law, xiii. 1. as a reason against the Israelites' marriages with them in his time, when more than *ten generations* were past. But then these words, *for ever*, being omitted in the foregoing verse, where he speaks of *manzers*, it seems reasonable that they should not be so interpreted; but that, after ten generations were past, all distinction between them and others should be abolished. This, one would have expected, should have been the sense of those who examine every word so nicely as the Jews do: for here being mention made only of an Ammonite and Moabite, that is, of the males of these two nations, they will not have their women concerned in this law: but say, that an Israelite might take one of them to wife, if she embraced their religion. For thus they expound this whole matter of marriages with proselytes of justice; that is, such of other nations as became entirely of the Jews' religion. With such proselytes of some nations, whether men or women, the Israelites were never to make any marriages: with those of some other nations, they were prohibited only to marry with their men: with others, they were prohibited to marry only for some generations; and there were others, with whom they might marry as soon as they were made perfect proselytes. Of the first kind were the seven nations of Canaan, mentioned Deut. vii. 1, with the males or females of which they might never contract an affinity. To the second kind belong the Ammonites and Moabites; to whose males an Israelitish woman

Balaam the son of Beor of Pethor of Mesopotamia, to curse thee.

5 Nevertheless the LORD thy God would not hearken unto Balaam; but the LORD thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee, because the LORD thy God loved thee.

was forbid by this precept to marry: but a man of Israel might marry any of their women, after they professed the Jewish religion; otherwise David, who descended from Ruth, a Moabitess, had been illegitimate. Of the third kind were the Edomites and Egyptians; with whom and with their children, the Israelites might not marry; but their grandchildren might. And of the fourth kind were all other nations besides these mentioned. This is an abridgment of what our great Selden hath more largely shown to be the sense of the Jews, in his fifth book *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* &c. cap. 14, which another excellent person, J. Christoph. Wagenseil hath confirmed, out of his inestimable MS. as he calls *Etz-Ichajim*, in *Hilcoth Nidda*, cap. 10 (see *Excerpt. Gem.* in *Sota*, cap. 1. p. 143).

Ver. 4. *Because they met you not with bread and with water*] This seems to belong to the Ammonites, who had no compassion towards the Israelites, when they were distressed in the wilderness; but, though they were near of kin to them, did not show them that civility which is commonly expressed to mere strangers in their travels (*Gen. xiv. 18. xviii. 2. 31. xix. 1, 2*). We do not find any mention of this barbarity of theirs in the foregoing history; but we read how kind God ordered the Israelites to be to them, in not meddling with them, much less distressing them, as they passed by their country (*Deut. ii. 19*). Which aggravated their inhumanity in not vouchsafing this common kindness to the Israelites, of giving them the refreshment of bread and water as they went by them.

Because they hired against thee Balaam] As the foregoing passage peculiarly refers to the Ammonites, so this doth to the Moabites; who, with the assistance of the Midianites, invited Balaam, by the promise of a great reward, to come from the eastern country and curse the Israelites (see *Numb. xxii. 5—7*). For these two reasons God laid this prohibition upon his people; in which Maimonides observes the Divine justice in proportioning punishments to offences. For Amalek coming out against the Israelites, when they were newly come forth from Egypt, to cut them off with the sword, God commanded their memory to be blotted out (*xxv. 19*), but the Ammonites being only basely covetous, and the Moabites acting against them only by craft, and not by force, God inflicted no other punishment upon them but this, that his people should avoid all affinity with them, and show no love to them (*More Nevochim*, par. iii. cap. 41). And the MS. author of *Etz-Ichajim*, mentioned by Wagenseil, in the place forenamed, makes this the ground of the distinction mentioned before between the males and females of those countries: "Their males (saith he) might never marry with an Israelitish woman; but, by a tradition delivered down to us from Moses in Mount Sinai, we hold, that the women of those countries (if they embraced the Jewish religion) might be married to a man of Israel. For the women must be thought, in all reason, not to have been guilty, as the men were, of that which was the reason of this law, it not being the custom for women to bring out bread and water to travellers; nor did they send any ambassadors to hire Balaam to come and curse the Israelites." Accordingly we find Ruth, who was a Moabitess, married to Boaz, the ancestor of David.

Ver. 5.] Balaam, indeed, did not curse the Israel-

6 Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever.

7 ¶ Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a stranger in his land.

8 The children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the Lord in their third generation.

9 ¶ When the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing.

ites as the Moabites desired, and he intended; but no thanks were owing to him for that: but it was to be ascribed to the love of God to his people, who constrained him against his will, to bless them.

Ver. 6.] By entering into any league with them, much less by taking them into conjugal society: but on the contrary, they were to look upon them as dangerous enemies; who, being near their neighbors, would watch all opportunities to ensnare or disturb them.

Some of the Jews would have this to be an exception to the general rule, xx. 10, that they might not offer them terms of peace, as they were bound to do to all men, but the seven nations of Canaan: though, if they desired peace, they were bound, they say, to grant it, (see Schickard, in his Mischpat Haimmelech, p. 118). But Grotius hath well observed, upon Matt. v. 43, that God did not give the Jews any right to their country (as appears from Deut. ii. 19), and therefore the meaning here is, that they should not make any league with them of mutual assistance, which they called *sadera*, *συμμαχίας*.

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite;*] So as never to enter into the society of marriage with them, they being a circumcised people.

He is thy brother;] Nearer of kin to them than the Ammonites and Moabites; Esau their father being the twin brother of Jacob. And so Moses calls them, when he delivers God's command to the Israelites not to meddle with them, Deut. ii. 8, "We passed by from our brethren the children of Esau," &c. Here it may be observed, that the word *brother* comprehended more than the Israelites, as our Saviour shows the word *neighbor* did, Luke x. 29, &c.

Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian;] That is, the Egyptians in a sore famine sustained them, their children, flocks, and herds, very kindly; the memory of which benefit God would not have forgotten, though in future generations they were cruelly oppressed by them.

Ver. 8. When they had been proselytes for three generations, it was lawful to marry with them. Nay, some of the Jews are so liberal here of their kindness, as to understand by *banin*, not *children* in general, but *sons*, with whom only marriage is forbidden till the third generation; marriage with their daughters being lawful, as they think, as soon as they turned complete proselytes. Upon which account Solomon took Pharaoh's daughter to wife. See Selden. lib. 5. De Jure Nat. et. Gent. cap. 14, 15. where he observes, that all this held good only till the captivity of Babylon, when, all these nations being confused, they might marry with any of them if they became Jews. For wars, and colonies, and deportations, had made such a mixture of people, that one could not be known from another. This Wagenseil hath lately confirmed out of several Hebrew authors, whom Mr. Selden did not trouble himself to mention; and particularly out of the MS. Etz-Hachajim, which he most highly commends (see p. 149, upon Sota). They

10 ¶ If there be among you any man, that is not clean by reason of uncleanness that chanceth him by night, then shall he go abroad out of the camp, he shall not come within the camp:

11 But it shall be, when evening cometh on, he shall wash *himself* with water: and when the sun is down, he shall come into the camp *again*.

12 ¶ Thou shalt have a place also without the camp, whither thou shalt go forth abroad:

13 And thou shalt have a paddle upon thy weapon; and it shall be, when thou wilt ease

all agree, likewise, that none of these laws extended to proselytes, who might marry with any of these nations (see Selden, ib. cap. 18).

Ver. 9. This was a rule to be observed at all times; but then especially, when they had the greatest need of the Divine help (for which wicked people could not reasonably hope), and when there was the greatest danger of being wicked, in a time of such license as soldiers commonly take. There is a sentence very like this in Agathias, lib. ii. (mentioned by Grotius towards the conclusion of his Prolegomena to the book De Jure Belli et Pacis, 'Αδικία γὰρ καὶ Θεοῦ ἀθετησιμὴν φερέτω μὴ αἰεὶ καὶ ἀνυπόφορα, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ προσπολεμῶν καὶ παραστῆσαι. "Injustice and neglect of God's service are ever to be avoided as most pernicious; but especially in a time of war, and when men are upon the point of giving battle." Which he proves elsewhere, by the illustrious examples of Darius, Xerxes, and the Athenians in Sicily.

Ver. 10. *If there be among you any man, that is not clean, &c.*] This seems to be only one instance of uncleanness, from which they were to keep themselves carefully; though it was no moral impurity, nor a voluntary pollution. By which it was easy for them to understand how watchful they were to be over themselves, in all other cases, especially such as had an inward turpitude in them.

Then shall he go abroad out of the camp,] There is no such thing required before in Lev. xv. 16. where the same pollution is mentioned. The reason, I suppose, was, that he speaks there of what happened to them in their own houses; where they had private chambers, into which they might retire, and keep themselves from defiling others: but here, of those that were abroad in the army, where it was hard to keep their fellow-soldiers from touching them, without removing out of the camp.

He shall not come within the camp;] This some understand, particularly Drusius, of not coming within the camp of God, and of the Levites, that is, to the tabernacle: but it seems to be an exclusion of him from the whole camp of Israel, as I have expounded it.

Ver. 11.] See Lev. xv. 16. The end of all this, as Maimonides observes, More Novochim, par. iii. cap. 61. was, that every man might have this fixed in his mind, that their camp ought to be as the sanctuary of God (into which every one knows no man might enter in his uncleanness), and not like the camps of the gentiles, in which all manner of corruption, filthiness, rapines, thefts, and other wickednesses, were freely committed.

Ver. 12.] A place distant from all company; where they might ease themselves, as it is explained in the next verse. For natural modesty directed all men on such occasions to seek privacy; and it tended, as all cleanliness doth, to the preservation of health: which was one reason of ordering them to find a place without the camp, that there might be no offensive smell

thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back and cover that which cometh from thee:

14 For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall

among them. And hereby, as Maimonides observes, they were distinguished from brute beasts, which commonly ease themselves anywhere, and before any body. But, besides all this, Moses himself gives us the principal reason of this command, peculiarly respecting the Israelites (ver. 14).

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt have a paddle*] An instrument wherewith to dig up the ground, and cover it again; Epiphanius, *Hæres. lxxvii.* calls it *πάσσαλον σιδήρεον*, "an iron paddle."

Upon thy weapon] Their sword, I suppose.

When thou wilt ease thyself abroad] It was not in their choice when they would do this, but when their needs required: yet the Jews will have it, that they were to accustom themselves to do this business in the morning, as soon as they were up. Thus the Jews at this day (as Leo Modena tells us, in his history of them, par. i. ch. 6), afterward washing their hands, that they may go clean to their prayers.

Thou shalt dig therewith] A hole in the ground.

Cover that which cometh from thee] That there might be no appearance nor scent of it remaining. This is still practised by the Caribbeans; among whom there is never any such thing as ordure seen. So the authors of the History of the Caribbee Islands tell us, book ii. ch. 14. where they observe, also, out of Busbequius, that the Turks use the same cleanliness in their camps, making a hole with a piece of iron, wherein they bury their excrements. And in this matter the Essenes were extremely superstitious: for, as Josephus relates, they would not ease themselves at all on the sabbath-day, because they looked upon it as a labor to dig in the earth, and excrements not fit to be seen on that day.

Ver. 14. *For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp*] At this time the ark, which was the token of the Divine presence, was settled in the midst of their camp; and, whithersoever they moved, was carried along with them; two standards going before, and two following, and the ark between them in the midst, as appears from the tenth of Numbers. It is likely, also, that it was carried in aftertimes in the midst of them, when they went to war; as some think it was when they went against the Midianites (Numb. xxxi. 6), and when they compassed Jericho. Now this presence of God among them was the reason why no uncleanness, though in itself natural, might be found in their camp; but, out of reverence to the Divine Majesty, which dwelt between the cherubims over the ark, be removed afar off. And by such actions as these, Maimonides well observes, God intended to strengthen and confirm the faith of the soldiers, that God, dwelling among them, would go along with them, and fight for them against their enemies, as it here follows, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41. And thus Abarbanel discourses upon these words: "The camps of the Israelites ought to be holy, having a special providence of God among them: for they do not make war by mere human power and courage, but by the power of God and of his Spirit, on which they depend for deliverance from all evil, and victory over their enemies," &c.

To deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee] This is the constant sense of this phrase, "of God's being in the midst of them," to defend, protect, and deliver them from all evil, as I observed before

thy camp be holy: that he see no unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee.

15 ¶ Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee:

16 He shall dwell with thee, even among you,

(see Deut. vii. 21. Josh. iii. 10. Psal. xlv. 6. Zach. iii. 15). Now this cleanliness being commanded with respect to the Divine presence, which dwelt among them, the Jews are strangely mistaken in using such superstitions as they do in every place, when they have no such presence of the Divine Majesty in the midst of them (see Schickard in Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 5. Theor. 18. p. 144, &c.).

Therefore shall thy camp be holy] Free from all manner of defilements, though they be only of this sort.

That he see no unclean thing in thee] In these words, saith Maimonides (in the place before named), he deters them from fornication; which is far worse than the forementioned uncleanness; but too common among the soldiers, when they are absent from their own homes. And, therefore, that he might keep them from such impurities, he commands them such actions (he means covering their ordure) as might call to their minds the glorious majesty of God which dwelt among them. But though the Hebrew word, which we here translate *unclean thing*, properly signifies *nakedness*, and all those impure mixtures mentioned in the eighteenth of Leviticus, and therefore by Maimonides particularly applied to such uncleanness; yet Mr. Selden hath well observed, that it signifies all manner of filthiness; and therefore is well so translated by us, both here and in the next chapter, where he speaks of the matter of divorce.

And so it is used by the prophet Nahum, iii. 5 (to name no more), where the *nakedness* of Nineveh, which God saith he would show to all nations, signifies all the murders, robberies, deceit, and other great wickedness, which abounded in that city (see Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 23). And thus Abarbanel here extends it to all the horrid sins which were usually committed in the camps of idolaters.

Turn away from thee] As princes are wont to do, when they see any thing offensive to them. And the meaning is, he would not deliver them from their enemies (as he promised before), but give them up into their hands. I conclude all this matter with the words of R. Zacharias, in Pirke Eliczer, cap. 44, "The pillar of the cloud (in which the glory of the Lord dwelt) encompassed the camps of Israel round about, and made them like a city girt about with a wall, that no enemy might assault them. But this cloud threw all uncleanness out of the camps of Israel, for they were holy:" and he quotes this place for it.

Ver. 15.] The Hebrew doctors understand this of a servant of another nation who was become a Jew. Whom his master, if he went to dwell out of Judea, might not carry along with him against his will; and if he fled from him, when he had carried him, he might not be delivered to him, but suffered to dwell in the land of Israel. Which they understand also of a servant that fled from his master out of any of the countries of the gentiles into the land of Israel; which was to be a safe refuge to him (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Hebr. cap. 8, p. 711).

Ver. 16. *He shall dwell with thee*] Having embraced the Jewish religion.

In that place which he shall choose] He was not to be abridged of his liberty, but permitted to settle himself where he pleased, in any part of their country.

in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.

17 ¶ There shall be no whore of the daugh-

Thou shalt not oppress him.] For there was an express law against all manner of injuries or hardships put upon strangers (Lev. xix. 33, 34).

Ver. 17. *There shall be no whore—nor a sodomite*] or a *whoremonger* of the sons of Israel; as the last part of the verse may be translated, with the same reason that the foregoing words are translated, *no whore* of the daughters of Israel. So Bonfrerius truly observes, and so the Vulgar Latin and the LXX. translate it, and several other versions mentioned by Mr. Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 23. p. 487. Which sort of persons Moses would not have to be tolerated among the Israelites, as they were among the Egyptians; many of which, if we may believe Sextus Empiricus, were so far from thinking it a reproach for women to prostitute themselves, that they looked upon it as honorable, and gloried in it, τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἑταίρειν, &c. παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκκληίς, &c. (lib. iii. Pyr. Hypot. cap. 24. p. 152).

“And great reason there was for this prohibition, because by whoredom families are confounded and destroyed (as Maimonides observes); and their issues are looked upon by all men as aliens; so that none will own them as their kindred, and their neighbours become strangers to them; than which nothing can be worse for them, and for their parents. For which cause (saith he) all public stewes were disallowed among the Israelites; who had this benefit by it, among others, that many brawls and quarrels, fightings and bloodshed, were prevented; which frequently happened, when several men were assembled at the same time, contending for the same woman. For so the Scripture saith, Jer. v. 7. ‘They assemble by troops in the harlots’ houses.’ For the preventing of these and such-like mischiefs, and that the distinction of families might be preserved, both whores and whoremongers, are here condemned; and no other conjunction permitted, but with a man’s own wife, publicly married. For, if a private marriage had been sufficient, many would have kept women in their houses as their whores, and pretended they were their wives. Therefore, after a man had privately espoused a woman, he was bound publicly to keep his wedding.” Thus that great man, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49, and see Selden, lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disc. Hebr. cap. 4. p. 554.

How much more abominable then were such persons as prostituted their bodies in honour of Venus and of Priapus, and such-like filthy deities! of which sort there were both males and females consecrated to such impure services! and this practised even in the days of Moses; as appears from the history of those who committed fornication with the daughters of Moab, who exposed themselves in honor of Baal-Peor; for their lying with them was accounted idolatry. And such there were at last among the Israelites, as appears from 1 Kings xiv. 24. 2 Kings xxiii. where we read, that “the houses of the sodomites” (as we translate it) were by “the house of the Lord.” Which shows they were not vulgar, but consecrated Sodomites, or whoremongers. I need not mention the heathen writers, who tell us this was a piece of religion among them. See our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. De Leg. Hebr. Ritual. cap. 22, and Heideggerus, in his Histor. Patriarch, exercit. i. sect. 2, where he observes, a great many very learned men understand this very place, not merely of vulgar whores, but of such as I have mentioned; which were famous in ancient

ters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel.

18 Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the house of the Lord

times among the Phœnicians, Babylonians, and other nations, whom Strabo calls ἱεροδούλους, lib. viii. Geograph. where he saith (p. 378), that at Corinth there was a temple so richly endowed, that it maintained πλείους ἢ χιλιάς ἱεροδούλων ἑταίρας, “above a thousand of these consecrated whores:” whom both men and women had dedicated to the goddess, Οἱ γὰρ ναυκληροὶ ραδίως ἐξανάλισκονται, “for seafaring men (who arrived in great numbers at this port) parted with their money easily.” And, lib. xii. speaking of Comana, he saith, there were a multitude of women there, τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ σώματος, “who maintained themselves by prostituting their bodies;” and most of them were ἱεραὶ “sacred persons:” this city being a little Corinth, to which great numbers of people resorted at their festivals, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱεραῶν αἱ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἦσαν ἱεραὶ, “because of the multitude of harlots which were here sacred to Venus,” p. 559. And the like account we find in Athenæus, lib. xiii. Deipnos. cap. 6, where he saith, they that went to pray there, were wont, for the obtaining their petitions, to add, that they would bring some women to be devoted unto Venus; as Xenophon the Corinthian did, when he returned conqueror from the Olympics.

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore,*] If such persons, as are mentioned in the foregoing verse, offered unto God what they had got by prostituting their bodies, it was not to be accepted, but rejected, as abominable. For this was a custom among the idolatrous nations, as appears by a great many of their writers; who tell us, they were wont to dedicate some part of that which they received for the use of their bodies at the temples of their pretended deities. Particularly Herodotus mentions it, as done among the ancient Babylonians, lib. i. p. 199. Which explains what we read in Baruch, vi. 42, 43. where see Grotius’s Annotations.

Or the price of a dog,] There was a peculiar reason for this, besides the villeness of this creature (which Maimonides only mentions, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46), which was, as Bochartus, and some other great men think, because a dog was highly honored among the Egyptians, from whom the Israelites were lately come. For the Nile was wont to overflow and enrich their country at the rising of the *dog-star*, and a dog was the symbol of one of their principal deities, called Anubis, who was represented with a head like that of a dog (see Hierozolicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 56. p. 690, &c.). If we can think this vile idolatry was so ancient as the days of Moses, which it is certain prevailed afterward, this may pass for a very likely reason why God would not accept so much as the price for which a dog was sold or exchanged; for so the LXX. expound it: as, for example, if a man gave a lamb for a fine dog, God would not have that lamb offered at his altar; as Maimonides explains it.

For any vow:] There was the greatest obligation laid upon men to make good their vows, wherewith upon any occasion they had bound themselves; but God would have them discharged from such vile obligations as these.

For even both these are abomination unto the Lord] It is hard to give an account why these two (the price of a whore and of a dog) are associated in the same law; unless it be in opposition to some such rites as those before mentioned among the Egyptians. Who,

thy God for any vow: for even both these are abomination unto the Lord thy God.

19 ¶ Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury:

in aftertimes, it is certain, had such harlots sacred to Isis, as many think are spoken of in the beginning of this verse; and a dog was nowhere else sacred as a symbol of Anubis, or Mercury. Though this may be said with some probability, that these two are joined together, because a whore and a dog are both alike impudent. Josephus thinks that the price of a dog here mentioned, was money given, *ἐν ὀφείλῃ χρυσός*, "for the loan of a good dog to breed withal," as Mr. Selden observes in his History of Tithes, p. 57, where he notes, also, that the Jews would not admit the tithes of usury or of war to be offered. But the Talmudists expound it quite otherwise, as I have done, for the price of a dog, either sold or exchanged for some other thing; which the same great man approves of as the truer interpretation (lib. v. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4. p. 557).

Ver. 19. *Not lend upon usury to thy brother;*] i. e. Unto an Israelite (see Exod. xxii. 25. Lev. xxv. 36).

Usury of money,] Here the word *nesech* is used for all sorts of usury; whether that which was made by the loan of money, called here *nesech ceseph*, or that which was made by the loan of food, and such-like things, called *nesech okel*. But, commonly, there are two words used to express this matter, viz. *nesech*, *usury*, and *tarbith*, which we translate *increase*. Which are not two kinds of usury, one more griping, the other more moderate, as some have conceived; for the same usury is called *nesech* with respect to the debtor, to whom it is grievous, and *tarbith* to the creditor, to whom it is beneficial (see Salmasius, in his book De Usuris, cap. 7. p. 188). Yet there is some difference between *nesech* and *tarbith*; else one cannot tell why they are so often both mentioned in the same place. And *nesech* properly signifies the interest, as we speak, which was paid for money; and *tarbith*, the interest of corn, and other fruits of the earth; as the same author shows in that book (cap. 20. p. 614, &c.). And in the next book (De Modo Usurarii) he shows, that, as the LXX. and R. Levi ben Gerson thus understood the difference, so do the ancient fathers, particularly Origen and St. Jerome (cap. 8. p. 320, &c.).

Ver. 20. *Unto a stranger*] One that was not an Israelite, whether he dwelt out of their land, or in it; if he were not a proselyte to the law; of whom they might not take any usury, but use him as a brother.

Thou mayest lend upon usury;] Some of the Jews would have this to be an affirmative precept, obliging them to make the usury of a gentile, if they lent him any money. For this Maimonides quotes a passage out of Sipuri; which others say he mistook. See J. Wagenseil, in his Annotations upon Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 598. where he shows that he was of this cruel opinion. But this is not the common sense of the Jews, and their wise men have been so modest also as to decree, That though their law did here permit them to take usury of a gentile, yet they were not to practise it, unless it were that they might provide for themselves, that they might live more safely among the gentiles. And they add this reason for this limitation: Lest the Jews by this way of commerce and traffic, should grow too familiar with the gentiles, and learn their manners: only men that studied the law, and thereby were out of danger of being enticed to their religion, might freely lend them money upon usury; for this very end, as they think, that

20 Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it.

they might make a gain of it, and enrich themselves. See Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 10. where he observes, that the Mahometans forbid usury only among themselves, not to strangers. Which Salmasius shows is thus limited in the Alcoran by these words, "in their own territories." That is, if Mahometans live among Christians, they may take usury of them; but of Christians who live among them they may not take any, no more than of a Mussulman, as they call themselves.

Unto thy brother thou shalt not lend] He repeats this again, that they might not fail to be kind one to another in this matter. And the author of Etz-Hachajim, mentioned by Wagenseil, saith, according to their ancient doctors, this is six times forbidden in the law, not to take usury of their brethren (p. 601. upon Sota). And, indeed, as there was nothing more rational than this, that their neighbors making great gain by merchandise (such as the Sidonians, Tyrians, and those that lived upon the Red Sea, and the Egyptians), they should not borrow money of the Israelites for nothing; so it was no less reasonable the Israelites themselves, whose chiefest profit was by husbandry and breeding of cattle, should have money lent them freely by one another, without any interest, their land not being a country of traffic, whereby money might be improved, as in other countries. For, by the laws of other nations (as Grotius observes on Luke vi. 45), that usury was odious which was practised upon husbandmen. Abarbinel also is so tender in this point, as to say, that usury hath something in it so unequal (at least as it is commonly practised), that God did not permit the Israelites to exercise it among all their neighbors, but only upon those of the seven nations of Canaan. And thus far he is in the right, that every one who was not a Jew, was not to be deemed a stranger: an Edomite, for instance, is called their *brother* in the seventh verse of this chapter; and, therefore, this precept, "thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother," is to be extended to Edomites. In like manner, saith he, neither do the Ishmaelites come under the name of strangers, nor other people but those of the seven nations. And this opinion Leo Modena follows in his History of the present Jews, par. ii. cap. 5. where he saith, by the word *stranger*, in this place, none other can be meant but only those seven nations, from whom God commanded them to take away even their lives. And that it is only their present distress, in which they have no other way of livelihood left, that makes them think it lawful to lend upon usury to those among whom they live. In which I think he is mistaken; though this doctrine is better natured than that of some of the Jews, who are so full of hatred to us Christians, whom they call Edomites, that they deprive us (as Wagenseil observes in the place above named) of the name of *brethren*, and think it lawful to oppress us with usury. Of which number are R. Bechaia, and the author of the old Nitzaeon, set forth by Wagenseil (ancienter than that of Lipman's, set forth by Theodoric Hackspan), who was so full of malignity, that he shut his eyes against the light which he plainly saw. For he could not deny that the Edomites were their brethren; and, consequently, that Moses required the Jews not to take usury of them; and that it was anciently unlawful. But then he pretends, that they forfeited this

21 ¶ When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it: for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee; and it would be sin in thee.

22 But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.

23 That which is gone out of thy lips thou

privilege by not coming to help to preserve Jerusalem and the temple from being destroyed, yea, by re-joining at their ruin. And fearing this would not satisfy, he had devised this justification of their usury, that the Edomites have made themselves strangers by the neglect of circumcision (see p. 139).

That the Lord thy God may bless thee] Charity to their poor brethren had many promises of a great reward: and this law was made peculiarly for the relief of such persons, as appears by those places before mentioned, both in Exodus and in Leviticus. It extended indeed to all: but chiefly was intended as a provision for the poor and needy, whom they were not to neglect: for God ordered them to live together as brethren, children of the same father. And indeed they were all, rich and poor, descended from one and the same original. And therefore he designed there should be no indigent person unrelieved among this people, upon whom he had heaped so many blessings; and, delivering them from the slavery of Egypt, had planted them in the good land promised to their fathers. To which purpose all those precepts were given, which require them to lend gratuitously to their poor brother; to restore the pledge left with them; to leave the corners of their fields unreaped; not to gather the gleanings of the harvest and vintage; to observe the year of release and of Jubilee; and such-like peculiar provisions for the comfort of the poorer sort, that they might share in the happiness which God bestowed upon his elect people.

Ver. 21. *When thou shalt vow a vow*] In a thing lawful and possible; and by a person who had power to make, and was not subject to the authority of another who had power to make it void (see Numb. xxx. 2).

Thou shalt not slack to pay it.] Lest they should prove less able, and so be unwilling to perform what they had vowed, or should perhaps forget it. If they lost the thing they vowed, while they delayed, they were bound to give the value of it. Which was one difference between a vow and a freewill-offering; that in the latter case (as Maimonides saith), if that which he designed was stolen or dead, he was not bound to make reparation. The same author applies this to a vow a man made of giving an alms to a poor body, suppose a shekel, which he was to bestow immediately, if any poor body was at hand; if not, he was to separate it, and lay it by till he met with one, &c. (cap. 8. De Donis Pauperum, sect. 1).

For the Lord—will surely require it] Demand that which thou hast made to be his own.

It would be sin in thee.] Be punished by God's just judgment upon thee for the wrong thou hast done him.

Ver. 22. *But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.*] God was so very merciful, as Maimonides observes, that if a man was not able to offer him an ox, or a lamb, he accepted of turtles and young pigeons, of which there was great plenty in that country. And if this was beyond his ability, but he had a desire to testify his affection to God by a freewill-offering, he was pleased to accept an oblation of bread baked in an oven, or pan, or any other usual way. And if this was too heavy, he accepted of bare flour, without putting him to the charge of baking it. For

shalt keep and perform; *even* a freewill offering, according as thou hast vowed unto the Lord thy God, which thou hast promised with thy mouth.

24 ¶ When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put *any* in thy vessel.

he would have men to be easy in his service, and all their offerings to be free and cheerful; and therefore tells them here, that if they vowed nothing at all to him, he would not take it ill of them, nor impute it to them as a sin (More Nevoehim, par. iii. cap. 46).

Ver. 23.] This was to make them consider well beforehand what their ability was, and not rashly resolve and promise any thing: for though they were not bound to vow the smallest matter, yet having once vowed, they were no longer free, but bound to make it good, though it proved very chargeable to them. Yet there is a traditional doctrine among them practised at this day, that if any man or woman make a vow which afterward they wish unmade, and it be not to the prejudice of any third person that it should be broken, in this case they may go to a rabbin, or to any other three men, who hearing their reasons why they repent of having made such a vow, and judging them good, they may free them from their obligation, saying to such a person thrice, *Be thou absolved from this vow*, &c. and so he is discharged. Thus Leo Modena, in his History of the present Jews, par. ii. ch. 4.

Ver. 24. *When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes*] This the Hebrew doctors take to be a law made in favor of poor laborers, who were hired to work in their vineyards in the time of vintage, whom the owners might not hinder from eating as many grapes as they pleased (and the same held good in olives, figs, dates, and all other fruit), as long as they were at work, but not after they had done working. And if their masters would not suffer them so to do, they were to be scourged with forty stripes save one; for it was not reasonable to deny them this liberty, when the very oxen were not to be muzzled whilst they trod out the corn (see Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 670). Which must be confessed to be as good-natured a law, as that of Plato's was harsh and unnatural, which enacted a servant should receive as many stripes as he ate grapes or figs (see Eusebius, lib. xiii. Præpar. Evangel. cap. ult.).

But I see no reason at all to restrain this indulgence only to hirelings, of whom there is no mention at all in this law; and therefore Josephus seems to me to have justly enlarged this benefit (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8) to all travellers on the highway, though they were not Israelites (to whom, and to proselytes of justice alone, the Jews confine this privilege), but mere strangers of any other nation, who had occasion to pass by a vineyard, and needed a refreshment. Which permission may seem to have caused great inconvenience, if not mischief in it, because they might tread down the vines, and make great waste among the grapes. Therefore by "coming into their neighbour's vineyard," is not meant going into every part of it, with a liberty to pick out the best grapes; but only stepping aside out of their way into the skirts of the vineyard, which lay near the road, and satisfying their hunger, without entering further into the vineyard. This made it no damage to the owners, considering the great plenty of fruit in that country.

Thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.] They were only to eat for their present necessity or delight, but not to carry any away with them for the benefit of others, or their own refreshment at another time. And

25 When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbour, then thou mayest pluck the

therefore might not put any in their pouches, or their garments, or bosoms, or so much as carry away in their hands what they could not eat.

Ver. 25. *Thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand;* As the disciples of our Saviour did, when they walked through the corn (Matt. xii. 1), which they might have justified by the strictest rules of the

ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn.

pharisaical doctors, who granted this privilege unto Jews, but not unto gentiles.

But thou shalt not move a sickle] They might not cut down any corn, but only pluck with their hands as much as was necessary to satisfy their hunger, or for their pleasure.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Of divorce.* 5 *A new married man goeth not to war.* 6, 10 *Of pledges.* 7 *Of manstealers.* 8 *Of leprosy.* 14 *The hire is to be given.* 16 *Of justice.* 19 *Of charity.*

1 When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some

uncleanness in her: then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ver. 1. *When a man hath taken a wife, and married her,*] The Hebrew doctors make a difference between these two; understanding by "taking a wife," his espousing her to be his wife; and by "marrying her," his completing the contract, by lying with her.

It come to pass] Either after he hath espoused her, or after he hath consummated the marriage.

That she find no favour in his eyes; i. e. He dislikes her; or, as it is expressed, ver. 3. *hates her.* Which signifies either an absolute dislike to her, or comparatively with some person whom he likes better.

Because he hath found some uncleanness in her:] This is assigned as the reason and ground of his dislike, which signifies something odious to him, though perhaps it might not be so to another, whom Moses supposes she might marry after this husband has discharged her. Some of the Jews, indeed, extend this liberty so far, as to fancy they might, without any reason at all, for their mere pleasure, part with their wives (see Buxtorf. De Sponsal et Divortis, sect. 89). But others are more modest, and acknowledge that these words ["matter of uncleanness"] signify some weighty cause. Yet they distinguish between the first wife a man took, who might not be put away but for some uncleanness, and the second, who might be put away for a lesser reason. But there were great differences between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai (whom the Talmudists so much talk of), about this matter of *uncleanness*: yet both agree it hath a far lower signification here than in the book of Leviticus, where it signifies adultery, incest, or such like turpitude. For if adultery had been here meant, she might have been put to death; or the mere suspicion of it tried by the water of jealousy (see Buxtorf in the book before named, sect. 90. and our Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 20, 21). Abarbinel thinks the two plainest causes of dislike signified by these words, were either such behaviour as might make her suspected of impurity (as going with her face uncovered, or her breast naked; sporting with young men, or washing in the same place with them, or having her arms bare); or, secondly, when they were of such a different temper, humor, and disposition, that they disliked and nauseated each other's company, and, consequently, lived in continual brawls and contentions. And, besides such moral causes, they allowed also such natural as made a woman offensive; viz. leprosy, or some such disease in her body as he did not discover before marriage. And

sometimes they extend this as far as to a stinking breath.

Let him write her a bill of divorcement,] Whatever was the cause of the husband's dislike, this law provides the wife should not be damaged by it, being made rather for her advantage than her husband's; viz. to free her (as Dr. Hammond observes) from the pain and vexation of her husband's unkindness, and the danger of seeing another taken in, and preferred before her; and she might be perfectly at liberty to leave one who did not love her, and take another husband who might possibly delight in her (see answer to Six Queries, q. iii. ch. 2). Some think that this custom of putting away wives which they did not like, prevailed before the law of Moses; which opinion hath something to countenance it, from the mention of divorces in several places (Lev. xxi. 14. xxii. 13. Numb. xxx. 9) before the book of Deuteronomy was written, wherein he orders a bill to be given in writing to discharge them. If this be true, it gives a good reason why God was pleased to grant this permission; because they were so settled in this practice, that it was safer still to indulge it to them, than quite to abolish it. Which he did with this caution, that husbands should not discharge their wives with a word, bidding them be gone out of doors (i. e. putting them away rashly, and in a sudden fit of anger), but first write them a bill containing their pleasure herein. Which being a deliberate act, might possibly hinder this divorce; to which they might be prone in a passion, but not after some consideration. The form of this bill is in Mr. Selden, and exactly scanned, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 21. Who observes also, in another place of that book (cap. 19), that as, for five hundred years or more, the Roman state flourished without the use of divorces, so for seven hundred years after the making of this law, there is no mention of any bill of divorce among the Jews, that is, till the days of Isaiah (see ch. l. 1), and but rarely afterward.

Give it in her hand,] Saying these, or some such like words, "Behold, this is thy bill of divorce;" otherwise it was not good; and there were to be at least two witnesses unto it, as the Jews say. Who make ten things necessary (which they think to be founded upon the law itself) to make the bill legal (see Selden, in the same book, cap. 25).

Send her out of his house.] This Dr. Hammond (in the place above mentioned) looks upon as an obligation upon her husband to furnish her for her journey, to endow her, and make provision for her. For so the word *προπέμπειν*, "to send out," signifies in the

2 And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife.

3 And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and giveth it in her hand, and sendeth her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife;

4 Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after

that she is defiled; for that is abomination before the Lord: and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

5 ¶ When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business: but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken.

New Testament, to provide a *viaticum*, 1 Cor. xvi. 6. 11. Titus iii. 13. where it is explained by "letting nothing be wanting." But the Jews are of opinion, that the divorce was perfect and legitimate before he sent her out of his doors: for it was sufficient to give her a bill in such a form as plainly showed their matrimony was dissolved; and that she was no part of his family, though he had not actually sent her away. Yet if he kept her still in his house, after this bill was delivered into her hand, it was presumed they cohabited together, and he was to give her a new bill of divorce.

In all which I can see nothing like a command for putting away their wives, if they were disagreeable; which the Jews would fain extort out of these words. And so they spake unto our blessed Lord, Matt. xix. 7. though in another place they spake of it only as a permission, Mark x. 3. The plain intent of this law being this; that if a man did put away his wife (as they are suffered to do), she might marry another man; but if that new husband died, she might not return to her first husband again. See Buxtorf. De Sponsel et Divortii, p. 107, 108, &c. and to show that Moses rather supposed than permitted divorces, p. 113, &c.

Ver. 2. *When she is departed*] So that it is publicly known she is no longer his wife.

She may go and be another man's wife.] The bond of marriage being wholly broken by the bill of divorce, whereby he renounced all interest in her, and expressly said, in the very body of the bill (as we speak), "it may be free to thee to marry with whom thou wilt." Much more was the bond broken by adultery, for which our Saviour gives a man leave to put away his wife, and take another. See David Chytraeus concerning this matter, p. 117, &c. where he reports a very wise resolution of Luther's Pomeranus and Melancthon, in the case of the criminal person.

Ver. 3. *And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement.*] This shows that no other way of putting away a wife was allowed, but only this. For, as Maimonides well observes (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49) if it had been lawful to do it by bare words, or simply sending her out of his house, any woman might have left her husband, and said she was put away; both she, and he that committed adultery with her, pretending a divorce, when her husband had given her none. Therefore the law wisely provided none should be put away but by such a bill as is before mentioned, whereby an authentic testimony was given of it.

Or if the latter husband die.] Whereby she became free again, as the apostle hath observed, Rom. vii. 2.

Ver. 4. *Her former husband,—may not take her again.*] One would have thought there could have been no danger of any man's desiring her again, whom he had solemnly sent away with dislike. But such is the levity and fickleness of human nature (the Jews at least were so inconstant), that it seems men sometimes sought after that which they had rejected: and this was the punishment of their injustice, in putting away a wife without sufficient cause (as by this they

acknowledged), that they might not again enjoy her.

After that she is defiled;] This is the reason why the former husband might not marry her again (as the Jews take it), because by her second marriage she was defiled. Which they say she was (so that he could not have her again), though she had been only espoused to a new husband who had never lain with her. For they make no difference between her second marriage and second espousals, but think a woman contracted such a pollution by her second espousals, that she would not have been so much polluted, if she had played the whore after her divorce. For in that case, they say, he might notwithstanding have married her again; but not after she had been married to another. Thus Mr. Selden reports their opinion, lib. i. Uxor. Heb. cap. 11, where he observes, that the Mahometans, who are wont in many things to ape the Jews, here quite differ from them; allowing a man liberty to take his wife again, though he had divorced her three times.

Now the ground upon which a divorced woman was accounted *defiled* or *unclean*, after another man had married her, I suppose, was, that this was looked upon as a solemn renunciation of her former husband on her part, who had been renounced by him by the bill of divorce; but he was not absolutely renounced by her till she married another, whereby she was totally alienated from him. This made her unclean, not in herself, nor with respect to her second husband, whom she married, nor with respect to any other man (who might marry her without any pollution), but only with respect to her first husband, unto whom, by this law, she was made unclean; for so all things forbidden to the Jews were accounted, as appears from Acts x. 14, 15, where all meats prohibited by the law are called *unclean*; and God is said to have *cleansed* them, by taking off that prohibition.

For that is abomination.] That is, to return to her first husband, and to be his wife again: for this, saith Abarbanel, was to imitate the Egyptians, who changed their wives, and took them again into their houses; which was the occasion of great filthiness. But this intimates, that if she had not been married to any other man, but kept herself free, she might have been his wife again, if he had a mind to be reconciled to her. And this shows also, that God intended to discourage them from putting away their wives, by making them incapable, after they had been married to another, for ever to enjoy them again, though they grew very rich, or otherwise desirable, which inclined many, no doubt, to consider well before they parted with them.

Thou shalt not cause the land to sin.] The people of the land might, by such a large indulgence, have been tempted to pollute it with many sins, and thereby bring God's judgments upon it (see Jer. iii. 1). For, as Isaac Arama glosses, if this had not been prohibited, a gate had been opened unto vile men, "to make a trade of changing their wives," and thereby filled the land with whoredoms.

Ver. 5. *When a man hath taken a new wife.*] The He-

6 ¶ No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge : for he taketh a man's life to pledge.

7 ¶ If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him ; then that

thief shall die ; and thou shalt put evil away from among you.

8 ¶ Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you : as I commanded them, so ye shall observe to do.

brews think (as I observed before, xx. 7), that, whether he had married a virgin or a widow, he was to have the privilege here mentioned ; yea, they extend it to him who had married his brother's wife ; but not to him who had married her whom he put away, and might take again, if she had not been married since that to another man. For she could not be said to be a new wife.

He shall not go out to war,] See Deut. xx. 7.

Neither be charged with any business :] No public employment was to be put upon him, which might occasion his absence from his wife ; not so much as watching, or such like. For the better understanding of which, it must be remembered, what was said about the fearful and timorous, who were bid to return home from the army, lest they disheartened their brethren, xx. 8. And yet these men were bound to furnish the army with victuals and water, to clear the ways, and take up their quarters ; but a new bridegroom was free from all these. Only they made a difference between a war by the Divine commandment, and one undertaken voluntarily : unto the former of which they think this immunity doth not extend, but only to the latter. In the margin these words are translated, *nor anything pass upon him*, that is, he shall not pay tribute.

He shall be free at home one year.] The same time of freedom it was thought reasonable to grant unto builders and planters, because they are joined with new-married men in the speech the priest made before they went to battle, xx. 5—7.

And shall cheer up his wife] Make much of her, as we speak, and so endear himself to her by his kindness, that there might be no occasion of a divorce. For the prevention of which this law seems to have been intended ; that by so long a conversation together, without any interruption, they might have so perfect an understanding, one of another, and such a mutual confidence might be settled, that he might not easily entertain any jealousies of her, when he should be absent in the wars, or elsewhere.

¶ Ver. 6. *No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge :*] This is a law of the same nature with that Exod. xx. 26, 27, for the preservation of mercy, beneficence, and clemency towards the poor, as Maimonides speaks, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39.

For he taketh a man's life to pledge.] That is, his livelihood : by which he maintains himself and his family, and keeps them from starving. By this reason it was unlawful to take any other thing for a security, by the want of which a man might be in danger to be undone. For instance, they did not allow any man to seize upon the oxen which were at plough. He who broke this law was scourged.

¶ Ver. 7. *If a man be found stealing any of his brethren.*] If he were either taken in the fact, or it was plainly proved against him. So the very words of the Athenian law were, *Ἐάν τις φανερός γίνηται ἀνδραποδίζουμενος*, "if a man be an apparent man-stealer."

And maketh merchandise of him,] This was the end of man-stealing, to make a gain of him, either by exchanging him for some commodity, or selling him for money.

Then that thief shall die ;] This crime was punished with death, though stealing of beasts or other

things was not (see Exod. xxi. 16), because it was very heinous on a double account, both by depriving the community of one of its members, and making him a slave in another country. And, indeed, the most moderate lawyers did not know how to secure men in the possession of things very valuable, but by inflicting such a punishment on those that stole them. Thus, after Solon had tempered the rigid law of Draco, which punished all theft with death, by ordering in most cases only the payment of double, he enacted the stealing of a great sum of money to be capital ; nay, he made it a great crime to steal *dung*, because it was a thing of great value in that country, which was very barren, and needed it for their ground. How much more valuable was a man in all men's account, whom if any man stole, the law was *ταύτην θάνατον ἵλαι τὴν ἑμίαν*, "that death should be his punishment ;" as Xenophon reports it. And he was accounted *ἀνδραποδιστής*, a "man-stealer," who, not only by force or by fraud, carried away a freeman, and sold him for a slave, or suppressed him ; but he who inveigled away another man's servant, and persuaded him to run away, or concealed such a fugitive (as Sam. Petitus observes, out of Pollux and others, lib. vii. Leges Atticas, tit. 5. p. 533). Which makes me think not only he that stole "one of his brethren of the children of Israel," but he that stole a proselyte of any sort, or the servant of a stranger, was liable to the punishment mentioned in this law of Moses.

Put evil away from among you.] By these words we may understand the greatness of his crime ; for they are never used in this book, but when Moses speaks of the punishment of some enormous sin (see xiii. 5. xvii. 7. xix. 19, &c.)

¶ Ver. 8. *Take heed in the plague of leprosy,*] This was the highest legal uncleanness, and therefore the greatest caution was to be used to prevent its contagion.

Do according to all that the priests] They were constituted by the law the sole judges whether a man had the leprosy or not ; and were to order his separation from others if he had : and frequently make inspection whether it spread, or was at a stand, &c. See the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Leviticus ; where there are laws about houses and garments, as well as persons infected with this disease by the hand of God, as the Jews understand it.

Shall teach you :] To teach in this place signifies to declare the obligation of the law by the judges of it, the priests the Levites. Thus Jehoshaphat is said to have sent his princes "to teach in the cities of Judah," and with them he sent Levites and priests, 2 Chron. xviii. 18, where R. Solomon notes, that it was the business of the priests and Levites to teach and instruct, as is here written in this place (which he quotes), and the princes went with them, that none might disobey them, but be constrained by their authority to do according to their command. See Mr. Thorndike, in his Religious Assemblies, ch. 2. p. 22, where he observes, that in Leviticus, direction is given to the priests how to proceed in judging leprosy ; but no provision made till now, that the people should stand to their judgment.

They who imagine that the priest had the care of lepers, as their physicians, forget that no other dis-

9 Remember what the Lord thy God did unto Miriam by the way, after that ye were come forth out of Egypt.

10 ¶ When thou dost lend thy brother any thing, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.

11 Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.

12 And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge:

ceased persons are ordered to repair to them; which is a sign they did not pretend to cure them, but only to preserve others from being defiled by them; and to do what was necessary for their cleansing, when they were healed by God.

So ye shall observe to do.] They were so to observe the priests, as to mark what God commanded; and accordingly obey them, not against, but according to his command.

Ver. 9.] This seems to be mentioned, that they might not think much to be shut up seven days, when they were but suspected to have the leprosy, and seven days more to make farther trial, and to be put out of the camp, when it appeared plainly they had this disease (Lev. xiii. 4, 5, 45, 46), since so great a person as Miriam was excluded so long from the society of God's people (Numb. xii. 15). And this may be looked upon as an admonition to take care, lest they spoke evil of dignities (which brought this punishment on Miriam), or disobeyed the commands of the priest, which might bring the like, or some other judgment upon them.

Ver. 10.] This was a very merciful provision for the poor, whose houses he would have so privileged, that no man might enter into them without their consent, and there choose what he pleased for the security of his debt: but he was to take what the borrower could best spare.

Ver. 11. *Stand abroad,*] Keep without door.

Shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.] So the debtor, not the creditor, was to choose what pledge he would give, for he best knew what he could, with most convenience to himself, part withal; and if it was sufficient, the lender had reason to be satisfied with it.

Ver. 12.] But restore it before night, which is to be understood of such things as were necessary for the preservation of his life or health, as the following words demonstrate.

Ver. 13. *In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again—that he may sleep in his own raiment.*] And not be forced to borrow of others a necessary covering to defend him from the cold; and not be able, perhaps, to procure it (see Exod. xxii. 26, 27). Which law seems to have been intended to keep them from taking any pledge of a very poor man. For to what purpose should they every morning fetch a pledge and every evening carry it back again, which would only create them a great deal of trouble?

Bless thee:] Pray God to bless thee.

It shall be righteousness unto thee] Procure thee a blessing from God, who will esteem it an act of great mercy: which is often called by the name of *righteousness* in the holy books, Ps. cxli. 9. Prov. x. 2, &c. Nay, such-like actions are properly called *tzedekah*, or *righteousness*, according to the opinion of Maimonides, who observes (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 53), that this word doth merely signify giving to every man his own. "For when a man pays the hireling his wages, or a debtor pays his creditor, that is not

13 In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee: and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.

14 ¶ Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates:

15 At his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is

called *tzedekah*; but what a man doth out of pure love to virtue and goodness (as when a man cures a poor wretch of his wounds), is properly called by that name. From whence it is said, concerning the restoring of a poor man's pledge, 'it shall be to thee for righteousness.'" That is, saith Dr. Hammond (in his Practical Catechism), that degree of mercy which the law required of every Jew, without which he could not be accounted righteous; but there was a degree of bounty beyond this called *chasidah*, which was an excess of righteousness or goodness.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant]* Either by putting more work upon him than he is able to do, or by detaining his wages when it is done. The latter of these is most properly here denoted, as Const. L'Emperour observes out of D. Kimchi, who in his Book of Roots saith, the difference between *עָרַב* (which is the word here) and *לָקַח* doth not lie in this, that the former signifies to *defraud*, the latter to *take away by violence*; but the former signifies to *detain by force*, and the other to *take away by force what belongs to another*. And for the proof of it, alleges this place in Deuteronomy, which he thus translates, "Thou shalt not detain by force the wages of the hireling." Which is expressed more clearly, Mal. iii. 5. Annot. in Bava-kama, cap. 9. sec. 7. p. 247.

That is poor and needy,] And therefore the more to be pitied, and not oppressed, either by giving him less wages than another man, when he ought rather to have greater, or by keeping back his hire beyond the time wherein it ought to be paid: for, as the ancient lawyers say, "Minus solvit, qui tempore minus solvit;" as it is observed by Grotius upon James v. 4.

Whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers] No difference was to be made between a natural Jew and a proselyte of the gate, according to the general law, Lev. xix. 34. For such oppression might tempt them to do very wicked things; for instance, expose or kill their children, when they were not able to maintain them; after the manner of the heathen, who were frequently guilty of this, and thought it no crime when their poverty constrained them to it. See Petrus Petitus, lib. iii. Miscell. Observ. cap. 17, where he produces many proofs of it, both out of Greek and Roman authors.

Ver. 15. *At his day thou shalt give him his hire,*] Which was due to him, either by contract or by natural equity; and whether he had agreed to serve him for a day, or a month, or a year. At the time when his wages was due, it was to be punctually paid unless he were willing to have it remain in his hands. For this was not an act of mercy, but of justice, to pay a hireling his wages.

Neither shall the sun go down upon it:] This shows he speaks particularly of one that served for a day's wages, and could not forbear the payment of it, because he was so poor as not to be able to provide himself and family necessities without it.

Setteth his heart upon it:] Eagerly expects it, as

poor, and setteth his heart upon it : lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee.

16 The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers : every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

17 ¶ Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless ; nor take the widow's raiment to pledge :

18 But thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the Lord thy God re-

deemed thee thence : therefore I command thee to do this thing.

19 ¶ When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it : it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow : that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hands.

20 When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again : it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.

the support of his life. So the Vulgar translates it, "With it he supports his soul," that is, his life.

Lest he cry—unto the Lord,] Make grievous complaints to him who made both rich and poor.

It be sin unto thee,] God will hear his cry, and severely punish thee (see James v. 4).

Ver. 16. This is a rule of common reason, which was anciently expressed in this vulgar saying, *Noxa caput sequitur* : and is excellently expressed by Dion Chrysostom, *ἐκαστος ἀνὲρ γίγνεται τῆς ἀτυχίας αὐτοῦ*, "Let every man be the author of his own misfortune." Which Amazia, king of Judah, thought extended to the children of traitors, unto whom he allowed the benefit of this law, as we read in so many words, 2 Kings xiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxv. 4. And not only Philo, but Dionysius Halicarnassæus condemns the custom of those nations who put to death the children of tyrants or traitors. See Grotius, lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 21. sect. 13, 14, where he observes that God indeed threatens "to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children;" but in this case, *Jure domini non penæ utitur*, "he uses the right of dominion, not of punishment."

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless;]* Nor of the widow, who is joined with them, ver. 19. For such persons commonly have none to stand by them, and plead their cause; and therefore the judges were to take the greater care to see them have justice done (Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9).

Nor take a widow's raiment to pledge:] Which is to be understood of one that is poor; as appears from ver. 12 (see Exod. xxii. 21. 26, 27).

Ver. 18. The remembrance of their own miserable condition in Egypt, till God took pity upon them, was to work compassion in them towards others in like forlorn estate; otherwise they did not *remember* as they ought. This is often urged as a reason for showing mercy to strangers, and such-like helpless persons, particularly in Lev. xix. 33, 34, and in this book, x. 19, 20. xv. 15.

Ver. 19. *Hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it:]* There are many merciful laws about the poor (see Lev. xix. 9, 10. xxiii. 23). They are all put together by Mr. Selden, lib. vi. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6, where the exposition the Talmudists give of this law seems to me to be so strict that it could do little good. For they say a sheaf was not taken to be *forgotten*, unless not only the owner of the field, but all the laborers forgot it; and if none of them remembered it, yet if any man that passed by that way came and gave them notice of it, it was not looked upon as left by forgetfulness. Yet they are so kind as to extend this law, not only to the sheaves of corn left in the field, but to bunches of grapes, and other fruit, which were left behind in their vineyards or orchards. And it seems no unreasonable interpretation of this law, that if an owner of a field, or his workmen, called to mind, before they

were gone quite out of the field, that a sheaf was left in such a place, they might go back and fetch it; but not, if they did not remember it till they came into the city. They that would see more cases about this matter, may look into Maimonides De Donis Pauperum, translated by Dr. H. Prideaux (cap. 5), and his very learned annotations upon it. Josephus seems to me to have interpreted this law most charitably, lib. iv. Archæolog. cap. 8, where he saith, they were not only not to go back to fetch what they had forgot, but to leave on purpose corn, and grapes, and olives, &c. for the benefit of the poor.

It shall be for the stranger, &c.] Who are commonly put together as proper objects of charity: and are (as Mr. Selden speaks) a kind of paraphrase upon the word *poor*.

That the Lord thy God may bless thee] Make their land still very fruitful; which was a reward of their charity.

Ver. 20. *When thou beatest thine olive tree,]* As they were wont to do, in those countries, with sticks, to bring down the olives.

Thou shalt not go over the boughs again:] Not search the boughs, after they are beaten, whether any be left.

It shall be for the stranger, &c.] Who might go into the olive-yards, after the owner had carried out his fruit, and gather what they found still remaining on the trees.

Ver. 21. *When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward:]* By making a new gathering after the first. But if the poor themselves left any behind, after the usual time allowed for the gathering such fruits or corn as were left for them, it was lawful for the owner to take it himself; and he was not bound, either to pay the poor the price of it, or to leave it for the beasts and birds. For the command is (say the Jewish doctors, who nicely scan these things), that it shall be for the poor, and that it be left for them; but not any thing given them in lieu of it (see Selden, in the forenamed place, p. 699).

It shall be for the stranger, &c.] The Jewish doctors for the *stranger* here mentioned, in this and the foregoing verses, would have only *proselytes of justice*, understood, who had entirely embraced the Jewish religion: so that other proselytes, and mere gentiles, had no right to these things. For by the law, say they, concerning the tithe for the poor (xiv. 29), the Levite and the *stranger* are put together: and the Levite being a child of the covenant, so must the *stranger* be, who is joined with him. But this restriction confined this charity within such narrow bounds, that they themselves are not satisfied with it; and therefore they add, that though such only as were within the covenant had a right to these things by the law, yet if proselytes of the gate, or mere gentiles, mixed themselves with the Jews, by the decree of their wise men, they were not to be hindered from gathering their

21 When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.

share in these fruits of the earth which were left for the poor. And they gave this reason for it *because of the way of peace*, that is, offices of humanity and charity ought to be extended to all (see Selden, p. 700).

Ver. 22.] If they had been only *strangers there*,

22 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt: therefore I command thee to do this thing.

and neglected by the natives of the country, the remembrance of God's mercy in providing for them had been a powerful motive to obey this command; and therefore the remembrance of the slavery and grievous oppressions under which they there groaned was a far greater (see ver. 18).

CHAPTER XXV.

1 Stripes must not exceed forty. 4 The ox is not to be muzzled. 5 Of raising seed unto a brother. 11 Of the innodest woman. 13 Of unjust weights. 17 The memory of Amalek is to be blotted out.

1 If there be a controversy between men, and they come unto judgment, that the judges may judge them; then they shall justify the righteous, and condemn the wicked.

2 And it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the judge shall cause him to

lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number.

3 Forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed: lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.

CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *If there be a controversy*] It is evident, by the sequel, that he speaks of criminal causes.

The judges may judge them;] Who were appointed to be constituted and settled in all their gates (see xvi. 18).

They shall justify the righteous;] Acquit him who is falsely accused of doing any wrong.

Condemn the wicked.] To suffer such punishment as his crime deserves.

Ver. 2. *If the wicked man be worthy to be beaten;*] For what crimes men were to be beaten, by the sentence of the lower courts, as well as by that of the great Sanhedrin, see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 7. 8. They were in all, as they reckon, two hundred and seven.

The judge shall cause him to lie down;] By his officers who attended the court.

Before his face;] In open court. But he was first to be admonished; and the witnesses were to be produced against him, as in capital causes: after which the judge commanded him to lie down before a low pillar, to which his hands were tied; and he being stripped down to his waist, the executioner stood behind him upon a stone; where he scourged him both on the back and breast, with things made of an ox's hide, before the face of the judges: for though one judge be only mentioned, the execution was done before the whole bench, after the sentence was pronounced by one of them.

According to his fault;] For the violation of a negative precept he might be scourged before the court, consisting of three judges; but not for the violation of an affirmative, which was to be done before the court of twenty-three, as Selden observes in the place forenamed, sect. 6.

By a certain number.] He was condemned to receive more or fewer stripes, proportionable to his crime; and all the time the executioner was scourging him, the principal judge proclaimed these words (Deut. xxviii. 58), with a loud voice, "If thou observe not all the words of this law, &c. then the Lord shall make thy plagues wonderful," &c. adding those, xxix. 9, "Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them," &c. Concluding at last with those of the Psalmist, lxxviii. 38, "But he being full of

compassion, forgave their iniquities." Which he was to repeat, if he had finished these sayings before the full number of stripes were given (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 13. n. 6, which I find in the title Maccoth, cap. 3. sect. 16, and see G. Schickard, Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 2. p. 57, 58).

Ver. 3. *Forty stripes he may give him;*] Which was more merciful than the Athenian law mentioned by Æschines, which was inflicted upon criminals, *ἡδη δημοσίᾳ μαστιγῇ πεντήκοντα πληγῶν*, "fifty stripes by the public scourge." But none among the Jews were to receive above forty for any crime; fewer they might inflict, though not more.

And not exceed;] Of this they were so careful, that as one of the three judges commanded the executioner to strike, another told the stripes, while the third pronounced the sentences out of the Scripture before mentioned, to admonish him, and every one else, of the justice of the punishment. So Schickard observes out of Maimonides, in the place above named. For the prevention also of excess in this punishment, they were wont to give but thirty-nine stripes, and no more; though the offender was ever so strong or pertinacious. Thus the Jews generally affirm, and it appears to be true, by what St. Paul saith of himself, 2 Cor. xi. 24, "Of the Jews five times I received forty stripes save one;" which is exactly the phrase of Mischna in Maccoth, cap. 3. sect. 10, where they interpret *forty stripes* by the next number to forty, i. e. thirty-nine. For which they give a foolish reason in the Gemara (as Joh. Coch there observes); but Maimonides gives a sober account, that this was ordered, lest the executioner, by carelessness, might exceed the number of forty, beyond which the law required them not to go; but it was lawful to fall short of it, and therefore they required him to stop at the thirty-ninth stroke. Yet if any man deserved this punishment twice together, they did sometimes exceed the number of forty, and went so far as to sentence such a malefactor to receive seventy-nine stripes; as Mr. Selden observes in the same place: where he likewise notes, on the other side, that if a man was so weak, that he was ready to faint away, before he had received thirty-nine, the judges ordered the executioner to stay his hand.

Lest, if he should exceed—then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.] Being beaten like a dog, as we speak; that is, so cruelly, that the marks of it re-

4 ¶ Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.

5 ¶ If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

maintained afterward, to make him contemptible. Which the law was so far from intending, that the Jews say no man was to be reproached afterward with this whipping, or the crime for which he was whipped, because he was still a *brother*, as the word here is. And therefore he was to be restored to the same respect among them that he had before, nay, to any office which before he enjoyed; except he was the president of the Sanhedrin, who was never to be restored to his power, if he had been scourged, nor equally honored with his inferior colleagues. So Schieckard observes, out of Maimonides, in the forenamed book, p. 62.

Ver. 4.] It was the custom, not only in this country, but among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, to use oxen in treading out their corn, either with their feet barely, or by drawing a cart, or other instrument, over it. And while they were at work some muzzled them, and others daubed their mouths with dung; others hung a wooden instrument about their necks, which hindered them from stooping down; or put sharp pricks in their mouths; or kept them without drink; or covered their corn with skins, that they might not be able to come at it (see Bochartus, in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40. p. 401). Which inhumanity God here forbids, and instructs his people, by showing mercy to their beasts, to be kind one to another, particularly to their servants and laborers, but above all, to those who labored in the work of the ministry, for the salvation of souls, as St. Paul argues, 1 Cor. ix. 9 (see Bonferrius).

Ver. 5. *If brethren dwell together.*] They are said to dwell together, not only who were in the same family, but in the same country, Gen. xiii. 5, 6.

And one of them die, and have no child.] If he left a child, though he were a *mamzer*, or an apostate, his next brother was not bound to marry his wife; but if he left a child by a slave, or a gentile, he was. If he left his wife with child, and she miscarried, he was bound; but if she brought a live child, after she had gone with it nine months, he was free. And by a *child* is to be understood either a son or daughter (see Selden, lib. De Successionibus ad bona Defuncti, cap. 14).

The wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger.] This shows the end of this law was to preserve inheritances in the family to which they belonged.

Her husband's brother shall go in unto her.] The Hebrew doctors understand this obligation to lie upon the eldest brother that was surviving; and only of a brother that was by the same father. For though they had the same mother, if they had not the same father, no obligation lay upon him: "For brethren (saith Maimonides) by the mother's side, are not accounted brethren, either in the matter of inheritances, or of marrying a brother's wife: but they are as if they were not brethren; for there is no fraternity which is not from the father" (see Heideggerus Exercit. i. De Œconom. Patriarch. 10. 16, and Selden, Uxor. Hebr. p. 80). But the king, they say, was excepted from his law, as Schieckard observes in his Jus Regium, p. 56.

And perform the duty of an husband's brother unto

6 And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth, shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel.

7 And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in

her.] This was a law before the time of Moses, among the patriarchs, as we learn from Gen. xxxviii. 7, 8. &c. And it was so well understood to be a bounden duty, that the Hebrew doctors say, it was not necessary there should be any solemn marriage celebrated with such widow; because, unless her husband's brother renounced her, she was esteemed his wife, *min hashamajim*, by the authority of God; and that, whether she had been only espoused by the deceased brother, or his complete wife. Yet by the constitution of their elders, he was to contract with her before two witnesses, and give her a piece of money; before which it was not lawful for him to lie with her. There was to be also a sacred benediction of the marriage; and her dowry assigned her by an instrument. But if he did lie with her before these solemnities, there was no formal contract exacted of him afterward; he was only scourged for contemning the constitutions of their elders, and compelled to settle a dowry upon her. See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 12, where he observes, that, in case a man left several widows, if his brother either married, or renounced one of them, all the rest were free from this law. And if several brethren died, and left every one of them a wife, without issue, the surviving brother might either take or reject them all; or take one or two, and let the rest alone, as he pleased. And if the eldest brother, that married his brother's relict, died also without issue, then the next surviving brother was to marry her; and so forward, according to the case supposed in the gospel. And yet that brother only was admitted to this marriage, who was born before his brother's death; which they gather from the first words of this verse, "If brethren dwell together;" which cannot be meant of one born after his brother's death. They might likewise have concluded, from this phrase, that such of the brethren as had wives already were not bound to take her to wife, but only he that was unmarried; who might be supposed to be meant by "him that dwelt together with his brother," and was not yet gone to a house of his own. But I fear I have said too much of a matter now quite antiquated, unless it be among some of the Indians and Persians, and among the Tartars that inhabit Iberia and Albania, who still retain this custom; as Huetius observes, in his Demonstratio Evangel. propos. iv. cap. 11. n. 1.

Ver. 6. *The firstborn which she beareth, shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead.*] Shall be reputed the son and heir of the deceased; but there was no necessity to give him his name.

That his name be not put out of Israel.] That a family in Israel might not be lost; for this was a provision for the preservation of families (see Numb. xxvii. 4). And therefore, if there was no brother, properly so called, to perform this duty, the next of kin (who is also called a brother in a large sense) was bound to marry her. See of this word *name*, Numb. xxvii. 4.

Ver. 7. *If the man like not to take his brother's wife.*] Here now was a great mitigation of that ancient law, which had been before the time of Moses, that a man might refuse to marry his brother's wife, if he did not like her. Which was not permitted before, as ap-

Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.

8 Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him : and *if* he stand to it, and say, I like not to take her ;

9 Then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house.

pears by the story of Onan (Gen. xxxvii.), who married Tamar against his mind (as his behaviour towards her demonstrates), which he needed not to have done, if this permission, which here follows, had been then in use.

Go up to the gate] Where the court of judgment sat, as I have often observed (see xvi. 18).

Unto the elders,] A court consisting of three elders was sufficient to judge in this matter. And it was of no consequence, whether these three were created elders, according to the solemn form among them, by laying on of hands ; but it was sufficient, if they were such as they called *elders of the street*, or common men (see lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 15. and lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 7. n. 3).

And say, My husband's brother, &c.] She was to put a bill of complaint against him in these words.

Ver. 8.] He being summoned to appear before them, together with the woman (who they say was to be fasting), and two witnesses at the least, she opened the whole matter. And then the question being asked, whether it were three months since her husband's death (which were to be allowed, to see whether she proved with child or not), and whether this man was next of kin ; and a satisfactory answer being returned, the judges laid the law before them, admonished them seriously to consider, on each side, their age, or any disparity or incommodity that might be in their marriage, and accordingly to resolve ; and then they asked the man, in express words, whether he would marry her, and raise up seed to his brother. If he stood to his first resolution, as it here follows, and said, "I like not to take her ;" then the woman read the words foregoing, ver. 7, "My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel," &c., and then proceeded to do as follows, ver. 9 (see Selden, in the book forenamed, cap. 14).

Ver. 9. *Then shall his brother's wife come unto him and loose his shoe from off his foot,*] From his right foot, as the Hebrew doctors say ; which was done, I suppose, as a mark of infamy, for his want of natural affection ; which made him unworthy to be reckoned among freemen, but rather deserve to be thrust down into the condition of slaves, who were wont to go barefoot.

Spit in his face,] In contempt of him who had despised her. The Hebrew doctors, indeed expounded this only of her spitting upon the earth, directly before his face, so that the spitting might be seen by the judges. And they give this as a reason, why the king was not subject to this law of marrying his brother's wife, (and they might add the high-priest, Lev. xxi. 13, 14), because it would have been below his dignity to have had his shoe pulled off (if he had not liked the woman), or to have had her spit before him, as Bartenora's words are : which would have been a better reason, if they had said, it had been very unbecoming for her to have spit in the king's face. See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 10, and Hackspan, lib. i. Miscellan. cap. 7. n. 8, where he

10 And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

11 ¶ When men strive together one with another, and the wife of the one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the secrets :

12 Then shalt thou cut off her hand, thine eye shall not pity her.

Shall answer] To his peremptory refusal of her.

And say, So shall it be done unto that man, &c.] She was immediately to read these words of the law. And then the judges gave her a writing, signifying his renunciation of her, in the manner now related, that so it might be free for any other man to marry her. See the form of it in Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 14, where he hath observed certain niceties about the kind of shoe that was to be pulled off, but gives no account why this ceremony was used.

Ver. 10. As soon as she had loosed his shoe, both the judges, and all the by-standers round about, cried aloud three times, "The shoe is pulled off, the shoe is pulled off, the shoe is pulled off!" And thereupon his family had this name, as a disgrace, for not doing the duty of a brother. Some will have this pulling off the shoe to have been only a mark, that he parted with his right to her ; but these words show that it was in the nature of a brand upon him and his posterity. And so Josephus saith, lib. iv. Archæolog. cap. 8, that he went out of the court with a mark of ignominy. Which doth not relate merely to her spitting in his face ; for Maimonides saith expressly (in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49), that this action (viz. of pulling off the shoe, as well as the other) was a foul and ignominious thing in those days, intended to move men to perform the duty of a husband's brother, that they might avoid such reproach. J. Wagen-seil hath given us the exact form of the shoe, which was used on such occasions, in his Annotations upon Sota, p. 664, and see 1212, where he commends Leo Modena's account of this whole business ; which differs not at all from that which I have given ; only I observe that he saith, when the woman taketh off the shoe from the man's foot, she lifts it up on high, and throweth it against the ground ; which I take to be a note of indignation and contempt. And he saith also, it was anciently accounted a more laudable thing to take her, than to release her ; and imputes it to the corruption of men's manners, and the hardness of their hearts, that now they only look after worldly ends, either of riches or beauty : which makes very few in these days (especially among the Dutch and Italian Jews) to marry their brother's widow (see his history of the Rites and Customs of the Jews, par. iv. ch. 7).

Ver. 11. *When men strive together*] Fall out (as we speak) and fight, either with their fists or sticks, or other weapons.

Of him that smiteth him,] Who had wounded him, and was likely, I suppose, to be too hard for him.

Taketh him by the secrets :] As a sure means to make him let go his hold of her husband, that he might preserve himself.

Ver. 12. *Thou shalt cut off her hand,*] This was to be done by the sentence of the court, as a punishment for her impudence ; and for the hurt which,

13 ¶ Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small.

14 Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small.

15 But thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure shalt thou have: that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

16 For all that do such things, and all that

do unrighteously, are an abomination unto the Lord thy God.

17 ¶ Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt;

18 How he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God.

perhaps, the man might have received hereby in those parts whereby mankind is propagated.

Thine eye shall not pity her.] The word *her* not being in the Hebrew text, several of the Jews (and Grotius seems to approve their opinion) interpret this law quite otherwise; as if the woman might both take hold of his secrets for the delivery of her husband, and also cut off the other man's hand; and they should not pity him who suffered thus, nor punish the woman, who might do any thing of this nature, to preserve one so dear to her as her husband: but this is a very forced interpretation. Maimonides is a little more reasonable in his exposition of these words, which he will have to signify, that they should lay a fine or a mulct upon her for her immo-desty; which is suitable to the interpretation of that law, Exod. xxi. 24, "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth," &c. (see L'Empereur on Bava-kama, p. 198). But it is an intolerable presumption in Maimonides to say, that if any one interpret this of a proper abscission of the woman's hand, though he pretend to be a prophet, and say, The Lord hath said unto me these words, *Thou shalt cut off her hand*, are to be understood as the words sound (i. e. literally as we speak), and do a miracle to confirm it, he is to be looked upon as a lying prophet, and may be put to death, because it is contrary to the constant tradition of their elders. So he writes Seder Zeraim, translated by our famous Dr. Pocock, p. 15, 38. Upon which principle they killed our blessed Saviour.

Ver. 13. *Divers weights.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *a stone and a stone*: for their weights were then made of stone, as are ours now commonly of lead or brass.

A great and a small.] To buy in commodities with the great, and sell them out again by the small; which was then and is now an usual way of cheating.

Ver. 14. *Divers measures.*] In the Hebrew, *an ephah and an ephah*: for this was the most known measure among them, by which all the rest of their measures were made (see Exod. xvi. 36). From hence it was that Lucius Ampelius thought Moschos, that is Moses (who by ancient writers is called Moschos), was the inventor of weights and measures, because he took such pious care there should be no deceit in them, as the most learned Huetius observes in his Demonst. Evangel. prop. iv. cap. 8, n. 16.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt have a perfect and just weight.*] Neither too scanty nor too large. See Lev. xix. 35, 36, where all these three verses are sufficiently explained.

That thy days may be lengthened.] Justice, as well as charity, was necessary to prolong their happiness in the land of promise (xvi. 20).

Ver. 16. *For all that do such things.*] All that any way wrong their neighbours.

Are an abomination.] This is an expression commonly used, to declare God's hatred of all idolatrous practices (see xviii. 9, 12).

Ver. 17. *Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way.*] The Jews have framed three precepts out of this and the two following verses. One is, that they

should "remember what Amalek did unto them." Which Maimonides, according to their oral tradition, refers to the *mouth*, that they should always be talking of what Amalek did to them. The second, *not to forget it*; which he refers to their *heart*: that they should never let slip out of their mind the hatred Amalek had to them. And the third, that they should "blot out their remembrance from under heaven," i. e. utterly destroy them, and leave none of them remaining. But none of the Jews have explained this better than Abarbinel; who, inquiring why such severity was expressed against the Amalekites, when the Edomites, who were of the same race, were dealt withal very favourably (as we read before, xxiii. 8), observes four reasons given here by Moses himself, why they should remember, when they were settled in the land of Canaan, and able to effect it, to exterminate this nation: for that is the single precept he gives them in charge; only he bids them not forget what Amalek had done to deserve that heavy sentence long ago passed upon them, and remaining on record (Exod. xvii. 14—16), confirmed with a solemn oath, though they were not able to execute it till they were settled in the land of promise. The first of these reasons is, because, whereas men undertake war against others, either to defend their own country, or to subdue their enemies' country, the Amalekites came forth against the Israelites without any such cause; for the Israelites did not pass by their country, and consequently gave them no apprehension of an invasion; nor had the Israelites then possession of any land of their own, which might tempt the Amalekites to covet it, and drive them out of it. But they undertook this war, with a petulant malice, only to bring them into slavery again. Which is the thing here intimated in this verse, "Remember what Amalek did to thee," &c. Unto which he should have added, that their barbarity was much aggravated, by their assaulting them when they were newly delivered from grievous oppressions, and were unaccustomed to war, and without any provocation.

Ver. 18. *How he met thee by the way.*] This the same Abarbinel takes to be the second cause of God's high displeasure against Amalek: that, whereas it is the custom of all countries, before they begin a war, to denounce it by heralds, showing the grounds of it, they rose up against the Israelites unexpectedly; which was a piece of the basest treachery. Which he thinks is intimated in these words, "he met thee by the way;" that is, on a sudden, by surprise, without any notice by a declaration of war. He might have added, that they did this when the Israelites were in a journey, and had travelled a great way, and in a wilderness, where they stood in need of refreshment; but were very unfit for fighting. Then, saith one of their rabbins, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 41, "they came in like a bear in their way, to devour the mother with the children."

And smote the hindmost of thee.] This he makes the third cause; that they did not offer them a pitched battle, but only fell upon their rear (as we speak), and there cut off such as lagged behind

19 Therefore it shall be, when the LORD thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee *for an inheritance*

through feebleness and weariness, being unable to march so fast as the rest of their brethren. This is, in a very sober sense, suitable to the use of the word in Josh. x. 19. But what some of the Jews say, that the Amalekites cut off the privy members of certain of the tribe of Dan, in derision of circumcision, is disowned by others of them, as having no foundation. See Schickard, in his Jus Regium, p. 112, 113, where Carpovius observes, this was only a fancy of their *midrashim*, or preachers, wherewith they entertained the people in their sermons, on occasion of the ambiguity of the word we translate "cut off the hindermost." Which R. Zacharias much better interprets, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 44, where he makes it to signify all that were behind the cloud (which protected those who were under it), as those who went out of the camp, by reason of some uncleanness, to wash themselves. But this is no more than an ingenious conceit; for the laws about cleansing were not then delivered.

And he feared not God.] This he makes the fourth cause; that though they feared Israel, whom they durst not look in the face, but cut them off behind, yet they feared not God, who had done such wonderful things for them in Egypt, and brought them thence with a mighty hand, and had overthrown Pharaoh in the Red Sea. Which might have made them understand, that he sets up kings and pulls down kings, as Daniel speaks, ii. 21. But instead of considering this, they would have "profaned the glory of the Lord" (as he speaks), by enslaving those whom he had but newly delivered, and continued under the protection of a glorious cloud. Unto all which may be added, that they were originally derived from the same stock with the Israelites; viz., from Isaac.

Ver. 19, *God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about,*] God did not require them to put this command in execution immediately after they were possessed of the land of Canaan, but after they were well settled there: so that there were some ages passed before they went about it; and then God himself put them in mind of it; or rather

to possess it, *that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it.*

strictly enjoined it to be performed by Saul their first king: and we do not find them blamed for not doing it in the time of the judges (1 Sam. xv. 1—3).

Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek] So God commandeth Saul in the place now mentioned, "utterly destroy all they have, and spare them not; but slay both men and women," &c. For by the same justice that one person is cut off, a whole family, or a whole nation, may be utterly destroyed: that other families or nations, seeing or hearing God's judgments upon them, may be moved to flee from that wickedness for which they are punished. They are the words of Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 41.

If we could believe all that the Talmudists say, we might think there were some among the Jews who endeavoured to mollify the severity of this precept: for they tell a story in Bava-bathra of Joab's master, who taught him to read it thus; Blot out *zechar*, the male of Amalek, not *zecher*, the remembrance. But at the same time they tell us, Joab thought to have killed him for leading him into an error.

Thou shalt not forget it.] This is not a distinct precept, but only a repetition of the foregoing; to imprint it more on their minds and hearts. And accordingly the Jews pretend to have had their hearts so set upon it, that when the officers were about to proclaim freedom from war to those persons mentioned xx. 5, 6, &c., they always excepted the war against the seven nations and Amalek, in which everybody was bound to assist.

I shall end this matter with an observation of Abarinel, that in this paragraph about Amalek, the injunction which God gave to Moses, Exod. xvii. 14, was fulfilled by him: "Write this for a memorial in a book." No other book, saith he, is hereby meant, but the book of the law, which when Moses wrote, he was bound to mention this precept about Amalek; which he doth in this place. And if we suppose that he immediately wrote a distinct history of this matter, yet he inserted it afterward into the Pentateuch, both here and in the book of Exodus.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *The confession of him that offereth the basket of firstfruits.* 12 *The prayer of him that giveth his third year's tithes.* 16 *The covenant between God and the people.*

1 AND it shall be, when thou art come in unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee *for an inheritance*, and possessest it, and dwellest therein;

CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1.] When they had a settled possession of the several inheritances, which fell to their share in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 2. *Take of the first of all the fruit of the earth,*] This is not meant merely of the first first-fruits they should have after they were settled in Canaan, but of the first-fruits they should have every year; which being the most desirable (as Conradus Pellicanus here observes) of all other, and coveted by every one, majiori aviditate, "with a greater appetite than ordi-

2 That thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the earth, which thou shalt bring of thy land that the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go unto the

nary," nature itself directed men to offer them to God, the giver of all good things. And these were distinct from that mentioned Lev. xxiii. 10, being of all the fruits of the earth. The principal of which being seven, the Jews commonly say, these only were to be carried to God; viz. wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates. Some of the doctors say, the first-fruits of all kind of things whatsoever were due; and a question being raised, whether a stranger was bound to pay them or not, some of them say, no; because they could not use the prostration mentioned, ver. 3. But the more common

place which the LORD thy God shall choose to place his name there.

3 And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I

opinion is, that they might both bring first-fruits and use the protestation, because Abraham was also the father of strangers (Gen. xvii. 5). And it may be, saith R. Bechai, that is appointed at ver. 11, of this chapter; where it is said, "Thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you."

Which thou shalt bring of thy land] In order to which, they say, every owner of land, when he went into his ground, and found any figs, or bunch of grapes, or a pomegranate more forward than the rest, he was to tie a rush about it, and write upon it, "These are first-fruits." So Wagenseil, and many others, have observed out of the title Biceurim, cap. 3.

Put it in a basket,] The quantity of each, they say, was to be at least a sixtieth part. And they might be all put into the same basket, provided they were not mingled, but preserved distinct; barley being laid at the bottom, and then wheat, and next olives, and above them dates, and then pomegranates; and last of all, figs and grapes, being hung on the outside; and leaves of palm, or other trees, put between every kind of first-fruits.

R. Bechai saith, that the rich brought these fruits in baskets of gold and silver, that is, covered with gold or silver (as Maimonides speaks); and we read of the like golden baskets carried by virgins, in the feast of Bacchus at Athens (see Ezek. Spanhemius on Callimachus's hymn to Ceres, p. 733). Now, if the basket here mentioned was made of these, or any other metal, the Jews say, the priest was to restore it to the owner, when he had emptied it: but if it was a wicker-basket, or suchlike, the priest had it together with the first-fruits (see Wagenseil upon Mischna Sota, cap. 7, sect. 3).

And shall go unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose] The man himself was to go, as the Jews say, with the basket upon his shoulder: and a great company were wont to go together, who met at the chief city of their province. The time of going was at the feast of Pentecost (Exod. xxiii. 16), not before but at any time after, till the feast of dedication, which was in our November: after which they were not accepted. Of the manner of going up with a bullock before them, whose horns were gilt, and head crowned with an olive garland, with music, and singing in the way the first verse of Psalm cxxii., &c., see Wagenseil, in the place above mentioned; and Selden, lib. iii. De Synedriis, cap. 13, n. 3, with Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service.

And here I cannot but think fit to note, that the heathen, in all probability, from hence derived the custom of carrying their first-fruits, as a tithe every year, unto the island Delos, where Apollo was supposed to have his special residence. And this not only from the islands thereabouts, and the neighbouring countries, but from all parts of the world; as the Jews we find everywhere sent, from the countries where they dealt, a sum of money every year, instead of first-fruits and tithes, unto Jerusalem; which privilege the Romans allowed them, after they had conquered them, as Josephus tells us, lib. vii. De Bello Jud. cap. 13. That heathen custom, now mentioned, is expressed by Callimachus, in his hymn upon Delos, in those remarkable words, ver. 278, 279, &c.

Ἀλλὰ τοὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ἑκατομῆροι αὐτῷ ἀπαρχὰς
πέμποντες· πᾶσαι δὲ χοροὶ ἀνάγονται πόλιν

profess this day unto the LORD thy God, that I am come unto the country which the LORD swore unto our fathers for to give us.

4 And the priest shall take the basket out of

Ἀπὸ πρὸς ἰσθμῶν, αἱ δ' ἱερῶν, αἱ τ' ἀπὸ μίσθων
κλήρους ἐκθέσαντο, καὶ οἱ καθ' ἑκάστην βορρῆν.

The sense of which is this: "That first-fruits were sent for tithes every year from all countries, not only from the east, and west, and south, but from the north also." And they were sent with such joy, as the Jews expressed on this occasion; for all cities, he saith, did χοροῖς ἀνάγειν. And so we read in several authors, that there were θυσίαι, as they called them, "solemn embassies" sent from several people, by chosen persons, unto Delos, to celebrate there the feast of Apollo with music and dancing, &c. Particularly the Athenians, Peloponnesians, and Messenians, &c., of whom see Ezek. Spanhemius, in his Observations on Callimachus, p. 487. And, which is most strange, the Hyperboreans, a very northerly people, sent *frugum primitias* to this island, as Pliny, and I know not how many other authors, testify. Only what he calls the first-fruits of their corn, and suchlike things, they call the first-fruits of their *holy things*: as the same excellent person observes there (p. 490, 492, &c.). Which was done to testify their honour to this god, and for the maintenance of his priests and other ministers, who attended upon him there. For Delos, of itself, was but a barren isle, the soil being dry and stony, and called therefore by Callimachus, ver. 208, δυσήροτος.

There are other footsteps of this among the heathen; the mystica vanna iacchi, mentioned by Virgil in his Georgics, being nothing else (according to Servius), but was vimineum, "a wicker basket," in which their first-fruits were carried (see the same Spanheim, p. 495).

Ver. 3. Go unto the priest] Who was then in attendance at the sanctuary, and particularly appointed to wait for their coming. When they entered the gates of the city, they sang the second verse of Psalm cxxii., "Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem:" and then they went to the mountain of the temple, and sang the whole hundred and fiftieth Psalm: and as soon as they entered the court of Israel, the Levites began to sing, Ps. xxx. 1, "I will extol thee, O Lord my God," &c.

Say unto him,] The following confession in this verse was made by them with the baskets on their shoulders, to stir them up to humility, as Maimonides interprets it. His words are these: "While they were compelled to carry their baskets on their shoulders, and in that manner to proclaim the Divine benefits, it signified that it was a considerable part of God's worship and service, for a man to be mindful of his afflictions and tribulations, when God had given him ease and rest from them. This the law takes care of, in several places; as when it saith, 'Thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant,' &c. with this intention, that he who lived in riches and pleasure, might be secured from the vices which spring from thence, such as pride, haughtiness, apostasy, and the like. According to what is said in this book, viii. 12, 'Lest thou eat, and art full,' &c., and xxxii. 15, 'Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked,' &c. To prevent which, God commanded the first-fruits to be thus offered every year to his Divine Majesty" (More Novechim, par. iii. cap. 39).

I profess this day, &c.] This is a thankful acknowledgment of God's faithfulness to his promise, whereby they were put in mind to be faithful unto him

thine hand, and set it down before the altar of the LORD thy God.

5 And thou shalt speak and say before the LORD thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous:

6 And the Egyptians evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage:

7 And when we cried unto the LORD God of our fathers, the LORD heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression:

of whom they held this good land, by his gracious and free gift, and held it by this tenure, of paying to him this yearly rent.

Ver. 4.] After the foregoing words were said, the basket was taken down from their shoulders, and every one holding his basket by the handle, or the rim of it, the priest put his hands under it, and waved it about, according to the prescription in the law, while the men recited the following words, ver. 5, 6, &c. This waving was a manifest token that it was offered to the Lord of the world, as an acknowledgment that he was in a peculiar manner their Lord and Sovereign of whom they held this land.

Ver. 5. *Thou shalt speak and say*] Audibly pronounce in the presence of God.

A Syrian ready to perish was my father,] Their father Jacob was not a Syrian by birth, for he was born in the land of Canaan. But one and the same person may be said to be of divers countries (as Bochartus hath observed), with regard either to the place of his nativity, or of his education, or of his life and conversation; which occasioned three countries to be ascribed to our blessed Saviour, viz., Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Capernaum (see his Phaleg, lib. ii. cap. 5). Thus Jacob, who was born and bred in Canaan, is notwithstanding called a Syrian, because he lived twenty years with his uncle Laban, who was a Syrian (Gen. xxv. 20), and consequently Jacob's mother was so, as were both his wives, and all his children, who were born there, except Benjamin. But he is more particularly here called a Syrian, to put them in mind of his poverty when he went first into that country, and there lived as a servant, under a hard master; which is expressed in these words, *ready to perish*, that is, very poor, and reduced to great straits, being forced to flee from the fury of his brother Esau, and to travel on foot to Padan-Aram (which was comprehended anciently under the name of Syria, Gen. xxxii. 10), where he was so cruelly used by his uncle Laban (xxx. 7, 39—41), that Onkelos takes these words, which we translate *ready to perish*, in an active sense, for him that *destroys* another. For by the Syrian here he understands Laban (who is so called, as I noted before, Gen. xxviii. 5), as if the meaning were, "the Syrian (that is, Laban) sought to destroy my father." For, as he used him barbarously when he was with him, so he followed after him, when he went away, with a mind to ruin him. And thus Manasseh ben Israel understands it, and many others mentioned by Fessellius, which is the sense also of the Vulgar Latin, *Syrus persequatur patrem meum*.

He went down into Egypt,] Though he brought him from Laban with great substance, yet as he was still but a sojourner in the land of Canaan, so he was forced by famine to go down into Egypt for sustenance.

Sojourned there with a few,] They were but seventy persons, and lived there as strangers. All which they were now bound to commemorate, for their humiliation before God (which I observed before out

8 And the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, and with signs, and with wonders:

9 And he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, *even* a land that floweth with milk and honey.

10 And now, behold, I have brought the firstfruits of the land, which thou, O LORD, hast given me. And thou shalt set it before the LORD thy God, and worship before the LORD thy God:

11 And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing

of Maimonides), which might move them the more to exalt and magnify the mercy of God to them, who had made them (as it follows) a mighty nation. For this confession consists of these two parts; their own unworthiness, and God's great goodness.

Became there a nation,] See Exod. i. 7.

Ver. 6.] The goodness of God unto them in making them so numerous, was the occasion of sorer affliction than either they or their fathers had endured (see Exod. i. 9, 10, &c.). The remembrance of this was exceeding useful, to stir up their gratitude to God, not only for their deliverance from the Egyptian slavery, but bringing them into a country of their own, most plentifully stored with all manner of good things.

Ver. 7.] Having acknowledged their low, and poor, and distressed condition, now they proceed to an acknowledgment of God's wonderful goodness; which appeared the more in relieving them when they were utterly helpless (see Exod. ii. 23—25, iii. 7, 8).

Ver. 8.] See iv. 34, and vii. 19. This is so vehemently inculcated upon them (as Maimonides speaks in the place forenamed), that they should "remember the day they came out of Egypt all the days of their life," xvi. 3; Exod. x. 2. Which it became them especially to remember at this time, that they might demonstrate the truth of prophecy both concerning punishments and rewards.

Ver. 9.] As they remember the terrible plagues upon Egypt in the foregoing verse, so they commemorate the singular blessings bestowed upon them in this.

Ver. 10. *I have brought the firstfruits,* &c.] Thus they concluded this solemn rite, as they began it (ver. 3), with an acknowledgment that they held this land of God as the supreme Lord, and that by his free gift.

Set it before the Lord thy God,] Having said these words, they left the basket by the altar, as the Jews say, where it had been placed (ver. 4), and then the priest set it before the sanctuary, where God dwelt by his special presence there.

Worship before the Lord] They made a profound reverence towards the holy place, by bowing their bodies as low as they could, and so went out of the temple: so the Hebrew word imports. And this outward act of worship, no doubt, was accompanied, in all good men, with humble thanks to God for his benefits, and prayer for the continuance of them.

Ver. 11.] They were to make a feast at the time of offering these first-fruits; and there to entertain the Levites, and the strangers, as well as their own family. These feasts were made out of the provision mentioned, xii. 6, 7, xvi. 10—12. Besides which, the bullock, which went before them when they carried up the first-fruits from their several cities, was offered for a peace-offering, when they came to the sanctuary; as Mr. Selden observes in the place above mentioned (lib. iii. De Synedr. cap. 13, p. 203).

Ver. 12. *When thou hast made an end of tithing*] For there was a second tith to be paid after the first to the Levites, as was observed above, xii. 6, and is

which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you.

12 ¶ When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithes of thine increase the third year, *which is the year of tithing*, and has given it unto the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, that they may eat within thy gates, and be filled;

plainly spoken of, xiv. 22, 23, &c. Which the Jews call the "consummation or finishing of tithing," as I observed there, ver. 29. And so these words may be translated, "When thou hast finished all the tithes of thine increase."

The third year, which is the year of tithing.] Every third year, the second tithe before mentioned was to be employed to a peculiar use (see xix. 28, 29), as it follows here in the next words (so the Jews expound it, whose sense our Mr. Mede expresses in a few words). For two years together they paid the Levites' tithe, and the festival tithe; but in the third year they paid the Levites' tithe, and the poor man's tithe; that is, what was wont in other years to be spent in feasting, was wholly spent every third year upon the poor (book i. Discourse xxxii. p. 228). But there are some that think they were bound every third year to pay this poor man's tithe, besides that to the Levites and the festival tithe: about which I shall not here dispute.

Give it unto the Levite, &c.] According to the commandment, xiv. 29 (see there).

Ver. 13. *Then thou shalt say*] As they were every year to make the foregoing profession when they brought their first-fruits, so they were to make another profession, which here follows, every third year; "When the course of all manner of tithing, (as Mr. Mede there expresses it) was come about."

Before the Lord] This sounds as if they were to make this profession before the most holy place at the sanctuary. Which seems to confute the common exposition of the Jewish doctors, that this tithe of the third year was not to be spent there, but at home, within their own gates. But it may be supposed that every man was privately to make this solemn profession, as in the presence of God, who knew the truth of what he said. Or rather, that the next time he went up to worship at God's house, he was bound to make this declaration before the Divine Majesty. Which is the most likely interpretation, because these words, *before the Lord*, are always so used in these books. And unless they had been obliged to this, their covetous and cruel disposition might have inclined them to defraud the poor, which by this means was prevented. For though men might have satisfied themselves in omitting this profession, if it had been left merely to their own private consciences, yet when they were bound to come and make it publicly at God's own house, as they could not avoid it, so few would be found so impudently profane as solemnly to tell a lie to God himself.

I have brought away the hallowed things] Things separated by the Divine commandment from their own private use, for the use of the poor.

Out of mine house.] From the rest of the fruits of the earth which they had gathered.

Have given them unto the Levite, &c.] That is, unto the refreshment of the poor. So the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases ver. 2, which is worth the mentioning: "In the third year, which is the year of tithing for the poor, ye shall give the first tithes to the Levites, and then the tithes of the poor to the

13 Then thou shalt say before the Lord thy God, I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy commandments which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them:

14 I have not eaten thereof in my mourning

strangers, fatherless, and widows, that they may eat in their cities, and be filled."

According to all thy commandments] According to the direction before mentioned, xiv. 29.

I have not transgressed thy commandments, &c.] Neither done contrary to God's precepts, nor forgotten to perform them; either by keeping these tithes to themselves, or by bestowing them otherwise than God appointed.

Ver. 14. *I have not eaten thereof in my mourning.*] After the general profession mentioned in the verse foregoing, that they had brought all hallowed things out of their houses, and employed them as God directed, they were to make three particular professions, which are mentioned in this verse. And, it is probable, they have respect to some idolatrous customs which were in those days: the first of them is, that they had "not eaten thereof in mourning, or in lamentation." For so the Hebrew word *oni* signifies, very bitter grief, and sore mourning. Such the Egyptians made in harvest-time, when they offered the first-fruits of the earth, and kept the feast of Isis with doleful lamentations. So Diodorus Siculus, and other authors tell us, particularly Julius Firmicus, who severely reproves their folly, or madness rather, saying, *Cur plangitis fruges terræ, &c.* "Why do you bewail the fruits of the earth? Why weep you at the growth of your seed, &c. You should rather give thanks for these things to the most high God, whose bounty is not to be lamented; but bewail rather your own error," &c. If there was such a custom in the world when Moses lived, it may very well be thought that he taught the Israelites to disclaim such senseless and impious practices. And as the Egyptians, by this mourning, acknowledged Isis, that is, *the earth*, to be the giver of all these good things; so he required God's people to bring in their harvest with the greatest joy and thanks unto the Most High: for there was no joy so great as that of harvest and vintage; directly opposite to the heathen, who kept the feast of Bacchus also with lamentations (see our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. De Ritual. Hebr. sec. 24, sect. 1).

Taken away ought thereof for any unclean use.] As some of the old idolaters were wont to do; who separated some part of the first-fruits for magical purposes, and sometimes for carnal and filthy. So Julius Firmicus informs us, who immediately after the mention of their lamentations, when they gathered the fruits of the earth, asks this question, *Quid addis incestum et adulterium?* Which shows that there were unclean rites which accompanied their offerings, and that they made them minister unto Venus. See the same learned author in the same place, sect. 3.

Nor given ought thereof for the dead.] If this be the right translation of the last words, *for the dead*, St. Austin hath given us a likely reason of this clause, which was, to profess they had not imitated the gentiles, who were wont to set meat and drink upon the graves of the dead, as he tells us, Serm. 15, de Sanctis. But it doth not appear that they set any part of their tithe, or first-fruits upon them, not that they did it only in harvest-time; but rather common bread

neither have I taken away *ought* thereof for any unclean *use*, nor given *ought* thereof for the dead: *but* I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God, and have done according to all that thou hast commanded me.

15 Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest unto our fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey.

16 ¶ This day the Lord thy God hath com-

and wine, which at all times they set upon their graves when they were interred; and therefore it may be translated *to the dead* (as the same excellent person observes, sect. 3). And so it is a profession, they had not offered any of the fruits of the earth to heroes (after the manner of the gentiles), particularly to Osiris. For that they honoured them with their first-fruits, appears by a passage in Porphyry, lib. iv. *περί Ἀποχρῆς*, sect. 22, where he mentions three laws made by Triptolemus, an ancient lawgiver among the Athenians: one of which is this, *Θεοὺς καρποὺς ἀγᾶλλειν*, "to worship the gods with the fruits of the earth." Which Draco thus expounds, as he shows in the conclusion of this book; *Θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ ἥριως ἐγγυρίους ἐν κοινῷ ἐκποιέουσιν νόμους πατρίας ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν*, &c., "to honour the gods, and the heroes of their country publicly, according to the laws of the nation; and privately, as much as they were able, with speaking well of them, and with the first-fruits, and the annual offerings" (see Meursius, in his *Thomis Attica*, lib. i. cap. 1). But however we take this, the giving any part of tithe, either for the dead, or to the dead, shows there was such a superstitious custom: unto which this clause having a manifest respect, we have reason to think the two former have so likewise.

I have hearkened unto the voice of the Lord my God, and have done according] Performed all that God required, and done nothing contrary to it. All these words, from ver. 13 to this place, were to be spoken with a low and humble voice, because they are a sort of commendation of themselves, and of their own integrity; which is not to be proclaimed aloud. But when they made the foregoing profession, at the presenting of their first-fruits (ver. 5, 6, &c.), they being an acknowledgment of their own meanness and poor beginnings, and of God's infinite goodness in their advancement, they were to lift up their voice, and say aloud, "My father was a Syrian ready to perish," &c. Thus the doctors resolve in the Gemara of *Mischna Sota*, cap. 7, in the beginning of it.

Ver. 15. *Look down*] Have a gracious regard.

From thy holy habitation] This is an humble acknowledgment of the infinite majesty of God, who, though he was graciously pleased to dwell among them by a glorious symbol of his presence in the sanctuary, yet dwelt in a far more transcendent glory in the heavens, the highest of which could not contain him, as holy men acknowledged (1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. ii. 6).

Bless thy people Israel] Having performed their duty, they had the greater confidence to beg the continuance of God's mercies to them and to their country; which it had been presumption to expect, if they had not acknowledged him to be the donor of all the good things they enjoyed in the manner before appointed. For this was the end of all oblations, both of this tithe, and of the first-fruits, and any other, to acknowledge God to be the Lord, "of whom all things come (as David speaks), and of whose own we give unto him" (see 1 Chron. xxix. 11—13, &c.).

manded thee to do these statutes and judgments: thou shalt therefore keep and do them with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.

17 Thou hast avouched the Lord this day to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken unto his voice:

18 And the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all his commandments;

As thou swarest unto our fathers] He teacheth them to conclude as they began (ver. 3), with a thankful acknowledgment of God's faithfulness to his promise.

A land that floweth with milk and honey] See xi. 9. The Jerusalem Targum paraphraseth it thus, "a land producing fruits as pure as milk, and as sweet and delicious as honey."

Ver. 16. *This day*] This refers to the time when Moses spake all these words unto them.

Hath commanded thee] By me.

Statutes and judgments] These two words comprehend the precepts in the foregoing chapters: some of which concern matters of religion, and others of civil government.

Thou shalt therefore keep and do them] Set yourselves sincerely and heartily to the performance of them.

Ver. 17. *Thou hast avouched*] So the Hebrew word signifies, as Job Ludolphus observes, who renders it, *asseverare*, serio *affirmare*; being the same with the French word *avouer*, and may be here translated, "Thou hast solemnly professed," or rather protested.

The Lord this day] The word *this* is not in the Hebrew (as it is in the foregoing verse), but he saith simply *hajom* (not *hajom hazeth*), "the day," or "that day;" which signifies the time when Moses delivered these laws from God.

To be thy God] Then they owned him to be their king and governor. For so the name *Elohim* properly signifies dignity, empire, and authority, as Grotius observes upon Exod. xx. Fortunatus Seacchus, before him, expounds these very words: "Which (saith he) have respect to God as their emperor, who had the supreme government of the commonwealth of Israel, with a right and authority of constituting laws, and giving mandates for the establishing of that government." Sacror. *Elaechrysm*. par. ii. cap. 52, p. 509 (see Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, &c., and xxxiv. 27).

To walk in his ways] By his *ways*, that author understands the moral precepts written on tables of stone.

To keep his statutes] The ritual precepts.

His commandments] Concerning the duties of his worship and service.

His judgments] The political precepts belonging to their good government.

To hearken unto his voice] In all things which he should declare from his oracle, when they consulted it.

Ver. 18.] At the same time (for the word *this* is not in the Hebrew), the Lord assured the Israelites that they should be his people in a special manner, provided they made good their promise of keeping his commandments: for the covenant was mutual (see Exod. xxiv. 3, 7, xix. 5, 6). It is observable that the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases these two verses in this manner: "Ye have taken the Word of the Lord to reign over you to-day, that he may be your God, &c. And the Word of the Lord reigneth over

19 And to make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour; and that thou mayest be an

holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken.

you, a people dedicated to his name, as his peculiar," &c. Where Memra, "the Word," cannot be understood otherwise than of the second person in the Deity.

Ver. 19. *To make thee high above all nations*] It is a pious note of Coun. Pelicanus, that there is no greater glory to the faithful, than that they are peculiarly grateful, devoted, dedicated, obedient unto God, as his children.

In praise, and in name, and in honour] These words express his singular kindness to them, in that though all nations were his (being made by him, and he the Lord and governor of them all), yet he promised to have such a special favour to them, that all nations round them should take notice of it, and speak

with admiration of their happiness, and the honour he had done them. All this is included in those words before mentioned, Exod. xix. 5, 6, where the last words of this verse are explained, "That thou mayest be a holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken."

All this Moses called to their mind, that it might prepare and dispose them to renew the same covenant with God before he left them; which he presses upon them in the nine-and-twentieth chapter of this book, after he had given them some other admonitions, and laid before them the blessings and curses that would come upon them, according to their fidelity or falsehood in that holy covenant. Which is the subject of the two following chapters.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *The people are commanded to write the law upon stones, 5 and to build an altar of whole stones. 11 The tribes divided on Gerizim and Ebal. 14 The curses pronounced on mount Ebal.*

1 AND Moses with the elders of Israel commanded the people, saying, Keep all the commandments which I command you this day.

2 And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord

thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaister them with plaister:

3 And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law, when thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the land which the

CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *And Moses with the elders of Israel commanded the people*] I observed in the preface to this book, and upon ch. iv. 41, and other places, that Moses did not speak all that is contained in this book at once, but at several times; and that he commonly took the elders to his assistance, as is here expressly affirmed; though some things he spake himself alone to all the people, as I observed upon ver. 1.

Keep all the commandments] This is a new exhortation to obedience; which he could not press too often, considering the great proneness of this people to break God's laws.

This day] At this time, and formerly, for it doth not precisely signify *one day*; and the word *this* is not in the original.

Ver. 2. *On the day when ye shall pass over Jordan*] Here it is evident the word *day* doth not signify precisely the very same day they passed over, but not long after, as soon as they were come to Mount Ebal (ver. 4), after the taking of Jericho and Ai, as appears from Josh. viii. 30. For they were to pass over Jordan, "unto the land which the Lord their God gave them" (as it here follows), before they were obliged to do what is here required.

Set thee up great stones] It is not said how many; but some fancy there were twelve, according to the number of pillars which Moses employed (Exod. xxiv. 4) when he made the covenant between God and his people. But unless we could certainly determine how much of the law was to be written upon these stones, we cannot give a good guess at their number. For if only the ten commandments, fewer than twelve would serve; if the whole book of Deuteronomy, so many are not sufficient. As for the marginal reference in our Bibles unto Josh. iv. 1, it can have no respect to this place; for those twelve stones were ordered to be taken out of Jordan, and

left there, where they lodged that night, which was at Gilgal (see there, ver. 3, 8, 20).

Plaister them with plaister] That being plain and smooth, they might write what is here commanded upon them, which they could not do while they were rough and uneven.

Ver. 3. *Write upon them all the words of this law*] Many think he means the whole book of Deuteronomy; which, because it is long, *great stones* are ordered to be provided for this purpose. Others think only the ten commandments are here intended, which were the principal "words of the covenant," as Moses calls this law, xxxix. 1. But Josephus (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. ult.) is of opinion, that he means the cursings which here follow from verse 15, to the end of the chapter. Which is no improbable opinion; they containing several select precepts, and the last of them seems to respect the whole law of Moses, ver. 26.

But, however we understand this, it is certain, that, before the use of paper was found out, the ancients, particularly the Phœnicians and Egyptians, were wont to write their minds upon *stones*, as a great many authors testify, mentioned by Huetius, who observes, that this custom continued long after the invention of paper, especially if they desired any thing should be vulgarly known and conveyed down to posterity. See Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 2, n. 15, where he observes, that Moses ordered the book of Deuteronomy to be inscribed upon stones. I suppose he means all the *laws* contained in this book (not all the exhortations and historical passages), which agrees very well with this injunction, that they should write on the stones "all the words of this law."

When thou art passed over, &c.] When they were gone over Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan, and were come to the place where he directed these stones to be set up, and this inscription

LORD thy God giveth thee, a land that floweth with milk and honey; as the LORD God of thy fathers hath promised thee.

4 Therefore it shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister.

5 And there shalt thou build an altar unto the LORD thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them.

6 Thou shalt build the altar of the LORD thy God of whole stones: and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD thy God:

7 And thou shalt offer peace offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the LORD thy God.

8 And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly.

9 ¶ And Moses and the priests the Levites spake unto all Israel, saying, Take heed, and

made upon them. Which place is particularly named in the next verse. And from these words Fortunatus Scacchus thinks he hath reason to assert, that none of the things forementioned are meant by the words of this law, here commanded to be written; but that upon the very top of these stones (or the altar made of them, as he would have it understood) were written only the words of this covenant, whereby the people of Israel confessed themselves to have received the land of Canaan from God, and to hold it on condition of their obedience unto him. For so he interprets the words *write unto them, in summa superficie*. And to make us know what he means by the words of this law, he thinks the following words are added, "that thou mayest go into unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee," &c., that is, thou shalt declare who brought thee hither, and gave thee possession of this country, and upon what condition; viz. that thou shouldst keep the commands given to thee by God in Horeb. And therefore Moses doth not bid them write on the stones the law of the LORD nor the law absolutely, but the words of this law. Where the demonstrative particle *hazoth* limits the sense to the present matter of which he is speaking. Thus he, Myrothee. 2 Sacror. Elæochrysm, cap. 57, where he endeavours to strengthen this interpretation, by observing, that, after this command for writing this law upon the stones, "Moses, and the priests, and Levites, spake unto all Israel, saying, Take heed, and hearken, O Israel, this day thou art become the people of the LORD thy God, &c. (ver. 9, 10).

Ver. 4. *Ye shall set up these stones,*] This phrase, *set up*, seems to imply that they were a kind of pillars erected for this purpose, that the inscription might appear more fairly upon them.

In Mount Ebal,] Here the Samaritan Pentateuch hath, "in Mount Gerizim;" which is a manifest corruption, to justify their building a temple there, which they pretend God commanded in these words.

Ver. 5. *There shalt thou build an altar*] That they might offer sacrifice to God, and renew their covenant with him.

An altar of stones] Upon which Josephus himself fancies the forenamed inscription was to be made; and so the Talmudists also, in Mischna Sota, cap. 7. But it is plain, the stones designed for that use were to be set up before the altar was built; the intention of it being (as I shall show presently), that they might promise to observe the words which were there written.

Not lift up any iron tool] See Exod. xx. 25.

Ver. 6. *Build the altar—of whole stones:*] Not hewn, nor polished; whereby all manner of imagery was avoided. Such rustic altars of rough stone, piled one upon another, were in use among the heathen, who seem to have imitated this pattern. The form of one of them Fortunatus Scacchus hath given us out of some ancient monument at Brixia, related by Octavius Roscius (see his forenamed book, cap. 59, p. 585). Such altars the Israelites were permitted

to build upon some special occasion, as Gideon and Manoah did (Judg. vi. 24, 26, xiii. 19), and Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 17), and Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 35), and David (2 Sam. xxiv. 25), and such an one Moses himself built (Exod. xxiv. 4). And as Moses there set up twelve pillars, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, when they entered into covenant with God at Horeb, so the forementioned author thinks, at the confirmation of it, when they came into Canaan, they built not twelve altars, but heaped up twelve stones, which made one altar, without any cost at all bestowed upon it. And thus Elijah took twelve stones, and on a sudden built an altar with them, when he endeavoured to bring the Israelites back again into the covenant of God (1 Kings xviii. 31, 32).

Offer burnt offerings thereon] As they did at Horeb (Exod. xxiv. 5), and as Joshua did when they came into Canaan, and had built the altar here commanded (Josh. viii. 31), which *burnt-offerings* were an acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion over them; and that they held this land of him, as their supreme Lord, from whom they had received it. They kept the passover as soon as they came into Canaan; but we read of no altar erected, nor burnt-sacrifices offered, till they came to Ebal.

Ver. 7. *Offer peace offerings,*] So Moses also did at Horeb, as we read in the forenamed place (Exod. xxiv. 5), and so Joshua did when they came into Canaan. And they were offered as thanksgivings to God, for bringing them into that good land.

And shalt eat there and rejoice] The sacrificers had a part of the peace-offerings given them, that they might feast with God, in token that they were in covenant with him (see Lev. vii. 5). And therefore God ordered these sacrifices to be offered, as soon as they came to this place, where his law was to be inscribed upon the stones before mentioned: that the people of Israel, to whom God promised the possession of the land of Canaan, upon the condition that they observed his laws, might confirm their covenant with him, when they took possession of it: and be given to understand, that God, having performed what he promised, expected that they should be mindful of their obligation, faithfully to observe his Divine laws. So that this altar may be properly called (as the same Fort. Scacchus terms it), "the altar of confederation, or confirmation of the covenant, into which they had entered at Horeb."

Ver. 8.] So that they might be read easily. How the Talmudists came to fancy they were written in seventy languages, I cannot imagine; but such a conceit there is among them, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 9, p. 396; for so many languages they think there were in the world. And Bartenora saith, God would have everybody that came into their country learn these truths, if he pleased; and no pagan be able to excuse his ignorance, by saying, he had no means to know them (see Joh. Wagenseil upon Sota, cap. 7, sect. 5, annot. 5).

Ver. 9. *Moses and the priests the Levites spake*]

hearken, O Israel; this day thou art become the people of the Lord thy God.

10 Thou shalt therefore obey the voice of the Lord thy God, and do his commandments and his statutes, which I command thee this day.

11 ¶ And Moses charged the people the same day, saying,

12 These shall stand upon mount Gerizim to bless the people, when ye are come over

Jordan; Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and Benjamin:

13 And these shall stand upon mount Ebal to curse; Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.

14 ¶ And the Levites shall speak, and say unto all the men of Israel with a loud voice,

15 Cursed be the man that maketh *any* graven or molten image, an abomination unto the Lord,

It seems, by this, that Moses and the elders (ver. 1) took the priests and Levites to their assistance, to deliver what follows.

Take heed,] Attend to what we say. The Hebrew word is found nowhere else; and seems to belong to their outward posture.

Hearken,] So as to consider.

This day thou art become the people of the Lord thy God,] These words following after the precept concerning building an altar of confederation, must be understood as relating unto that; and therefore the word *this day* doth not respect only that particular day on which Moses spake this to the people, or the day wherein God declared it, but the day upon which such an altar, for the renovation of the covenant, was to be erected, when Joshua was to speak these words: for then, and not before, the blessings were pronounced to those that observed the laws of God, and the curses against those that broke them; and God had not fulfilled his promises to them till they came over Jordan. Therefore he did not order this altar to be built, and these sacrifices to be offered, whereby they obliged themselves to him, and became his people by a new bond, till their entrance upon the possession of what he had promised.

Ver. 10.] These words, and the foregoing, are plainly words of a mutual covenant between God and them. Into which covenant they entered three times: first, at Horeb (Exod. xxiv.), and then just before Moses died, twenty-ninth of this book (ver. 1, 12, 13, &c.), and when they were come into Canaan (Josh. viii. 30, 31, &c.). And because the Divine laws delivered to them were confirmed and ratified at all these times, therefore it is that those laws are so frequently called by the name of the *covenant*; and when they transgressed them, they are said to *break this covenant*.

Ver. 11.] Which charge, I suppose, the elders, with the assistance of the priests and Levites, delivered throughout the whole camp of Israel (ver. 1, 9).

Ver. 12. *Mount Gerizim*] This is a mountain upon which Samaria was afterward built.

To bless the people,] By saying *Amen*, when they heard the blessings read by the priests. For it was not the people who stood upon the mountain that blessed (i. e. pronounced the blessings), but the priests below (ver. 14).

When ye are come over Jordan;] See ver. 2.

Simeon, and Levi, &c.,] These six tribes, who stood upon Mount Gerizim (i. e. upon the top, and on the descent of it down to the bottom), were all descended from the sons of free women, Leah and Rachel; and therefore many think appointed to bless, which was more honourable than to curse.

Ver. 13. *These shall stand upon Mount Ebal to curse;*] This was a mountain opposite to the other; and there was a valley between them. Abimelech seems to have been made king upon this mountain, when he had killed all the sons of Gideon but Jotham: for it was done "in the plain (or by the oak) of the pillar, which was in Shechem;" that is by this pillar, on which the curses of the law were written (Judg. ix. 6), whereupon Jotham got upon

Mount Gerizim, and then cursed the men of Shechem. Which shows, that the tops of these mountains were not so far distant one from another, but what was said upon the one might be heard by those who were on the top and the sides of the other. And yet there was such a valley between them, that they could not presently come at Jotham to apprehend him, but he had time to flee, and get away, after he had spoken his apologue.

Reuben, Gad, &c.,] Four of these were children of the handmaids; and Reuben had lost his dignity by going up to his father's bed; and Zebulun was the youngest of Leah's sons; who was therefore chosen, rather than any of the other, for this less honourable employment. For otherwise there would not have been an equal number of tribes upon each mountain.

Ver. 14. *The Levites*] That is, the priests, who are often called "the priests the Levites;" particularly in that very place where we read of the execution of this command, Josh. viii. 33. And the Levites were among those that stood upon Mount Gerizim (ver. 12), who did not pronounce the blessings, but answered *Amen* to them. Yet the Gemara upon Sota, cap. 7, sect. 23, will have it, that as many of the Levites as were fit to minister, (that is, all from thirty to fifty years of age, who were fit to carry the ark) stood round about the ark with the priests; the rest of the Levites being upon Mount Gerizim, with the other tribes appointed to have their station there.

Shall speak,] The same Gemara rightly gathers, that the ark with the priests were below in the valley between the two mountains; because, it is said, in the place before mentioned, that all Israel and the elders stood about it, Josh. viii. 33. Which could not have been, unless it were placed between the two mountains whereon they stood, upon both sides, from the top to the bottom.

With a loud voice,] That every one that stood on the side or top of the mountains might hear what they said, the priests being placed so, in several parts of the valley, that their voice might reach them all. For which end they were advanced, perhaps, upon a pulpit (as Ezra afterward was, Neh. viii. 4), and a signal likewise given when they should say *Amen*.

Ver. 15. *Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image,*] The people upon the mountains being to bless as well as curse, the Mishna, in the title Sota, (cap. 7, sect. 5) rightly explains it; that, first, the priests, turning their faces towards Mount Gerizim, proclaimed with a loud voice, "Blessed be the man that maketh not any graven," &c., unto which all the people that stood there answered *Amen*; and then turning their faces towards Mount Ebal, they said these words, "Cursed be the man that maketh," &c., to which they that stood there made the same answer. See also the Jerusalem Targum, which paraphrases these words in the same manner.

An abomination] Which is odious, and far to be removed from the presence of the Lord, as the same Targum interprets it.

The work of the hands of the craftsmen,] A mere device of men, and therefore not to have Divine worship given to it of any sort.

the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen.

16 Cursed *be* he that setteth light by his father or his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.

17 Cursed *be* he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say, Amen.

18 Cursed *be* he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way. And all the people shall say, Amen.

19 Cursed *be* he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow. And all the people shall say, Amen.

Putteth it in a secret place.] Though he was not a public declared worshipper of images, yet, if he did it privately, in some closet of his own house, or in any other secret place, to conceal his wickedness, though he escaped the punishment of the law, which sentenced open idolaters to death, yet he could not escape the vengeance of God.

All the people] The forenamed Mischna and Targum say, that the people on both mountains answered *Amen*, both to the blessings and to the cursings: which both not agree with what goes before, ver. 12, 13.

Shall answer and say, Amen.] Express their consent to it. For the word *Amen*, as the Talmudists say in Schebuoth, hath sometimes the force of an oath, sometimes only declares consent and approbation, and sometimes is used for the confirmation of any thing. An example of the first they think there is in Numb. v. 22, and they allege this place for an example of the second; and for the third, Jer. xxviii. 6.

Ver. 16. Cursed *be* he that setteth light by his father or his mother.] It is observed by interpreters, that, as the precept of honouring parents stands next to the commandment concerning the honour that is due to God (Exod. x. 12), so the curse pronounced against those who dishonoured them is here placed next to the curse against worshippers of images. And as idolaters were to be put to death, so were those that cursed their parents (Exod. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9). And I may add, from the foregoing words, that though they did it ever so secretly, they lay under his curse.

The people shall say, Amen.] But before this curse was pronounced, they had said *Amen* to the blessing opposite to it ["Blessed is he that setteth not light by his father and mother"], as was observed in the foregoing verse. And the same is to be noted concerning the following curses, which were preceded with a blessing, till they were all ended.

Ver. 17.] Against which there is an express precept in the foregoing part of this book, xix. 14. And Pellicanus well observes, that, by this particular instance of God's displeasure against injustice, they were deterred from all encroachments upon their neighbour's possessions.

Ver. 18.] By giving him wrong directions, or misleading him (see Lev. xix. 14). Some apply this to giving pernicious advice to simple people; which is certainly worse than misguiding of the blind, because it leads men into sin, as well as into danger.

Ver. 19.] These three I observed before (xxiv. 19), are commonly put together, as a paraphrase on the word *poor*: whose cause God himself undertakes to plead (x. 18, and see Exod. xii. 21, 22). And, therefore, all good lawgivers have taken special care of them, particularly of orphans; concerning whom Plato ordains, that the conservators of the laws should be ἀντὶ γονεῶν, "instead of their natural parents"

20 Cursed *be* he that lieth with his father's wife; because he uncovereth his father's skirt. And all the people shall say, Amen.

21 Cursed *be* he that lieth with any manner of beast. And all the people shall say, Amen.

22 Cursed *be* he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother. And all the people shall say, Amen.

23 Cursed *be* he that lieth with his mother in law. And all the people shall say, Amen.

24 Cursed *be* he that smiteth his neighbour secretly. And all the people shall say, Amen.

25 Cursed *be* he that taketh reward to slay an

and look after them so well, that they should not fare the worse for wanting their fathers (see lib. viii. De Legibus, fol. 926, &c., edit. Serrani).

Ver. 20.] See xxii. 30, and Lev. xviii. 8.

Ver. 21.] Exod. xxii. 19, and Lev. xviii. 23. This some of the Jewish doctors, out of an unaccountable pride, apply to the vulgar sort of their own nation (whom they call *The people of the earth*), as if they were no better than beasts, with whom they were not to marry.

Ver. 22.] This hath been explained also, Lev. xvii. 9.

Ver. 23. See Lev. xviii. 17, and xx. 14.

Ver. 24.] Though it be with his tongue, whereby he wounds the fame of an absent person. But the word *smite* is often used for killing (Exod. xxi. 12, Lev. xxiv. 17). Of which, if a man was guilty, though he committed the murder so secretly that he could not be put to death by the sentence of the judges, yet he lay under this heavy sentence of God.

Ver. 25.] This seems to have respect to the judges, who for money not only gave wrong judgment in other causes, but condemned those that were not guilty to death (see Exod. xxiii. 7, 8, and in this book x. 17, xvi. 19).

Ver. 26.] The word we here translate *confirm*, is more plainly translated *perform*, in 1 Sam. xv. 11. And so it certainly signifies here; the performing of what God commands, being a kind of establishment of the law, as obedience is a subversion of it, and as far as lies in the offender's power, an abolishing it and taking it away. Therefore, the apostle exactly translates the sense of these words, Gal. iii. 10. "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things," &c., where the apostle adds the word *all* (as the LXX, and the Samaritan did, even in St. Jerome's time), to expound "the words of this law," to signify not merely all that is contained in these blessings and curses, "but all things which are written in the book of the law." So that whether this whole book (i. e. all the laws contained in it) were to be written upon the pillars, or only these blessings and cursings, the matter comes to the same issue; because all that is contained in this book is comprehended in this last curse, all that is contained in the whole law of Moses. Therefore, it is not very material neither, whether these cursings and blessings were recited upon Mount Gerizim and Ebal, or the whole law of Moses, from one end to the other, about which the Jews themselves differ. But they that are of the latter opinion, think it well grounded upon Josh. viii. 33, where we read how Joshua carefully performed what Moses here enjoined. And, that his words might not be forgotten, Moses seems to have ordered the continuance of this solemnity every seventh year, in the twenty-ninth chapter of this book, ver. 10, 11, &c.

The Mischna in Sota (which I have often mentioned)

innocent person. And all the people shall say, Amen.

26 Cursed *be* he that confirmeth not *all* the

concludes this matter with these words: When the blessings and cursings were ended, they brought stones and built an altar, which they plastered over, and wrote upon them all the words of this law in seventy languages. But I have shown before, that the stones on which the law was written were different from the altar, and were erected before the building of the altar. The Gemara there adds (cap. 7, sect. 24), That every one of the Israelites there present stood bound one for another (that is, for the whole company), that they would observe these laws. Which I know not how they extract out of Moses's words; but their doctors frequently mention it in their books,

words of this law to do them. And all the people shall say, Amen.

and make this pious use of it, that, by virtue of this security which they gave for each other, every man was bound to reprove his neighbour if he saw him offend, unless he was content to undergo the punishment which was threatened unto the breach of God's laws, and come under the curse (Lev. xix. 17). And unto this they apply those words, "they shall fall one upon another" (as we truly translate Lev. xxvi. 37), as if they signified, "every one shall fall by his brother," that is, by his brother's crimes: for we all promised, say they (in the Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. 3, sect. 6), and engaged one for another, and so from that time were punished one for another.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 The blessings for obedience.

15 The curses for disobedience.

1 AND it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe *and* to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the LORD thy God will set thee on high above all nations of the earth:

2 And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God.

3 Blessed *shalt* thou *be* in the city, and blessed *shalt* thou *be* in the field.

4 Blessed *shall be* the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep.

5 Blessed *shall be* thy basket and thy store.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ver. 1. *It shall come to pass,*] In this chapter he repeats, with many enlargements, the reward and penalties which he had promised and threatened in the book of Leviticus, unto the observance or breach of the covenant they had made with God: and here in this verse he promises in general the blessings which are more particularly enumerated in the following verses.

If thou shalt hearken diligently] See vii. 12, where the same thing is said; only here he adds the word *diligently*, to make them attend with the greater seriousness to what he delivered (see ch. xi. 13, 22).

The Lord thy God will set thee on high above all nations] By bestowing on them the following blessings (see vii. 14). They were already endued with singular privileges above other nations (Exod. xix. 5, 6), which by their obedience would be confirmed, continued, and augmented, in greater plenty of all things.

Ver. 2. *All these blessings shall come on thee,*] Blessings that come unexpectedly, and when we are not in pursuit of them, are most welcome, and highly delight us. And such God here promises to bestow on them by his gracious providence, without their laborious and anxious seeking after them. By which very thing he sets them above all nations: for what they followed after eagerly, and many times in vain, he undertakes should come to them and prevent their desires.

If thou shalt hearken] So as to observe and do all his commandments; as it is explained in the foregoing verse.

Ver. 3.] That is, in all their affairs, within doors or without. Or whether they lived by employments in the city, or by husbandry in tilling the ground. It is not a natural interpretation of these words, which one of the Hebrew doctors gives of them in Bava Metzia, where he expounds, *blessed shalt thou be in the city*, Thy house shall be so nigh unto the synagogue, that thou needest not be troubled by going a

long way to it; and *blessed in the field*, Thy ground shall lie so near to the city, that thou mayest quickly bring the fruit it produces to be sold in the market. But if he could have gone on in this manner, it had been something tolerable; but he expounds what follows in a most indecent manner (see Wagenseil upon the Gemara of Sota, cap. 3, sect. 9, annot. 5).

Ver. 4. *Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body,*] This seems to be a promise of preventing miscarriages, when they were with child: for a numerous progeny is promised afterward (ver. 11).

Of thy ground,] This signifies they should have seasonable harvest and vintages. For *fruit of the ground* comprehends not only all sorts of corn, but grapes, figs, pomegranates, and suchlike fruits which grow on trees.

Of thy cattle,] By the word *beheima* is sometimes meant all sorts of brood creatures, in opposition to men; sometimes tame creatures, in opposition to wild beasts: but here all sorts of domestic creatures (except kine, sheep, and goats), viz. *asses* and *camels*. Which Jacob brought with him, as well as oxen and sheep, when he came from Laban into Canaan (Gen. xxxii. 5, 7).

The increase of thy kine,] The breed of these was very profitable, being a considerable part of the riches not only of that, but of other countries; as appears by what Pausanius saith of them (see Bochartus, par. i. Hierozoicon, lib. ii. cap. 40, in the beginning.)

The flocks of thy sheep,] Under the name of sheep, in the Hebrew, are comprehended goats also. All which God promises to increase, that is, to make them very wealthy. And here it may be observed, that the Israelites were generally husbandmen or shepherds, and did not commonly follow any other trades: and therefore no mention is made of them here, unless it be in ver. 6, where he seems to speak of all sorts of business.

6 Blessed *shall thou be* when thou comest in, and blessed *shall thou be* when thou goest out.

7 The LORD shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways.

8 The LORD shall command the blessing upon thee in thy storehouses, and in all that thou settest thine hand unto; and he shall bless thee in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

9 The LORD shall establish thee an holy

people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, and walk in his ways.

10 And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the LORD; and they shall be afraid of thee.

11 And the LORD shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers to give thee.

Ver. 5. *Thy basket*] The Jerusalem Targum refers to the basket wherein they carried up their first-fruits, (xxvi. 2). But the Vulgar Latin translates it *thy barns*: and so do the LXX. αἱ ἀποθήκαι σου, the place where they laid up their corn and other fruits of the earth. Which God promises both to fill and to preserve from the fire, or thieves, or other disasters.

Thy store.] The LXX. and the Vulgar translate it, "all that was remaining;" of which they had not present use, but kept till they had occasion for it. So it is a promise that they should never want; but still have something lying by them in store (as we translate it) above what they needed.

Ver. 6.] This the Jerusalem Targum interprets, of their entering into their schools, and going home again. But it rather signifies, they should have good journeys when they had occasion to travel, and find all safe when they returned home: or be prosperous both in time of peace and in time of war; when they are said, in the Hebrew phrase, to go out against their enemies. Or it may signify, in general, good success in all their affairs; which is expressed by the phrase *coming in and going out* (xxx. 2; 2 Sam. iii. 25). But I see no ground to think that it relates to traffic or manufactures: for they were of little use among a people, whose plain way of living made few things necessary, but what every man could make himself. And therefore we find by Ezekiel, who describes (ch. xxvii.) the great variety of merchandise which was brought to the mart of Tyre, that the Israelites carried nothing thither but wheat, and honey, and oil, and balm (ver. 17), which are the commodities the earth itself produceth.

Ver. 7. *The Lord shall cause thine enemies—to be smitten*] God had promised before, that, when they went up to serve him at their solemn festivals, their enemies should not so much as desire their land (Exod. xxxiv. 24), and now he assures them, that, when they did invade their country, they should not prevail, but be overthrown by them.

They shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways.] He not only promises them victory, but a complete victory. For fleeing *seven ways* (i. e. many ways), imports a total overthrow; which made every man shift for himself, as soldiers do when they are entirely routed.

Ver. 8. *The Lord shall command the blessing upon thee*] Protect them in their enjoyments by his sovereign power and providence; when otherwise they would have been in danger.

In thy storehouses.] The LXX. translate it *ταμεία*, and the Vulgar *cellaria*; which signify places wherein other goods were laid up within doors, as corn was in barns without (ver. 5).

In all that thou settest thine hand unto;] In all manner of undertakings and employments.

Bless thee in the land] Make them live long therein.

Ver. 9. *Establish thee an holy people unto himself.*] Confirm them in that noble relation wherein they stood to him (see vii. 6, xiv. 2).

As he hath sworn unto thee.] See vii. 12.

If thou shalt keep the commandments.] He had separated them from all people, by peculiar laws and privileges: for this purpose, that they should be governed by him, and be obedient to him.

Walk in his ways.] Nobody can see any reason to make this a special precept (as the Jews do), that "we should walk in the ways of the Lord." Which contains all the duties owing to him: whether by *his ways* we understand those Divine qualities, of mercy, holiness, goodness, and truth, whereby we approach to him; or (as the word *ways* is commonly used in Scripture (his Divine precepts, whereby he comes (as it were) unto us, and declares his mind and will towards us, by conformity to which we become like him in those divine qualities: for that is the entire meaning of "walking in his ways;" ordering all our actions, according to the direction of his holy will, whereby we resemble him.

Ver. 10. *All people*] Who were round about them or should have any knowledge of them.

Shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord;] Be convinced that you are after a peculiar manner, the LORD's people, (xiv. 1, xxvi. 18). For whosoever we read that a person or thing hath the name of God called upon it, or is called by his name, the meaning is, that it is *his*. As the "city called by God's name," Jer. xxv. 29, is the city of God, where he dwelt, viz. Jerusalem. And thus the ark is said to have the name of God called on it, 1 Chron. xii. 6, i. e. was the LORD's ark, or the ark of the covenant. And as here the children of Israel are said to be the people called by his name, so it is of the Christian church, Acts xv. 17. For the very same phrase (as Mr. Mede observes) is used of the like relation that men have unto that which is theirs. Thus Jacob saith, Gen. xlviii. 16, that his name should be called on the two sons of Joseph, that is, they should be *his*, as Reuben and Simeon were: which shows these are "words of adoption" (see Disc. i. p. 7).

They shall be afraid of thee.] Not dare to do thee any hurt, or fear to have thee their enemy.

Ver. 11. *Make thee plenteous in goods.*] Bestow on them abundance of all good things, that their hearts could desire.

In the fruit of thy body] By giving them a numerous and healthy issue; whereby they should be multiplied like the stars of heaven, or the sand on the seashore; according to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xv. 5, xxii. 17.

Of thy cattle.] Which he promised likewise to increase exceedingly.

Of thy ground.] Which should afford large crops of corn, and great store of all other fruits every year.

In the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers] So that they should not need to send unto other countries to procure food (as they did in the days of their father Jacob), but have enough in their own land to support them all, though ever so numerous.

12 The LORD shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thine hand: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow.

13 And the LORD shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them:

14 And thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to go after other gods to serve them.

15 ¶ But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt

Ver. 12. *The Lord shall open unto thee his good treasure.*] The heaven, or the air, is called the *good treasure of God*, because there he gathers together great heaps of clouds, from whence he enriches the earth with fattening showers of rain; which when he withholds, he is said to shut up this treasure (xi. 17), and when he bestows it, to open it; that his people might be sensible of their dependence upon his bounty for that blessing, as well as others, which he dispenses as he pleasesh.

In his season.] The former and the latter rain, as the Scripture calls it. The former fell in autumn, after the seed was sown, to make it take root and spring up; the latter fell in the spring-time, to bring the seed which was come up to maturity (see xi. 14). See the learned Dr. Prideaux, upon Maimonides's treatise *De Donis Pauperum*, cap. 1, not. 25.

To bless all the work of thine hand.] By these seasonable showers he blessed their ploughing and sowing, and produced a plentiful harvest: which seems to be meant here by the "work of their hand;" viz. their husbandry; which includes all sorts of plantations, as well as tillage (Gen. ix. 20).

Thou shalt lend unto many nations, and—not borrow.] A token of great riches (see xv. 6), which all nations looked upon as a blessing: as indeed they are with piety. And therefore Callinachus, in his hymn to Jove, prays him to bestow both virtue and riches upon them (ver. 97).

—Δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὀψιόν.

Which puts me in mind of a pertinent observation of Maimonides, in his preface to Pereck Chelek, in which he treats of the *foundations* of the Jewish religion. "This is the meaning (saith he) of the promises and threatenings of the law, that, if they were obedient to his precepts, he would furnish them with all good things that should further them therein, and remove from them all that hinder them: for no man can serve God as he ought when he is sick, or oppressed with famine, or vexed with wars; therefore God promises to remove all these things, and to give them health and tranquillity, that they might perfect their obedience, and be worthy of the life of the world to come. 'For this is not the end of the law, to make the earth bring forth plentifully, and to prolong men's life upon the earth, and give them healthful bodies; but that by all those things they may be helped and encouraged to perform obedience to it,' &c.

Ver. 13. *Make thee the head and not the tail;*] This is a proverbial speech, which is explained in the words following: "And thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath." For the head being the first and chief part of all animals, and the tail the

not hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee:

16 Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field.

17 Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store.

18 Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep.

19 Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out.

20 The LORD shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be 'de-

last and lowest, those persons are said to be the *head* who command over others, and those the *tail* who are subject. And therefore this is a promise that they should rule over other nations, as their lords (as they did in the days of David and Solomon); but other nations should not lord it over them.

If that thou hearken unto the commandments—to observe and to do them.] This was the condition upon which all their happiness depended; as he had told them in the beginning of this discourse, ver. 1.

Ver. 14. *Not go aside*] See ch. v. 32.

To go after other gods] This was the principal commandment of the law, to serve no other gods but the Lord alone. Which, while they observed, he was pleased to bless them, and to bear with many other sins which they committed. Upon which account, this commandment is so often repeated, as we find it, in this very book, vi. 14, vii. 4, 16, viii. 19, ix. 16, 23, xi. 3, 4, 30, &c.

Ver. 15. *To observe to do all his commandments*] Especially that great commandment, "Not to go after other gods to serve them."

All these curses shall come upon thee.] Pursue them so, that they should not possibly escape them. The same phrase is used of the blessings, ver. 2.

Ver. 16.] As miserable, that is, everywhere, as he intended to have made them happy (ver. 3).

Ver. 17.] The blessing of the barn was to have it full (ver. 5), and therefore the curse upon it was to make it empty.

Ver. 18.] He threatens to consume their children, their corn, and other fruits, with their herds and flocks.

Ver. 19.] Have no comfort in any undertaking, either at home or abroad, in peace or in war.

Ver. 20. *Cursing, vexation, and rebuke,*] It is very hard to know what these three words particularly import; the first two of them being very variously translated. The first of them, *meera*, seems to signify, in general, that God would blast them in all they designed and went about; for although the LXX. and Vulgar here render it *famine* and *want*, yet elsewhere the LXX. render it as we do, *κατάρα*, "cursing;" and the next word, *mehuma*, they translate *hunger*; but in other places the LXX. render it by six or seven words, which import the same with our English *vexation*, viz. *ταραχή*, "trouble or disturbance;" *ζόρυς*, "tumult;" *σύγχυσις*, "confusion;" *ἐκστασις*, "horror or affrightment," &c., which relate to a great disorder, disquiet, and perplexity in their mind. And the last word, *mighereth*, the Vulgar translates as we do, *rebuke*; but the LXX. *ἀνάσσειν*, "consumption;" which are the same in effect. For when God *rebukes* a man for his iniquity, he makes his beauty to consume

stroyed, and until thou perish quickly ; because of the wickedness of thy doings, whereby thou hast forsaken me.

21 The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land, whither thou goest to possess it.

22 The Lord shall smite thee with a con-

away like a moth (Ps. xxxix. 11). For God's rebukes consist not in words, but in sore afflictions (2 Kings xix. 3, Ps. xviii. 15, &c.), particularly in disappointments and ill success in their undertakings, and continual fear of worse for the future.

In all that thou settest thine hand unto] In all their affairs (ver. 8) they should meet with trouble, perplexity, and defeats.

Until thou be destroyed.] He threatens that this curse, trouble, and rebuke from God should pursue them, till they had completed their ruin.

Until thou perish quickly ;] When God began to punish them, after long patience with them, he was quick in his executions, and many times brought upon them sudden destruction. So he threatens in Zeph. i. 18, that he would "make a speedy riddance of all that dwell in the land." And though the whole nation was not rooted out speedily, but by degrees, yet they enjoyed it but a short time, in comparison of what God designed, if they had been obedient ; in that time, they were seldom without some trouble or other, till they were expelled out of their country.

Thou hast forsaken me.] And followed after other gods, which was the great crime that brought them to desolation.

Ver. 21. *The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee.*] The pestilence is threatened in Lev. xxvi. 25, where he saith he will "send it among them," and here adds, that it shall "cleave unto them," that is, be incurable. And so the author of Schebet Judah confesses, that, after they had been wasted and broken in pieces by wars, they that fled into Spain, in the time of Alphonsus, were swept away in great numbers by a plague ; and introduces one applying these very words, as a prophecy of it : which I thought fit to note, though this part of the prophecy doth not belong to what hath befallen them since the last destruction of Jerusalem (as I shall show hereafter), but to the times before the first destruction ; when he often sent a pestilence to destroy them (2 Sam. xxiv. 15 ; Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, 9, and many other places of that book ; Ezek. v. 12, vi. 11, 12 ; Amos iv. 10). But it must be acknowledged, also, that the Greeks call such unseasonable weather as destroys the fruits of the earth, by the name of λοιμός, "pestilence." So Plato, lib. x. De Legibus, saith, that which is called νόσσημα, "a disease in bodies," ἐν δ' ὥραις ἑτῶν καὶ ἐναυτῶν λοιμός, &c., is called "pestilence in the seasons of the year." The murrain also in cattle is called by the same name ; which even the pagans thought was sent by the anger of their gods, for the sins of men ; as we learn from Callimachus, in his hymn to Diana, where he saith (ver. 125), that when she was angry, pestilence ate up their cattle, and hail destroyed the fruits of the earth.

Κηνὴν φῶν λοιμός μεταβρόσκειται, ἔργα δὲ πόρον.

As, on the contrary, when she was well-pleased, she sent fruitful seasons, and all manner of happiness, as it follows in that hymn.

Until he have consumed thee from off the land.] Made a great destruction, by sweeping away many people, the rest being reserved for other judgments, which follow in the next words.

Ver. 22. *Smite thee with a consumption, and with a*

sumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew ; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.

23 And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron.

fever, and with an inflammation,] These three words signify sore diseases in men's bodies : the first two of which, *sacchepheth* and *kaddachath*, we translate in Lev. xxvi. 16, as we do here ; only the second of them we render the *burning ague*, which here we translate *fever*. Unto which is here added *dalleketh*, which signifies such an *inflammation* as is accompanied with itching (according to the LXX. who translate it *ἰθιβαρὸν*), which is extremely grievous, because the scratching of it increases the inflammation.

With an extreme burning, and with the sword.] These two seem to relate unto the indisposition of the air, by extreme heat and drought ; as we translate the word *cherub* in the margin of our Bibles ; for it signifies both the *sword* and *dryness* ; as the first word *charchur* signifies scorching heat, which frequently causes diseases : for it being the doubling of the word *charar*, it denotes the extremity or highest degree of it, as all such words do ; of which Bochartus hath given many examples in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. i. cap. 19.

With blasting, and with mildew ;] These two relate to the destruction of their corn, and the fruits of the earth, which follows upon the corruption of the air, as famine follows upon the corruption of the fruits of the earth. The first word *shiddaphon*, the LXX. and the other Greek interpreters translate ἀνεμοφθόριον, "blasting by biting winds ;" though elsewhere the LXX. translate it by ἐμπυρομένην καὶ πύρεσιν, which signify such "blighting as comes by heat." And the second word *jerakon* (which comes from *jerek*, herb or grass, or any green thing) seems properly to be expressed by the LXX. who translate it ὤχραν ; for corn, and grass, and herbs, turn pale and wan for want of moisture.

They shall pursue thee until thou perish.] These plagues upon their bodies, and upon the air, and the corn, and herbs, he threatens shall come upon them one year after another, till they were consumed.

Ver. 23. *Thy heaven—shall be brass.*] That is, as brass, having no more moisture in it than brass hath. It is remarkable that he doth not say the *heaven*, that is, the air or clouds, but *thy heaven*, that is, the clouds which hung over their country should be dry, though they dropped upon other lands (see Jer. xiv.).

The earth—shall be iron.] Hard as iron, for want of rain to soften it (see Lev. xxiv. 19). The observation of Maimonides is worth noting upon this part of the law : "That the Zabii, an ancient sort of idolaters in the eastern countries, thought the fruitfulness of the earth depended upon the worship of the planets, and the rest of the heavenly bodies : and therefore their wise men and their prophets (as he saith he found in their books, particularly in one concerning the husbandry of the Egyptians) taught the people to keep festivals in their honour, because the fruitfulness of the earth, by which men subsist, depends upon their will and pleasure. In opposition to which, God ordered Moses to tell the Israelites in his name, that if they worshipped the stars they should have no rain ; the earth should be barren, the trees yield no fruit ; the season prove unhealthful, and their lives be shortened. On the contrary, if they worshipped him, the Lord of heaven and earth, and him alone, they should have showers from above ; the earth should bring forth

24 The LORD shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust : from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed.

25 The LORD shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies : thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them : and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

26 And thy carcase shall be meat unto all

fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and no man shall fray them away.

27 The LORD will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed.

28 The LORD shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart :

29 And thou shalt grope at noonday, as the

abundantly, and they should be blessed with healthful seasons, sound bodies, and long life. For it is the very foundation of the law (as his phrase is), to root the forenamed false opinion out of men's minds" (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 30).

Ver. 24. *Make the rain of thy land powder and dust :*] That is, there shall be such a long drought, that, instead of rain, showers of dust, blown up into the air by the wind, shall fall down from heaven upon them.

From heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed.] This seems to denote something more than the falling of clouds of dust, wherewith the air was filled by high winds ; viz. showers of ashes, which have sometimes fallen in great quantities, as good historians testify. Nothing is more known than the vast clouds of ashes which Mount *Ætna* hath often vomited, whereby all the country thereabout hath been laid desolate. And the like hath been thrown out by Mount *Vesuvius*, which hath reached as far as Rome and Constantinople (see Boniferrius). But if there was any such thing in Judea, it must be a miraculous judgment, there being no such mountains in those parts of the world, to make such evomitions.

Ver. 25. *Cause thee to be smitten*] He saith the same in effect, Lev. xxvi. 17. For to smite in Scripture (as I have before observed) signifies to slay or kill.

Thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them :] Though they marched out in a great body against their enemies, he threatens that they should soon be dispersed ; the hand of the Lord as well as of their enemies being against them. For that expression is remarkable, "the Lord shall cause thee to be smitten" (see ver. 7).

Be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.] This is something more than is threatened, Lev. xxvi. 33, signifying, not only their dispersion into the remotest parts of the world, but their being tossed up and down like vagabonds, from one country to another, without any certain settlement ; which had been notoriously verified since their last dispersion by the Romans, of which they themselves have given us large accounts in several books, viz. *Juchasin*, *Schalscheleth Hakabala*, *Schebet Judah*, and *Zemueh David*, wherein they have abundantly confirmed what Tertullian saith of them in his time, *Dispersi, palabundi, et cœli, et soli sui extorres vagantur per orbem* ; "That being scattered, straggling up and down uncertainly, banished from their own country, they wander about the world, without any king," &c. But this belongs to the time of the first captivity, when *Nehemiah* (ch. i. 8) confesses these words were fulfilled (see Jer. ix. 16 ; Ezek. vi. 8, xii. 14, 15).

Ver. 26. *Thy carcase shall be meat unto all the fowls of the air, and unto the beasts*] Nothing was accounted a greater calamity among the Jews, than to have their dead bodies lie exposed, to be buried only in the bowels of birds and beasts ; and therefore *Jeremiah* threatens this as the utmost punishment of the king of Judah, xxii. 19, xxxvi. 30, and the Psalmist bewails it as one of the sorest judgments that befallen them, Ps. lxxix. 2, 3.

No man shall fray them away.] That is, no man took so much compassion upon them as to chase them away, and to inter the remainders, which the birds and beasts hath not devoured.

Ver. 27. *The Lord shall smite thee*] Why the Jerusalem Targum should here, in a particular manner, say, "the Word of the Lord shall smite thee," I cannot imagine ; unless it was to suggest, that he, being their conductor out of Egypt, was the person more especially concerned to punish them for their shameful ingratitude to their Deliverer (see ver. 68).

With the botch of Egypt.] Some take this to signify the leprosy, unto which they in that country were subject. Others, that "bile breaking out with blains," wherewith God smote the Egyptians (Exod. ix. 9, &c.). For that is called *shechin*, as this is.

With the emerods.] The Hebrew word *apholim*, is nowhere to be met with but here and 1 Sam. v. 6, 9, 11, and in the rest of that history ; which most interpreters (and not without reason) think signifies those painful tumours in the fundament, which sometimes turn into ulcers (see *Bochartus* in his *Hieroicozic*. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 36).

The scab.] The LXX. here translate the Hebrew *garab* (as they do also Lev. xxi. 20), *ῥῆμα ὀφθαλμοῦ*, "a fierce or malignant scab." And the Vulgar adds the word *jugis*, to signify that this was no small punishment.

The itch.] The Hebrew word *cheres* signifies, as is generally thought, a dry itch ; which is the most troublesome of all other.

Whereof thou canst not be healed.] This may refer both to the scab and to the itch before mentioned ; which proceeded from such a corruption of the blood, that they were as incurable as the leprosy.

Ver. 28. *Madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart.*] All these three relate to the mind : the first of them importing such a distraction in their thoughts, that they should not know what course to take when they consulted for their safety : the second, such a stupidity, that they should not discern the true way, but always take the wrong ; the third, that amazement and horror which followed thereupon, when they saw themselves ruined by their own foolish counsels and mad contrivances. A famous instance of which was in the time of *Trajan*, when they committed such outrageous massacres, both upon the Greeks and Romans (as *Dion*, a very sober author, relates), in *Cyrene* and *Cyprus* (where great numbers of Jews dwelt, after they were driven out of their own country), that the Lord, no doubt (to use the words of *Dr. Jackson* on the Creed, book i. ch. 27), had smote them with the "madness and blindness of heart" here threatened, that they might hereby provoke that puissant emperor's indignation, which otherwise would have slept, but now pursued them throughout his dominions, not only as enemies, or rebels, but "as noxious creatures to human society," with a revenge suitable to their former outrages. And, indeed, this prediction was verified in their blind credulity, which made them follow every one that pretended to be their Messiah ; which

blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save *thee*.

30 Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her: thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein: thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not gather the grapes thereof.

always brought great calamities upon them, as R. Gedaliah himself confesses in Schalscheleth Hakkebala; where he mentions no small number of these deceivers, and shows how many Jews perished who followed them. Yet they are but a few, in comparison of a long catalogue, that might be made of those pretended Messiahs (see the learned Wagenseil's confutation of R. Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 233, &c.). Unto which I shall add only one observation more out of Solomon ben Virga, who saith, in some places of Germany, they were possessed with such a *rabies*, that they cut one another's throats, to avoid the oppression of their enemies; and burnt themselves and their neighbours in their houses, setting whole cities on fire, and perishing in the flames. Such was their extreme rage and furious revenge against those Christians who pressed them to change their religion. Many stories of the like nature that author tells in his book entitled Schebet Judah; where he hath sixty-four relations of the calamities which befell them in that and in other countries. But these words I doubt not, were fulfilled before in the first desolation of Jerusalem, to which they belong. For though we have not such particular relations as those now mentioned to illustrate them, yet the prophets speak of their being *mad*, by drinking of the cup of the Lord's fury (Jer. xxv. 16, 18), and *blind* (Zeph. i. 17; Lam. iv. 14), and *astonished* (Jer. iv. 9; Ezek. iv. 17).

Ver. 29. *Thou shalt grope at noonday, as the blind gropeth in darkness.*] This shows the blindness spoken of in the foregoing verse relates to their mind; which was so darkened, that in the plainest and clearest things they mistook the way and means of their preservation (Zeph. i. 17).

Thou shalt not prosper in thy ways.] But, quite contrary, whatsoever course they took, it turned to their undoing.

Only oppressed and spoiled evermore.] One oppression followed upon another (as the same Dr. Jackson observes), and such rapines were committed in several places upon them as only made way for new ones, even when the supreme powers endeavoured to hinder them.

No man shall save thee.] This was so remarkably fulfilled in these parts of the world, that the magistrates, who had a mind in many places to preserve them from such outrages, as none but Jews can justify, durst not venture to appear for their rescue. And those that did take them into their protection, were the instruments of their further wrongs, by grievous exactions for the maintenance of the war undertaken in their defence. So strangely (as that excellent person forenamed speaks, cap. 29), did the wisdom of God bring that to pass, which his servant Moses had foretold in this verse, *no man shall save thee*: for even succour itself turned into their sorrow; and it is hard to say, whether men's purposes for their good, or for their evil, brought greater plagues upon them. Thus it was before their first captivity; Pharaoh king of Egypt came to help them, but was not able (Jer. xxxvii. 7, xlii. 17).

31 Thine ox *shall be slain* before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof: thine ass *shall be violently taken away* from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep *shall be given* unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to rescue *them*.

32 Thy sons and thy daughters *shall be given* unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail *with longing* for them all the day.

Ver. 30. *Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her.*] Take her away from thee before thou canst consummate the marriage. This was a sore affliction, for all nations accounted it a singular blessing to complete a marriage; and, on the contrary, a curse to be defeated of such delightful hopes. Whence Callimachus, in his hymn to Apollo, promising many blessings to the youths who sung and danced before his altar, mentions this in the first place (ver. 14).

ΕΙ ΤΟΛΙΣΕΙ ΜΕΘΥΝΟΙΣ ΓΑΜΟΝ

"that he would be with them, and prosper them, if they were to be married."

Thou shalt build an house, and—not dwell therein.] But another take possession of it (Zeph. i. 13).

Thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not gather the grapes.] So we rightly translate the Hebrew word, which (as the margin notes) is, thou shalt not *profane* or *make common* the grapes thereof; which was not to be done till the fifth year after the plantation. Before which time God threatens another should enter into it, and enjoy the fruits thereof.

Ver. 31.] All these are but particular instances of their grievous oppressions in all countries, where their goods have been confiscated, the bills of debts owing to them all cancelled. Of which the same pious and learned person, Dr. Jackson, gives several instances in the forenamed chapter.

Ver. 32. *Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people.*] This was literally fulfilled when the Jews were banished out of Portugal, in the time of king Emanuel; who ordered their children under nineteen years of age to be taken from them, and brought up in the Christian religion. When infants also were torn from their mothers' breasts, with far more grief and sorrow than they had at their coming out of their womb: and many hundred years before that, when the Goths were lords of Spain, and suffered no parents to have any commerce with their children after the seventh year of their age, but by public decree they were committed to Christians to be educated by them, who married them to their own sons and daughters (see the same Dr. Jackson, ch. 28, par. 1, 2).

Thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them.] Their women filling the heavens with more hideous shrieks than the Egyptians did, when all their first-born were slain in the night. For these were bereft at once of all their dear children in the open sun, in vain begging to have them restored to them. And to increase their calamity (as that excellent person observes, ch. 29, par. 15), many Moors professing Mahometism were transported out of Portugal at the same time, without such violence offered to them. What was the reason (saith he)? God would have a manifest distinction made between the Jews and other people, that this prophecy might be fulfilled.

There shall be no might in thine hand.] Either to protect or to rescue them from violence. Where I cannot but take notice, with the same doctor, that the Moors then had some power in their hand, which

long: and *there shall be* no might in thine hand.

33 The fruit of thy land, and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed always:

34 So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

35 The Lord shall smite thee in the knees,

moved the Portugals, perhaps, to abstain from such usage of them, lest the report of it coming to the African Mahometans, they might attempt to avenge their wrongs. But these wretched Jews had no power anywhere, none to avenge their injuries, which God had ordained they should suffer at all times, and in all places wheresoever they came, without redress.

Ver. 33. *The fruit of thy land—shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up;*] This was remarkably fulfilled, when Salmaneser came and dispossessed the ten tribes; and when Nebuchadnezzar carried the other two tribes away, and placed other people in their room.

There were many strange people also among the Romans, who devoured their labours, before their last destruction by Titus. And ever since they have been subject to depredations of various sorts; having scraped up riches, with great care, which have often fallen into the hands of strangers. Particularly in the time of the famous crusades, when divers nations marched in great numbers to recover the Holy Land from infidels, their business was in their way to rob and spoil the Jews, and to make great slaughter of them, as both Jewish and Christian writers witness; particularly the author of Schalscheleth Hakkabala, and our Mathew Paris.

Only oppressed and crushed always:] That they should not only sometimes, or in some ages, or in some one or few kingdoms, but always, in every kingdom whither they removed (as he speaks, ver. 25), suffer such violence and wrong, as no other people hath done, must needs be thought to proceed rather from Divine justice than men's inclination to injustice. Which could not but have varied with the diversity of times and places, and the several dispositions of parties, among whom they have been dispersed. And yet the brief enumeration of their particular spoils and hard usage, which Dr. Jackson makes in the forenamed chapter (whose words these are, in the beginning of it), throughout the most civil and best governed states of Europe, will abundantly confirm the truth of Moses's words in this place, "Thou shalt never but suffer wrong and violence always," as our old translation hath it. The same is lately observed by an eminently learned person (J. Wagenseil), in his confutation of R. Lipman's *Carm. Memoriale*, p. 241, where he takes notice, that the Jews no sooner have grown rich, and by degrees become considerable in any country, but some great calamity hath befallen them. This the attentive consideration of their history will justify, particularly as he observes in France, Spain, and England; God not suffering them to be quite destroyed, like the Amalekites, Jebusites, and Philistines, of whom no footstep remain, but be scattered and tossed about through all Christian countries (for a testimony to the truth of our religion), and there only *oppressed, crushed, and squeezed*, as Moses here foretold. One instance of which sore *oppression* I cannot forbear to add out of Schebet Judah, where R. Solomon Virgas confesses what great miseries they have been exposed unto, by persons pretending to be their Messtah, who have drawn the hatred of all nations upon them; particularly in Persia, he saith, they were most lament-

and in the legs, with a sore botch that cannot be healed, from the sole of thy foot unto the top of thy head.

36 The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone.

37 And thou shalt become an astonishment, a

ably handled upon this score, being not only stripped of all, but forced to go about like dogs with a great clog of wood bound to their necks, which exposed them to the scorn and laughter of all men: for while some threw it behind their backs, others would come and throw it down before their feet; some dragging them backwards, and others cruelly beating them with it. This one told him who saw it.

Ver. 34.] So they were (as the forenamed doctor observes, ch. 29, par. 6, 15), when their children were taken from them in Portugal. For some, being not able to rescue or despatch them, killed themselves; others, who had better opportunity, drowned their children in wells or ditches. And here in England, one of their learned rabbins persuaded four hundred of his company, besieged with him in a strong tower by the furious multitude, to cut their own throats, rather than fall into their enemies' hands; himself confirming his doctrine, by cutting his wife's throat first, then his children's, and lastly, killing himself. And thus, in the time of the forementioned crusades, the soldiers made such dreadful havoc of the Jews as they went along to the Holy Land, that many of them made themselves away out of despair; as their own authors, R. Gedaliah and David Ganz, tell us, ad an. 1096.

Ver. 35.] This is the same word in the Hebrew [*schechin*] which is used ver. 27, called the "botch of Egypt," and here "an evil botch," that is, a very grievous breaking out; which began in those lower parts, and so spread, (being incurable, and by no means to be stopped) from the sole of the feet, unto the crown of the head.

Ver. 36. *The Lord shall bring thee—unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known;*] This may seem to have been fulfilled literally, only when Jehoiachim was carried away captive to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 15), and afterward Zedekiah (xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 7, lii. 11). For when they returned, they had no more any kings. But the latter part of these words ["a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known"] may incline us to extend their threatening as far as to their last dispersion by the Romans. Since which they have been driven into several countries far less known to them than Babylon was (with which they had correspondence before their captivity thither, 2 Kings xx. 12, &c.), and though they have had no king, yet they have set over themselves rulers and governors, who may be comprehended under that name.

There shalt thou serve other gods.] Either sotsitishly following the example of the country to which they were carried (Jer. xlv. 17, 18), or being compelled thereunto by their cruel tyranny (Dan. iii. 6). The author of Schebet Judah observes, that this was the just punishment of their folly in running after idols, that they were sent into other countries to worship those gods which they were so fond of in their own. And he refers it particularly to the time of the captivity of Babylon; in which they continued seventy years, according to the number of years wherein those planets, whom they had worshipped, finished their course: for Saturn, as he computes,

proverb, and a byword, among all nations whither the LORD shall lead thee.

38 Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather *but* little in: for the locust shall consume it.

39 Thou shalt plant vineyards, and dress *them*, but shalt neither drink of the wine, nor gather *the grapes*; for the worms shall eat them.

finishes his in one-and-twenty, Jupiter in as many; and so he proceeds with the rest, which make up that number. But this is too curious an observation, and the Jews have little skill in astronomy; therefore I pass it by, and only observe, that Manasseh ben Israel also understands this of the Babylonian captivity; for all the punishments mentioned, from ver. 15 to ver. 39, were fulfilled under the first temple, and after the ruin of it, till the building of the second; which, though it be not exactly true (some of these predictions having been more completely fulfilled, as I have shown in aftertimes), yet is it reasonable to think that this threatening particularly belongs to what they suffered in Babylon; the very same calamity being again threatened in the sixty-fourth verse, where I shall show it belongs to their present condition.

Ver. 37. *Become an astonishment.*] Their neighbours, he means, who saw or heard of the greatness and strangeness of their various plagues, should be dismayed at the sight, or report of them; wondering that a people, who had been so flourishing, should be made so exceeding desolate (see 1 Kings ix. 8; Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8).

A proverb, and a byword.] So that when men would express one extremely vile, they should say he was a Jew. The same is threatened by God when he appeared to Solomon, 1 Kings ix. 7, and by Jeremiah, xxiv. 9, which, it is likely, was fulfilled at their first captivity into Babylon (see Lam. ii. 15, 16); but hath been notoriously fulfilled in their last captivity (as they call it) since the destruction of Jerusalem and their temple by the Romans: for here in England (from whence they have been banished above three hundred years) their name serves as a perfect measure (to use the words of Dr. Jackson, hook i. on the Creed, ch. 30), to express the height of impiety in any agent, or the death of an abject, worthless, forlorn condition, in any patient. Better we cannot express the most cut-throat dealing than thus, "You use me like a Jew;" or, "none but a Jew would have done this." And when in common speech we exaggerate wrongs done to the most odious or despised people among us, we say, "I would not have done so to a Jew."

Ver. 38. *Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather but little in.*] This was fulfilled before they were carried captive to Babylon, when God frequently sent sore famine upon them, as we read in the prophet Isaiah, lii. 19, and Jeremiah, xiv. 1—3, &c., and is often threatened by Ezekiel among other terrible judgments, and by Jeremiah himself, xxix. 17, 18.

For the locust shall consume it.] They were a great plague in those countries, falling sometimes in such vast numbers (from whence they had the name of *arbe*), that they covered the whole face of the earth, and devoured every green thing: for so another of their names imports, which is *chasil*, coming from *chasal*, which signifies to consume and eat up; which they did so entirely, that they were looked upon by all people as a plague sent by God, and are therefore called by Joel his *army*, ii. 25. So not only the Hebrews, but the Arabians esteemed them; who say,

40 Thou shalt have olive trees throughout all thy coasts, but thou shalt not anoint *thyself* with the oil; for thine olive shall cast *his fruit*.

41 Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but Thou shalt not enjoy them; for they shall go into captivity.

42 All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume.

that some of them on a time fell before their prophet, as he sat at meat, with this inscription on their backs; "I am God, and there is none other besides me, the Lords of locusts, who nourish them; and when I please, send them forth, that they may be food for the people; and when I please, that they may be their plague, by eating up their food" (see Bochartus, in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 6).

Ver. 39. *Thou shalt plant vineyards, and dress them.*] Take a great deal of care and pains about them, after they are planted, to make them fruitful.

But shalt neither drink of the wine nor gather the grapes.] Not enjoy the least benefit by their cost and labour.

For the worms shall eat them.] The Hebrew word *tholaath* is a general name for all worms whatsoever; but there is a peculiar sort that infest vines, which the Greeks call *τετς* and *τεες*, as Bochartus observes, in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 27, where he takes notice that the Latins call this worm *volvax*, and *convolvulus*; because it wraps and rolls itself up in the buds, and eats the grapes up when they grow towards ripeness, as the Roman authors explain it.

Ver. 40. *Thou shalt have olive trees—but thou shalt not anoint thyself with the oil;*] Though the country abounded with these trees in all parts of it, they produced nothing but leaves, and a show of fruit, which came to no perfection.

For thine olive shall cast his fruit.] Being blasted, as the Jerusalem Targum explains it, in the very blossom; or the buds dropping off for want of rain; or the fruit being eaten with worms. Maimonides observes, that the idolaters in those countries pretended, by certain magical arts, to preserve all manner of fruit, so that the worms should not gnaw the vines, nor either buds or fruit fall from the trees (as he reports their words out of their own books, which he names): therefore to deter the Israelites from all idolatrous practices, Moses here pronounces, that they should draw upon themselves those very punishments which they studied by such means to avoid (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37).

Ver. 41.] Which is threatened in many places of the prophets, and fulfilled in several invasions of their neighbours; for the Syrians, no doubt, carried captive more than one little maid, who waited on Naaman's wife (2 Kings v. 2). And in other inroads upon them, till the captivity of the whole land. This we may be confident was a frequent calamity (2 Kings xiv. 26, xv. 37, &c.). But it was never more remarkably fulfilled, than since they crucified our Saviour; their children having been taken from them (as I have observed before, ver. 32, 34), and transported sometimes into other places. And who knows whether many of their stock, detained by king Emanuel of Portugal, before mentioned, have not been transported into America! and whether many of the Spanish colonies have not a mixture of the Jewish progeny in them? as Dr. Jackson observes. Manasseh ben Israel, I am sure, endeavours to prove (in his book called *Spes Israelis*) that some of the ten tribes are in America; though how they came there, he can give no account.

43 The stranger that *is* within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.

44 He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: he shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail.

45 Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy

God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee:

46 And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.

47 Because thou servest not the Lord thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things;

48 Therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which the Lord shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want

Ver. 42. *All thy trees, and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume.*] So Onkelos and the Hebrew writers generally translate the word *tzalatzal*; which signifies a peculiar sort of locusts which falls upon trees, as others upon the fields. And it seems to have this name, because these locusts came in such thick clouds, that they darken the sun; the Hebrew word *tzalatzal* signifying to *overshadow*. The Jerusalem Targum translates it, "all your trees, and the fruits of your land, shall spoilers possess."

I suppose these several judgments fell in the order wherein they are here mentioned in ver. 38—42, there being first a great dearth, of which we read 2 Kings viii. 1, &c., and Joel i. 10—12, &c., then many invasions of their country, wherein several were carried captive by the bands of Moab upon the Israelites (2 Kings xiii. 20), and of the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Ammonites, who came upon Judah (xxiv. 2). And we read expressly, that before this, in the days of Ahaz, a great multitude were carried captive by the Syrians (2 Chron. xxviii. 5). After which more spoilers came upon them in the days of Jeremiah, xii. 12, and a new famine, xiv. 1, &c., in which this forty-first verse may be thought to be fulfilled.

Ver. 43.] There is no sorer punishment to a proud people, than to see those who are not only their inferiors, but much beholden to them (as all strangers were to the Jews, among whom they lived merely by permission), get up above them, and become their superiors. But so it was, that the Jews, by their foolish endeavours to advance themselves, raised a mere stranger to the highest dignity, who humbled them into the lowest condition. For this (as that excellent person I have often mentioned observes) may be applied to Vespasian, who was appointed to command in the wars against the Jews, and being a person of mean birth and obscure family, had no thoughts of aspiring to the imperial seat; but by the unseasonable desire of the Jews to exalt themselves above all nations, they hoisted him up to the most sublime pitch of greatness, who was ordained by God to pluck them down from their seat, and bring them beneath all people (see Dr. Jackson, book i. on the Creed, ch. 23, par. 3, 4, &c.). For he quite extinguished their glory, which was their temple at Jerusalem; and likewise shut up and profaned the temple which the Egyptian Jews had built in the country of Heliopolis, after it had stood above three hundred years: but if any one think good thus to apply the words of this verse unto Vespasian, they must not take this for the literal meaning of them; because it is evident, that by *the stranger* is to be understood those of other nations who lived among them; particularly, those gentiles who were brought into the country by the Assyrians, instead of the ten tribes, as some of the best of the Jewish writers expound it. What the doctor also saith, concerning their advancing Vespasian to the imperial dignity, cannot be maintained.

Ver. 41.] Thus the covenant of God, to exalt his people and humble their foes, was quite inverted, as he also observes (see ver. 12, 13), all the plagues

threatened to those who bare ill-will to Sion, lighting on them and their friends; and all the blessings promised to such as prayed for her peace, being heaped on those that wrought her ruin.

Ver. 45. *All these curses shall come upon thee.*] These punishments, he means, should not cease, but follow one upon another till they had brought them to utter ruin. Which is so evidently fulfilled, that, would but the atheists consider it, and lay it to heart, it would wring from them a confession of the truth of what these Divine oracles have uttered, that "this was a people who had been appointed to destruction." For, though there be a great many of them remaining, in several parts of the world, yet they have never been suffered to grow into a nation, but in that sense are utterly destroyed, as Moses here prophesied.

Because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God,] It hath manifestly appeared the hand of God is very heavy upon them for their disobedience to him, there being no other reason why they, who were once so favoured by him, should be so long as they have been more miserable than any other people.

Ver. 46. *They shall be upon thee*] That is, the curses before mentioned should remain fixed upon them, and continue unremoved from age to age.

For a sign and for a wonder,] That all men may take notice of them, and look upon them as extraordinary tokens of God's high displeasure, and take warning thereby to beware of their infidelity and disobedience; for, as that great man often saith, "No sign can be given equivalent to the desolation of the Jewish nation, and their continuing still banished from their own land, and miserably treated in all other countries."

Upon thy seed for ever.] All the world may clearly see (to use his words again) that the God of their fathers hath cast them off, they having no signs or badges of his ancient wonted favours, whilst innumerable marks and scars of his fearful indignation against their fathers remain unhealed in their children, after more generations than their ancestors had of prosperity in the promised land.

Ver. 47. *For the abundance of all things;*] Or, "in the abundance of all things;" for this is opposed to the hunger and thirst "in which (he saith in the next verse) they should serve their enemies," as a punishment for the wanton abuse of God's mercies. Which being so exceeding great, justly required not only their obedience, but cheerfulness and delight therein.

Ver. 48. *Therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies*] He doth not call the Lord *their God*, as he did before, now they were abandoned by him for their sins.

In hunger, and in thirst, &c.] This shows what he meant before by "abundance of all things," plentiful provision of food and raiment, and all other things belonging to the comfort of life.

He shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck,] The loss of liberty was as great a misery as any other, which ended also in hard servitude. And it was but just that they should be slaves in the land of their enemies to cruel masters, who would not, in their own country,

of all things: and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he have destroyed thee.

49 The LORD shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand;

50 A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:

51 And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy land, until thou be de-

stroyed: which also shall not leave thee either corn, wine, or oil, or the increase of thy kine, or flocks of thy sheep, until he have destroyed thee.

52 And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land: and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, which the LORD thy God hath given thee.

53 And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own

serve so gracious and loving a father as the Lord their God.

[*A yoke of iron*] Signifies an unsupportable yoke, which could not be broken (see Jer. xxviii. 13, 14).

Ver. 49. *Bring a nation against thee from far.*] This evidently belongs to the Romans, as Manasseh ben Israel acknowledges; who thinks, that at this verse begins his prophecy of their calamities under the second temple, as in the foregoing he describes their calamities under the first. And in this, I think, he saith right, that there is scarce any thing mentioned in the following part of this chapter, but what relates to what they suffered under the second temple (as he speaks), and since its destruction; though I cannot say, as he doth, of the foregoing part of it, that it was fulfilled in the calamities which befell them under the first temple; for many things were never so completely fulfilled, as since they crucified our Saviour.

[*From the end of the earth.*] This shows he speaks of the Romans, rather than of the Chaldeans, who did not come "from far," much less "from the end of the earth;" but out of the north country, which was not very far distant from Judea: whereas the Romans, by whom they were last destroyed, came literally "from far," and "from the end of the earth;" particularly Julius Severus was called by the emperor Adrian to their destruction out of this island of Britain; wherein Vespasian also had given great proof of his conduct. And Adrian himself, and Trajan, by whom they were still more crushed, after Vespasian had destroyed their city and temple, were both Spaniards by birth. And, therefore, Manasseh ben Israel says peremptorily, in his book, *De Terminis* (lib. iii. sect. 3), this is to be understood of the soldiers in Vespasian's army, which he brought out of England, France, and Spain, and other remote parts of the world.

[*As swift as the eagle*] Which every one knows the Romans carried in their ensigns. And these birds are observed to fly upon their prey with great force and violence; to whom, therefore, fierce soldiers (such as the Romans were) are compared, when they set upon their enemies. So Homer describes Achilles falling upon the Trojans,

Αἰετὸς οἴων' ἔκω.

In Iliad Φ, where οἴωνα signifies ἐπιήματα, "furious assaults," as the scholiast interprets it. And so he speaks concerning Hector, Iliad X. As David also speaks of Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 23, and the Chaldeans are so described, coming against Jerusalem, Jer. iv. 13, xlviii. 40, xlix. 22; Lam. i. 19; Ezek. xvii. 3; and see Dan. vii. 4, and Bochartus, in his *Hiεροζοicon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 9, par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[*A nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand;*] The Roman tongue was more strange to them than the Chaldean, especially the language of many nations, of which the Roman army was composed; and being a people whom their ancestors, perhaps, never heard of. Dr. Jackson justly looks upon the destruction and general desolation of their country, made by the Romans and their tributaries in these western parts

of the world, as an everlasting monument of the truth of Moses's prophecy, in this and in the following verses.

Ver. 50. *A nation*] This word *nation* being used thrice in this and the foregoing verse, Manasseh ben Israel (in the place forenamed) is so critical, as to observe, that this repetition shows Jerusalem was to suffer thrice by the Roman power: first, in the time of Pompey; and, secondly, when Sosius came to the assistance of Herod against Antigonus; and, thirdly, when it was besieged and overturned by Vespasian and his son Titus.

[*Of fierce countenance.*] So we translate this phrase Dan. viii. 23, which, in the Hebrew, is a *strong* or *hard face*. Accordingly we translate it *impudent* (or, in our language, *brazen-faced*), Prov. vii. 13, and *hard*, Prov. xxi. 29, and *bold of face*, Eccles. viii. 1. All which set forth a people stern, fierce, undaunted, cruel, and hard-hearted; that had neither mercy nor modesty, but inflexibly pursued their designs; which is the true character of the old Romans.

[*Which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young;*] These are wont to be pitied, being unable to hurt others; but in their wars with the Jews, the Romans spared nobody, their rage and fury extinguishing all reverence to gray hairs, and all tenderness to young babes.

Ver. 51. *He shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, &c.*] For they brought such vast armies, as devoured all the provisions in the country.

[*Which also shall not leave thee either corn, wine, or oil, &c.*] He repeats it again, in more particular words, to set forth the desolation to be so great, that nothing should remain for their support.

Ver. 52. *He shall besiege thee in all thy gates.*] The country being wasted, the Jews fled into their fenced cities, where they had laid up some provisions, to enable them to hold out a siege.

[*Until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst.*] This was literally fulfilled by the Romans, to whom the best fortified places were forced to yield, as may be seen in Josephus's History of the Jewish War, which is the best commentary on this part of the prophecy. The walls of Jerusalem particularly were razed by Pompey; and Sosius took it again by force in the time of Augustus. But Tacitus tells, that the Jews took such advantage of the covetousness of Claudius, that they purchased of him the liberty to fortify their city again: which they did so well, that they trusted, as Moses here speaks, to its strength; which was so great, that Titus could not take it but by a long siege, which concluded in its utter ruin.

[*He shall besiege thee in all thy gates.*] He repeats it again, that they might not think to find security in any place whatsoever, though never so strongly fortified, and well provided with all things necessary for its defence.

Ver. 53.] This was fulfilled to a title by Vespasian and his son Titus; who, after they had vanquished them in the field, begirt them so close in Jerusalem, that they could not stir out, and rather than sur-

body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee:

54 *So that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave:*

55 *So that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat: because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and*

in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates.

56 The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter,

57 And toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and

render, perished by a lamentable famine. For there were vast multitudes of people shut up in the city, which run thither from all parts for safety; who brought the famine sooner upon them, and made it more severe when it came. If we may believe R. David Ganz, it was furthered also by a fire, which the seditious people kindled, whereby fourteen hundred magazines were consumed, stored with provisions to serve two hundred thousand people for twenty years. For this he quotes Josephus; though no such thing is to be found in him.

Ver. 54. *The man that is tender—and very delicate.*] The two Hebrew words for tender and delicate signify a man that had lived in pleasure, and fared daintily, like the rich man in the gospel.

His eye shall be evil toward his brother, &c.] Grudge every bit which he sees his nearest relations eat, being ready to snatch it out of the mouth of his dear consort and children, and put it into his own: for this is the effect of a ravenous hunger.

Toward the remnant of his children] This imports that they should see many of them die in the siege: for famine forced them to feed on bad food, and that bred pestilential diseases, which swept away many; and increased still more by the carcasses of those that were famished. If any credit may be given to one of their own authors (David Ganz), there were above a hundred and sixteen thousand dead bodies of the rich and honourable men of Jerusalem carried out at one gate of the city, which was that of the Brook Kidron, besides those which were carried out at other gates, and thrown over the walls: and this he pretends to have out of Minchas, the son of Seruk, who was a faithful register in that city. Josephus mentions almost the same number, lib. vii. De Bello Judaico, cap. xli.

Ver. 55. *He will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat:*] This is a description of the sorest famine, which forced them, after they had eaten up their horses, dogs, cats, and suchlike creatures, and their very belts and shoes, to eat even their own children; which fathers, who used to live deliciously, Moses prophesies, should eat up themselves privately, and let none share with them.

Because he hath nothing left him in the siege.] They were so sorely pinched with famine in a long siege, that they had nothing else remaining but their own offspring, and one another, wherewith to satisfy their hunger. Josephus observes (lib. vii. De Bello Judaico, cap. 18), that Jerusalem had been taken five times before this; but never suffered so dreadfully as by Titus; whom the Talmudists therefore call by the name of *impious*: which epithet belonged rather to themselves, who having with wicked hands (as St. Peter speaks) crucified and slain their Redeemer, were, by the just judgment of God upon them for their iniquity, hardened in an obstinate belief and expectation of a deliverer from the Romans, till they were reduced to those extremities.

Ver. 56. *The tender and delicate woman, &c.*] A description of the greatest softness and delicacy: both which the Chaldees express by a word that signifies the nicest motion, and going so slow a pace, as if they were loth to touch the ground (see Bochartus, in his Phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 19).

Her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, &c.] This is only a higher instance of the cruel effects of their distress by famine: for women, especially of the better sort, are naturally more tender and pitiful than men, and have the most passionate love to their children; which Moses here prophesies should be quite extinguished by hunger. And it was literally fulfilled, both in the siege of Samaria, wherein a woman boiled her son (2 Kings v. 28, 29), as a man did in the first siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (Baruch ii. 3, and see Lam. ii. 20, iv. 10). But never so exactly fulfilled as in the last siege by the Romans, when a noble woman (which fully answers to this prophecy, such persons being very delicate) did the very same, as Josephus relates in his book of the Jewish Wars, lib. vii. cap. 8. A most unnatural fact, as he observes, which was never committed either by Greek or barbarian: and which he would not have related, because it might seem incredible, if there had not been many witnesses of it besides himself.

Ver. 57. *Toward her young one*] Towards her newborn babe, which is wont to be welcomed into the world with great joy; but in this siege despatched out of it, to assuage the rage of their hunger. In the Hebrew (as we take notice in the margin) the word we translate *young one*, properly signifies the *after-birth*: and so the LXX. translate it, *τὸ ὀπίον*. Which makes this passage most plain; that their hunger should make them so unnatural, as first to eat the after-birth which came from them, and then the child which was wrapped in it.

Toward her children] The rest of their children, whose cries for food they had no way to stop, but by killing them, and making them their own food. So it follows in the next words.

For she shall eat them for want of all things.] Having nothing else left to eat: for they had devoured, not only the leather of their girdles, and their shoes, and which covered their shields, but the very stale dung of oxen, and such things as the most sordid of all living creatures would not eat (see Josephus, lib. iii. Antiquities, cap. 16, lib. vii. cap. 7).

Secretly] It was not done secretly for any other reason, but lest anybody should have a share with them, and so make their hunger return the sooner: and yet it was a hard matter to conceal what they had done of this kind; for the seditious people presently smelling there had been something boiled, got into the house when she had eaten one half of her child, and found the other half, which she had left till another time; of which she invited them to eat.

In the siege and straitness.] These two words which are used here and ver. 53, and 55, may both

straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.

55 If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, **THE LORD THY GOD**;

59 Then the **LORD** will make thy plagues

relate to the grievous miseries they should endure when they were besieged (ver. 52), and may be translated, "in the pressure and straits wherewith thine enemies," &c.

Wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee] We have not such an account of their distress in other cities, as we have of what they suffered in Jerusalem; where ἀπειρον πλήθος, "an innumerable multitude perished by famine" (as Josephus tells us, lib. vii. ἀλώσεως, cap. 7), and ineffable calamities thereupon happened: for in every house where the least shadow of food appeared, a war immediately began; and the dearest relations fell to blows, snatching away from each other the miserable supports of life. Nor would they let those that were dying expire quietly, not believing what they affirmed when they told them they had no food in their houses; but the cut-throats came and searched their very bosoms as they laid drawing their last breath, whether they had not there hid some food.

Ver. 58. *If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law*] Among which those words are most remarkable (xviii. 15, 18, 19), "A Prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up unto thee, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken, &c. Whosoever will not hearken unto the words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him."

That thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD] That is, fear the great Lord of heaven and earth, and their special benefactor, who is most glorious in himself, and to be most humbly revered by us: for the name of God is God himself; from whence it is that he is sometimes called Hashem, "the Name," Lev. xxiv. 11. This shows the reason why Moses repeats this name the "Lord thy God" so often as he doth in the preface to this book, ch. vi.—ix, &c. In some of which there is scarce a verse wherein we do not meet with these words, and it is sometimes repeated no less than three times in one and the same verse xii. 18, xvi. 15), that God might be in all their thoughts, and the fear of him might possess their hearts.

Ver. 59. *Then the Lord*] If they still persisted in their infidelity and disobedience, after Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed, and such unheard-of calamities as they had suffered during the siege of that place, he threatens to bring upon them more astonishing judgments.

Will make thy plagues wonderful] Though their great plagues, under Vespasian, by famine, sword, and pestilence, had lessened their numbers exceedingly, yet, by the time of Trajan and Adrian, they had, like traitors taken for a while from the rack (to use Dr. Jackson's words), recovered strength enough to be put to greater torture; for then they were made a spectacle to the world of the Divine vengeance again, which they brought upon themselves by their rebellion; and showed therein their natural strength, by their grievous lingering pains in dying; for not only in Mesopotamia and in Cyprus, but especially in Cyrene, and throughout all Egypt, they broke out into such outrages, ὡςπιρ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινῷ τινος καὶ σατυρῶδους, "as if they had been possessed with some fierce and seditious spirit" (as Eusebius speaks, lib. iv.

wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, *even* great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.

60 Moreover he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee.

61 Also every sickness, and every plague,

Eccles. Hist. cap. 2); whereupon Marcins Turbo was sent against them, and setting upon them, both by sea and land, with horse and foot, made a vast destruction of them. See Dion, lib. lxxviii. and Xiphilinus, who describe their slaughter to have been so great, that now was fulfilled (as the forenamed Dr. Jackson thinks) what Moses foretold in this place, "The Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, great plagues, and of long continuance." And, indeed, Eusebius saith in the forenamed place, that Turbo destroyed many thousands of them, πολλὰς μάχαις ἐν οὐδὲν χρόνῳ, &c. "in many battles, and in no small time, the war being protracted a great while to complete their destruction." And the application of this prophecy to this time may be confirmed by a strange relation which we meet withal in their own books: for in the Jerusalem Talmud one of their doctors tells us, that when Trajan came upon them with his army they were reading these very words of the law (ver. 49), "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth," &c., which he understanding (having asked them what they were doing), he cried out, "Here is the man (pointing to himself), who am come five days sooner than I intended." And immediately compassing them about with his legions, slew them all. Then he went to their wives, and offered them mercy if they would submit themselves: but they replied, "What thou hast done to the ground, do to the stubble;" so he despatched them also, and shed so much blood, that it ran into the sea as far as Cyprus. At this time (so he concludes his story) the horn of Israel was cut off from Israel, never to be restored into its place till the Son of David come. This passage I find alleged by Joh. Benedictus Carpzovius, out of Massec. Sanhedr. in explication of another matter in Schiekkard's Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 3, Theor. 10, p. 199.

Sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.] Such as gonorrhoeas, leprosies, and burning fevers, as the author of the old Nitzacon, set forth by J. Wagenseil, explains it, p. 131.

Ver. 60.] The same diseases he foretells should infect them in, and after, their destruction by the Romans, which had done formerly under the Chaldeans and other oppressors (ver. 27). What these diseases were, Pet. Cunæus, lib. ii. De Republ. Jud. cap. ult. hath expressed in these words, Vitilignes, psorasque et tetra ulcera, &c. "Leprosies, itches, botches, and foul sinking ulcers," the greatest physicians have anciently ascribed to the Egyptians and Syrians, as plagues proper to those nations; unto which diseases, he observes, the Jews were strangely obnoxious.

Ver. 61.] It had been too long to have set down all the diseases and calamities that mankind are subject to; but he tells them they should not escape any one of them, though very numerous, and be afflicted with them till their destruction was completed. For they were of such long continuance, as was said before, and pursued them so closely whithersoever they went, that they are no longer a nation, but a scattered, forlorn people, abandoned and forsaken by Him that formerly protected them. Of this they themselves are so sensible, that they have confessed the truth of this part of the prophecy in these later ages: for Solomon ben Virgæ having related (in the ficti-

which is not written in the book of this law, them will the LORD bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed.

62 And ye shall be left few in number, where-as ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude ;

section of his book, called Schebet Judah) how they were transported out of Palestine into Spain, and so miserably handled, that not one of a thousand remained ; and then how they were destroyed in Germany and France, where, of innumerable multitudes (equal to the number which came out of Egypt) scarce five thousand survived that calamity ; and what he himself saw in Castile and Portugal (where they suffered such things as cannot be expressed nor conceived, by famine, by depredations, by transportations, and by being sold for slaves, or drowned in the sea), he thus at last concludes his sad story, that they who fled to avoid that dreadful tempest in Castile found the truth of this oracle, "Every sickness and plague which is not written in the book of this law shall the Lord bring upon thee, till thou be destroyed."

Ver. 62. *Ye shall be left few in number.*] The multitude of the Jews killed in the wars was equal to the number of living men in Israel in the time of king David ; for Josephus saith, that in the siege of Jerusalem there were destroyed, by pestilence, famine, and other ways, *eleven hundred thousand*, besides above *ninety thousand* carried captive. For they being come from all countries to keep the passover, the *whole nation* (as his words are, lib. vii. 'Αλώσεως, cap. 17) were shut up here by a fate, *ὥστερ εἰς εἰρήνην*, "as in a close prison," or rather driven thither (as Dr. Jackson speaks) "into a slaughter-house," after they had been foiled by the Romans in the field. And yet after this they recovered strength (as I observed before), merely to be more tormented and miserably destroyed : for in the reign of Adrian (who succeeded the emperor Trajan) they shook the Roman empire by their rebellious commotions, as Dion, who lived not long after, relates in his History, lib. lxi., which moved Adrian to exercise the greater severity upon them in their punishment, there being slain of them in battles and skirmishes *five hundred and eighty thousand*, besides a vast number consumed by famine, and sickness, and fire, during the time of this lingering war ; which Julius Severus, a famous commander, sent for on purpose out of Britain, designedly protracted to a great length, not being willing to try it out in the field in one battle with a desperate multitude. And now, as Moses foretold, they were left "few in number : " for Dion, as if he had intended to expound these words, saith, that Severus so beset and attacked them separately, in several parties, "that very few of them escaped : " *fifty* of their strongest fortresses being utterly razed, and *nine hundred and eighty and five* of their most noble and populous towns sacked and consumed by fire, with the slaughter of the fore-mentioned number ; inasmuch that, as his words are, "all Judea was in a manner laid waste, and left as a desert." This we may truly call "the last conflict of this nation with death and destruction in their own land ; " out of which they were now almost totally expelled.

Because thou wouldst not obey the voice of the Lord] Who had spoken to them by that great Prophet, his eternal Word, promised in the eighteenth chapter of this book, ver. 15, &c. but they would not hearken to him : for which cause he gave them up to listen unto false Christs, whom they followed to their destruction ; particularly Barchocheba, who, in the time of Adrian, took upon him the title of their king, and set

because thou wouldst not obey the voice of the LORD thy God.

63 And it shall come to pass, *that* as the LORD rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you ; so the LORD will rejoice over you

up his throne at Bitter, in the tribe of Benjamin, which the Jews had made their chief seat after the destruction of Jerusalem ; and had in it, as they pretend, four hundred synagogues. Here the Romans made such a slaughter of them, when they took it, that the Jews themselves cannot find expressions tragical enough to represent it. Twice as many, they tell us, perished now as came out of Egypt ; great rivers ran with the blood of the slain, which (say some of them) carried great rocks along with it in the stream. With these and many other such like hyperbolical speeches, they themselves exaggerate their calamities, as many have observed out of Juchasin and Gittin, particularly Const. L'Empereur, in his annotations on Jacchiades (Dan. xi. 34).

But though now they were left few in number in Judea, yet, in other countries where they were dispersed, they multiplied again, that God's plagues might continue to be multiplied upon them, and this prophecy more perfectly fulfilled : for some ages after this (anno 1009), they had so incensed Christian people against them, by bringing the Persians upon them, who destroyed the churches dedicated to our Saviour at Jerusalem, that it was resolved, by the common consent of all Christians, that no Jews should live in their territories, but be driven out of them throughout all the world. By which means the greatest part of them died of several kinds of death, or made away themselves, so that *vix pauci residui fierent in orbe Romano*, "there remained but a very few of them in the Roman world." They are the words of Glauber, who relates this, lib. iii. cap. 7.

Ver. 63. *As the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good,—so the Lord will rejoice over you to destroy you.*] The state of the Jews, from the time of Adrian till the expiration of the Roman empire, cannot be gathered from the Roman writers ; but the fathers of the church often mention their miseries. And so do their own authors ; particularly the author of Schebet Judah, who saith, "It is not in the power of man to tell all the kingdoms and cities where they were scattered, in which they suffered things so horrid, that it is fitter to pass them over in silence, than to relate them : but therein was verified the Divine prediction, Lev. xxvi. 38, 'Ye shall perish among the heathen, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up' " (sect. 49). And Dr. Jackson, to explain this, hath more particularly observed, that as God raised up Cyrus in testimony of his "rejoicing to do them good," who released them from their captivity in Babylon ; so, to give the world a proof of his "rejoicing to destroy them, and bring them to nought," he advanced Philip Augustus to the crown of France (about anno 1179), to defeat all the hopes which some kindness shown unto them had put into their hearts : for he spoiled their synagogues of all their donatives and ornaments, confiscated all their lands and immovable goods, and granted a release of all debts due unto them from Christians (see book i. upon the Creed, ch. 23, parag. 13).

Ye shall be plucked from off the land] This was wonderfully fulfilled by Adrian ; who, after a strange desolation, before mentioned, prohibited, by a public decree ratified with the senate's consent, any Jew to come within sight of Judea. This he did out of a politic respect, lest the sight of their native soil might inspire them with some fresh desperate resolutions to

to destroy you, and to bring you to nought; and ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it.

64 And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even

endeavour their settlement there again; but herein he was unwittingly "the angel of God" (as the same excellent person speaks), to keep this wicked race out of that paradise, the good land, out of which he had driven them.

Ver. 64. *Scatter thee among all people.*] That was the effect of Adrian's severe decree, of not coming within view of their own country, which made them disperse all the world over, where they could find any admittance.

From the one end of the earth even unto the other;] Such as were carried captive in Adrian's war were transported by his order into Spain, his own native country, which was then accounted the end of the world westward. And many of them, it is evident by their own books, fled to Babylon, and the countries thereabout, which was far as they knew eastward. In Spain they continued many years in great abundance, as it were, expecting a wind for their passage to some place more distant from their ancient seat. And who knows whether many of them have not, since the discovery of America, been transported thither, as I before observed? Certain it is, that the Jews themselves are sensible this prophecy was not fulfilled, till this their last dispersion, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans: for thus R. Isaac, who had occasion to mention these words (in his *Minimen Fidei*, lately brought to light by Wagenseil, *Perek. vi.*), glosses upon them: "In the Roman captivity, the Jews were dispersed and dissipated through all the regions of the east, and of the west: for every nation of which the Roman army consisted, when they returned to their own countries, carried some of them along with them, into Greece, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and all other countries, which either Christians or Mahometans now possess."

There thou shalt serve other gods.] Here that excellent person I have so often mentioned (Dr. Jackson) commends it to the reader's consideration, whether this part of Moses's prophecy may not be understood of the convert Jews throughout the pope's dominions, who are often urged to commit idolatry with stocks and stones, upon more tyrannical terms (if they gain-say) than their forefathers were, either by the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Romans, or any whatsoever, that led them captive out of their land.

If it be said, there is a great difference between the heathen idolatry, and the present image-worship in the Roman church, it is granted the idolatry is of a diverse kind; and so it seems Moses meant, when he threatens the Jews, after their final transportation into these western countries, "should serve such gods as their fathers had not known:" for their forefathers, before Moses's time and after, had known the heathen gods too well; but were perfect strangers to this image-worship now in use. And to strengthen this interpretation, it ought to be observed, that these words ["which neither thou nor thy fathers have known"] are omitted in the thirty-sixth verse of this chapter; where he speaks of their "serving of other gods of wood and stone," as he doth here. But that part of the prophecy belongs to what they did in the first captivity into Babylon, as Manasseh ben Israel observes, who understands these words to be a prophecy of what they had suffered in this last dispersion: for, reciting these words (*lib. iii. De Terminis Vitæ*, sect. 3, p. 131), as containing the greatest calamity that hath be-

unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, *even wood and stone.*

65 And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have

fallen them, he saith, "This we see fulfilled, after a singular manner, in this present captivity; because of all those evils wherewith the Hebrews have been afflicted in France, and England, and Spain:" for they have been often pressed, either to renounce their religion, or to be undone; and many times chose rather to comply with the idolatrous worship in the Roman church, than to be banished, and have their goods confiscated.

Ver. 65. *Among these nations shalt thou find no ease.*] This was wonderfully fulfilled in the ages which followed that in which Adrian lived: when they both disturbed others, and could find no rest themselves: for in the third century, they raised sedition in the reign of Severus, by whom they suffered very much about the year 202, after our Saviour's birth: and in the next century we are informed by St. Chrysostom, in his second oration against the Jews (*tom. vi. edit. Savil. p. 333*). "That they rebelled again in the time of Constantine; who, causing their ears to be cropped off, dispersed them, *καθάρτες τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ μαρτυρίας*, "as vile fugitives and vagabonds, into various countries, where they carried this mark of infamy along with them, that all might be instructed to make no more such attempts." But in the fifth century they made new commotions, and were driven out of Alexandria for their seditious practices, where they had been settled ever since the time of Alexander the Great, and dispersed into several countries, as Socrates observes in his *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. vii. cap. 16. And in the next chapter relates how miserably they were deluded in Crete, by one who pretended to be Moses come down from heaven to lead them to their own land through the sea; into which many threw themselves, and perished. That expulsion out of Alexandria is mentioned by David Ganz also, one of their own authors. In the sixth century, as Elmaccinus tells us, they again rebelled in Palestine against the Romans, who slew a great number of them. And in the seventh, they were expelled from Antioch by Phocas, and out of Jerusalem by Heraclius, and out of Spain (anno 604), by Sisebutus, or, as some call him, Sisebodus, king of the Goths; and they flying in great numbers into France were shortly after put to this hard choice, either to renounce their religion, or lose all they had; which persecution, Dr. Jackson observes, in the book often mentioned (*ch. 28, parag. 1*), is recorded by those who wrote the life of Dagobert, as one of the chief memorables of his reign. What their state was in the next three centuries, he saith, he had observed nothing remarkable: nor can I find any thing notable in the eighth, but the appearance of a false Messiah, by whom they were deluded, and brought into trouble. As for the ninth, there were no learned men among them in that age, nor in the Christian world. And in the tenth they were in the same condition; inasmuch, that they were fain to make a weaver the head of one of their universities.

Neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.] They being not able to obtain a long settlement anywhere; but were tossed up and down, and forced from one country to another: for so it was, that, in the beginning of the eleventh century, about the year of our Lord one thousand, they were so vexed throughout the most part of Europe that quid agerent, aut quo se verterent nesciebant, "they knew not what they

rest: but the LORD shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind:

should do, or which way they should turn themselves" as the forenamed doctor observes (par. 4), out of Papius Massonus, who hath it out of Glauber. To which I will add this testimony out of David Ganz, in his book called Tzemach David, that in the latter end of this century (anno 1096), when there was a famous expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land, "the Jews felt it a most calamitous time" (as he speaks), being robbed, and pillaged, and killed, by the soldiers as they went along. And, indeed, so much cruelty was exercised upon them, that it moved St. Bernard's compassion to write to the bishop, clergy, and people of Spire, not to persecute them, much less kill them or drive them out of their country: "For they are dispersed (saith he) into all lands, that while they suffer the just punishment of their horrid wickedness they may be witnesses of our redemption," Epist. 333. And the author of Schebet Judah, mentioning their banishment out of Savoy, Piedmont, Lombardy, Sicily, and other countries, quotes these very words of Moses ["among those nations thou shalt find no rest," &c.] as a prophecy of that exile: which was accompanied with many other mischiefs: for, as they fled to other countries, an immense multitude of people fell upon them, and pillaged them of all the gold and silver they were carrying away with them, as he relates there, sect. 11.

Give thee there a trembling heart,] They being always in dread of some new misery, their condition still growing more dismal in the twelfth century: for as there is a progress in Moses's prophecy of the increase of their calamities; so it proved in the event, that their sufferings grew greater and greater. They themselves (in Tzemach David, and other books) relate, that, in the year 1142, a hundred and twenty of their congregations were utterly subverted and dispersed. And in the year 1170, they were expelled again out of France, and spoiled of their treasure; which was renewed in the year 1198. How they were used here in England, our own chronicles tell us; and the like ill-usage they met withal in Germany and Spain: so that R. Zacut complains of no less than ten grievous persecutions in this one age, to abolish the name of Jews out of the world. This could not but give them a very *trembling heart*.

Failing of eyes,] Which looked for some relief; instead whereof they were still more hardly used in the thirteenth century, being, in the year 1253 again expelled out of France, whither they had returned; and again in 1295, when they expected some rest, there was a fresh expulsion, mentioned by R. Levi ben Gerson, who saith they were spoiled of all their goods, and sent away only with their clothes upon their backs. Which he affirms with the more confidence, because it was done in his time, when, he saith, there was such a number of them, that they exceeded those that came out of Egypt. So he writes in his exposition of those words, Numb. xxiii. 10: "Who can count the dust of Jacob?" I will forbear to mention how they were treated here in England (1290), and in Germany; into which they flying out of France were most cruelly used.

Sorrow of mind,] Which must needs seize upon them heavily to find their miseries so far from abating that they still increased in the fourteenth century: when they were banished again out of France, and spoiled of their goods, 1306, and once more 1395, which the Jews call their fourth and last banishment. About the same time they were banished out of

66 And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life:

Germany, anno 1392. In Castile, indeed, they redeemed their lives with money (which they could not part withal without much *sorrow of mind*), but in Catalonia, Arragon, and in other parts of Spain, such a terrible storm fell upon them, that they themselves, in Juchasin, say, there were no less than two hundred thousand turned Christians, with heavy hearts. It would be too tedious to mention all that they suffered in the fifteenth century in Germany, Hungary, Poland, and in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. I will only observe what befell them in the country last named, in the next century, anno 1506, when all that is said in this verse is fulfilled, by that dreadful massacre which was made of them at Lishon for three days together; where men were not suffered to die of their deadly wounds, but were dragged by their mangled limbs into the market-place, where the bodies of the living and the slain, with others half alive, half dead, were burnt together in heaps. The spectacle was so horrible, that it quite astonished the rest of this wretched people; two thousand of which perished in this barbarous manner. Parents durst not mourn for their children, nor children sigh for their parents, when they saw them haled to the place of torment; so that their hearts, no doubt, were ready to break with grief and sorrow. In short, Sic eos metus examinaverat, ut vivi non multum a mortuorum similitudine distarent: "fear had so dispirited them, that the living in their aspect did not much differ from the dead;" which words of Osorius (in his fourth book De Rebus Emmanuelis) our Dr. Jackson, who relates this sad story out of him, looks upon as a paraphrase upon these words of Moses (though Osorius did not think of them), "I will give thee a trembling heart, and failing of the eyes, and sorrow of mind."

There are those who, by a *trembling heart*, understand the terrors of an evil conscience: so D. Chytræus, p. 131. And by *failing of the eyes* may be understood, the constant disappointment of their hopes, wherewith they were sometimes led by false Messiahs in several ages; which disappointment bred great sorrow of mind, when after earnest expectation of some good, the quite contrary came upon them.

Ver. 66. *Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee,]* That is, it should be doubtful whether they should live or die the next moment. As it manifestly happened in the forenamed massacre, when they durst not fetch a sigh, and yet could hardly avoid it, at the sight of their parents' or children's tortures, for fear they should suffer the same before the breath was out of their tortured bodies.

Thou shalt fear day and night,] So it was then: none of them knowing who would be next seized, in those three days' butchery. And so it was in some of their banishments, which, they were told, should be the best remedy for the evils impending over them, as the author of Schebet Judah speaks, who tells us (sect. 23), that the reason which some princes gave for their expulsion out of their territories was, to prevent their being torn in pieces by the people, who were most furiously set against them.

Ver. 67. *In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even!]* That they might not see those miserable spectacles, which they hoped would end in the night, when men went to rest.

At even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning!] Being afraid of unseen dangers, to which the night might give an opportunity; or, that they might not see their way, when they fled by sea and land,

67 In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of

thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

68 And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt

from one country to another, as they were forced to do very often: for Abarbanel, in his Commentary upon Isaiah xl. 11, reckons up four universal banishments, out of the countries where they lived. The first out of England; the next out of France; the third out of Asia, Germany, Tuscany, Lombardy, and Savoy; and the last out of Spain; when he himself was one of those who were constrained to leave that country, and knew not whither to go. He hath given us a lively description of that calamity (like to which, he saith, none had ever befallen them, since they were banished their own country) in his preface to his Commentary upon the Book of the Kings, which he wrote the very next year after their expulsion (1493), and the author of Schebet Judah hath transcribed in his own words: "A decree was made and proclaimed publicly, that all the Jews should change their religion, or quit the country in three months' time. Abarbanel had then a place in the court, where he petitioned the king, and besought his ministers and counsellors to revoke the edict, and be content with their estates, which they offered to him; but all in vain: for three hundred thousand, old and young, men and women, and he among the rest, went away on foot upon one day, not knowing whither to go. Some went into Portugal, others into Navarre; where they conflicted with many calamities: for some became a prey, or perished by famine and pestilence. And therefore others committed themselves to the sea, hoping to find a quiet seat in some other countries. But on the sea they met with new disasters; for many were sold as slaves when they came on any coast, many were drowned, many burnt in the ships which were set on fire: in short, all suffered the just punishment of God the avenger (as he speaks): for after all this, a plague came and swept away the rest of the miserable wretches, who were hated by all mankind; so that all that vast number perished by one calamity or other, except a very few." He that would see more of the woful miseries of this people, may look into Schebet Judah, sect. 53, where he shows what befell those who went to seek new habitations in the kingdom of Fess, where they lived a long time upon grass, and ate its very roots, and then died, and their bodies lay exposed, none being so charitable as to bury them.

For the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear,] The one of these seems to refer to their dreadful apprehensions in the night; and the other to the lamentable spectacles they beheld in the day. And the simple meaning of the former part of the verse may be, that they should be weary of life, having no comfort either day or night.

Ver. 68. *The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again*] The Jerusalem Targum translates it, "The Word of the Lord shall bring thee back again." He, that is, who conducted them out of Egypt in a glorious cloud, would punish them for their foul offences against him, by bringing them again into bondage there. This was first fulfilled after the desolation made by Titus; when there were, as I observed before (ver. 62), above ninety thousand carried captive, and many of them transported into Egypt, as Josephus relates, in the conclusion of the sixteenth chapter of the seventh book, concerning the Wars of the Jews. And here Manasseh ben Israel hath a very pertinent observation, that Vespasian transported them into many and various regions: but Egypt is only here named, the more to reproach the Jews: as if he had

said, "Ye shall be carried into that land as captives, out of which ye came in a triumphant manner," lib. iii. De Termino Vitæ, sect. iii., which may incline one to think, that he was of the same mind with our Dr. Jackson, who, observing how cruelly they were used here in England, and many other countries, concludes, that this island, and every place of Europe, wherein their condition of life hath been more hard and burdensome than their forefathers' was in Egypt, may be said to be that Egypt, into which God threatens here to bring them *in ships*.

And, indeed, we do not read of their being carried into Egypt after Vespasian's time; though it is set down here as a punishment to come upon them after a long train of other miseries; and must relate to their rigorous usage, which I have observed in many countries, in several ages, down to these latter times. The Jerusalem Talmud, it must be observed, mentions another *bringing into Egypt* (literally understood), in the Massechta beforenamed upon ver. 59, where they say, that, as God forbade them three times to return into Egypt (which they there set down), so they were forced thither three times for their transgressions against God; first, in the days of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (Isa. xxxi. 1, 3); secondly, in the time of Johanan, the son of Kareah (Jer. xlii. 16); and lastly, in the time of the emperor Trajan: but this I look upon as a mistake; for Trajan rather killed all those whom he found there, than carried them thither, as I noted before.

With ships,] Which seems to put them in mind how different their condition was now become from what it was when they came out of Egypt without any ships; for the sea gave them a passage through it, by being made dry land. Their being carried also thither by ships, made their condition the more deplorable, because there were no means of escaping out of them, as there might have been if they had gone by land.

By the way whereof I spake unto thee,] Or, "to the way" (so the particle *beif* often signifies, Gen. xi. 4, xvi. 22), that is, to the place, whereof I said, "Ye shall see it no more again:" for it seems to be a manifest allusion to what we read in the seventeenth chapter of this book, ver. 16.

There ye shall be sold unto your enemies] Exposed to sale like beasts in the open market; and that at so vile a price, that thirty of them (as both profane and ecclesiastical historians relate) were sold for one small piece of money. Josephus, giving a particular account how the captives were disposed of by Titus, saith, that the most goodly young men he reserved to attend his triumph; of the rest, he ordered those above seventy years old to be sent bound into Egypt, to labour in the works there; many be distributed in the provinces to perish in the theatre by the sword and wild beasts: and all under seventeen years old he commanded to be sold. But while they were making this distribution, twelve thousand of them died of famine; partly by the hatred of their guards, who gave them no food; and partly by the weakness of others, whose stomachs could not receive it (lib. vii. cap. 16). By which a judgment may be made how little worth these vile wretches were, as it here follows. In after-times, I have observed, in the course of this Commentary, how they were sold for slaves in some places, and in all used as no better. Benjamin Tudelensis, who went a pilgrimage to visit his countrymen, represents their condition as most miserable throughout

again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies

for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.

the eastern empire. And particularly complains of their hard usage among the Greeks at Constantinople: within the walls of which city they were not suffered to live, nor to come thither, but on occasion of traffic and business; and that only by boat (for they had their habitation in a kind of an island), not a man being permitted on horseback, except only one, Solyman, the emperor's physician. Whose advancement was their sole comfort in that miserable servitude, under which the rest groaned, without any difference of good or bad (as he acknowledges), who were daily beaten and abused in the open streets. Thus he confesses, though his principal design was to set forth the power they retained in the world (*Itinerarium*, p. 27, 28, edit. L'Empereur).

No man shall buy you.] Though some, as I said before, were sold at a very vile rate, next to nothing; yet others hung upon the seller's hands (as we speak), the market being either so overstocked with their numbers, that none would cheapen the greatest part of them, or they were so contemptible that nobody would give what was asked for such useless slaves: for, as no money could purchase their peace and security from calamities, so neither could the calamities, though continually most grievous (they are the words of Dr. Jackson), redeem their estimation in the world; nor all the blood of their slain (though their massacres were numberless) extinguish that hateful and loathsome conceit which most men had entertained of them. For in the fifteenth century they were become so abominable, that several doctors began to hold it unlawful for Christians to let them live among them. Particularly the famous Thomas Terrecremata, inqui-

sitor-general, forbade all men to have any dealings with them, or to afford them meat or drink, or any thing else. Whence proceed the direful proscriptions which we read of in that age, whereby they were forced out of Spain, Poland, Hungary, and divers other countries; where they were not suffered to live, though with a note and character upon them to distinguish them from all other men.

I conclude my observations on this chapter, with the remark which the same great man (Dr. Jackson) makes, ch. 22, paragr. 6. That the extraordinary blessings and plagues which were to overtake this people, being here set down by Moses; although their blessings might have been more and more admirable than the curses that have befallen them, yet he, either foreseeing or fearing what would be, rather than hoping the best that might be, is almost four times as long in enumerating their plagues as he is in their blessings. And so have the miseries of the latter Jews been four times as long as the prosperity of their worthy ancestors. And since our Saviour's death, all the plagues, which were in part fulfilled before, have been more than seven times multiplied upon them. For in their former overthrows or captivities, though they suffered the violence of war, yet, after that storm was past, so they did but submit to their conquerors, they lived well enough, nay, usually found more than ordinary favour at their hands; but since our Saviour's death, they have through all ages been more and more miserable; "the memory of the foregoing plagues having been but an invitation to the like, or worse; and their continual bad usage prescribing the lawfulness of their abuse."

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *Moses exhorteth them to obedience, by the memory of the works they have seen.* 10 *All are presented before the Lord to enter into his covenant.* 18 *The great wrath on him that flattereth himself in his wickedness.* 29 *Secret things belong unto God.*

1 THESE are the words of the covenant, which the LORD commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.

2 ¶ And Moses called unto all Israel, and said unto them, Ye have seen all that the LORD did before your eyes in the land of Egypt unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land;

CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1. *These are the words of the covenant,*] The Talmudists in the Gemara of Sota, cap. 7, sect. 24, refer these words to the benedictions and cursings mentioned in the foregoing chapter; which plainly belong to what God delivered unto Moses in Mount Sinai at the first: which he had now repeated in this book, with the addition of several blessings and curses to make what he said the more effectual.

Commanded Moses to make] That is, to renew. For which end Moses repeated the principal laws of God, and explained them in this book; which is from thence called Deuteronomy; being a compendium of the Pentateuch, a breviary of the covenant, composed for the familiar and daily use of the children of Israel.

In the land of Moab,] Where he declared to them the law which he had formerly delivered to their fathers (Deut. i. 5).

Beside the covenant which he made with them in

Horeb.] This doth not signify that he made a covenant with them, different from the former made at Horeb (Exod. xxiv.) but only now renewed the same covenant, after they had shamefully violated it more than once. Which was the more necessary, because they were ready to enter into the land of Canaan, and he was just upon his departure from them into another world; and therefore did all he could to engage them in a more firm obedience to God. And for that end, both more fully explained several laws, and added others, and at large laid before them the happiness or the misery that would ensue upon their fidelity or falseness in this covenant.

Ver. 2. *Moses called unto all Israel,*] This seems to import a new summons which he sent out to them, to attend him, now he was about to conclude what he had to say to them, before he left them. Which he did not, as I have often observed (see ver. 1), all at once, in one continued speech, but at several times; and now was about to wind up all in this and in the next chapter.

3 The great temptations which thine eyes have seen, the signs, and those great miracles :

4 Yet the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day.

5 And I have led you forty years in the wilderness: your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot.

6 Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink: that ye might know that I am the Lord your God.

7 And when ye came unto this place, Sihon

the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan, came out against us unto battle, and we smote them :

8 And we took their land, and gave it for an inheritance unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half tribe of Manasseh.

9 Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them, that ye may prosper in all that ye do.

10 ¶ Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God; your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, *with* all the men of Israel,

Said unto them,] He argued with them from the knowledge and experience which they had of the power of God in his wonderful works, particularly three, which were very memorable. Those in Egypt, which he mentions here in the next two verses; and those in the wilderness, ver. 5, 6, and lately in the great victory he had given them over two potent kings, ver. 7, 8.

Ye have seen all that the Lord did before your eyes in the land of Egypt,] Some of them had seen (when they were young), and others had understood from them (which is here called *seeing*), all the plagues which God brought upon Pharaoh, and upon his court, and upon his whole country. This he had often called to their mind, in his preface to the repetitions of his laws (vi. 12, vii. 18, 19, xi. 3, 4), and makes it a great aggravation of their guilt, if they should forsake Him, who had done such wonderful things for them (xiii. 5, 10). And now he concludes with the same argument, as most powerful to move them, if they had any sense of their obligations to the greatest Benefactor.

Ver. 3.] Of these he had put them in mind before (see iv. 34, vii. 19).

Ver. 4.] They had not so considered and laid to heart God's wonderful works, as to have a lasting sense of them bestowed upon them by God. He gives us an understanding heart, but we must first consider what he hath done for us, as the apostle instructs us, 2 Tim. ii. 7. And he gives us what we do not receive; and so in effect it is not given. Thus he saith himself, that he purged Israel, but they would not be purged (Ezek. xxiv. 13).

What the difference is between a *heart to perceive*, and *eyes to see*, and *ears to hear*, need not be curiously inquired. They are, perhaps, but three various expressions of their gross stupidity, or three degrees of it, which was so great, that they had no continued sense of the wonderful works God had done for them; nor did so much as regard and observe them; no, nor hearken to those who put them in mind of them; which must not be imputed to any want of power in these things to move them, much less of the Divine grace to work upon their hearts by them, but was wholly to be ascribed to their own negligence and perverseness; of which God here complains, and with which he severely upbraids them, that he had not given them this grace; which is a clear demonstration the fault was in themselves. And therefore Maimonides rightly and judiciously explains these words, when he saith, the meaning is, They had not disposed themselves to receive this grace from God.

Ver. 5. *I have led you forty years]* By a glorious cloud, which both conducted and protected them (viii. 2, xi. 5). Concerning these *forty years*, see ch. ii. 7.

Your clothes are not waxen old, &c.] See viii. 4. The Jews used no shoes in Egypt, as Bochartus probably

conjectures; but being to take a long journey, through a rough way in the wilderness, he commanded them to eat the passover with shoes on their feet (Exod. xii. 11), and these very shoes which they put on at that festival, when they were ready to march, God suffered not to decay in all their travels for forty years following (see Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50).

Ver. 6. *Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink.]* Not commonly, though, when they passed by some neighbouring country, they might possibly sometimes purchase both bread and wine, or strong liquors; but their ordinary food was the heavenly manna, and their drink was the water that followed them out of the rock. So that the meaning is, they were constantly supported by a miraculous supply from God; who took care of them, and thereby laid a greater obligation upon them to serve him, who graciously fed them without any labour of their own. For they neither ploughed, nor sowed, nor reaped, nor took any other pains for this provision; as they must have done for bread and wine, or other liquors pressed out of dates or figs, &c.

That ye might know that I am the Lord your God.] This he did for them, that he might breed and maintain them in a sense of his omnipotent power, and of his all-sufficient goodness and faithfulness to his promises; which he intended to demonstrate at his first giving of manna to them (Exod. xvi. 12).

Ver. 7. *When ye came unto this place,]* For they were now in a part of the country which they conquered (iv. 45, 46, &c.).

Sihon the king of Heshbon, &c.] See Numb. xxi. 24, 34, 35; Deut. ii. 30, &c., iii. 2, 3, &c.

Ver. 8.] See Numb. xxxii. 33, and Deut. iv. 12, &c.

Ver. 9. *Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them.]* Preserve them in memory, so as to make good your engagements which you passed to God in Horeb; which Moses was now about to renew, and lay a fresh obligation on them. For most of them being a new generation, and now going to enter upon the possession of the land of promise, it was necessary to make them sensible of the condition of their tenure, by engaging them in a solemn covenant to observe the laws of God faithfully; which was but a renewal of what was made before at Horeb.

That ye may prosper] See iv. 6. The Hebrew word which we translate *prosper*, the LXX. translate *act prudently*; for they translate it *ὡς σωφρονεῖς*. And the Vulgar, to the same purpose, *ut intelligatis*, that ye may understand to manage yourselves wisely in all your concerns, by observing the laws God hath given you; which was the way to prosper.

Ver. 10. *Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord]* The summons which he sent out (ver. 2), it seems by this, was to appear at the tabernacle, where they now stood; and from whence he delivered these

11 Your little ones, your wives, and thy stranger that *is* in thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water :

12 That thou shouldest enter into covenant with the LORD thy God, and into his oath, which the LORD thy God maketh with thee this day :

13 That he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself, and *that* he may be unto thee a God, as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

words to them, by the priests and Levites (xxvii. 9, 14).

Your captains of your tribes.] In the Hebrew, *your heads* of your tribes, who were the greatest persons in the nation, called sometimes princes.

Your elders.] These were not only the seventy elders, mentioned Numb. xi. 16, but all the other judges in their several courts, who are often called by the name of *elders* in this book, particularly xix. 12, 18, xxi. 2, 4, 6, xxv. 8.

Your officers.] Who attended upon the judge, to execute their sentence (see xvi. 18).

With all the men] All the men of their several tribes.

Ver. 11. *Your little ones, your wives.*] Who were all now present, or else were represented by the men of Israel.

Thy stranger] Whether Egyptians, that followed them when they came out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 38), or other people who embraced their religion, so far, at least, to renounce all idolatry.

From the hewer of thy wood unto the drawer of thy water.] The meanest servant, whom they had bought, perhaps with their money, either in Egypt, or since they came from thence.

Ver. 12. *That thou shouldest enter into covenant*] In the Hebrew the words are, "pass into covenant." For so covenants were anciently made in the eastern countries, by dividing the sacrifices, and passing between the parts of it; as appears from the manner of God's making a covenant with Abraham in Gen. xv. 10, 17, whence some derive the Hebrew word *berith* (which signifies a *covenant*) from *bara*, which signifies *cutting off*: because something was always sacrificed at the making covenants, and anciently cut in pieces. For the same reason the Romans called a covenant *fœdus*, which they derive a *feriendo*, from striking, that is, killing some beast (particularly a swine), which was done with many ceremonies.

Into his oath.] The Hebrew word which we translate *oath*, rather imports a *curse*, which was annexed to an oath. And so the LXX. *ἐν ταῖς ἀπαῖς*; for they entered into this covenant with such imprecations upon themselves, as are mentioned xxvii. 15, 16, &c., wishing, perhaps, that they might be cut to pieces, as the sacrifice was (between whose parts they passed), if they did not faithfully perform their engagement.

Which the Lord thy God maketh with thee] For the covenant was mutual, as appears by the *burning lamp*, representing the Divine Majesty passing through the pieces of the sacrifice, when God entered into a covenant with Abraham (Gen. xv. 17).

Ver. 13. *That he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself.*] Confirm them in all the privileges which they had often forfeited by breaking his covenant; of being his peculiarly above all people (Exod. xix. 5; Deut. xix. 2).

That he may be unto thee a God.] Bless them and do them good as he had solemnly promised.

14 Neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath;

15 But with *him* that standeth here with us this day before the LORD our God, and also with *him* that *is* not here with us this day :

16 (For ye know how we have dwelt in the land of Egypt; and how we came through the nations which ye passed by ;

17 And ye have seen their abominations, and their idols, wood and stone, silver and gold, which *were* among them :)

Hath sworn unto thy fathers.] Gen. xii. 2, 3, xvii. 7, 8, xxii. 16, 17, xxvi. 3, 4, xxviii. 13, 14.

Ver. 14.] He means those mentioned ver. 10, 11.

Ver. 15.] I think the particle *ki* (which begins this verse) should not be translated *but*; for this is the same with what was said before, not distinct from it: and therefore should be translated thus, "As with him that standeth here with us before, that is not here with us this day;" i. e. with all that were absent from the present assembly, and with all future posterity, who were as yet unborn. So the Jerusalem Targum understands the latter part of this verse, "With all generations which shall be after us, as if they stood here with us to-day:" and so Uzielides, as they call him, "With all generations to come, unto the end of the world, as if they stood here with us at this present." For perpetual leagues are sometimes made between whole nations; for whom some contract in the name and place of all the rest, and bind not only themselves but their successors. And thus kings give fiefs to their subjects, upon conditions which their families are bound to perform in after ages, or else lose the benefit of them.

Ver. 18. *For ye know we have dwelt in the land of Egypt*] These words, and those that follow in this and the next verse, come in as an argument to move them to enter into this covenant, and to show them the necessity of renewing it. For, as God had wonderfully multiplied them in the land of Egypt, so he delivered them from thence no less wonderfully, when they were miserably enslaved; which was such a mercy, as ought never to be forgotten (and therefore frequently mentioned in this book) and laid an obligation upon them to be wholly devoted to him, as his redeemed people (iv. 20).

How we came through the nations] The Edomites, Midianites, Ammonites, and Moabites, through the skirts of whose countries they passed, and were preserved from receiving any hurt by them.

Ver. 17. *Ye have seen their abominations, and their idols.*] They had opportunity in Egypt of seeing too much of their vile idolatries. And so they had as they passed by the country of Moab and Midian, when some of them were seduced to the worship of Baal-Peor; though, if they had not been blinded by their lust, they could not but have seen how contemptible an idol that was, and have abominated it. All the idols of the heathen are frequently called *abominations*; and in Lev. xxvi. 30, they are called, as they are here, *gillulim*, which we translate in the margin *dunghill-gods*, to express the utmost contempt of them. And some think they are so called, not only in regard of their matter, sed ob formam *scarabæi habitantis in stercore*, "but for the form of the beetle, which lives in dung;" for so Isis, the great goddess of the Egyptians, was represented, as Plutarch tells us, in his book *De Iside et Osiride*. But whether in such ancient times, as this of Moses, it may be justly doubted.

Wood and stone, silver and gold.] Generally they

18 Lest there should be among you man, or woman, or family, or tribe, whose heart turneth away this day from the Lord our God, to go and serve the gods of these nations; lest there should be among you a root that beareth gall and wormwood;

19 And it come to pass, when he heareth the words of this curse, that he bless himself in his

were made of wood or stone, which sometimes were silvered or gilded over. And if any of them were made of massy silver or gold, yet, being lifeless things, they were no more able to afford them any help, than the dung on the earth. And it was an abominable thing to look upon dead matter as a god, or to think he made his habitation there (which was the opinion of the better sort of heathen), or would be represented by them, they having no likeness at all unto him.

Ver. 18. *Lest there should be among you man, or woman, or family, or tribe.*] These words are to be connected with ver. 15, as the principal end why he engaged every soul of them to renew their covenant with God, that none of them might revolt from him, to serve any other god. And the order wherein he places these words shows, that idolatry is of a very infectious nature, spreading itself strangely, from single men and women unto families, and at last into whole tribes.

Whose heart turneth away] Who had a hankering, as we now speak, after other gods; which might afterward break out into idolatry.

To go and serve the gods of these nations;] When the heart, i. e. the mind, will, and affections, are depraved, men easily find occasions to follow, whither they lead them. And by this it appears, that the principal part of the covenant was to keep them close to the worship of one God, and no other; as I have often observed, vi. 4, vii. 2, 25, ix. 1, &c.

Lest there should be among you a root that beareth gall and wormwood;] Many take a root here to signify an evil principle, which the apostle calls "an evil heart of unbelief," Heb. iii. 12. But the words going before in this verse, and those that follow in the next, plainly lead us to take it for any person lurking secretly among them (like a root under ground), that was tainted with idolatry, who might poison others therewith, and in time bring forth the fruits of their impiety, which he calls "gall and wormwood." Where it must be observed, that the Hebrew word *rash*, which we translate *gall*, properly signifies an herb growing among corn, as bitter as gall. Which in Hosea x. 5, we translate *hemlock*; and commonly in Scripture is joined with *wormwood*, as it is here, Jer. ix. 15; Lam. iii. 19; Amos vi. 12. Unto which idolatry is compared, because it is most ungrateful and distasteful (if I may so speak) unto God, and produces bitter effects, that is, most grievous punishments, unto men.

Ver. 19. *It come to pass, when he*] The man spoken of before, under the name of a "root of bitterness."

Heareth the words of this curse.] Against idolatry, which Moses engaged every one of them to renounce, by making a solemn covenant with God to worship him alone, and dreadful imprecations upon themselves, if they did not make good this covenant (ver. 12, 14—16, xxvii. 15).

That he bless himself in his heart.] Secretly fancy none of these curses shall fall upon him, but, quite contrary, promise himself all manner of happiness.

I shall have peace.] Prosper and be happy.

Though I walk in the imagination of mine heart.] Or, "in the stubbornness of mine heart," as it is in

heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination of mine heart, to add drunkenness to thirst:

20 The Lord will not spare him, but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven.

the margin; that is, resolve to worship what god I best fancy.

To add drunkenness to thirst.] In the Hebrew words are (as the margin of our Bibles observes) "the drunken to the thirsty;" for both words are adjectives, as grammarians speak; and supposing a substantive to support them, many think none so proper to be understood as the word *earth*. Which makes this a proverbial speech, "To add the wet ground to the dry and thirsty," or rather "the thirsty to the wet." For the particle *beth*, which in the Hebrew is the note of the accusative case, is put before the word *dry*, or *thirsty*; and, therefore, that is the thing which is to be added to the *wet* or *drunken*: not the *drunken* to the *dry*. And the sense is, "draw others into the same wickedness;" just as if a drunken man should draw sober persons to play the fool with him, and do as bad as himself; or, after one piece of land is overflowed, the water should be let into that which is dry, and spoil that also. For this seems to be the meaning of the whole verse, If a man shall be so presumptuous, as not only to cry peace to himself, when he runs after his own devices, in serving other gods, but endeavours to draw others into the same wicked practices.

There are a great many other interpretations of these words (seven or eight) given by the Hebrew doctors, beside others in Christian writers; which may be seen in Cocceius, in his *Ultima Mosis*, sect. 134. But this seems to be the most easy, at which the Chaldee aims, and the LXX, if the particle *uf* be omitted, which is not in the Hebrew, nor the Chaldee, nor the Vulgar Latin. And if we take the words as we translate them (only inverting them), "add thirst unto drunkenness," the sense is as easy; viz. add more sins to the foregoing (Isa. xxx. 1), and be still inflamed (as the Scripture speaks) with love to more idols, after the service of many of them; "increasing their altars (as Hosea speaks) like heaps in the furrows of the field (Hos. x. 1, xii. 11)."

Dr. Jackson, in his first book upon the Creed (ch. 30, parag. 4), thinks the meaning is, that posterity added to the wickedness of their ancestors. For they being cast out of their good land for their infidelity and disobedience, their posterity (saith he) continue exiles and vagabonds for their stubbornness in like practices; not being willing, to this day, to offer up the sacrifice of a contrite heart for their disobedience past, but rather (adding thirst to drunkenness) "bless themselves when they hear the words of that curse, promising peace to themselves, though they walk on according to the stubbornness of their forefathers' heart."

Ver. 20. *The Lord will not spare him.*] That is, not pardon, or pass by his wickedness without punishment.

The anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man.] These words import the highest degree of anger, that is, the severest plagues, which are the effects of the anger of an incensed majesty.

All the curses that are written] Particularly in the foregoing chapter.

Shall lie upon him.] Not only fall, but remain upon him, to his utter ruin, as it follows in the next words

21 And the LORD shall separate him unto evil out of all the tribes of Israel, according to all the curses of the covenant that are written in this book of the law:

22 So that the generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the LORD hath laid upon it;

23 And that the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom, and Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, which the LORD overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath:

Shall blot out his name] By his name is meant himself; so that this is a threatening of destruction to him and his posterity, till there be no memory of him left.

Ver. 21. *The Lord shall separate him unto evil*] Though he offended never so secretly (for he speaks of one that "blessed himself in his heart," &c., ver. 19), God threatens to make him a public and notorious example of his vengeance to all the people of Israel.

According to all the curses of the covenant] It was a singular condescension in the Divine Majesty to enter into covenant with them; but it contained not only blessings to the obedient, but curses upon the disobedient; the latter of which were as certain as the former.

Ver. 22. *Shall say*,] That which follows, ver. 24. *When they see the plagues of that land*,] This shows that these threatenings are denounced not merely against a simple idolater, but such a one as made it his endeavour to draw others from the worship of God; not being content to be drunk himself with heathenish superstition, but zealous to intoxicate as many as he could with it, and to root true religion out of the nation.

And the sicknesses which the Lord hath laid upon it,] In the Hebrew it is, "The sicknesses wherewith he hath made it sick," i. e. the heavy punishments which he hath inflicted upon it, and thereby made it a miserable nation.

Ver. 23. *That the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning*,] Or, as it may be translated, "Is burnt up with brimstone and salt." For these make land barren and unfruitful; as Pliny particularly observes of salt (lib. xxx. cap. 7), *Omnis locus in quo reperitur sal, sterilis est, nihilque gignit*: "All ground in which salt is found is barren, and produceth nothing" (see Judg. ix. 45; Ps. cvii. 34; Jer. xvii. 6; Ezek. xlvii. 11; Zeph. ii. 9).

That it is not sown, nor beareth,] That neither nature nor art will make it fruitful.

Like the overthrow of Sodom, and Gomorrah, &c.] And the country about them, which was the most beautiful of all other in that part of the world (Gen. xiii. 10), but on a sudden turned into a filthy stinking lake, where no creature, neither fish nor fowl, can live.

Which the Lord overthrew in his anger,] Being highly incensed by their wickedness (see Gen. xviii. 20, xix. 24, 25), as he was by the wickedness of the Jews; which was the more provoking, because they had such an example of his vengeance continually before their eyes, and yet went on in their evil ways, till they brought the like judgment upon all Judea.

24 Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the LORD done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?

25 Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the LORD God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt:

26 For they went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods whom they knew not, and whom he had not given unto them:

27 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book:

28 And the LORD rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation.

This was more exactly fulfilled in the last destruction of the Jews by the Romans than in their first by the Babylonians: for the whole land was laid waste, and deserted by its inhabitants, and made a den of thieves; being brought to desolation by repeated returns of wars; more especially in the time of Adrian, when Julius Severus, as I observed upon the foregoing chapter, made such a devastation, that the whole country was turned, in a manner, into a wilderness.

Ver. 24. *Even all nations shall say*,] All that were near them, or came that way from far countries; as it goes before, ver. 22.

Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land?] Which he formerly made so populous and plenteous.

What meaneth the heat of this great anger?] These exceeding dreadful calamities, which evidently proceeded from a Divine vengeance. For the Jews fought so valiantly, and defended Jerusalem so resolutely (as appears by Josephus), that the author of Schebet Judah had reason to say, That it was not want of arms, the unusual terror of new machines, but the anger of God, provoked by their wickedness, which was the true and only cause of their destruction. And, indeed, Titus himself said as much, That God fought for the Romans, and drove the Jews from their fortifications. *Ἐπεὶ χεῖρες τε ἀνδράπων, ἢ μηχαναί*, &c. "For what could the hands of men or machines have done against such strong towers?" (see ch. xxxii. 22).

Ver. 25.] This account must be supposed to be given by the pious Jews, or by those who were made sensible, when it was too late, how steadfast God was in his covenant; which contained curses as well as blessings, as was before observed, ver. 21, and see vii. 9, 10, xi. 26—28.

Ver. 26. *They went and served other gods*,] This aggravated their sin, that they sought for acquaintance with strange gods, directly contrary to the covenant of God (xii. 30, 31).

Whom he had not given unto them,] Or, as it is in the margin, "had not given (or divided) to them any portion;" that is, never bestowed any benefit upon them, as the Lord their God had done, who brought them out of Egypt. Or, more simply (as Boetius thinks the words will bear) "to whom no worship belonged."

Ver. 27.] So Moses foretold them, vii. 4, xi. 16, 17.

Ver. 28. *In anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation*,] Here is one word more to express his displeasure against them, than was used before, when he speaks of the destruction of Sodom, &c., ver. 23. And they all denote the great plagues threatened in Lev. xxvi. and in the foregoing chapter of this book.

nation, and cast them into another land, as *it is* this day.

29 The secret *things* belong unto the LORD

Cast them into another land,] This may seem to relate only to their captivity in Babylon; for, after they were rooted out by the Romans, they were scattered into all lands (xxviii. 63, 64). But considering what goes before (ver. 23, 24), and that they were not quite *rooted out* (many of them remaining in the land when Nebuchadnezzar conquered them) till the desolation made by the Romans, I think these words relate to them also, and *another land* is only the singular number, as is usual, for the plural. And so the author of Schebet Judah understood it, who, quoting these words ["cast them out into another land"], adds, "which experience now proves to be true."

Ver. 29.] The Jews generally take these words to be meant of the punishment of secret sins (particularly of idolatry spoken of before, ver. 19), which belongeth unto God, as the punishment of open sins belongeth unto them, in obedience to his law, who commanded them to put to death him that seduced any person to idolatry and to raze the city that apostatized into it (xiii. 5, 6, &c., 12, 13, &c). And their negligence in doing their duty in this particular, made idolatry spread among them to their utter ruin. But these words may be understood as a farther answer to such inquiries, as that ver. 24, in which, if men persisted, and still asked, But why doth God thus punish his own people with such unusual severity, when there are many idolatrous nations, far worse than they, who continue still in their own land, and are not thus rooted out? Moses bids them silence such demands, and rest satisfied in this, That we cannot give an account of such things as God hath not revealed, particularly why he punishes some people, when he

our God: but those *things* which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.

spares others who are as bad; but must mind our own duty, which he hath plainly revealed unto us, that is (as Moses concludes this chapter), "to do after all his commandments which he hath given us in his law," believing he will greatly reward the obedient, and terribly punish, one time or other, all those that transgress it.

There may be also a more obvious sense of these words, if we translate them as some great men have done, "The secrets of the Lord our God are revealed to us, and to our children." Thus Onkelos, whose judgment is very valuable; which Grotius follows, and before him Forsterus; and Paulus Fagius represents it as a commodious sense, and makes it the same with the words of the Psalmist, cxlvii. 20, "He hath not dealt so with any nation," &c. For this was a peculiar favour to the Jews, that those things which God before kept secret in his own breast he now manifested to them; that they might know how to order their lives so as to please him. But this made them liable to be punished more grievously than all other people, if they did not observe his will, which he most graciously discovered to them. And if we could give any credit to the Jews, who say that all words in the Bible that have extraordinary points upon them (of which there are but ten in the Pentateuch, and these words, *lanu ulebennu*, "to us and our children," are the last of them), denote something peculiar and extraordinary, I should think that they relate to the revelation to be made by Jesus Christ, the great prophet promised to them (ch. xviii.), unto which, if they did not give heed, the most dreadful punishments would be inflicted on them; as we see they have been for many ages, and are not yet ended.

CHAPTER XXX.

1 Great mercies promised unto the repentant. 11 The commandment is manifest. 15 Death and life are set before them.

1 AND it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call *them* to mind among all the nations, whither the LORD thy God hath driven thee,

2 And shalt return unto the LORD thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul;

3 That then the LORD thy God will turn thy

CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *When all these things are come upon thee,]* God at the first bestowed great and singular blessings upon them; but when they grew so insensible of his mercy as to violate the covenant he had made with them, then he sent his curses which he had threatened upon them: which were completed in their expulsion out of the good land, which he had given them; especially in their last expulsion by the Romans, which was rather an extirpation.

Thou shalt call them to mind,] In the Hebrew, "bring back to thy heart," as we observe in the margin of 1 Kings viii. 47, where there is the very same phrase, and there translated, "shall bethink thyself," that is, reflect seriously both upon the blessings and curses, and consequently consider the truth of God in fulfilling both. In which consideration, repentance and conversion to God begin (see Ezek. xviii. 28).

Among all the nations,] Where they could not choose but often think of all the blessings they had

enjoyed in their own land, and might have still enjoyed, if they had not been disobedient; and all the curses, which had befallen them till they were driven from thence, and had pursued them ever since (see Lev. xxvi. 40, &c.; Deut. iv. 29, 30, &c.).

Ver. 2.] Repentance was completed by forsaking their idols, and returning to the worship of the Lord their God alone, and by obeying all the rest of his commands, and teaching their children to do the same; and all this with sincerity of heart. This they did, in some measure, after they were carried captive to Babylon; since which time we read nothing of their idolatry. But they fell into other sins, which stopped their ears to that great prophet, the Lord Christ, when he came to them; for which they are punished to this day, and will be till they repent and obey.

Ver. 3. *Will turn thy captivity,]* That is, bring those that were carried captive back again to their own land. Thus the word *captivity* is used Ps. xiv. 7; Eph. iv. Have compassion upon thee.] These words express

captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee.

4 If any of thine be driven out unto the out-

most parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee:

5 And the Lord thy God will bring thee into

the spring of all their happiness, viz. the Divine compassion, in pardoning their sins, which had been very provoking.

Will return and gather thee] This is the effect of his compassion in their restitution, and re-collection again into one body after their dispersion.

From all the nations,] This was fulfilled in part when they returned from Babylon; for then they who were scattered in other countries flocked again to them; and will be more completely fulfilled when they shall believe on our blessed Saviour.

Ver. 4.] Unto this promise Nehemiah plainly alludes in his prayer to God, to prosper his endeavours for the restoration of Jerusalem (Neh. i. 8, 9). And finding the truth of it confirmed by the king's gracious concession to him, he went about the work, though one, who was accounted a prophet (yea, several of the like quality), dissuaded him from the enterprise, as likely to prove dangerous to his person (vi. 10—12, &c.). Ezra also tells us how Cyrus made a "proclamation throughout all his kingdom," which was very large, that all the Jews might return, if they pleased, into their own country (Ezra i. 1, 4, and see Zech. vii. 7, 8). And though, in their last dispersion by the Romans, they be far more scattered, and into more distant regions, than they were in the Babylonian captivity (according to Moses's threatening, xxviii. 64, of this book), yet, if they did now consider the cause of it, and lay to heart their sin in crucifying the Lord Christ, no doubt God would have compassion on them, and wonderfully restore them. For the Jews themselves apply this place (and have long done so) to their present condition, being of opinion that God hath appointed a prefixed time in his own mind, though he hath not declared it, when he will deliver them; but, if they did repent, he would shorten the days of their banishment, and immediately bring them to their own land. Thus the ancient Nitæon, set forth not long ago by Wagenseil, p. 254. And R. Isaac, since him, and more lately, often insists upon this, in his Chissuk Emuna, published by the very same learned person; particularly Perek. vii., where he saith, "There can be no time prefixed for their deliverance, because it depends upon their repentance; whereby they may cut off the length of this banishment, provided they turn to God with their whole heart, and a full repentance." For which he alleges this place. And he repeats it again (Perek. xxvii.), as the great comfort they have in this long banishment, that, upon their perfect repentance, God will be merciful to them, and overcome their sins, and perform this promise. Which I find still more lately mentioned in Manasseh ben Israel's book, *De Termino Vitæ*, lib. iii. sect. 3, where he saith, "Here in all the prophets imitate Moses, being wont, after terrible threatenings, to conclude with some singular consolation. Which made R. Aquiba (as the Talmudists report) fall a laughing, when all the wise men who were with him wept and lamented, at the sight of the ruins of Jerusalem and the temple. Which they wondering at, he said, "After the clouds the sun will break out; and after the end of the evils which Moses threatened, we may hope for good things: for God is not more faithful in fulfilling the one, than in performing the other."

But, alas! in all ages hitherto there are no signs of repentance, much less of a perfect one; but they have been strangely hardened in their unbelief, and have

bitterly reproached the Lord Jesus and his religion. Abarbanel himself, though a gentleman of a noble family, a well-bred person, and of an excellent understanding, is extremely guilty of this. And since his time Solomon Virgæ, in the age before us, considering the astonishing plagues that have befallen them, and that never any people, as he acknowledges, conflicted with so many miseries and so many ages as they have done, inquires its causes why the Divine Majesty should be so angry with them; he reckons seven; among which he accounts the putting of Jesus of Nazareth to death as one; yet not as a crime, but that which had enraged Christians against them. For he wickedly illustrates this by that speech of Moses, Exod. viii. 24, which he thus translates, "If we slay and sacrifice the abominable gods of the Egyptians in their sight, will they not stone us?" Which is the highest reproach he could vomit against our Saviour; mingled with the most stupid folly, in giving that as a reason of the Divine anger, which at the most is only a reason in their account of men's indignation (Schebet Judah, sect. 63).

The most cruel usage which they have met with in all Christian countries, might thus exasperate and embitter their spirits: and I cannot excuse the violent hatred of Christians to them, and their barbarous treatment of them, though they therein fulfilled the Divine threatenings, as I have shown upon the twenty-eighth chapter; which being ceased since the reformation of religion, the Jews have not been so virulent against our blessed Saviour; and it is to be hoped will be won to the obedience of faith by our Christian usage of them; when those other stumbling-blocks, which hinder their conversion, are removed out of the way.

Ver. 5. *Thou shalt possess it;*] Be again planted in it, as they were at their return from the captivity of Babylon; especially after they had laid the foundation of the house of the Lord, he blessed them exceedingly, Hag. ii. 18, 19; Zech. vii. 12.

He will do thee good,] The prophet Zechary hath given a full explication of these words, viii. 13—15, and the prophet Jeremy before him (xxxii. 42, 43, &c.), which was fulfilled in the building of the house of the Lord, though great opposition was made to it; and in the compassing Jerusalem with walls, and settling them in a state of liberty, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, lii. 1, 2.

Multiply thee above thy fathers.] The Hebrew words import, that he would "make them greater than their fathers." Which he did, by their vast increase after they returned from Babylon (see Zech. viii. 4, 5, and before him, Hos. i. 10), which is manifest from their διασπορά, i. e. "spreading themselves in so many colonies;" through all Asia, both the great and the less; with Egypt, Greece, Italy, and Spain (see Strabo, lib. xvi. concerning Joppa). By this means they were very much exalted, as Zechariah prophesied after their captivity (xii. 6); for as they had their liberty in their own country (God being a wall of fire to them, while Jerusalem had no walls), so they spread themselves, as I said, and had their synagogues in Babylon, Arabia, Syria, and divers other countries before mentioned: and a great many proselytes also joined themselves to them.

Yet one cannot well think that so magnificent a prophecy as this is was entirely fulfilled after their return from Babylon, when they were tributaries to the Persians, and afterward fell under the power of the

the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers.

6 And the LORD thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live.

7 And the LORD thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee.

8 And thou shalt return and obey the voice of the LORD, and do all his commandments which I command thee this day.

9 And the LORD thy God will make thee

plenteous in every work of thine hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy land, for good: for the LORD will again rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers:

10 If thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law, and if thou turn unto the LORD thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.

11 ¶ For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off.

12 It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest

Grecians, under whom they suffered very much, especially in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes; whose death did not conclude their troubles, as Hermannus Witsius hath shown at large, in his Decaphylon, cap. 10, n. 9—12, &c., where he endeavours to prove that there was no moment of time, after their return from Babylon, wherein they could be said to be "made greater than their fathers," especially in the days of David and Solomon: and therefore he concludes, that this promise is still to be completely fulfilled. And thus R. Isaac (in his book before named, Chissuk Emuna) argues (Perek. vi.), that God did not bestow benefits upon them equal to those which their fathers enjoyed, much less superior, while the second temple stood; but all that time was full of straits and calamities; for which he alleges the prophecy of Daniel ix. 25. And therefore saith, these words of Moses can by no means be thought to be fulfilled, when the tribes of Judah and Benjamin returned from Babylon, and left a vast number behind them, who would not come back with them, but stay there at this day.

Ver. 6. *Circumcise thine heart.*] By such singular benefits bestowed upon them in a miraculous manner, God designed to take away the stubborn refractoriness of their spirits (called "hardness of heart," xxix. 19), and to cut off all their wicked inclinations and dispositions to idolatry and superstition, which had been their ruin; which is called "humbling their uncircumcised heart," Lev. xxvi. 41. But though God circumcised them, yet their hearts might remain uncircumcised, as appears from xxix. 3, 4. And therefore he calls upon them to circumcise their hearts themselves (xvi. 10), by laying to heart his benefits, and following the motions of his grace and holy Spirit, which thereby he put into their hearts: and their neglect of this, and resting merely in the circumcision of the flesh, was that which ruined them again.

The heart of thy seed.] Accordingly, we find they were freed from idolatry after their return from Babylon, though still they continued in other sins. Which brought this present captivity (as they call it) upon them; another banishment being necessary (saith R. Isaac, in the book before mentioned, Perek. vii.) to purge them from their sins, by the severe afflictions which they now endure, and have long suffered; because their manifold sins, as he expresses it, need much scouring, by contusions and pressures. After which, he saith, they shall sin no more, but that shall be fulfilled which is written in the law, "the LORD thy God shall circumcise thine heart," &c., quoting these very words of Moses. But, alas! they are not sensible for what sin they suffer (see p. 96, 97, of Wagenseil's edition).

To love the LORD thy God with all thine heart, &c.] See vi. 5. This prophecy, the Jews say, shall be fulfilled in the days of the Messiah, according to what Ezekiel saith, xxxvi. 26, "A new heart will I give

you, and a new spirit will I put into you," &c. So R. Isaac, in the place above named, and in p. 83.

Ver. 7.] Their very restoration created them many enemies, whose hatred increased with their prosperity in their own land, and made them, when they had power, to persecute them. Whom God remarkably plagued, particularly Antiochus Epiphanes, who died in miserable torments.

Ver. 8. *Thou shalt return.*] This may relate as well to their return unto their own land, as to their turning unto God: of both which he had spoken before. And now, having mentioned their persecution, whereby many of them might be driven out of their country, I suppose he here promises their restoration to it again, when he had cursed their enemies.

And obey the voice of the Lord.] Continue steadfast in their love to him, by a strict observance of all his commandments.

Ver. 9. *Make thee plenteous in every work of thine hand, &c.*] The effect of their constant and sincere obedience he promises should be still greater prosperity in all their undertakings, and in all their enjoyments (see xxviii. 4, 5, &c.).

For good.] To encourage them to continue faithful in the service of God.

The Lord will again rejoice over thee for good.] Delight only in blessing them; and not send any curses upon them (see xxviii. 63, and Jer. xxxii. 41).

As he rejoiced over thy fathers.] In whose obedience he delighted (Deut. x. 15).

Ver. 10. *To keep his commandments, &c.*] Persist in obedience to him.

If thou turn—with all thine heart.] With a sincere love to all his commands (ver. 2), who had "planted them assuredly in their land, with his whole heart, and his whole soul," as Jeremiah speaks, xxxii. 41. But herein they were defective, after they came out of the captivity of Babylon. For though they never returned again to idolatry, but kept close to the worship of God alone, yet they rested merely in the outward rites of religion, and had not a hearty love to God and to all goodness; which made them reject the Son of God when he came among them, and fall under those long calamities, which will not end till they "turn to him with all their hearts and souls."

Ver. 11. *For this commandment which I command thee this day.*] Of hearty love to God, and sincere obedience to all his commands (ver. 2, 6, 8, 16.)

It is not hidden from thee.] Or it may be translated out of the Hebrew, "It is not too wonderful above thee;" that is, abstruse and hard to be understood, because above their reach; but easy to be known and acquainted withal, because plainly revealed. Which is as true of the gospel (unto which St. Paul applies these words, Rom. x. 6, &c.) as it was of the law of Moses: for therein our Saviour hath declared

say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it?

13 Neither *is* it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it?

14 But the word *is* very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.

the mind and will of God to us, in such familiar words that the most simple people may understand their duty.

Neither is it far off.] So that they should go to seek it, and learn it in some distant nation. R. Isaac, in his Chissuk Emuna, cap. 45, had his thoughts so fixed upon what is said ver. 4, that he fancies these words belong to that matter; and that Moses still speaks to them of repentance, "which is of greater value than any other thing, and yet most easily acquired." Which cannot but make one wonder at their blindness; for if repentance be so very easy, how comes it to pass that they remain impenitent for so many ages, and thereby, as they confess, prolong their miseries? And yet he repeats the same words in the second part of his work, Pereh. lxxx. where he hath the confidence to say St. Paul misapplies this place.

Ver. 12.] R. Jacob Haesæi, in his preface to that part of the Mishna called Seder Nesim (as Guil. Vorstius observes upon Abarbinel about the Articles of their Faith), hath very fairly expounded this: which he takes to be a proverbial speech, to show that there is no need of hard, or rather impossible labour, to come at the knowledge of God's will, as there is in many human sciences, where the mind of man is tired by several propositions and deductions, &c., before he arrives at what he seeks: but all things are plain and easy to be understood, and not hard to be performed. For God had revealed his mind clearly by Moses from heaven, and therefore none had need to go thither to desire God to acquaint them with it, which he had done of his own accord, out of his good will towards them. And thus Grotius observes upon Rom. x. 6, out of several Greek authors, that they expressed things very difficult, by *going up to heaven*. Maimonides, indeed, to Jesodehatorah, cap. 9, and Abarbinel, in Rosch Amana, cap. 13, make these words an argument for the eternity and unchangeableness of their law, and that there should be no new revelation from heaven: but there is no colour for this from these words, the particle *hu* being of the feminine gender, and therefore doth not refer to God, but to the *command* before mentioned, plainly importing that men could not pretend ignorance of their duty, nor had any reason to desire that somebody would go to heaven again for those things which Moses had already brought from thence. And thus the apostle most justly accommodates these words to the new revelation from heaven by the Son of God, which was not abstruse and difficult, but as plain and perspicuous as this now made by Moses.

Ver. 13.] ὅς διδάσκει πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμιπρόσδοξους (to use the words of Philo, in his book concerning Rewards and Punishments), "so as to need long and tedious voyages, laborious and wearisome travels, to fetch it from foreign countries." Such as the Greek philosophers took, who travelled into Egypt, and the eastern part of the world, to learn wisdom, which God now taught his people in the wilderness, without any pains to attain to it.

Ver. 14. *The word is very nigh unto thee.*] Being brought to their very doors by Moses, the servant of

15 ¶ See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil;

16 In that I command thee this day to love the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments, that thou mayest live and multiply: and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest to possess it.

17 But if thine heart turn away, so that thou

God; who now delivered to them the mind of God, as the Son of God himself did afterward, when he came and dwelt among them.

In thy mouth, and in thy heart.] Made so familiar to them, that they might always have it in their common discourse, to teach it their children; and had now been so often repeated, that it might be well laid up in their memory, never to be forgotten by them (vi. 6—9, xi. 18—20). It was also in the mouth of their priests, who were to teach them knowledge (Mal. ii. 7), and press it upon their hearts. Here the forenamed R. Isaac, in both the places forenamed, observes, that "repentance depends on the confession of the mouth and grief of the heart:" but the largest confession and the sorest grief will not avail them, till they repent of their crucifying the Lord Jesus, and shall "confess him with their mouth, and believe in their heart that God hath raised him from the dead," &c., as St. Paul speaks, Rom. x. 9, 10.

That thou mayest do it.] That they might have nothing to do but to put it in practice; and in order thereunto continually read it and keep it in mind. In which the Jews were so diligent, that, as Josephus tells the gentiles (lib. ii. contra Apionem), they could as easily recite all the laws of God as tell their names. But here was their error, that they were not careful to do what they knew to be the will of God: and so when he sent his Son among them, who plainly declared to them more fully the meaning of their holy books, they could not understand and receive that which they read every day. And indeed this is the common error (as Dr. Jackson well observes) of all corrupt minds, to seek that afar off, as if they were strangers to it, which is really in their mouth and in their heart, so that they would but be doers, and not only hearers of the word, as St. James speaks, alluding perhaps to these words of Moses. As St. Paul applies this whole passage to the gospel; which is that word of faith, so preached and published by the apostles that it may be in all our mouths and hearts, without going to seek for any other infallible teacher.

Ver. 15.] "Life and good, death and evil," may be but two words for the same thing, viz., all manner of happiness, and all manner of misery; both which he had at large set before them in the twenty-eighth chapter. Or by *life* may be meant long life in the land God had promised them; and *good*, all the prosperity they could wish for there: as, on the other side, *death* may signify their being cut off from the land of the living before their time; and *evil*, all the calamities he had threatened while they lived: and so the next verse seems to interpret it. Maimonides from these words observes, that the wills of men are under no force nor coercion, but are free agents; and therefore have precepts imposed upon them, with a punishment threatened to the disobedient, and a reward promised to those who keep God's commandments. Of which he treats at large in his preface to his Commentary upon Pirke Avoth, cap. 8.

Ver. 16. *To walk in his ways, &c.*] This includes their entire obedience to all God's laws, which are comprehended under these three names (see vi. 1, 5, vii. 11, x. 12, 13).

will not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other gods, and serve them;

18 I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish, *and that ye shall not prolong your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to go to possess it.*

19 I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, *that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore*

That thou mayest live and multiply:] This is the explication of the *life and good* which he set before them, if they observed God's laws with sincere affection to them (ver. 15).

Ver. 17. *But if thine heart turn away,]* Want of love to God, and of a due esteem of his wonderful love to them, made their heart turn away to other things, and not regard what he had revealed to them from heaven.

And worship other gods, and serve them:] This was the principal breach of the covenant of God.

Ver. 18.] This is the explication of the *death and evil* he set before them (ver. 15).

Ver. 19. *I call heaven and earth to record this day against you,]* God, angels, and men, were witnesses that he had done his duty. See iv. 26, viii. 19, and therefore is owned by God himself to be "faithful in all his house" (Numb. xii. 7).

Blessing and cursing:] They are the same with *life and death*; but he uses several words, to make them sensible that both proceeded from God; the one being

choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live:

20 That thou mayest love the Lord thy God, *and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him: for he is thy life, and the length of thy days: that thou mayest dwell in the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them.*

the effect of his love and favour, and the other of his anger and high displeasure.

Therefore choose life,] That is, choose to be obedient, without which they could not be happy. Or he wishes them to set their hearts on the happiness God had promised them, that it might incline them to do as follows.

Ver. 20. *That thou mayest love the Lord thy God,]* Love is the noblest and the strongest spring of obedience.

Cleave unto him:] Obedience to God is the surest preservative from apostasy.

He is thy life,] The author and giver of life; which he preserves and prolongs unto those who are obedient.

That thou mayest dwell in the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers,] Which promise confirmed by an oath being faithfully fulfilled, he justly claimed their fidelity to him upon that account: which is the reason it is so often mentioned (vi. 10, viii. 1, ix. 5, x. 11, xi. 9, 21, xix. 8).

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 Moses encourageth the people. 7 He encourageth Joshua. 9 He delivereth the law unto the priests to read it in the seventh year to the people. 14 God giveth a charge to Joshua, 19 and a song to testify against the people. 24 Moses delivereth the book of the law to the Levites to keep. 28 He maketh a protestation to the elders.

I AND Moses went and spake these words unto all Israel.

2 And he said unto them, *I am an hundred*

and twenty years old this day; I can no more go out and come in: also the Lord hath said unto me, Thou shalt not go over this Jordan.

CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1.] By this it seems plain to me, that after Moses had renewed the covenant with the people (mentioned in the foregoing chapter), he dismissed them, and retired to his own tent. But not long after gave them a new summons (as he had done xxix. 2), and went again to take his leave of them. The LXX. indeed seem to take the first words, as if the meaning was, that he *went on* with his discourse. For thus they render them, ἀντίθετος λαῶν πάντας τοῖς λόγοις τοῦτοις, "he finished speaking all these words." For which I see no warrant, nor is it likely he could speak all that here follows at the same time.

Ver. 2. *I am an hundred and twenty years old this day,]* This shows these words were spoken not long before his death, which was this year (xxxiv. 7). Manasseh ben Israel would have us from hence observe, "The singular care God hath of those who serve him with a perfect heart, as Moses did; the days of whose years (saith he) are exactly proportioned. For so these words are expounded in Sota, cap. 1, 'To-day my years are completed; to-day I was born, and to-day I shall die:' for he was born on the seventh day of the month Adar, and on

the same day of the same month he died. Thus Enoch (he adds) lived just three hundred and sixty-five years, which are proportioned to the days of the sun's annual course," lib. iii. De Terminis Vitæ, sect. 5. But as there is no great weight in this observation, if it were true, so that which he saith of Moses is evidently false: for he did not die this very day, as appears from ver. 14, where he saith, "Thy days approach that thou must die." Therefore the time was not yet come.

I can no more go out and come in:] Discharge the office I have long sustained of your governor and leader (see Numb. xxvii. 17); not because he wanted vigour, either of body or mind (for that is contrary to xxxiv. 7, of this book), but because God did not think fit to permit him to conduct them any farther; as the following words explain it.

Also the Lord hath said unto me,] The particle *we* translate also, often signifies *for*: and is so translated by us in divers places; particularly in Isa. iii. 7, Jer. xvii. 8. And being so taken here, the sense of these words is plain and easy; giving a reason why he could no longer take the charge of them, as he had done, because God had otherwise ordered; having told him he should not bring them into Canaan, which they were now ready to enter.

3 The LORD thy God, he will go over before thee, and he will destroy these nations from before thee, and thou shalt possess them: and Joshua, he shall go over before thee, as the LORD hath said.

4 And the LORD shall do unto them as he did to Sihon and to Og, kings of the Amorites, and unto the land of them, whom he destroyed.

5 And the LORD shall give them up before your face, that ye may do unto them according unto all the commandments which I have commanded you.

6 Be strong and of a good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them: for the LORD thy God,

he it is that doth go with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

7 ¶ And Moses called unto Joshua, and said unto him in the sight of all Israel, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou must go with this people unto the land which the LORD hath sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it.

8 And the LORD, he it is that doth go before thee; he will be with thee, he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee: fear not, neither be dismayed.

9 ¶ And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, which bare

Ver. 3. *He will go over before thee.*] Conduct them by the ark of his presence (Josh. iii. 5, 11, and see Exod. xxiii. 23, and Deut. ix. 3).

Will destroy these nations] Exod. xxxiv. 11.

And Joshua, he shall go over before thee.] As their captain and leader when Moses had left them (iii. 28, Josh. i. 2).

As the Lord hath said.] When he was appointed the successor of Moses (Numb. xxvii. 18, 21).

Ver. 4.] See Numb. xxiv. 24, 34, 35.

Ver. 5. *The Lord shall give them up before your face.*] As he had promised before, vii. 23, where he saith, "The Lord thy God shall deliver them unto thee." In the Hebrew the words are, "before thy face" (see ix. 3).

That ye may do unto them according unto all the commandments] i. e. Utterly destroy them, and their altars, and images, and groves, &c. (see vii. 2, 3, 5, 27, xii. 1, 2, &c.).

Ver. 6. *Be strong and of a good courage.*] By faith in God; which their forefathers wanting, were discouraged, and durst not go up and possess the land when God commanded them (i. 28, 32).

Fear not, nor be afraid of them.] Be not affrighted, much less dismayed at their multitude, their stature and strength, when you go to fight with them. The second word (*afraid*) only expresses a higher degree of the same passion of fear; signifying, being overcome with it. For that is the import of the Hebrew word *aratz*, which originally signifies to *prevail over* another. This he had said to their forefathers, i. 21, 29, and after repeated to them, iii. 2, 22, vii. 17, 18, 21.

He it is that doth go with thee.] According to the assurance before given them (xx. 4).

He will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.] This promise, which here is general, in the next verse but one is particularly made to Joshua; and renewed to him by God himself, after the death of Moses, when they were about to enter into the land of Canaan (Josh. i. 5). And it is applied by the apostle unto all faithful Christians, to encourage their hope of being conducted through all difficulties and dangers unto their heavenly inheritance (Heb. xiii. 5).

Ver. 7. *Moses called unto Joshua, and said unto him in the sight of all Israel.*] That they might have the greater reverence to his person and authority, and follow his conduct, as a leader appointed by God.

Be strong] He exhorts him to give a good example to all the people; these being the same words he had spoken to them, ver. 6.

For thou must go with this people] Be their leader and commander-in-chief, by God's special order, (Numb. xxvii. 21).

Unto the land] See viii. 1, x. 13, xxx. 20.

Cause them to inherit it.] Put them into possession of it (iii. 28).

Ver. 8. *He it is that doth go before thee.*] Josh. i. 9. *He will not fail thee.*] See ver. 6.

Fear not, neither be dismayed.] The same which he said to the people, ver. 6, but was most necessary to be pressed upon him, who, by his undaunted resolution, was to put courage into them. The word we translate *dismayed*, is different in the Hebrew from that ver. 6, which is, *be not afraid*: but the LXX. and the Vulgar use the same word to express both; which denotes such a consternation, as disables a man to do his duty; which is the proper import of this word.

Ver. 9. *Moses wrote this law*] Some understand by *this law*, only the book of Deuteronomy; for which I can see no reason, the Scripture calling all that is contained in the five books of Moses by the name of *the law*. St. Paul, for instance, in Gal. iii. 21, asks this question, "Do you not hear the law?" and then quotes what we read in Gen. xvi. 21. And so Nehemiah saith, x. 34, 35, that they brought first-fruits unto God, "as it is written in the law," viz. Exod. xiii. 12, xxiii. 19. And Josiah put away the workers with familiar spirits, &c. "that he might perform the words of the law" (2 Kings xxiv. 24), which we find Lev. xix. 30, xx. 6, 27. And Hezekiah also (2 Chron. xxxi. 3) appointed the daily oblations, and those required at stated times, to be offered, "as it is written in the law of the Lord," which plainly refers to the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of Numbers. And Joshua built an altar on Mount Ebal (viii. 30, 31), "as it is written in the book of the law of Moses;" which we find nowhere but in this book of Deuteronomy (xxvii. 4).

Delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi.] Concerning this form of speech "the priests the sons of Levi," see xvii. 9. It is probable Moses had written most of these five books some time ago (and so the foregoing words may be translated, "Moses had written this law," but did not finish them till a little before his death, and then delivered them to the priests. But there is no necessity thus to understand it, for he might have had time enough between this and his death to write the whole Pentateuch; it being only said, ver. 14, "Thy days approach, that thou must die;" which doth not imply he was to die in a day or two, but there might be some weeks before his departure.

Which bare the ark] It was most proper to deliver it unto them, who alone might touch the ark, in which *this law* was to be laid (ver. 26). The Kohathites, who were mere Levites, and not priests, did carry the ark in their travels through the wilderness, after the priests had covered it, and put in the staves thereof (as I have shown Numb. iv. 5, 6, &c.); but it is evident they served only as ministers to the priests, who, upon great occasions, bare the ark themselves. As when they passed over Jordan

the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and unto all the elders of Israel.

10 And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of *every seven years*, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles,

11 When all Israel is come to appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall

choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing.

12 Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the LORD your God, and observe to do all the words of this law :

(Josh. iii. 3, 6), when they compassed Jericho (Josh. vi. 6), and when the temple of Solomon was dedicated, and the ark brought into it (1 Kings viii. 3, 4, 6). When David, indeed, brought the ark to Jerusalem, it is said the Levites bare it; but at the same time the priests also were summoned to take care of it; which shows the Levites bare it as their servants (1 Chron. xv. 2, 11, 13—15).

Unto all the elders of Israel.] As he delivered this book of the law, that is, the whole Pentateuch (as Abarinel and others of the Jews understand it) unto the priests, commanding them to preserve it safe near the ark (ver. 24); so he delivered another copy of this book to the elders of every tribe, as the Jews affirm in Debarim Rabba; where they say (and it is highly probable) that Moses, before his death, wrote thirteen copies of the law (with his own hand as they add), and having delivered one unto the priests, to be preserved in the holy place, gave one to each tribe, which he committed to the care of the elders of it. Thus Maimonides, also, in his preface to Jad. Chazakah, as Buxtorf observes, in Histor. Arcæ Federis, cap. 5. The intent of which was, I suppose, that all the people of each tribe might resort to it (as the whole nation were to resort to that in the sanctuary), if they doubted of any thing, which might be thought to be amiss, by the errors of transcribers.

Ver. 10. *Moses commanded them.*] Both the priests and the elders, to take care of what follows.

End of every seven years.] Mentioned, xv. 1, &c.

In the feast of tabernacles.] When they had gathered in all the fruits of the earth, and thereby had greater leisure to attend to the hearing of the law read to them; which, when men's minds were also freed from cares by the release of their debts, was likely to make a greater impression upon them.

Ver. 11. *When all Israel is come to appear before the Lord*] As they were bound to do at this feast, and at Pentecost, and the passover (xvi. 16).

Thou shalt read this law before all Israel] This order being directed, not to all Israel, but to a particular person, plainly imports, that the supreme governor, whosoever he was, had this charge laid upon him, to take care these laws should be read at this solemn time, that all the people might hear them; and therefore, I think the Jews rightly say, that their kings, when they had them, were bound not only to look after this matter, but to read the law themselves to as many (that is) as could hear them, appointing the priests and the Levites to read it in as many other assemblies of the people as were necessary for the fulfilling of this precept. In order to which, a pulpit was set up in the court of the men of Israel on the very first day of the feast (for they did not think fit to defer it till the last, because it is here said, "when Israel is come to appear before the Lord," not when they were ready to depart, as the Jews observe); the king going up into it, the minister took the book of the law, and delivered it to the ruler of the synagogue, who gave it to the sagan (or vicar of the high-priest), who delivered it to the high-priest, and he to the king; who stood up to receive it, and then sat down to read. All this expresses the reverence with which this holy book was delivered; and likewise the reverence with which they approached to the king;

who, they say, began to read at this book of Deuteronomy (which is a compendium of the law), and proceeded, before he stopped, to those words (vi. 4), "Hear, O Israel," &c. which having also read, he omitted the rest till he came to ch. xi. 13. "And it shall come to pass, if thou wilt hearken diligently," &c. reading on to ver. 22. And then skipped to xiv. 22. "And thou shalt truly tithe," &c. reading on to the section concerning the king (xvii. 14), and then the cursings and blessings out of the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters, till he had ended all that section of the law. Thus the Mishna, in the title Sota, cap. 7, sect. 8, which Wagenseil hath lately illustrated with most learned annotations; and our Dr. Lightfoot also hath given an account of it long ago, in his Temple Service, ch. 17, sect. 1, where he saith, the king might sit down if he pleased, when he read, but it was esteemed more honourable if he stood: as king Agrippa did when he performed this office. And before he began to read, he made a prayer to God; and all this (he adds) was done "in the court of the women." Which well agrees with what is said in the next verse, "Gather the people, men and women," &c. But it doth not contradict what I said before, of his reading it in the court of the men of Israel: for if the king were of the family of David, it was always done there; if he were not, then in the court of the women, as Wagenseil observes out of Maimonides.

Ver. 12. *Gather the people together.*] All that came to this feast could not meet in one place, but were divided into several assemblies, probably in their synagogues. For as many as the courts of Israel would hold meeting there, it is reasonable to think that the rest assembled in some other holy place. Such were their synagogues, which Philo (in his book of the embassy to Caius) calls "places of secondary holiness." And Maimonides discourses at large of the holiness of synagogues and schools in his book of Prayer and the Priests' Blessing, cap. 11, (see upon Lev. xix. 30).

Men, and women, and children.] Though the males only were bound to go up to the great feasts, yet many devout women went also voluntarily, as appears by Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 3, 4. And all the women in Jerusalem were likewise bound to attend at these solemnities, with the children who were capable of instruction (see Neh. viii. 2, 3). To whom some person of authority read the law in their court, while the king of the house of David was reading it in the court of the men of Israel.

Thy stranger] Such as were proselytes to the Jewish religion; not exceeding those who were only proselytes of the gate, if they would come to their assemblies.

That they may hear, &c.] That by this means they might be instructed in the true way of worshipping God (which is here called his *feare*), and to his worship and service add a careful obedience to all that he commanded in this book, which they might read (and were bound to do so) in their own private houses, and which they heard read every Sabbath-day in their public synagogues. For which, indeed, there is no particular command in the law; but they being commanded to teach their children every day at home the

13 And *that* their children, which have not known *any thing*, may hear, and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.

14 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tabernacle of the congregation, that I may give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went, and presented themselves in the tabernacle of the congregation.

15 And the Lord appeared in the tabernacle

things contained in the law, and consequently to read it (vi. 7, 8, xi. 16), they thought it most reasonable to have it read on the Sabbath in their public assemblies, where some portion of the law was read; but now the whole volume, as an authentic testimony of the whole nation, to the truth of what is contained in these books.

Ver. 13. *That their children,*] For the early instruction of posterity in the sacred authority of this law.

May hear, and learn to fear, &c.,] Be preserved in the true religion, by so solemn an acknowledgment made by the king himself, that God delivered all these laws to Moses. Accordingly we find that Joshua, their supreme governor after the death of Moses, did read all the words of the law, not omitting a word that Moses commanded, before all the congregation, with women, and the little ones, and the strangers, that were conversant among them (Josh. viii. 34, 35). But from that time to the reign of Jehoshaphat, (2 Chron. xvii. 7, 8, &c.) which is commonly computed to be five hundred and thirty years, we find no mention of a public reading of it. Nor from that time to the eighteenth year of king Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 30, 31), which was the space of two hundred eighty and two years; nor from that time till after the captivity of Babylon (Neh. viii. 2, 3, &c.). By which neglect they more easily fell into idolatry, and continued in it, more or less, till that captivity; for a forgetfulness of the law ensued upon this neglect.

Ver. 14. *Behold, thy days approach that thou must die:*] He admonishes him, that the end of his days upon earth was near, when he must resign up his office into the hands of Joshua, who had been before appointed his successor (Numb. xxvii.).

Call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tabernacle—that I may give him a charge.] This was done, I suppose, in the face of all the people, to whom Moses had been speaking (ver. 1, 2), to give Joshua the greater authority, and to make him revered by them, when they saw he was appointed by God himself to be their governor; as he had been before ordained publicly by God's order (Numb. xxvii. 18, 19, &c.).

And Moses and Joshua went,] In the court of the sanctuary, with their faces towards it; for it was not lawful for any but the priests to go into the sanctuary itself. Some indeed have thought, that by a special order from God, Joshua was now admitted into it: but this seems to me to be contradicted by the next verse, which saith God appeared in a cloud over the door of the tabernacle.

Ver. 15. *The Lord appeared*] This signifies, that the glory of the Lord (as other places speak) appeared unto them, and unto the people, as it had done upon many occasions (Exod. xxxiii. 9, 10; Numb. ix. 15, xvi. 42, 43).

The pillar of the cloud stood over the door] Being a symbol of the Divine presence, whose glory appeared out of the cloud, as it did Numb. xvi. 42. For the cloud was always upon the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 35,

in a pillar of a cloud: and the pillar of the cloud stood over the door of the tabernacle.

16 ¶ And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me, and break my covenant which I have made with them.

17 Then my anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will hide my face from them, and they shall be

38; Numb. ix. 18); but when the Lord would strike an awe into the people, and move them to regard what he said or did, then the cloud stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord came out of the most holy place, and appeared in it.

Ver. 16. *The Lord said unto Moses,*] Out of the cloud, I suppose, as he did, Numb. xvi. 44.

Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers;] He first admonishes Moses again of his departure, in the audience, I suppose, of Joshua, who heard all the following admonition, to make him more carefully observe the end and design of it.

Sleep is a common word for *death*, either of good men or bad; which was not used merely as a soft expression of that which the heathen dreaded as the most terrible of all things; but to put them in mind, perhaps, that death should not last always, but they should as certainly rise again, as they *lay down* (so the word is in the Hebrew) to sleep with their fathers.

This people will rise] In rebellion.

Go a whoring] God, who searches all men's hearts, discerned such bad inclinations in this people, that he knew they would fall into idolatry (which is called "going a whoring" from him, as hath been often noted) notwithstanding all the means he had prescribed to prevent it. And therefore he adds one more, which was the learning them the following song; notwithstanding which, he foresaw, that after the death of Joshua, and the elders who survived him, they would forsake him, and worship other gods (see Ps. cvi. 36, 38).

After the gods of the strangers] This is an unusual phrase, signifying no more than what he calls in other places *strange gods*. Though some think it imports peculiarly the gods of the Canaanites, who were the former inhabitants, but, being expelled, became "strangers of the land." And thus Onkelos seems to have understood it, who translates it "after the idols of the people of the land." Which was a high aggravation of their sin, that they should worship such gods as had not been able to protect their servants.

Whither they go to be among them,] This seems to countenance the foregoing exposition. And God charges them in future ages with this, as a very great guilt, that they worshipped the gods of the Amorites, in whose land they dwelt (Judg. vi. 10).

Will forsake me,] For he looked upon himself as forsaken (that is, not worshipped), if they worshipped any other god with him (Exod. xx. 3).

Break my covenant] This being the principal thing in the covenant (as I have often observed), that they should worship him alone (Exod. xx. 22, 23, xxiii. 32, 33; Deut. v. 3, 4, &c., vi. 3, 4, &c.).

Ver. 17. *My anger shall be kindled against them in that day,*] So we read it was upon their very first apostasy to idolatry (Judg. ii. 14), and continued so in all ages, as we read frequently in that and the following books (see there, ver. 20, and iii. 8, &c.).

I will forsake them,] Go no longer before them

devoured, and many evils and troubles shall befall them; so that they will say in that day, Are not these evils come upon us, because our God is not among us?

18 And I will surely hide my face in that day from all the evils which they shall have wrought, in that they are turned unto other gods.

19 Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach it the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel.

20 For when I shall have brought them into

the land which I swear unto their fathers, that floweth with milk and honey; and they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat; then will they turn unto other gods, and serve them, and provoke me, and break my covenant.

21 And it shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are befallen them, that this song shall testify against them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their imagination which they go about, even now, before I have brought them into the land which I swear.

against their enemies, but deliver them up into their hands (ver. 8).

Will hide my face from them,] Withdraw my favour and protection. So that they were devoured, as it follows, by their enemies, and wild beasts; and "many evils and troubles beset them;" or, as the Hebrew phrase signifies, "came upon them on a sudden." The prophet Ezekiel expresses this in these words, "My face will I turn from them" (vii. 22). The effect of which was, the Divine presence departed out of the sanctuary, and he left it (as he there speaks) to be polluted and defiled by robbers. And so it here follows.

Are not these evils come upon us, because our God is not among us? For whithersoever they went out, "the hand of the Lord was against them for evil," as we read Judg. ii. 15, which was so remarkable a change, that it could not but at last make them reflect upon the cause of it; as we find it did, and moved them to cry unto the Lord for help (iii. 9, 15, iv. 3, &c.).

Ver. 18. *I will surely hide, &c.]* He repeats it again, because they were a people dull of hearing. Or the former words may relate to their first captivity, and these to the last (as they call it), wherein they now are. For they themselves take notice, that these words have been fulfilled by the many calamities which have befallen them since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. This appears from Schebet Judah, where Solomon Virgæ quotes this very verse, to prove that their present sufferings proceed not from nature, but from an angry God, more powerful than nature, as he speaks, sect. 13.

Ver. 19. *Now therefore write ye]* This shows these words were directed both to Moses and to Joshua, who was to take care, after Moses's death, to see this command observed.

This song for you,] Which follows in the thirty-second chapter.

Teach it the children of Israel:] Make them get it by heart, as we now speak.

Put it in their mouths,] That they might sing it, and thereby preserve it in their memory. For it hath been always thought the most profitable way of instructing people, and communicating things to posterity, by putting them into verse; and especially children and young people are best taught in this way. And the greater moment any thing is of, the more carefully it ought to be preserved; which Plato himself thought could be done by no better means than this. And therefore, having spoken of the songs which he would have composed for the use of the people, he would have it enacted *δεν πάντα ἀνδρα και παῖδα, &c.*, "that all men and children, whether bond or free, male or female, should be bound through the whole city to sing such songs, and never cease so to do," &c., (see Eusebius, lib. xii. Præpar. Evang. 32). And Plato himself, lib. ii. De Legibus; where he gives a great many cautions about this matter, and concludes

that τούτο δὲ Θεοῦ, ἢ Οἰσίον τιτὸς, ἀν εἶη, p. 657, "this must be the work of a god, or some godlike man." As if he had been acquainted with what Moses, the man of God, or rather God himself, here ordained, that every one should have this song in their mouths, as a means to preserve them in the worship of God alone. However, this justifies the admirable discipline of the Hebrews in those ancient times, who were taught by such hymns, as the wisest men among the heathen in future times thought the best way of instruction. For which reason, as Aristotle reports in his Problems (sect. 19, probl. 28), people anciently sung their laws, as the Agathyræi (he saith) continued to do in his days, *ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶχθῶνται*, "that they might not be forgotten." Particularly the laws of Charondas (as Athenæus informs us out of Hermippus) were wont to be sung at Athens, *παρ' οἶνον*, "over a glass of wine;" and were therefore written in some sort of verse, or tunable measure, as our incomparable Dr. Bentley hath made it probable, in his late Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 373. Tully also (to add no more) tells us, that Cato, in his book De Originibus, reports, that it was the custom among the old Romans to have the virtues and praises of famous men sung to a pipe at their feasts; which he thinks they learnt from the ancient Pythagoreans in Italy, who were wont, "carminibus præcepta quædam occultius tradere," "to deliver in verses certain precepts," which were the greatest secrets in their philosophy; and composed the minds of the scholars to tranquillity, by songs and instruments of music. See upon Numb. xxi. 30, concerning this way of instruction.

That this song may be a witness for me] Testifying that they were sufficiently warned, and could not complain that they were not taught their duty and told their danger; and reproving also their ingratitude, and putting them in mind how ill they requited their God (ver. 21).

Ver. 20. *For when I shall have brought them into the land which I swear]* See vi. 10, &c., xv. 8, 9.

Shall have eaten, &c.] See viii. 10—12, &c., xxvii. 15.

Then will they turn unto other gods, &c.] Against which he had most solemnly forewarned them, in the places before mentioned, and xi. 16, xii. 29, 30.

Ver. 21. *This song shall testify against them]* That they are most justly punished for their foul ingratitude and unbelief, with which this song upbraided them; having told them plainly (xxxii. 18, 19) what would be the effect of their forsaking him; and at the delivery of it, God having solemnly said here (ver. 17), that when they went a whoring from him he would "forsake them, and hide his face from them."

It shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed:] The calamities which fell upon them, according to what is predicted in this song, brought it to their remembrance when they had forgotten it, or did not regard it. For these words do not seem to be a precept requiring them to remember this song, but a

22 ¶ Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel.

23 And he gave Joshua the son of Nun a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I swear unto them: and I will be with thee.

24 ¶ And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished,

25 That Moses commanded the Levites,

prediction, foretelling that their miseries should not suffer them quite to forget it.

For I know their imagination.] He saw the secret inclinations and designs which were in their hearts; and perceived that at that very present they hankered, as we speak, after idols.

Ver. 22. *Moses therefore wrote this song.]* And so did Joshua (as he was commanded, ver. 19), who spake the words of this song unto the people as well as Moses, xxxii. 44.

And taught it the children of Israel.] Commanded them to learn it (ver. 19). In order to which, the Jews say, every man was bound to write for himself a copy of it: and more than that, they make it one of the affirmative precepts (as Maimonides tells us), which obliged every Israelite to write out the whole book of the law with his own hand. For so they interpret those words (ver. 19), "Write ye this song for you," as if they were spoken to all the people, and their meaning had been, "Write ye this law for you, wherein is this song;" for they were not to write the law by small parts and sections (as his words are), but all of it entirely. And if a man's parents had left him a copy, yet he was bound to write one himself; or if he could not write, to procure one to be written for him by some other person, &c. (see Schickard's *Mischpat Hammelech*, cap. 2, theor. 5).

Ver. 23. *He gave Joshua—a charge,]* That is, the Lord, who had hitherto spoken to him by Moses, now spake to him himself, and gave him this charge, to gain him the greater authority. For which end he had ordered Joshua to present himself before him, together with Moses (ver. 14).

Be strong and of a good courage.] Which he repeats to him after the death of Moses, Josh. i. 6, 7.

Thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land] I have appointed thee to be the captain of my people, to lead them into the land of Canaan.

I will be with thee.] To give him success in all his enterprises. Which words being spoken in the audience of all the people (as may be supposed in ver. 14), made them readily submit to the authority of Joshua, and confide in his conduct.

Ver. 24.] The whole book of the laws, which he put together before his death; as I said on ver. 9.

Ver. 25.] The priests, who were of the tribe of Levi (see ver. 9).

Ver. 26. *Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark.]* Not in the inside of it; for he doth not say, "put it into the ark," but "in the side of the ark," that is, on the outside, in a little box, as Jonathan and others expound it. For it is the very same phrase with that, I Sam. vi. 8, where the Philistines are said to have put the jewels of gold which they returned for a sin-offering, in a coffer by the side of the ark; where none could put it but the high-priest, because nobody else might go into the holy place where the ark was. And therefore those priests who received the book of the law from Moses delivered it to Eleazar, to be there placed. See Buxtorf. *Histor.*

which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying,

26 Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee.

27 For I know thy rebellion, and thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord; and how much more after my death?

28 ¶ Gather unto me all the elders of your

Aræ, cap. 5, and Huetius, more lately, in his Demonstratio Evangelica, propos. iv. cap. De Can. Libr. Sacrorum, sect. 8, where he observes that R. Meir, in both the Talmuds, Abarbinel himself, and many others, have been of opinion, from this very place, that the book of the law was put into the ark itself, being no less precious than the tables of stone which were there. But the Scripture tells us, "there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone" (1 Kings viii. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10), and their reason is good for nothing, the two tables far excelling this book, because written by the finger of God; and therefore other great doctors among the Jews rightly place it without the ark, as the very words of Moses import.

That it may be there for a witness against thee.] It was deposited in that place as a public record, that if any one should falsify or deprave any thing in the law (as Abarbinel interprets it), he might be convicted out of this book, which was sacredly preserved to be produced as a witness against him. Or (as the author of *Tzeror Hammor* expresses it), that if they should be so wicked as to lose the books of the law, this copy, kept under the care of the priests, might remain to testify what was the will of God. As we see it did in the days of Josiah, when it was casually found in the house of God, as they were about the reparations of it: though I cannot say they found it in the side of the ark, but rather upon the roof of the house, or in the rafters; where the priests had hid it, as some of the Jews think, when Manasseh endeavoured to destroy this authentic copy of the law, as he had done all other that he could find; and when they came to uncover the house, there it appeared.

Ver. 27. *For I know thy rebellion,]* I have been sufficiently acquainted with your perverse disposition.

Behold, while I am yet alive, &c.] For it was not likely that they would have a greater regard to Joshua than they had to him, who had such near familiarity with God, as never any man had.

Ver. 28. *Gather unto me all the elders]* I suppose after Moses had spoken to the people what God ordered, ver. 1, 2, &c. (see there), he dismissed them again, that he might write the book of the law (ver. 9), and deliver it to the priests, &c., and then write this song (which follows in the next chapter), ver. 19, 22, &c., which being done, he is ordered here to summon all the elders of the several tribes (and with them all the people came, ver. 30), that he might deliver to them, by word of mouth, the song which he had written.

Your officers,] I have frequently observed that these *shoterim* (which we translate *officers*) were but ministers to their elders or judges (see Exod. v. 14; Deut. i. 15, xvi. 18). Unto which I shall add here only the words of Abarbinel: The office of the *shoterim* was to see that the sentence which the judges had given was observed, and to compel men to it. They who would have more may find a long roll of authors, who are of this mind, both Jews and Christians,

tribes, and your officers, that I may speak these words in their ears, and call heaven and earth to record against them.

29 For I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt *yourselves*, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you; and

in Jo. Benedic. Carpzovius upon Schickard's *Jus Regium*; who hath also said a great deal to the same purpose, cap. 4, theor. 14.

That I may speak these words] The song which God had suggested to him, and commanded him to write (ver. 19, 22).

Call heaven and earth to record] Call the whole world to witness how wicked they are, if they fall from God, after such care to preserve them in his obedience.

Ver. 29. *After my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves*,] Fall to the foulest idolatry (Judg. ii. 19).

And turn aside] Departing from that way of God which I have delivered to you by this command. It was a very melancholy thing for Moses to leave the world in this belief, that all his pains would be lost upon them; but he comforted himself in doing his duty to the very last, and omitting no means to secure them from apostasy.

Evil will befall you in the latter days,] This seems to express a foresight, that they would not immediately revolt, but after the death of Joshua, and of the elders who survived him (Judg. ii. 7, 11, 12, &c.).

Because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord,] By making images, after the manner of other nations, and bowing down to them, and worshipping them, Judg. ii. 12, 13, iii. 7, where the *groves* signify the images in the groves.

Ver. 30. *Moses spake*] With the assistance of Joshua, xxxii. 44.

In the ears of all the congregation] Whom the elders and officers (ver. 28) had assembled, according to their tribes and families; unto whom they went severally, and spake these words in their hearing.

The words of this song,] Which follows in the next chapter, and much differs, in the raised expressions and loftiness of the style, from the rest of this book hitherto.

Until they were ended,] Omitted nothing, but completely delivered this song to them; or they spake all these words to them, at the same time, with one continued speech. I observed before that the most ancient way of instruction was by poetical compositions, which was more ancient than rhetorical discourses. And as their chief learning did consist of poetry, so the excellency of their poetry was seen in the proper and native subject of this faculty, that is, in matters of sacred use or observation: from

evil will befall you in the latter days; because ye will do evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger through the work of your hands.

30 And Moses spake in the ears of all the congregation of Israel the words of this song, until they were ended.

where the title of *odes* descended unto secular and profane poets, who retained the matter of speech used by the former. But, as Conradus Pellicanus here truly observes (and see my notes on Exod. xv. 1), the Scripture poetry doth not consist in the cadency and number of syllables, contrived to please the ear, but in brief and weighty sentences, simply and sincerely composed in a lively manner, to enlighten the understandings, move the affections, and stick in the memory. And the ancients (as a great man of our own observes) had this advantage of later poets, "That the fashion of the world (as he speaks), in their times, was more apt to ravish their thoughts with admiration; wonderful events being then more frequent, and their frequency not abating, but rather increasing their wonderment, because their variety was very great, and the apprehension of invisible or supernatural powers in those events was usual and undoubted. So that admiration was then enforced upon men, and the breasts of those who diligently observed those events, or were any way disposed by nature to it, were inspired with lively and sublime affections, apt to vent themselves in such poetical phrases and resemblances as we cannot reach, unless we raise our invention by imitation, and stir up admiration by meditation and study. But now our senses being neither moved by such extraordinary effects of God's power, nor our minds bent to observe the ways of his wisdom, so as to be stricken with true observation of them, we have fewer good sacred poems than of any other kind."

Thus Dr. Jackson, book i. on the Creed, ch. 14. David Chytraeus also hath an excellent discourse on this subject, to show that the ancient poetry among the heathen contained the doctrine of God, and of celestial things; all the offices and rewards of virtue, with the punishment of vice; the history of their kings, and the noble acts of famous men, tom. i. of his works, p. 154, &c., where he confirms this out of the verses of Orpheus, who lived (as he computes) about a hundred and fifty years before David; and those of Pindar, Simonides, and the rest, who lived in the time of the war with Xerxes. But Moses led the way to them all; whose mind was raised to that sublimity of thoughts and speech which we find in his songs, by admiration of those strange events which he saw, Exod. xv., Numb. xxi., and here in the next chapter, wherein he was followed by Deborah, Barak, and Hannah, &c., in aftertimes, Judg. v., 1 Sam. ii.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *Moses' song, which setteth forth God's mercy and vengeance.* 46 *He exhorteth them to set their hearts upon it.*
48 *God sendeth him up to mount Nebo, to see the land, and die.*

1 GIVE ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.

CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1.] He calls angels and men to bear witness (xxx. 18) that the Israelites had been admonished of their duty, and warned of their danger; and this, not by words of his own invention, but which were

2 My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain

put into his mouth by the Spirit of God. Or (after an elegant form of speech) he calls upon all insensible creatures, everywhere, to listen to him, that he might awaken the Israelites out of their stupidity, or upbraid them as a people that had ears to hear, and would not hear him. And, as some of themselves

upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass :

3 Because I will publish the name of the LORD : ascribe ye greatness unto our God.

4 He is the Rock, his work is perfect : for all

have observed, he may be thought to intimate thereby, that if they would not hearken and keep his precepts, the heavens were forbidden to give them rain, and the earth to bring forth fruit. The gloss also of the Jerusalem Targum is not amiss, that Moses, being shortly to die, calls the heavens and the earth, which endure through all ages, to be witnesses against them when he was gone. But the following observation is too curious : That Isaiah, when he prophesied, i. e. being far remote from the heavens, and near to the earth, calls upon the heavens to hear, and the earth to give ear, or attend : whereas Moses, quite contrary, approaching now very near to the heavens, calls upon them to attend or give ear, and, being in spirit remote from the earth, bids it hear.

Ver. 2. *My doctrine shall drop as the rain.*] Or, "Let my doctrine drop," &c. For this seems to be a prayer, that his words, which were sent from heaven to them, might sink into their hearts, and soften them, as the drops of rain and the dew do the earth, and produce such fruits of obedience as might make them happy.

As the small rain upon the tender herb.] The aforesaid Targum thus paraphrases this whole verse : "Let the doctrine of my law be as sweet upon the children of Israel as the rain; and the word of my mouth be received by them as the delectable dew: let it be as gentle showers refreshing the grass, and as the drops of the latter rain, descending and watering the blades of corn in the month of March."

Ver. 3. *Because I will publish the name of the Lord.*] For my song shall be concerning the Lord of heaven and earth, whose glorious perfections I will proclaim; which make him the sole object of your worship.

Ascribe ye greatness unto our God.] Acknowledge therefore the infinite power of our God; and his sovereign dominion over all; and give honour and service to none besides him.

These first three verses seem to be the preface to the song; and now follows the song itself; which Josephus calls ποιητὴν ἑξαμετρον, "a poem in hexameter verse" (lib. iv. Antiq. cap. 8).

Ver. 4. *He is the Rock,*] Always endures, and never changes; so that in him we may find at all times a sure refuge.

His work is perfect.] Whatsoever he undertakes, he perfects and completes it.

For all his ways are judgment.] He doth nothing without the greatest reason, and according to the rules of the exactest justice.

A God of truth.] Who is faithful to his promises.

Without iniquity.] And never deceives or wrongs any man.

Just and right is he.] Nor will he punish any man without a cause, or more than he deserves.

Maimonides takes the first words of this verse, "He is the Rock," to signify the first principle, and the efficient cause of all things without himself. For so the word *Rock* is used, when God bids the children of Israel "look to the rock out of which they were hewn" Isa. li. 1), that is, to Abraham their father, from whom they were descended. And so he thinks it signifies, ver. 18, of this chapter, "Of the Rock that begat thee, thou art un mindful," i. e. of God, the author of their being. And again, ver. 30, "their Rock (i. e. the Lord) sold them" (see More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 16). And then by the next words,

his ways are judgment : a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.

5 They have corrupted themselves, their spot is not the spot of his children : they are a perverse and crooked generation.

"his way is perfect," he thinks is meant, that as he is the creator of all things, so there is no defect or superfluity in his works. For he takes these words to be the same with those, Gen. i. 31, "God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good (see there, par. ii. cap. 28, and par. iii. cap. 25). And as his works of creation are most perfect, so are his works of providence; for he governs the world with the greatest judgment and justice. So he seems to understand the next words (par. iii. cap. 17), "all his ways are judgment." We are ignorant of the methods and reasons of his judgments, yet no injustice or iniquity is to be ascribed to him. But all the evil and all the good that befalls any man, or the whole church, proceeds from the just and equal judgment of God. And more largely, cap. 49, "Our narrow minds cannot apprehend either the perfection of his works, or the equity of his judgments; for we apprehend his admirable works only by parts, whether we look upon the bodies of animals, or the celestial spheres : and in like manner we apprehend but a little of his judgments; for that of which we are ignorant in both, is far more than that which we know of either." I conclude this with the words of the author of Sepher Cosri (par. iii. sect. 11), "He that believes this, that 'all God's works are perfect, and his ways judgment,' will always lead a sweet and pleasant life: all afflictions will be made light to him, nay, he will rejoice that his iniquities are hereby alleviated, and that he shall one day be rewarded for his patience; which he teaches men by his example, and thereby justifies the judgments of God." With respect to which, I suppose, the Jews now begin the prayer which they make at the burial of their dead, with this verse of Moses's song. Which prayer they call tzidckun haddin, i. e. "just judgment," as Leo Modena observes, in his History of the present Jews, par. v. ch. 8.

Ver. 5. *They have corrupted themselves,* &c.] I know not how to justify this translation, nor that in the margin, "He hath corrupted himself." Maimonides translates them better; making these words a question, and the next words an answer to them, in this manner; "Did he (i. e. God, the Rock before spoken of) do him any hurt?" For the Hebrew word *scceheth*, with *lamed* after it, signifies to hurt, or destroy, Numb. xxxii. 15; 1 Sam. xxiii. 10 (as Joh. Cocceius observes, in his Ultima Mosis, sect. 701). And so the meaning is, "Is God to blame for the evils that befall him? i. e. Israel." Unto which the answer follows in the next words, which we thus translate—

Their spot is not the spot of his children.] In the Hebrew the first word of this sentence is *lo*, i. e. *not*, or *no*. Which the accent *tipcha* (as they call it) under it, shows is not to be joined with the words that follow (*banau munam*), but taken by itself, being a denial of the foregoing question. And these words are thus to be translated, "No, his children are their blot;" i. e. all the evil that befalls them is the fruit of their children's wickedness. And so these words are in effect the same with those of Solomon, Prov. xix., "The foolishness of man perverteth his way, and his heart fretteth against the Lord;" he complains of God, when the fault is in himself (see More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 12).

Onkelos translates it thus : "They corrupted to themselves, not to him, children that served idols;"

6 Do ye thus requite the LORD, O foolish people and unwise? is not he thy father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?

7 ¶ Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.

8 When the Most High divided to the nations

their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.

9 For the LORD's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.

10 He found him in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

i. e. as Paulus Fagius observes, They hurt themselves, not God, when, leaving him, the true God, they turned to idols; for the word *corrupt* is commonly used in Scripture, where it speaks of the sin of idolatry. The Jerusalem paraphrast aims at the same sense.

They are a perverse and crooked generation.] The whole body of them are untoward and untractable, walking contrary to God in all their ways; for there being a gemination (as they speak) of a syllable in the latter of these words (*pethalthol*), it increases the sense, and makes it the same with the superlative degree among us, importing the highest obliquity imaginable. And these words were never more exactly fulfilled than in the days of our blessed Saviour, who calls them a *wicked and adulterous, a faithless and perverse generation* (Matt. xvi. 4, xvii. 17). And in the days of the apostles, who call them *ἀσέβους*, "an absurd kind of people" (2 Thess. iii. 3), who pleased not God, and were contrary to all men" (1 Thess. ii. 15).

Ver. 6. *Do ye thus requite the Lord.*] He upbraids them with their senseless folly and foul ingratitude; which in the following words he demonstrates, by representing the obligations he had laid upon them.

Is not he thy father?] Having adopted them in a peculiar manner to be his children, above all other people.

That hath bought thee?] When he rescued them from the slavery of Egypt.

Hath he not made thee.] Advanced them (for so the word *asa* is translated, 1 Sam. xii. 6) to be a great and mighty people (see Ps. c. 3).

Established thee?] By settling them in excellent order, under the government of most wise and righteous laws (see the fourth chapter of this book, ver. 7, 8).

Ver. 7. *Remember the days of old.*] Look back as far as you are able.

Consider the years of many generations.] Consult the most ancient records; which would inform them how God chose their father Abraham long ago, and promised to bless his posterity, as he did Isaac and Jacob in a most eminent manner; and sent Joseph by a wonderful providence into Egypt to preserve them from starving, &c.

Ask thy father, and he will shew thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee.] All this is to express the same thing, that they should advise with those that knew more than themselves; and particularly with *old men* (as the word may be understood which we translate *elders*), who, by the benefit of their great age, had heard and seen more than others, and could tell them how God had dealt with them, ever since he brought them, by a wonderful power, out of the land of Egypt.

Ver. 8. *When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance.*] He directs them still to look farther back, and they would find that long before Abraham's time God had them in his thoughts, even when he divided the earth among the sons of Noah and their posterity after the flood (Gen. x. 5, 25, 32).

When he separated the sons of Adam.] Or, "the

sons of men;" who were one people, till he scattered them into several parts of the earth, and separated them into divers nations by confounding their language (Gen. xi. 8, 9).

He set the bounds of the people.] He had then the children of Israel in his mind, before they were a nation; and made such a distribution to other people (particularly to the seven nations of Canaan), within such bounds and limits, as that there might be sufficient room for so numerous a people as the Israelites when they came to take possession of that country.

How the LXX. came to translate these words thus, "He appointed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels," it is hard to say. Bochartus hath made the best conjecture about it (which was hinted by De Muis before him), lib. i. Phaleg, cap. 15, that they had a bad copy before them, which left out the first three letters of Israel; and so they read *Baneel*, the children of God, meaning the Israelites. Instead of which some transcribers put the *angels of God*, because they are sometimes called his sons. Which led the ancient Greek fathers, who followed this translation, into great difficulties: and it grew a common opinion, that every nation was under the government of an angel; which seems to be the meaning also of the son of Sirach, Ecclesi. xvii. 17. And many others fancying that God divided the nations according to the number of the children of Israel, when they came into Egypt, which was just seventy, they thence gather there were just so many distinct nations, and so many several languages; which is a conceit of some of the Jews, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 9. But Bochart, in the place above named, hath given the plain and simple meaning of this place in these words; "God so distributed the earth among the several people that were therein, that he reserved, or in his counsel designed such a part of the earth for the Israelites, who were then unborn, as he knew would afford a commodious habitation to a most numerous nation."

Ver. 9. *For the Lord's portion is his people.*] And not satisfied with this kindness, he chose them alone, out of all other nations, to be under his special care, and to enjoy singular privileges, which none other had; and therefore they are called his "peculiar treasure" (Exod. xix. 5). This Origen maintains to be true against all the cavils of Celsus, lib. v. p. 250, edit. Cantabr., where he shows how beneficial their laws were; and that they were taught so early to know God, to believe the immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments in the life to come, as demonstrated they were distinguished from all other people whatsoever (see p. 260).

Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.] This is the same thing repeated in other words; alluding to the manner of measuring and dividing lands by cords, as the word in the Hebrew is, which we translate *lot* (see Ps. xvi. 6, and ch. 4, of this book, ver. 20).

Ver. 10. *He found him in a desert land.*] There he first took the Israelites to be his peculiar people; for so the word we translate *found* frequently signifies. As in Ps. cxvi. 3, "the pains of hell gat hold upon

11 As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings :

12 So the Lord alone did lead him, and *there was no strange god with him.*

13 He made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the increase of the

fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock ;

14 Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat; and thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape.

me;" where in the Hebrew the words are, "found me." And in the New Testament (Rom. iv. 1), "What shall we say then, that Abraham our father hath found?" that is, attained.

In the waste howling wilderness;] Desolate and void of all sustenance; where nothing was to be heard but the howlings and yellings of wild beasts (Deut. viii. 15).

He led him about,] Conducted the Israelites from place to place (Numb. xxxiii. 1, 2, &c.).

He instructed him,] Gave them his laws (Exod. xx. 1, 2, &c., xxxiv. 1, 10, &c.).

He kept him as the apple of his eye,] Protected and defended them from all dangers with extraordinary care; for there is nothing of which we are more tender than the sight of our eyes; which God hath guarded by several coats and humours, and eye-lids fenced with hairs, to preserve it from hurt. Unto which R. Levi ben Gersom thinks these words allude.

Ver. 11. *As an eagle stirreth up her nest, &c,]* Eagles are observed to have a most tender affection to their young ones; who are here meant by *her nest*, as Bochartus observes (it being a common figure used by other authors, to put continents pro contento), whom she provokes to fly (which is meant by *stirring up her nest*) by *fluttering over them* with her wings *stretched out*. Upon which she takes them while they are so weak and feeble that they fail in their attempt to fly, and *supporteth* them till they recover strength to commit themselves unto the air. See Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 3, and I. G. Vossius De Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. iii. cap. 77, where he observes, that this kindness to her young ones is chiefly found in the *black eagle*; though something of it be seen in others; which may be the reason they lay but a few eggs, because they are not able to educate many young ones with such tender care.

Ver. 12. *So the Lord alone did lead him,]* Numb. xiv. 14. This is an exact resemblance of God's tender care of his people Israel. Whom he solicited, by Moses and Aaron, to aspire after their liberty, when they were oppressed in Egypt; just as an eagle excites her young ones, when they lie drowsy in the filth of their nest, to fly away. And as the eagle flutters over them, with her wings spread abroad, so God by his Spirit moved the Israelites to be obedient to their deliverers out of Egypt. For Moses uses the very same word, when he speaks of the Spirit of God "moving upon the waters," Gen. i. 2. And as the eagle carries her fainting young ones on her wings, so God supported them when they were weary, and upheld them in dangerous ways. Inasmuch, that he is said to carry them in his arms, as a father doth his child (Deut. i. 31; Hosea i. 1, 3), see Bochartus in the place above named, cap. 4.

There was no strange God with him,] To help or assist him: but by his almighty power alone they were protected and preserved. Which made their sin the more heinous, in sacrificing to other gods (ver. 17), as if they had been their benefactors.

Ver. 13. *He made him ride on the high places of the earth,]* Brought the Israelites in a triumphant manner to possess a noble country, full of lofty and very fruitful mountains, which were in Canaan, where they

lived deliciously. So *to ride* signifies, as Bochartus thinks, *laute et opipare vivere*. Which he justifies by that place in Hosea x. 11, "I will make Ephraim to ride; Judah shall plough, and Jacob shall break his clods;" that is, saith he, the people of Israel lived in pleasure, when Judah lived laboriously (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 41). But *to ride* signifies, also, to subdue and conquer; which may be the meaning here, Ps. xlv. 4, xlvi. 12, and to have dominion and rule, as Maimonides interprets it, in his More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 70. In which sense it is said of God himself, in the next chapter of this book, "He rideth upon the heavens for thy help," ver. 26. And he rideth upon *Araboth* the highest heavens (Ps. lxxviii. 4).

That he might eat of the increase of the fields;] Abundance of corn and fruit.

He made him to suck honey out of the rock,] Wild honey; which was esteemed an excellent food in that country, and was sometimes found upon the ground, sometimes in the hollow part of trees, and sometimes in the clefts of rocks, as Bochartus observes out of good authors (Hieroz. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 15). This *rock honey* seems to be spoken of as the best of this kind, being joined with the *finest wheat*, Ps. lxxxi. ult.

Oil out of the flinty rock;] No part of this country being barren, but affording something or other for their sustenance; though some say that the olive-tree thrives best in rocky places. Columella himself observes, that it doth not delight either in low places or in high, but, *magis modicos clivos amat*, "rather loves the sides of moderately-rising hills" (lib. vi. cap. 6). And D. Chytraeus notes, that as the most generous wine is produced upon the Rhine, below Mentz, out of the hardest flints; sic *olea locis petrosis sterilibus non infelicitur proveniunt*, "so olive-trees grow prosperously in stony and barren places" (tom. i. p. 173).

Ver. 14. *Butter of kine,]* The use of butter was very ancient among the Hebrews, though lately known to the Greeks (as I observed upon Gen. xviii. 8), and it was accounted an excellent food.

Milk of sheep,] Which the Scripture often mentions (Isa. vii. 21, 22; 1 Cor. ix. 1, 7). And under the word *tzon*, as hath been often observed, *goats* also are comprehended, whose milk likewise is mentioned, Prov. xxvii. 27. Aristotle mentions both, and so doth Columella, and a great many others, in Bochart's Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45, where he proves that they made butter of these milks, as well as of cows.

With fat of lambs,] Well fed. For *carim* properly signifies *pasture sheep*, as the same Bochart there observes (cap. 42).

Rams of the breed of Bashan,] A country famous for excellent pasture; being *ειβορος και ενανδρης*, &c., as St. Cyril calls it (see Numb. xxxii. 1, 4).

And goats,] Of the breed of that country.

With the fat of kidneys of wheat;] The Hebrews call the best of every kind of thing by the name of the *fat*. And the kidneys of wheat signify large and plump corn, affording great plenty of flour. Cajetan thinks it signifies wheat as big as a kidney; or rather, having that shape, as our kidney-beans have.

15 ¶ But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked : thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness ; then he forsook God

which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.

16 They provoked him to jealousy with strange

Drink the pure blood of the grape.] Most generous red wine; very clear and bright. So Achil. Tattius, lib. ii. calls wine *αἷμα βορβόρου*.

Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 47, takes all the expressions in this verse to be metaphorical, signifying (as Onkelos allegorizes them) the possession of all their enemies' cities and goods, after they had poured out their blood like water on the ground.

Ver. 15. *Jeshurun waxed fat,]* Grew rich, saith Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum.

And kicked:] Against him who fed him so plentifully and deliciously. It seems to be a metaphor taken from oxen, who, being stirred up with a goad to labour, lift up their heels and kick against him who pricks them forward. So did the Israelites when they were urged and pressed to their duty by the prophets; not only despised, but evil-treated them.

Why Israel is called *Jeshurun* is not easy to resolve. Jo. Cocceius (in his *Ultima Mosis*, sect. 973) derives it from *Shur*, which signifies to see, behold, or descry. From whence, in the future tense and the plural number comes *Jeshura*, which, by the addition of nun paragogicum, as they speak, makes *Jeshurun*, that is "The people who had the vision of God." I know nothing more simple, nor more probable than this; which highly aggravated their sin, who, having God so nigh unto them (iv. 7), and their elders having had a sight of him (Exod. xxiv. 10), were so ungrateful as to rebel against him, and worship other gods. Some refer this *kicking* to their revolt from the house of David; when Jeroboam, to preserve his new kingdom, set up the golden calves, to prevent the return of the people to their old master, by going up to Jerusalem to worship.

Thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness;] This variety of expressions is used to signify how exceeding bountifully God had provided for them; and withal, how very wanton and insolent they were grown, as cattle fed in a fat pasture are wont to be. The words *with fatness* (after covered) are not in the Hebrew, but are well supplied out of other places, particularly Ps. xvii. 10.

Then he forsook God.] The Jerusalem Targum here hath it, "They forsook the Word of God."

Which made him,] Advanced them from a desert where he found them (ver. 6, 10), into a very rich and plentiful country. This was the lamentable effect of their *plethora*, or fulness; unto which we are all too prone, as an excellent person of our own hath long ago observed. "Even such as seem most upright (saith he) when they wax fat, spurn with the heel, and cast away the memory of their misery, and of God's former mercy, behind their backs. And what was the reason that the Israelites waxed thus full and fat? Only because they did not use that exercise which God had appointed to keep them under, and preserve their hearts from being lifted up (Deut. viii. 11, &c.): "Take heed to thyself, lest when thou hast eaten, and filled thyself, &c., then thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, &c. The daily and lively representation, or recognition of their condition there, should have been as usual to them as their meat and drink, yea, as it were, their thanksgivings before and after meats," as our Dr. Jackson speaks, book xi. on the Creed, ch. 34. And Maimonides himself, mentioning those very words, "Lest when thou hast eaten, and filled thyself," &c., very well ob-

serves, that to prevent pride and apostasy, which grow out of great plenty, God commanded them to offer their first-fruits before him every year, with a solemn confession, how poor they were in the beginning, and then raised by God to be a mighty people (Deut. xxvi. 5, 6, &c.). For which end the passover was instituted, "That they might remember the day when they came forth out of Egypt all the days of their life" (Deut. xvi. 3). See More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 39.

And lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.]) As there was a progress in their insolent forgetfulness of God, expressed in three phrases, which may signify three degrees of their stupidity ("waxen fat, grown thick, and covered with fatness"), so some observe as many degrees of their rebellion: first, they *kicked against God*, i. e. threw off the yoke of his laws, and refused to observe them; secondly, they "forsook God," and fell into idolatry; and, lastly, they "lightly esteemed the Rock of their salvation." Where the Hebrew word *nibbel* signifies more than a light esteem; for, if it come from *nebelah*, a dead carcass (as some think it doth), it denotes the greatest abhorrence, nothing being so much abominated among the Jews as a dead carcass, the touching of which was the highest pollution. And thus J. Cocceius and Campeg. Vitringa understand it; who observe that this was never so fulfilled as in their behaviour towards our Lord Christ, who was indeed the Rock of their salvation, and so vilely used by them, as if he had been the most loathsome man upon earth. So Vitringa expounds these words (in his *Observ. Sacr.* lib. ii. cap. 9, p. 173), "instar flagitii tractavit rupem salutis sue." For this is a word used by God himself, when he would express his utter detestation of Nineveh, and his dealing with her according to her abominable wickedness, Nahum iii. 6: "I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile," &c., and when he speaks of the disgrace he would put upon his own temple, Jer. xiv. 21. The LXX. indeed simply expound the word ἀπέστρεψε, "he departed;" but the last words they expound ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ "from God his Saviour," as Onkelos also, "his most mighty Redeemer." Which, in the most eminent sense, is the Lord Jesus; for none brought such salvation to them, and wrought such a redemption for them, as he did, who is "the stone which God laid in Sion," &c. (Isa. xxviii. 16). But instead of flying to him, as men in danger do to a rock, or strong fortress, they not only rejected him, but abused and put the highest indignities upon him.

Ver. 16. *They provoked him to jealousy]* Made him extremely angry with them. For so jealousy is described as the rage of a man, Prov. vi. 34.

With strange gods,] Whom they fell in love withal, and worshipped. This was the ground of his jealousy, their falseness to God, who had espoused them to himself. And the Hebrew word *zar* (*strange*) we sometimes translate *another* (Job xii. 27). So that a *strange god* and *another god* are the same (Ps. lxxxi. 9; Exod. xx. 3). Therefore God saith, he will not give his glory to another (Isa. xlii. 8), and that their sorrows shall be multiplied that "hasten after another god" (Ps. xvi. 4).

With abominations provoked they him to anger.]) I take this to be a repetition of the same thing, their idols being called *abominations*, because God exceedingly hates them (vii. 25; 1 Kings xi. 5). Though R. Solomon and Abarinel, by *abominations*, here

gods, with abominations provoked they him to anger.

17 They sacrificed unto devils, not to God; to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not.

18 Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee.

19 And when the LORD saw it, he abhorred

them, because of the provoking of his sons, and of his daughters.

20 And he said, I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be: for they are a very froward generation, children in whom is no faith.

21 They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God; they have provoked me to anger with their vanities: and I will

understand those filthy mixtures forbidden in Lev. xviii. with witchcrafts, and suchlike wickedness. And Abarbinel refers the first part of this verse to the times under the first temple, when they worshipped the sun, moon, and stars; and the latter part of it to the times under the second temple, when, though they were free from idolatry, they were corrupted with other abominable filthiness.

Ver. 17. *They sacrificed unto devils, not to God;* The Hebrew word *shedim*, which we translate *devils*, imports as much as *destroyers* (as the devil is called in the book of Revelation, ix. 11); evil spirits delighting in mischief, and leading those that worship them into perdition. Though some think they are called *shedim* ironically, by way of scorn, the true God being *Shaddai*, the Omnipotent, and All-sufficient; and these called, by way of mockery, *counterfeit gods*, who had no power to help their worshippers, nor were sufficient to preserve themselves. Either of these accounts of the word is better than that of Manasseh ben Israel, who derives it from שר *sher* a field, because they frequent desert places. But then they should have been called *sedim*, not *shedim*, as he must needs know, who was a great master in the Hebrew learning. The LXX. call them here δαίμονα, and so doth the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 19, because the demons led men into the impiety of worshipping other gods, either themselves or other beings, which they persuaded simple people had some divinity in them; and that not only the stars, but even beasts here upon the earth, nay, onions and garlic, which they did not take to be gods, but things by which, as intermediate causes, their gods were pleased or offended with them, and therefore worshipped them.

To gods whom they knew not.] Or, as the words may be translated, "gods that knew not them," that is, had never bestowed any benefits upon them: for, as it follows, they were new gods, never before heard of by their ancestors.

New gods that came newly up.] Such as Jeroboam's calves, invented out of his own brain; and the gods of other nations, Moloch and Baal, which were new to the Israelites, and had not been known among them; for the demon gods were of no great antiquity: Bel, or Baal (as he is called in the Chaldee dialect), the first king of Babel after Nimrod, being the first that ever was deified (as Mr. Mede observes), or reputed a god after his death; whence all other demons were called Baalim, as all the Roman emperors were called Cæsars, from the first emperor of that name (see p. 776). Besides which, the heathens had another higher sort of demons, which had never been linked to a mortal body, viz., those we call angels, whom the Israelites were taught to believe to be but ministers unto their God, and therefore not to be worshipped.

Whom your fathers feared not.] That is, did not worship. This was a great aggravation of their guilt, that when they would have other objects of worship, they did not return unto those whom their ancestors had revered (the *Teraphim*, for instance, which were the gods of Laban and Rachel), for whose wor-

ship they might have pretended tradition; but chose gods whom their forefathers were not acquainted withal; which was a token of a strange proneness to idolatry. And Maimonides, mentioning this verse, observes, that they worshipped not only things that had a being, but mere imaginations; for which he quotes these words of the book Siphri: "It was not enough that they worshipped the sun, moon, and stars, and celestial signs, but they worshipped their shadow" (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46).

Ver. 18. *Of the Rock that begat thee*] God, the author of thy being. See ver. 4.

Thou art unmindful,] Being wholly intent on idols which they themselves have made.

Hast forgotten God that formed thee.] Into a kingdom of priests, making them his peculiar people (Exod. xix. 5, 6).

Ver. 19. *He abhorred them,*] Cast them off, as they had done him.

Because of the provoking of his sons, and of his daughters.] For so they were till they corrupted themselves, and thereby highly incensed him against them: for nothing can be so provoking as the rebellion of children against a most indulgent parent. Maimonides translates it, "By reason of his anger against his sons and his daughters," More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 36, where he observes, we never find the word *caas* (which is here used, signifying *indignation*) in Scripture applied to God, but only when it speaks of idolatry.

Ver. 20. *He said,*] Resolved.

I will hide my face from them,] See xxxi. 17, 18.

I will see what their end shall be:] Not cease my judgments till I have brought the sorest calamities upon them, and made an end of them, that is, of their polity and government.

A very froward generation.] Incorrigibly wicked.

Children in whom is no faith.] Who had broken their covenant with him (xxxii. 16) so often, that they were not to be trusted when they made profession of repentance. The book of Judges, and indeed their whole history, testifies to the truth of this.

Ver. 21. *Moved me to jealousy*] See ver. 16.

With that which is not God:] By worshipping God's creatures, or the work of their own hands.

Provoked me to anger with their vanities:] The same thing, in other words; all the gods of the nations whom the Israelites imitated, being mere vanities (or things of nought, as the Jerusalem Targum hath it), as hath been often observed.

I will move them to jealousy] He threatens to be even with them, and serve them in their kind.

With those which are not a people;] Who either were not a nation in being at this time, or so obscure, base, and ignoble, that they were not worthy the name of a nation. The Jews interpret it of the Chaldeans, whom God raised up on a sudden, when nobody would believe it (Hab. i. 5, 6, &c.), to be a terrible scourge to them (see Isa. xliii. 13).

I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.] The Jews thought all nations so except themselves. And, in one sense, all the gentiles were really so: for

move them to jealousy with *those which are* not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.

22 For a fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains.

23 I will heap mischiefs upon them; I will spend mine arrows upon them.

24 *They shall be burnt with hunger, and devoured with burning heat, and with bitter destruction: I will also send the teeth of beasts*

upon them, with the poison of serpents of the dust.

25 The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling *also* with the man of gray hairs.

26 I said, I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men:

27 Were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy, lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely, *and* lest they should say,

nothing was more foolish than to worship creatures meaner than themselves (Jer. x. 8).

The apostle applies this unto the bestowing the blessing of the Messiah, whom the Jews refused, upon the gentile world (Rom. x. 19), which strangely enraged the Jews; as we see when our Saviour first mentioned it, Matt. xxi. 43, 44, &c., and when St. Paul did but speak of going to preach unto them, Acts xxii. 21, 22, and see 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16. And through all ages since it hath made them gnash their teeth to see so many nations subject unto our Saviour, and honour him as God, whom they rejected as the vilest of men.

Ver. 22. *For a fire is kindled in mine anger,*] Great and sore calamities are compared to fire in Scripture (Ezek. xxx. 8), which God here threatens to send upon them, as the woful effects of his heavy displeasure.

Burn unto the lowest hell,] Never cease till they have destroyed them. For hell and destruction seem to be the same (Prov. xv. 11). And therefore the lowest hell signifies the depth of misery.

Consume the earth with her increase,] Make an utter desolation in the country (Isa. i. 7).

Set on fire the foundations of the mountains.] Subvert the strongest fortresses, which were accounted impregnable. Such as Jerusalem (which Rasi thinks is here meant), in whose last destruction this was perfectly fulfilled, as it was in part at the first (2 Kings xxv. 9). For Titus himself, as Josephus relates (lib. vii. De Bello Judaico, cap. 43), observing the vast height of the walls, the bigness of every stone, the exact order wherein they were laid and compacted, &c., cried out—God was with us in this war, he drove the Jews from these munitions, *ἐπεὶ χεῖρές τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἢ μηχαναί, τί πρὸς τούτους τοῖς πύργους δύνανται*; “for what could men’s hands or machines do against such towers?” Which calls to mind what is related, not only by St. Chrysostom, Sozomen, Socrates, but by Ammianus Marcellinus himself, a heathen historian (lib. xxiii. beginning) how that when Julian the apostate ordered the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, terrible globes of fire burst out, prope fundamenta, “from the very foundations,” which overturned all, burnt the workmen, and made the place so inaccessible that they desisted from the attempt. The certainty of this hath extorted the same confession from the Jews themselves (David Ganz, in his Tzemach David, and R. Gedaliah, in Schal. Hakkabala), though they pretend the building went on and was finished, but after many years overthrown by an earthquake.

Ver. 23. *I will heap mischiefs upon them;*] Which shall miserably oppress and crush them.

Spend mine arrows upon them.] His judgments and plagues are often compared to arrows shot at them (Ps. vii. 12, 13, xxxvii. 2, xci. 5). And he speaks in the language of an archer who shoots till he hath emptied his quiver, and hath not one arrow left.

Ver. 24. *They shall be burnt with hunger,*] This verse and the next explain what he means by arrows, which are here enumerated. And, first, he threatens a famine, with which he saith they should be burnt; either because these judgments are compared to fire, ver. 22, or because extreme hunger parches the inward parts, and makes the visage “as black as a coal,” as Jeremiah speaks, Lam. iv. 8.

Devoured with burning heat,] With fevers and calentures, as they are called in hot countries.

With bitter destruction.] With the pestilence; which he calls bitter, because it was incurable.

I will send the teeth of wild beasts upon them.] This was another of the sore judgments which God threatened to their disobedience (see Lev. xxvi. 22). Upon which Maimonides observed, that magicians were wont to promise them, by their arts, to free their cities, fields, and plantations from lions and serpents, and such like hurtful creatures; unto whose power God delivered them, because they forsook him, and followed idolaters and magicians (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37).

With the poison of serpents of the dust.] Whose bitings were deadly. And they were exposed to them, as well as to wild beasts, when they were forced to fly into wildernesses, and hide themselves in dens and caves; where some of them could not avoid being devoured by wild beasts and bitten by serpents, which lay lurking in those holes. So Cocceius, in his Ultima Mosis, sect. 1271, where he notes also that this was fulfilled in part when they were thrown by the Romans to wild beasts in the theatres, as Josephus relates, lib. vi. De Bello Judaico, cap. 16, 20.

Ver. 25. *The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy*] They could nowhere be safe; for in the field the sword of their enemies cut them off, and at home they did not think themselves secure in their closest chamber, but died with fear, or made away themselves, lest they should fall into the hands of those that sought to destroy them (see Lam. i. 20). Or, perhaps, by the terror within, may be meant famine and pestilence (Ezek. vii. 15).

Both the young man and the virgin, &c.] He threatens to deliver them into such merciless hands as would spare none, nor make any difference of sex or of age. This Huettius refers to the last destruction of Jerusalem, in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. ix. cap. 173, and Abarinel also confesses it was then fulfilled.

Ver. 26. *I said,*] i. e. Resolved.

Make the remembrance of them to cease] Utterly destroy them, so that not one of them should be found; and if any remained they should skulk, and not dare to appear among men.

Ver. 27. *Were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy,*] He that is omnipotent is not capable of fearing any thing: but he speaks in our language, and gives this reason why he did not make them cease to be a nation, because he would not have their enemies insult and grow outrageous in their insolent lan-

Our hand is high, and the LORD hath not done all this.

25 For they are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them.

29 O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!

30 How should one chase a thousand, and

guage, even against himself. Of which we find an instance, Isa. xxxvii. 28, 29.

Lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely,] Ascribe all this to their false gods (as Coceus understands it), which are called "strange gods" (ver. 16).

Lest they should say, Our hand is high,] Imagine their own power and valour had destroyed the Jews; as both the Assyrians and Chaldeans boasted (Isa. x. 7, 8, &c. Hab. i. 13, 16).

The Lord hath not done all this.] And attribute nothing to the Most High in all the business. Certain it is, the wickedness of the Jews was so exceeding great, that their final extirpation had been accomplished many generations before it came to pass, had the Lord been only just, and respected nothing but their deserts, whom he very often preserved when they might have been justly destroyed, for such reasons as he himself here gives: that his glory might not be impeached among the nations, but they might see by the strange deliverances and restorations of the Jews, that "their God was a God of gods," most worthy to be honoured by all the world, as he himself speaks below, ver. 36. So Dr. Jackson well observes, book i. on the Creed, ch. 22, sect. 4.

The marginal translation of this last clause is also agreeable to the Hebrew, "Our high hand, and not the Lord, hath done all this." To prevent which wrong construction of God's judgments upon them, he took such a time for the execution of them (as Conradus Pellicanus well observes), when the world began to be better instructed by the coming of Christ. So that Titus himself said, as I noted before, that it was God, and not the hands of the Romans, that destroyed them (see xxix. 24, and this chapter, ver. 22).

Ver. 23. *For they are a nation void of counsel,*] The Hebrew word *abad* (which is commonly translated *perish*, and here we translate *void*) signifies, in the Ethiopic language, *is foolish or mad*, as Job Ludolphus observes in his excellent history of that country. Which makes it probable this was the ancient sense of the word among the Hebrews, and gives the best account of this place, which may be thus translated, "They are a nation foolish in their counsel." Whose counsels led them to such courses as utterly undid them: and when they seemed most wise they madly ruined themselves. And thus those words of Jeremiah may be best translated, "The heart of the king is foolish" (iv. 9).

Neither is there any understanding in them.] They did not understand what was good for themselves; but imprudently chose that which did them mischief. Some refer this to the enemies of the Jews before spoken of: but that seems not so agreeable to what follows, which relates to the same person, and most likely expresses God's compassion towards the senseless Jews. Huetius applies this to their stupid blindness at their last destruction; which they were so far from preventing, that they drew it upon themselves, as Josephus shows (see xxviii. 28, 29).

Ver. 29. *O that they were wise,*] So as seriously to consider God's dealing with them exactly according to what he foretold them.

two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the LORD had shut them up?

31 For their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges.

32 For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter:

That they understood this, &c.] Or, as it may be translated, "Then would they understand this, they would consider their latter end." They would soon perceive the hand of God in all that is befallen them; and that if they do not change their course, they will, in the conclusion, be utterly undone.

Ver. 30. *How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,*] Whence should such an amazing change proceed? that the Israelites, who formerly with a handful of men put vast armies to flight (Lev. xxvi. 8) should now, though never so numerous, be beaten by one or two of their enemies, fleeing when none pursues them? (Lev. xxvi. 17, 36, 37; Deut. xxviii. 25).

Except their Rock had sold them,] A little consideration was sufficient to make them understand, that this had been impossible, if they had not forsaken their God; who thereupon delivered them up to the will of their enemies. For by their *Rock* is meant God; and his *selling them* is his quitting his interest in them, and giving them up to be slaves to those that hated them.

The Lord had shut them up?] So that they could not escape the hands of their enemies.

Ver. 31. *For their rock is not as our Rock,*] None of the gods of the heathen (whom he calls their *rock*, because they relied on them for safety) have such power as he that gave us our being. So Maimonides interprets the word *tzur*, "the spring and fountain of all things."

Our enemies—being judges.] Who were often forced to acknowledge his overruling power and providence, controlling all their designs. As the Egyptians confessed, Exod. xiv. 2, 5, and Balaam, Numb. xxiii. 19, 22, and the Philistines, 1 Sam. iv. 7, 8, and the king of Babylon, Dan. iii. 29.

Ver. 32. *For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah:*] I suppose he speaks here of the Israelites (giving an account why their enemies so shamefully chased them, ver. 30) who are compared to a vine, which God brought out of Egypt, and planted in Canaan (Ps. lxxx. 8). And the prophet afterward calls them "the plant of his pleasure" (Isa. v. 7). Which was an ancient resemblance, as appears by this place; where he represents them as such a degenerate people, that they were as bad (nay, worse, as the marginal translation is) as the Sodomites, or the people of Gomorrah: and therefore deserved (ver. 26) to be utterly destroyed, as they were (see Isa. i. 10; Jer. ii. 21).

Their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter:] These words represent their actions (called *fruit* in Scripture) to be so wicked that they were not to be endured. And so Josephus describes them before their last destruction, lib. vi. De Bello Judaico, cap. ult. where he saith, if the Romans had delayed to fall upon such a wicked people, he thinks either the earth would have opened its mouth and swallowed them up, or a flood drowned their city, or thunder and lightning from heaven destroyed it, as it did Sodom. Πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταύτα παθόντων ἤνεγκε γενεὰν ἀδελφίαν, "for they were a more atheistical generation than they who suffered such things." And again (lib. vii. cap. 30), he saith, that the time when they were de-

33 Their wine *is* the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.

34 *Is* not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures?

35 To me *belongeth* vengeance, and recompence; their foot shall slide in *due* time: for the day of their calamity *is* at hand, and the things that shall come upon them make haste.

36 For the Lord shall judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth

that *their* power is gone, and *there is* none shut up, or left.

37 And he shall say, Where *are* their gods, *their* rock in whom they trusted,

38 Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink offerings? let them rise up and help you, and be your protection.

39 See now that I, *even I, am he*, and *there is* no god with me: I kill, and I make alive; I

stroyed was so fruitful in all manner of wickedness among the Jews, ὥς μηδὲν κακίας ἔργον ἀπραχόν καταλείπειν, "that there was no one work of wickedness that was not committed; nor can one imagine any thing so bad that they did not do; endeavouring publicly, as well as privately, to excel one another both in impiety towards God and injustice to their neighbours."

Ver. 33. *Their wine is the poison of dragons.*] This still represents their fruit, that is, their works, to be most pernicious, being compared to the poison of dragons. Many authors, indeed, say that dragons have no poison in them (as B. Chytræus and others observe); but as the Hebrew word *thanin* signifies any kind of serpent, so it is certain that the dragons of Africa and Arabia had a deadly poison in them, though those of Greece had not; as the famous Bochart shows at large, in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 14. Who also observes, in another place, that the Hebrew word *rash* signifying both the head and also poison; the poison of serpents lies partly in their gall, partly in their teeth, and partly in a little bladder under their tongue (par. i. lib. i. cap. 4).

The cruel venom of asps.] The poison of asps is called *cruel*, because it is accounted the acutest of all others, instantly penetrating into the vital parts. Whence the proverb δῆγμα ἀσπίδων, "the biting of asps," for an incurable wound. For they who are bitten by an asp seldom escape with their life; as Aristotle, Pliny, and a great many other authors observe, in Bochart, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 5.

Ver. 34. *Is not this*] That is, the vengeance he is going to speak of in the following verses. For this particle *hu* often refers to what comes after, not to what goes before, as Cocceius observes.

Laid up in store] To be produced in due time.

Sealed up among my treasures?] He speaks of it as a matter determined or decreed, as deeds are which are signed and sealed, though not presently executed, but kept safely in a cabinet. And the meaning of this verse is, that though he do not speedily punish evil-doers, it is not because he doth not observe them, or forgets what they do; for he hath prefixed a time to reckon with them, as will appear in the issue.

Ver. 35. *To me belongeth vengeance, and recompence;*] As the supreme Lord, Governor, and Judge of the world, whose office it is to punish offenders. It is evident the apostle, alleging these words (Rom. xii. 19), ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, "vengeance is mine" (or to me belongeth vengeance), exactly follows the Hebrew text, and not the present LXX., which render these words ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως ἀναπαύσω, "in the day of vengeance I will recompense."

Their foot shall slide] Though they think themselves unmovably fixed in their dominion, they shall certainly fall.

In due time;] Not so soon, perhaps, as men may expect; but when the great Judge of the world sees it most seasonable.

For the day of their calamity is at hand.] When they little thought of it, and prided themselves in their prosperity, God suddenly brought down the Chalde-

ans, who had been the great instruments of plaguing the Jews (Isa. xlvii. 7—10, &c. Jer. l. 15, 27, 31, ii. 6, 8). And so shall the plagues of Babylon the great "come in one day. In one hour her great riches shall come to nought" (Rev. xviii. 8, 10, 17).

Ver. 36. *The Lord shall judge his people.*] Plead their cause, as the Scripture elsewhere speaks (Jer. l. 34), and deliver them from the oppression of their enemies; as this phrase is often used in the book of Psalms (viii. 8, x. 18).

Repent himself for his servants.] Have mercy upon them (as the Vulgar truly expresses the sense), and turn his hand, which punishes them, upon their enemies (see Jer. l. 23, li. 24).

When he seeth that their power is gone.] That they are not able to help themselves. That it is the *due time* or *season*, before mentioned, for God to interpose, when the enemies of his people think themselves irresistible, there being none able to oppose them.

There is none shut up, or left.] Some refer this to persons, and others to things; and either way it signifies their condition to be so forlorn that they could do nothing, either by men or by money, for their deliverance. J. Forsterus translates these words, custoditum aut neglectum, i. e. "precious or vile." By which wonderful deliverance and restoration, when they were so totally destitute of all help, all the world was given to understand that there is no God like unto the Lord.

Ver. 37. *He shall say,*] Or, "It shall be said."

Where are their gods, their rock in whom they trusted.] It is dubious whether these words be directed to the Jews or to the gentiles who had oppressed them. It seems most agreeable to take them as a reproach to the enemies of the Jews, who had long bragged of the power of their gods, and ascribed all their success to them (ver. 27), who now could not deliver them in their distress, &c.

Ver. 38. *Which did eat the fat of their sacrifices, &c.*] For the same rites were used among the gentiles as among the Jews; who offered all the fat upon the altar, and there poured out the wine which accompanied the meat-offering, &c. (see Numb. xv.). The LXX. refer this to the worshippers themselves, and translate it thus (agreeably enough to the Hebrew), "The fat of whose sacrifices ye ate, and drank the wine of their drink-offerings." And Onkelos to the same purpose.

Let them rise up and help you, and be your protection.] From the calamity which was unavoidably coming upon them (Isa. xlii. 1, 2, 7; Jer. li. 17, 18).

Ver. 39. *See now.*] Open your eyes now at last, and be convinced, by your sad experience, of your error.

That I, even I, am he,] That it is I, and none but I, who have made these changes in the world: first making you instruments in punishing my people; and now inflicting the like punishments upon you (Jer. li. 24, 25, 49).

The words in the Hebrew being, *I, I, am he*, the author of the old Nitzæon was sensible that we

wound, and I heal: neither *is there any* that can deliver out of my hand.

40 For I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever.

41 If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgment; I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me.

Christians might hence observe, that there are two who are here called God, the Father and the Son. And therefore takes care to inform his reader, that there are not *two first principles* of things. Which, as no Christian is so foolish as to affirm, so their own authors have acknowledged more persons than one, here called God. Thus Jonathan, in his paraphrase, plainly supposes another person in the Divinity, whom he calls the Word, when he thus explains this verse: "When the Word of the Lord shall reveal himself to redeem his people, he shall say to all people, I am he that have been, and am, and shall be (see Rev. i. 8), and by my word kill and make alive. I smote the people of Israel, and I will heal them in the end of the days." Which makes these words a plain prophecy of the Messiah, and him to be God. And so the Jerusalem Targum: "See, that I now am he in my Word, and there is no god besides me: I am he who kill the living in this world, and raise the dead in the world to come," &c.

There is no god with me.] As I have no superior, so neither have I any equal.

I kill, and I make alive.] If I please to destroy any people for their sins none can hinder me; and if any repent and implore my mercy, I restore them to perfect safety. R. Isaac, in his Chissuk Emuna (par. i. cap. 6, sect. 20), alleges these words as a prophecy of the resurrection of the dead in the days of the Messiah. And in another place (cap. 10), he alleges them as an effectual confutation of those ancient heretics who imagined two supreme powers; one of them, the author of all good; and the other, the author of all evil (which I observed upon Lev. xvi. to have been a very ancient opinion): for there could not be, they fancied, the same care which had an influence upon both. To remove which false conceit, God declares, *I kill, as well as make alive, &c.* And for the same reason he saith, in Isa. xlv. 7, "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things."

Neither is there any that can deliver.] Nor can any reverse the judgment that I pass upon men.

Ver. 40. *For I lift up my hand to heaven,*] Swear solemnly to do what follows; viz. be revenged on his enemies, as well as deliver his people. Thus Abraham anciently swore, Gen. xiv. 22. And when God promised to bring the Israelites into Canaan, he is said "to lift up his hand" (Exod. vi. 8; Neh. ix. 15). From whence some think the word *promittere* is derived, signifying to engage by stretching out the hand: and that from thence sprang the custom of stretching out, and lifting up their hand, when they swore. Which the gentiles practised, as those known words of Virgil inform us, *Æneid. xii.*

"Suspiciens cælum tenditque ad infera dextram."

When God therefore is said to lift up his hand to heaven, the meaning is, he swears by himself; as it here follows.

I live for ever.] As sure as I live.

Ver. 41. *If I whet my glittering sword,*] Make all things ready for the execution of my judgments.

Mine hand take hold on judgment.] I begin to punish.

I will render vengeance to mine enemies.] None

42 I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh; and that with the blood of the slain and of the captives, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.

43 Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people.

shall stop my proceedings, to be fully avenged of them.

Will reward them that hate me.] For, as Jeremiah speaks, li. 56, "'The Lord God of recompenses will surely requite. For it is the vengeance of the Lord'" (as he speaks in the foregoing chapter concerning Babylon, l. 15). "Take vengeance upon her; as she hath done, do unto her."

Ver. 42. *I will make mine arrows drunk with blood,*] Make an exceeding great slaughter (Isa. xxxiv. 5, 6).

With the blood of the slain] This signifies none should be spared: for they should be killed who were taken captive, as well as those who fell in the battle.

From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.]

How the Hebrew word *paroth* comes to signify *revenges*, I am not able to give an account; but in that sense we take it both here and in Judges v. 2. The word *para*, from whence it seems to be derived, signifies *to make bare*, or naked. And so the Vulgar Latin here understands it; and thence Joh. Forsterus hath given a probable sense of these words (taking *rosh*, which we translate *beginning*, for the *head*, as it properly signifies, or the *king*), in this manner, "Because of the baring (i. e. making bare) of the head by the enemy;" that is, the taking away of the kingdom and priesthood from Israel. The LXX. translate it ἀπό κεφαλῆς ἀρχόντων ἐχθρῶν, "from the head of the princes of the enemies." Which is a sense very agreeable, if we could find any word in the Hebrew like to *paroth* that signifies *princes or rulers*. But I think there is a more simple sense may be given of these words than any of the forementioned, only by supposing the particle *lamed* to be omitted (as in many other places) before *paroth*, which is this, "From the king to the slave of the enemies." For they were wont to shave their captives, as every one knows, by way of contempt and scorn. Which is the reason God threatens baldness so often to the Israelites by his prophets, when he was so angry with them, that he gave them up to be slaves. Next to this is the translation of Onkelos, "I will take away (those words he adds) the crowns from the head of the enemy." Which was the making the king's head bare.

This universal slaughter is most notably expressed by Jeremiah, l. 35—37, 43. And some think this prophecy will be then most amply fulfilled, when the Jews shall be called, and made members of the church of Christ (see Dr. Jackson, book. xi. on the Creed, ch. 12).

Ver. 43. *Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people.*] Here the particle *eth* is omitted before *ammo*, as I supposed, in the foregoing words, *lamed* to be before *paroth*. Which made the Vulgar translate these words, "O ye nations, praise his people." But the LXX. discerned the true sense, and translate it as we do: the apostle having justified their translation in Rom. xv. 10, where he expresses this, word for word, as they do, εὐφρανῃτε ἰσθὺν μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, "rejoice ye gentiles with his people." But it must here be noted, that before these words the LXX. have some other, which are very remarkable, εὐφρανῃτε σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ, "rejoice ye heavens together with him, and

44 ¶ And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the people, he, and Hoshea the son of Nun.

45 And Moses made an end of speaking all these words to all Israel :

let all the angels of God worship him" (and then follows, "rejoice ye gentiles with his people"), which are not in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee, and yet the latter clause of them, *προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ*, "let all the angels of God worship him," are the very words of the apostle, Heb. i. 6, which seem to have been taken from hence out of the LXX., for they are nowhere else to be found in the Scripture. The margin, indeed, of our Bibles refers us to Ps. xvii. 7. But there the words of the LXX. are otherwise, *προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ*, "worship him all ye his angels;" which are in the second person; whereas here, and in the apostle, the words are in the third. We may therefore suppose rather, that the LXX. from ancient tradition among the Jews, added these words, before they translated this verse, to declare unto what time the fulfilling of them should principally belong. For Psalm xvii. seems to be but a descent (as Dr. Jackson's words are) upon this part of Moses's song; from whence the Jews might learn the scope of it. And accordingly the apostle uses the words of the LXX. here in this place, rather than those of the Psalmist; because he would have the Hebrews understand and consider, that Moses himself had predicted the exaltation of the Son of God, as the Psalmist afterward expounded him.

There is another translation of these words of Moses, which is very agreeable to the apostle in Rom. xv. 10, "Rejoice ye nations, who are his people" (see ver. 21 of this chapter). Either way, this is a plain prophecy of the gentiles becoming one body with the people of Israel. And thus Kimchi himself translates it, "Sing ye gentiles, who are his people:" which began to be fulfilled after our Saviour's ascension to the throne of his glory in the heavens, when all the angels of God worshipped him. Hitherto Moses had supposed, in his song, great enmity between them: and that sometimes they had plagued Israel sorely; as at others, God rendered to them according to what they had done unto his people. But now he breaks out into a rapture of joy, to think that they should one day be reconciled, and made one people of God. And the LXX. thus understanding it, might well preface to their translation of this verse, with the words now mentioned, "Rejoice ye heavens together with him." For if there be joy in heaven, as Procopius Gazæus well glosses, at the repentance of one sinner, how much more for the salvation of the whole world, by destroying the devil's tyranny? Which being to be performed, by the advancement of the Son of God into the heavens, the next words might well be added, "Let all the angels of God worship him." Which they had always done (the same Procopius observes) as their God who created them; but now they praise and extol his humanity, exalted at the right hand of God.

For he will *avenge the blood of his servants*.] These words seem to express some of the motives that should persuade the gentiles to become one body with the Jews (for such the apostles and all the first converts were), God's punishing all those who shed the blood of his *servants*; as the Christian *martyrs* are called in the book of the Revelation. In which confidence the LXX. add another sentence before these words, *καὶ ἐνισχυθήσονται αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ Θεοῦ*, "and let all the sons of God be strong in him."

46 And he said unto them, Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day, which ye shall command your children to observe to do, all the words of this law.

47 For it is not a vain thing for you; because

Will render vengeance to his adversaries,] To all such as oppose this blessed union; and first to the Jews, who set themselves against it more than any others (being mad at the apostles for preaching to the gentiles), and then to the Romans, who persecuted all those who embraced Christianity.

Be merciful unto his land,] This cannot be meant of the land of Israel, which was no longer God's land than any other, but of the whole earth (as Conrad. Pellicanus well explains it), in which that one people of God dwells, reduced (as he speaks) in the whole multitude of the faithful into one catholic church. For they all acknowledge, from the greatest to the least, that one only Omnipotent God, with no less devotion and affection, than Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses did.

To his people.] The whole world that believe in Christ, and are his faithful servants; whose blood he will avenge (Rev. xix. 2), and then set up his tabernacle with men, and dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and he will be their God (Rev. xx. 3); which I mention, because this part of the prophecy reaches unto the last times, and is not yet all fulfilled.

Thus this famous song concludes, which, as the Jews reckon, consists of seventy verses, each of which contains two distinct and entire sentences, and, as they fancy, is a compendium of the whole law of Moses. Nay, some of them (such are the idle conceits of this nation) think this hymn is so perfect a prophecy, that it contains in it the names of all the men in the world; which they undertake to find, and by that versicle where it is, to tell what fortune he, whose name they seek, shall have in the world. Thus, instead of observing seriously what Moses foretold would certainly befall themselves, their superstition and hardness of heart have led them to vain conjectures concerning other men. See J. Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 164, &c., where he saith a Jew undertook to show him his name in this song, which fell out in a verse that signified prosperity to him. And since him Martinus Mauritius, in his book *De Sortitione Hebræorum*, cap. 16, sect. 3—5.

Ver. 44. *Moses—spake all the words of this song*] The very same that is said before he spake this song (xxx. 30), and is now repeated at the conclusion of it, to express his fidelity in his office to the very last.

He, and Hoshea] Who was now his assistant in this work, as he was designed to be his successor after his death. He is commonly called Joshua, but Oshea was his name at the first (Numb. xiii. 8).

Ver. 45.] When he had made an end of speaking them, then he added what follows.

Ver. 46. *Set your hearts unto all the words*] Apply your minds to press upon yourselves the observation of all these things. For this expression is a little more than letting them "be in their heart" (vi. 6), or "laying them up in their heart" (xi. 18). For they were so to retain the remembrance of them, as to attend unto them, and consider them.

Which ye shall command your children] This necessary duty of instructing their children is often pressed (iv. 10, vi. 7, xi. 19), because without this care their religion would soon be lost; but by this means, might be preserved and propagated to all generations.

All the words of this law.] Which they might be certain was delivered by God to Moses: there being as

it is your life: and through this thing ye shall prolong *your* days in the land, whither ye go over Jordan to possess it.

48 And the Lord spake unto Moses that selfsame day, saying,

49 Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, that is over against Jericho; and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession:

50 And die in the mount whither thou goest

many witnesses of God's presence with him, as there were men in their nation. But he had seen so many instances of their unbelief, that he uses all the ways, manners, and forms (as Pellicanus observes), that he could think of, to urge them to obedience: by delivering them tables of their laws written by God himself, by books, by pillars, by blessings, cursings, obstructions, threatenings, long exhortations, songs, phylacteries, and other ceremonies, &c., which he continued to do as long as he had breath and was able to speak, that they, and their posterity, might be happy.

Ver. 47. *For it is not a vain thing for you;* You shall not employ your diligence in this matter unprofitably. The Jews upon these words have founded a maxim, which Maimonides often mentions, "That every precept hath its end and use; which (though they do not appear to us) are grounded upon strong causes and reasons" (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 26 and 50). The design, for instance, of many ceremonial laws cannot now be fully discerned, because they were instituted directly contrary to the idolatrous rites of the Zabii: which are long since utterly abolished, and but imperfectly recorded in those ancient authors that speak of them.

Because it is your life. The means to make you a happy people. Here are two benefits, saith R. Isaac, which are promised by the observation of this law; a spiritual and a corporal. *The spiritual* in these words and the *corporal* in the next, "ye shall prolong your days," &c. And he puts the spiritual first, though, among all corporal blessings, this of long life be the chief (Chissuk Emuna, par. i. cap. 18).

Through this thing By teaching your children to observe to do all that is commanded in this law.

Ye shall prolong your days in the land, Have the great blessing of a long life in all manner of happiness, which your posterity shall enjoy for many generations in the land of Canaan. By which it appears, that nothing else but contempt of this law could have ejected them out of this country.

Ver. 48. *The Lord spake unto Moses that selfsame day,*

up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people:

51 Because ye trespassed against me among the children of Israel at the waters of Meribah-Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin; because ye sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel.

52 Yet thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither unto the land which I give the children of Israel.

Immediately after he had ended the foregoing song, and given them this admonition at the conclusion of it.

Ver. 49. *Get thee up into this mountain Abarim,* Which he had pointed him unto before, and told him what he doth now (Numb. xxvii. 12).

Unto mount Nebo, Abarim was a ridge of hills, whereof Nebo was one (see there upon Numb. xxvii. 2).

Which is in the land of Moab, This is a more particular description of the site of this mountain than he gave before in the book of Numbers.

The land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel Which he might easily do from the highest part of the mountain called Pisgah (Deut. iii. 27).

Ver. 50. *Die in the mount* After he had taken a view of the land every way.

Be gathered unto thy people; To Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This signifies, saith R. Isaac, that he should be associated and joined to the souls of the just, who are called *his people*. For the people of Moses were not buried in mount Abarim; and therefore he doth not speak of gathering his body to their bodies, but of his soul to their souls (Chissuk Emuna, par. i. cap. 11).

As Aaron See Numb. xx. 24, 28, xxxiii. 38.

Ver. 51. *Because ye trespassed against me* Rebelled against his commandments, as he speaks, Numb. xxvii. 14.

Ye sanctified me not Numb. xx. 12, xxvii. 14.

Ver. 52. *Thou shalt see the land before thee;* He had earnestly begged of God that he might go over Jordan; but he denied him that favour (Deut. i. 37, iii. 25, 27), yet he was pleased to mitigate his punishment, by letting him enjoy a sight of that good country into which he might not enter.

But thou shalt not go thither By which the Israelites should have learnt, that as Moses left them short of the promised land, and could not bring them into the possession of it; so his law did not contain a perfect revelation of God's will, but they were to expect something beyond it.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *The majesty of God.* 6 *The blessings of the twelve tribes.* 26 *The excellency of Israel.*

1 AND this is the blessing, wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1. *This is the blessing,* As Jacob blessed his children, at his departure out of the world, when God had begun to fulfil the promise to Abraham, of giving him a numerous offspring; so Moses having seen them vastly increase, and ready to enter upon the land promised to them (Gen. xv. 18, &c.), takes his farewell of them, with a blessing pronounced upon the people in general, and upon each tribe in particu-

2 And he said, The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten

lar. Which is in part *prophetical*, as the blessing of Jacob was, and delivered in the prophetic style, which hath some difficulty and obscurity in it; on purpose, perhaps, to excite their diligent study to inquire into the meaning (see Gen. xlix. 1, 3).

Wherewith Moses the man of God Or, "the prophet of the Lord," as Onkelos translates it: for prophets are called *men of God* in the holy books (1 Sam. ix. 6—8, 1 Kings xiii. 1, 1 Tim. vi. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 17,

thousands of saints : from his right hand *went a fiery law* for them.

3 Yea, he loved the people ; all his saints

are in thy hand : and they sat down at thy feet ; *every one* shall receive of thy words.

2 Pet. i. 21), because, in the exercise of their sacred function, they did not deliver their own sense, nor the sense of other men, but the mind and will of God who spake by them.

Blessed the children of Israel before his death.] Before he went up into Mount Abarim to die (xxxii. 49), he prayed God to bless them ; and also foretold their future state and condition. Such had been the ancient custom among the holy patriarchs (as we learn from the example of Jacob), to admonish their posterity upon their dying beds of such things as they thought most imported them : for then they could not but be thought to speak most sincerely ; and their words were apt to be entertained with greater respect, and preserved in mind with greater care. Moses therefore, their deliverer, leader, and lawgiver, concludes his life in the same manner ; and it is very likely deposited these dying words with them in writing.

Ver. 2. *The Lord came from Sinai.*] And, in the first place, he endeavours to make them sensible of what God had done already for them : and the chief of all his benefits being the revelation of his mind and will to them, he commemorates that as a common blessing to them all, before he begins to speak in particular to each tribe : for that is meant by "the Lord came from Sinai ;" where he appeared in a most particular manner, and from thence promulgated his law with the greatest solemnity (Exod. xx.). And thus the gentiles took an unwonted brightness in any place to be a token of the *Ἐπιφάνεια*, "appearance," or "advent," of some of their gods in that place. As also a great commotion in any place, they took for another token of it. See the illustrious Spanhemius, in his annotations upon Callimachus's hymn to Apollo, ver. 7, which they seem to have learnt from this appearance of God on Mount Sinai, and the quaking of that mountain, when God appeared on it.

Rose up from Seir unto them ; he shined forth from mount Paran.] There is no difficulty in the foregoing words, it being evident that God came down on Mount Sinai, and thence delivered his commands to the Israelites, and espoused them for his people. But how he rose up from Seir unto them, the country of Edom, and shone from Paran, the country of Ishmael, is not so easy to understand. The Jews, indeed, who are wont to solve all difficulties, by inventing what they please, are not troubled to give an account of these words ; which signify, they fancy, that the Divine Glory first resided upon Mount Seir, where God propounded his law to the children of Esau ; but they would not have it, because they found these words in it, "Thou shalt not kill ;" he went, therefore, to Paran, and offered it to the children of Ishmael, but they refused it also, because they found these words in it, "Thou shalt not steal ;" so he came to Sinai, and gave it to the Israelites, who said, "All the words which the Lord hath said will we do," Exod. xxiv. 3. Thus the Jerusalem Targum, and Pirke Eliezer, and some other more ancient authors, with this addition, that he offered the law to all the nations of the world, but they rejected it, because it was written, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me." But this looks so like a fable, that some of themselves are ashamed of it, and have given a better sense of the words, though I cannot say the true one. For thus Abraham Peritsol expounds them, "The true law came out of Sinai to the Israelites, by which the Edomites were so enlightened, that God might be said to rise up to them also : and afterward the celestial influence shone out of this law to the Ishmaelites,

who were the better for it." Thus Const. L'Empeur reports his sense in his Annotations upon Bava-kama, cap. 4, sect. 3, where he endeavours to make out a plainer sense of these words, in this manner : Though the mountain of Paran was higher to Sinai than Seir was, and first occurred to those that went out of Egypt ; yet there was great reason to mention Seir before it, because Moses had respect to the order of their journeys, and not to the site of the places. And their journeys were so directed by Divine Providence, that, fetching a long circuit, forward and backward, they should come to Canaan. In all which turnings and windings they were marvellously preserved and provided for, by the same good Providence which conducted them. Of this Moses here makes a thankful commemoration, how he led them from Mount Sinai to the borders of the land of Canaan, towards Mount Seir, as is expressly noted by Moses (compare Deut. i. 19, with Deut. ii. 1, and Numb. xx. 14). From whence, by reason of their infidelity, they were led back again towards the Red Sea, and encamped in the extremity of the wilderness (Numb. xxxiii. 35), where Ptolemy places Paran (though there was another part of it called Paran, near Kadesh, Numb. xiii. 3, 27) : and from thence they were led back again in a long circuit to the east part of the land of Canaan. This may be one reason why these two places are mentioned together with Sinai, that God, who there appeared to them, was with them all the time they wandered about in the wilderness, till he brought them to the borders of Canaan, where they now were. And another may be, because in Mount Seir the brazen serpent was erected by God's order, for the cure of such as were bitten by serpents, when they looked on it ; which was an illustrious type of our blessed Saviour, and the salvation wrought by him (Numb. xx. 4, 9). And in the desert to which Paran gave the name (because it overlooked the whole, though very large), they received the joyful news that they should march into Canaan : or, as D. Chytræus understands it, in the wilderness of Paran the seventy elders received the Spirit, to make them assistants unto Moses in the government (Numb. x. 12, xi. 24, &c.). And here, I may add, Moses repeated his law to them (Deut. i. 1, 5), who seems, in this verse, to follow a metaphor borrowed from the sun, which first illuminates the air, and then rises, and then spreads abroad his beams ; as God by degrees declared his presence with his people, whithersoever they went, first at Mount Sinai, then at Seir, and, last of all, here in the wilderness of Paran.

But it must be acknowledged, that these words may be interpreted in a more simple manner, they being but a farther amplification of what was said in the first words, "the Lord came from Sinai." When at the same time he "rose up from Seir, and shone forth from Mount Paran." For these mountains were very near one to another ; or rather parts of one and the same ridge of mountains, as Con. Pellicanus here observes ; and is more clearly made out by a very learned man among ourselves (Dr. Hyde, in his excellent notes on Abraham Peritsol, *Itinera Mundi*, p. 73), for Teman (which is the same with Paran, Hab. iii. 3) was near to Edom, whose chief city was Bozrah (Amos i. 12), as that was near to Sinai.

The ignorance of the Mahometans is much to be pitied, who out of this place imagine they have found as good an authority for the Alcoran, as there is for the law of Moses, and for the gospel of Christ. For thus they interpret these words, "God gave the law

4 Moses commanded us a law, *even* the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob.

5 And he was king in Jeshurun, when the

heads of the people *and* the tribes of Israel were gathered together.

from Sinai, and the gospel from Seir (which they would have to be the same with Galilee, which our Saviour much frequented), and the Alcoran from Mount Paran;" which they fancy is a mountain not far from Mecca (see Dr. Pocock upon Greg. Abulfaraj, p. 183, and Guadagnolus Resp. pro Relig. Christiana). But the last words of this verse, *for them*, are sufficient to confute these conceits; for they plainly show that the whole verse speaks of the people of Israel.

He came with ten thousands of saints:] Or, as our Mr. Mede thinks it should be translated, "with his holy ten thousands," or "myriads;" that is, attended with an innumerable company of angels, who waited on him at the giving of the law. See Ps. lxxviii. 7; Dan. vii. 10, of which Enoch, perhaps, prophesied in part; Jude 14, 15. And from hence it may be thought, that notion of the Jewish doctors, followed by St. Stephen and St. Paul, that the law was given by angels, had its beginning (Mede, book ii. p. 437); that is, they attended upon God, as his ministers, when he himself gave the law.

From his right hand] With which we are wont to deliver things to other persons.

Went a fiery law for them.] For the law of Moses was given out of the midst of fire, and therefore called a *fire of law*, as the words are in the Hebrew (Exod. xix. 16, 18; Deut. iv. 11, 12, v. 22—25). The cabalists (as Reuchlin observes) fancy that God wrote the law in a globe of fire, and sent it to them. But the Jerusalem Targum is more sober, which thus expounds it, "He stretched his right hand out of the midst of flames of fire, and gave the law unto his people." And Onkelos still better, "The law written with his right hand he gave us out of the midst of fire." Or, as Campeg. Vitranga would have this latter part of the verse translated, "On his right hand a fire, and out of the fire a law for them." The meaning being, that God came to Mount Sinai with that fire; for, in Scripture, to be on the *right hand* of any one, is to accompany him (lib. ii. Observ. Sacr. cap. 4).

By the conclusion of this verse it is apparent, that the former part of it belongs entirely to God's mercy unto the children of Israel, upon whom he bestowed his law, in most illustrious tokens of his presence. Which makes it highly probable, that his "rising up from Seir upon them, and shining from Mount Paran," belongs to the same matter; that is, the cloud wherein he descended on Sinai, with a vast host of angels, extended itself so far, as to cover the neighbouring mountains of Seir and Paran. Though the meaning may be, as I have shown, that he continued his presence with them after they went from Sinai, through all their journeys in the wilderness of Seir and Paran, till they came to the place where they now were.

Ver. 3. *Yea, he loved the people:]* All this was the effect of his love and kindness to the people of Israel, whom he owned for his son, and his first-born (Exod. iv. 22), and therefore in a tender manner brought them out of Egypt (Exod. xix. 4), that he might instruct them in his laws.

All his saints are in thy hand.] Whereby he made them a holy nation (as it then follows in Exod. xix. 5), whom he took into his special care and most gracious protection, as this phrase signifies in many places (Numb. iv. 23, 33). And Onkelos refers it to the mighty power whereby he brought them out of Egypt; but it may have respect to God's preserva-

tion and support of them, when he gave the law in such a terrible manner, that Moses himself quaked, and yet none of them received any harm. As for the change of the person from *his* to *thy*, it is very frequent in this language, particularly in Dan. ix. 4.

And they sat down at thy feet;] The first word (which we translate *sat down*) being nowhere else found but here and Isa. i. 5, where it plainly hath another sense, hath occasioned various interpretations of this sentence. But most agree in this of Sol. Jarchi, that as scholars sat at the feet of their master round about him, while he taught them their lesson, so the people encompassed the mount where God was, and heard his law, which he thence delivered. But it is a question whether there was such a custom of scholars in those days; and the people did not sit, but stood at the foot of the mount (Exod. xx. 18). Therefore Onkelos understands this of their sitting down, or pitching their tents, where the glorious cloud that led them rested (Numb. x. 12, 33).

Every one shall receive of thy words.] This still is commonly referred to the people's receiving the law. But Onkelos thinks it hath respect to their journeys "at the commandment of the Lord" (Numb. x. 13). For so he interprets it, "They went forward according to thy word." And so the Jerusalem Targum expounds these and the foregoing words; "Behold, they were led, and came to the foot of his cloud, and went forward and rested, according to the command of his word." It takes in also the other sense of the word *tucchu* (as it signifies *smiting* in Isa. i. 5) in this manner, "Though he inflicted many chastisements upon them, yet they did not cease, nor desist from the doctrine of the law."

Ver. 4. *Moses commanded us a law,]* He commanded them to observe that law which God had given them, when he was about to depart from them. This he did in this very book (i. 3, v. 1, vi. 1, viii. 1, &c.). He speaks of himself in the third person, which is very usual throughout all this book.

Even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob.] As a peculiar blessing which God had bestowed on them, and on their posterity, above all other nations in the world (Deut. iv. 8), who, as they had not this law given to them, so they were not bound to observe it; as the Jews themselves concluded from this very place. Nor did they force anybody to embrace this law, when they made a conquest of a neighbouring country, but left them to their liberty, provided they would become proselytes of the gate; that is, forsake idolatry, and keep the common precepts enjoined to all mankind. Thus Maimonides interprets the word *inheritance* (see Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5, theor. 17, and Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. i. cap. 1, sect. 16).

The author of Etz-Hachajim, a MS. highly valued by the famous Wagenseil, saith, That when a child began to speak, his father was bound to teach him this verse. In which, instead of *נחלת*, "hereditary," some of the Jews read *נשואה* "espoused," as if the law were espoused to the Jewish nation (see Wagenseil on Sota, p. 519, 520).

Ver. 5. *And he was king in Jeshurun,]* Or, "for he was king," that is, under God, the supreme ruler and governor of Israel; and therefore, in his name, and by his authority, required them to observe these laws. Which plainly shows him to have had the supreme power in all things, both civil and sacred. Which is excellently expressed by our Mr. Thorndike, in his Review of the Rites of the Church, &c., p. 68,

6 ¶ Let Reuben live, and not die; and let not his men be few.

7 ¶ And this is the blessing of Judah: and he said, Hear, LORD, the voice of Judah, and bring him unto his people: let his hands be sufficient for him; and be thou an help to him from his enemies.

where he observes, "That the Israelites, being made a free people by the act of God bringing them out of Egypt, and entitling them to the land of Canaan, upon the covenant of the law, had Moses not only for their prophet and their priest (for by him Aaron and his successors were put into the priesthood, the tabernacle and all belonging to it consecrated), but also for their king, their lawgiver, their judge, and commander-in-chief of their forces, under God, if not rather God by Moses. For we find, that, after Moses's decease, either God by some extraordinary signification of his will and pleasure, stirred up some man in his stead for the time; or, if there was none such, ruled their proceedings himself, by *urim* and *thummim* answering their demands, and directing what to do, and what course to follow, in all the public affairs that concerned the state of that people. Whereupon, when they required Samuel to make them a king, he declared it was not Samuel, but himself, whom they had rejected: because they had rejected him whom God had immediately set over them in his own stead, by whose death the power returned to God, as at the beginning."

Concerning the word *Jeshurun*, see xxxii. 15, and Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 2, n. 2.

Were gathered together.] To renew their covenant with God, and to receive his last commands (see xxxi. 1, 2, 9, 10, xxxi. 28, 29).

Ver. 6. *Let Reuben live, and not die; and let not his men be few.*] In the last clause of this verse, we repeat the word *not* (which is wanting in the Hebrew) without any necessity: for the words may be thus translated exactly, "let Reuben live, and not die, though his men be few." Which seems to be a confirmation of the prophecy of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 4), "that he should not excel," and yet should live, and not perish; that is, be in some measure a flourishing tribe, though not so numerous as some others (see there). And possibly it may be here suggested, that though they passed armed over Jordan before their brethren to settle them there (according to their engagement, Numb. xxxii. 27; Josh. iv. 12, 13), yet none of them should perish, but both they, and their wives, and children, that stayed behind them, should be all preserved.

Ver. 7. *This is the blessing of Judah.*] As much as to say, Judah shall be remarkably blessed. For these words ["this is the blessing"] are used of none of the rest of the tribes, either of Reuben, which went before, or the others that follow after. Here is no mention made of Simeon (who was next to Reuben), because that tribe was included in Judah, with whom their possessions were mixed (Josh. xix. 1), and therefore they went together to make expeditions (Judg. i. 3). Judah also is here put before Levi, because it was to be the royal tribe, according to the prophecy of Jacob, which Moses was assured God would fulfil, and therefore prays as follows: "And he said, Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah." Grant his petition when he calls for help against his enemies. So Onkelos paraphrases it, "Hear his prayer when he goes forth to war."

Bring him unto his people.] Return him home in peace unto his people; as the same Onkelos explains it.

8 ¶ And of Levi he said, *Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy holy one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;*

9 Who said unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children: for

Let his hands be sufficient for him.] To avenge him of his enemies, as he also explains it.

Be thou an help to him.] Suffer them not to prevail over him, but give him the victory, when he fights with them. So the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases these last two passages; "Let his hands exercise revenge upon his enemies in battles, and do thou support and sustain him against those that hate him." This was notoriously fulfilled in this tribe, which was the most valiant and successful of all other. For in all their wars this tribe was the principal; and the safety of all the rest seems to have depended upon this (see Judg. i. 1, 2, &c., xx. 18). And as these places show that this was the most considerable tribe before they had kings; so after that it was able, together with Benjamin, to maintain its ground against the other ten tribes, and all other opposers.

Ver. 8. *Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy holy one.*] Continue in this tribe the high dignity of consulting with thee, and receiving directions from thee, by the high-priest, concerning the public safety. Or, as some take it (because *thummim* is here set before *urim*, which is not in any other place), make them upright and faithful, as well as understanding and knowing in the discharge of their duty. For though by *holy one* be principally meant the high-priest, who was in a peculiar manner anointed to be separated to the service of God, especially in this part of it, to approach him with *urim* and *thummim* (which gave Aaron the name of the *saint of the Lord*, Ps. cvi. 16), yet it comprehends all the rest of the priests and Levites in conjunction with him; for they were all separated unto the Lord, having signalized themselves (as we speak) by their early zeal for the Lord, when their brethren apostatized to idolatry. Of which Moses takes notice in the next verse, "Who said unto his father, &c., I have not seen him," &c., regarded, that is, no relation, when they executed the commands of God against the worshippers of the golden calf. See our learned Dr. Spencer, De Leg. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 7, dissert. 7, where he treats also of these words, as they may be applied to our Lord Christ, the true *holy one* of God; who is, indeed, a priest for ever, holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, &c. (Heb. vii. 26).

Whom thou didst prove at Massah.] Or, "whom thou hast thoroughly proved." For the words in the Hebrew are, "Whom in proving thou didst prove;" the ancient interpreters not taking *Massah* for the name of a place (as we do) but for *trying* or *proving*. And so, indeed, the words in the Hebrew seem to import; the particle [*beth*] before *Massah* being different from that before *Meribah* [which is *al*], though we translate them both alike by the word *at*. And thus the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases, "Whom thou didst prove, or try, and he stood in the trial;" that is, approved himself perfect or upright, as Onkelos expresses it. This procured that tribe a blessing from the Lord (Exod. xxxii. 26, 29), and brought them into *special grace and favour with him*, as the word we translate *holy one* signifies. For it is not *kadoth*, but *chasideh*.

Thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah.] Though God did severely chide and reprove Moses and Aaron (who were the heads of this tribe), when they were

they have observed thy word, and kept thy covenant.

10 They shall teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law: they shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon thine altar.

11 Bless, Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands: smite through the loins

of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again.

12 ¶ And of Benjamin he said, The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him, and the LORD shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders.

13 ¶ And of Joseph he said, Blessed of the

tried at the waters of strife (Numb. xx. 12, 13), yet they did not forfeit their office by the offence they then committed; and, therefore, Moses prays it might still continue in Aaron's posterity.

Ver. 9. *I have not seen him, &c.*] This relates unto the impartial execution of judgment by the Levites, upon the worshippers of the golden calf, without respect of persons (Exod. xxxii. 26, &c.): and as some will have it to Phinehas's zeal, mentioned in Numb. xxv. But, that it hath any respect to a more ancient judgment, given in the case of Judah and Thamar (as the Jerusalem Targum fancies), there is no ground to believe (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 8, n. 2).

For they have observed thy word,] See Exod. xxxii. 28, 29. Abarbinel, and others, make this to be the reason of what follows.

Ver. 10. *They shall teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law:]* Because they were so upright, as to take no notice of their dearest relations in judgment; therefore, they were intrusted with this office of teaching the people the statutes of God, that is, deciding all controversies which arose about any thing in the law. So the Jews expound it; and it is agreeable to what we read in the seventeenth chapter of this book (ver. 9, 10), and many other places, as Mr. Selden shows in the place forenamed, p. 372, &c., and our Mr. Thorndike, in his Religious Assemblies, ch. 2, where he observes, the *teaching* here mentioned consisted in declaring the meaning and obligation of the law in matters doubtful; as is apparent from Lev. x. 8—11. For though others might be members of their courts of judgment, yet they consisted chiefly of priests and Levites. As for *teaching* the people in their religious assemblies, that was not so much the office of the priests and Levites as of the prophets. For though the prophets, and the disciples of the prophets, were commonly priests and Levites (who, being most free from the cares of estates and inheritances, and by their office, in this ceremonial service, came nearest to God of all other men, were most likely to be endued with an extraordinary degree of knowledge, and of the fear of God), yet it is certain, that the charge of *teaching* the people in their assemblies belonged as well to those prophets who were not priests and Levites as to those that were (see him, p. 25). And this was one reason, as Maimonides observes, why the tribe of Levi might have no inheritance in the land, that, being free from the trouble of ploughing and sowing, &c., they might wholly attend to the study of the law, and be able to teach Israel God's judgments (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39).

They shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt sacrifice] This was the peculiar office and honour of the priests alone, to offer incense on the golden altar, and burnt-offerings upon the brazen. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases it, "They shall put incense of precious spice before thee, to pacify thine anger, and offer a most acceptable sacrifice upon thine altar."

Ver. 11. *Bless, Lord, his substance,]* The word we here translate *substance*, is translated *wealth*, viii. 17, 18, which consisted most in cattle (they having no land to till), which he prays God to increase, that

they might have sufficient sustenance for themselves and their family. It is a strange fancy of some of the Jews, that whosoever offered incense grew rich, and therefore no priest was suffered to offer incense more than once, that so riches might be derived to them all. Thus they trifle, while their hearts are set on getting money, and not on growing good (see Sheringham on Joma, p. 35, 36, and Mauritius, De Sortitione Hebræorum, cap. 24, sect. 4).

Accept the work of his hand:] All their ministry at the altar where the priests officiated; or about the tabernacle, of which the Levites had the care.

Smite through the loins of them that rise against him,] For they who were enemies to the priests and Levites were enemies to religion, and to all civil government, which was chiefly administered by them, as was before observed (see xvii. 8—12).

Ver. 12. *Of Benjamin he said,]* He mentions him next to Levi, because the temple, in which the priests officiated, was partly situated in his lot.

The beloved of the Lord] Or, being beloved of the Lord, as the LXX. interpret it, ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου.

Shall dwell in safety by him:] i. e. By the Lord; which signifies the stability of his portion, which had Jerusalem the holy city in it, as we read Josh. xviii. 28. For though Mount Zion was in the tribe of Judah, and so the sanctuary was there (Ps. lxxviii. 68), yet the city wherein it stood was not. Nay, the ancients think the altar of burnt-offering was in the tribe of Benjamin, as Kimchi observes upon that place before mentioned in Joshua (see upon Gen. xlix. 27). And there are reasons to make one think, that Zion, in the place forenamed, and in others, is to be taken in a large sense, comprehending Mount Moriah also, (on which the temple was built, 2 Chron. iii. 1), which was in the tribe of Benjamin, and consequently the temple was situated in this tribe.

The Lord shall cover him all the day long,] The glory of the majestic presence of the Lord shall be a shield over him (to defend him) continually; as the Jerusalem Targum expounds it.

He shall dwell between his shoulders] For the Divine Majesty (saith Onkelos) shall dwell in his country. It being in the temple, and the temple in the tribe of Benjamin, where it stood upon Mount Moriah, as the head of a man upon his shoulders; as Dr. Lightfoot glosses in his Temple Service, p. 145, edit. 1. Or the word we translate here *shoulders* may signify, as it is translated in other places, *sides* (Numb. xxxiv. 11), or *borders*. And nothing is more certain, than that the Divine habitation was in the borders of Benjamin, whose lot touched Judah's at Jerusalem; and was so united to it, that when the rest fell off from Judah, the tribe of Benjamin always adhered to it.

This being the sense which the ancient interpreters give of this verse, and very agreeable to the words, I shall not trouble the reader with any other; but only mention a conceit of Conradus Pellicanus, who, by the *beloved of the Lord* here understands David, who *dwelt in safety* by Benjamin, though the king of that tribe persecuted him, for God *covered* and protected him continually from violence, &c. It is strange that a man otherwise judicious, and well acquainted with the Jewish learning, should propound

LORD be his land, for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath,

14 And for the precious fruits *brought forth* by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon,

15 And for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills,

this as the best interpretation he could think of, when there is nothing of a blessing upon Benjamin in it.

Ver. 13. *Of Joseph he said,*] This tribe follows next, his lot falling near to Benjamin, who lay between Judah and Joseph.

Blessed of the Lord be his land,] He foretells that this tribe should be situated in a most plentiful country, and enriched by the Divine blessing upon it.

For the precious things of heaven,] Sending fruitful showers from heaven.

For the dew,] Together with the evening and morning dews, which are no less refreshing to the earth than rain.

For the deep that coucheth beneath,] He means springs of water which burst out of the bowels of the earth, for the use of man and beast.

Ver. 14. *For the precious fruits brought forth by the sun,*] Whose kindly heat brings them forth, and makes them grow to maturity.

The precious things put forth by the moon,] For all fruits are plumped by the moon's cool and fattening moisture in the night, which is digested by the sun in the day. Or, this passage may relate to the several sorts of fruit which are produced every month. So Onkelos interprets it, "It produceth also sweet fruits at the beginning of every month." For the word *jerachim* in the Hebrew, being in the plural number, signifies *moons*, i. e. months. And so the Jerusalem Targum translates it, *in every new moon*, which comprehends the whole month.

Ver. 15.] Such as Mount Ephraim, and Samaria, and Bashan, which were exceeding fruitful in grapes and olives, and suchlike excellent fruit; and called *ancient* and *lasting*, because they were made together with the earth, in the beginning; and not mounts cast up by the arts of men (see Gen. xlix. 20).

Ver. 16. *For the precious things of the earth*] This seems to relate to their arable land, which he foretells should bring forth great store of all sorts of corn.

The word *megeed*, which we translate *precious*, is repeated five times in these last three verses, signifying that which in its kind is "most excellent and eximious," as that great man Ezekiel Spanhemius observes upon Callimachus's hymn to Diana, ver. 245, where mentioning several instruments of music among the Greeks, whose names came from the Hebrew, he thinks one called *μάγadis*, (which was ἀρχαῖον ὄργανον, as Athenæus saith, but he could not tell whether a wind or stringed instrument), came from this Hebrew word *megeed*, for it was not of a Greek original. And in Cant. iv. 13, this word is translated *pleasant*, as all music is; but that especially which was made by this instrument *μάγadis*. For Plato, who took it for a stringed instrument, calls it *πολυχορδωτάρον*, Anacreon saying he had one of twenty strings, as Spanhemius notes upon the hymn in Delum, p. 472.

And fulness thereof,] By the *fulness* of the earth may be meant, either the plenty or abundance of its fruits, or the ripeness thereof, as Bochartus observes in his Canaan.

For the good will of him that dwelt in the bush:] That is, of God "whose majesty (as Onkelos para-

16 And for the precious things of the earth and fulness thereof, and *for* the good will of him that dwelt in the bush: let the *blessing* come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him *that was* separated from his brethren.

17 His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the

phrases) dwells in the heavens, and was revealed to Moses in the bush" (Exod. iii. 2, 4). That is, the Shechinah there appeared in a most glorious manner, and the Lord told Moses he was there present, whose *good-will*, which is the fountain of all blessings (for to it they owed their deliverance out of Egypt, which God then promised to Moses out of the bush), he wished might be the peculiar portion of Joseph.

Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph,] The word *blessing* is not in the Hebrew, but this being connected with the foregoing words, may be thought a prayer, that the good-will of God, the fountain (as I said) of all blessings, may rest upon Joseph. Or, as Onkelos translates it, "Let all those things (before named) come upon the head of Joseph." And so the Jerusalem Targum expounds it, "Let all these blessings come, and be made perfect upon the head of Joseph."

Upon the top of—him that was separated from his brethren.] That is, saith the same Targum, "upon him that was made ruler over all the land of Egypt, and splendour in the honour given him by his brethren" (see this explained upon Gen. xlix. 26).

Ver. 17. *His glory is like the firstling of his bullock,*] The ancients thought there was so much majesty in the countenance of a bull, especially of a young bullock in its prime, lifting up its head, that they made it an emblem of kingly power, as Bochartus hath shown out of several good authors in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 29. And accordingly here it signifies, that the tribe of Ephraim should have royal authority established in it. For he doth not compare the person of Joseph to a young bullock, (though he was a goodly man, eminent for his beauty and comely proportions, Gen. xxxix. 6), but the tribes which sprang from him, as appears from the last words of this verse; whose glory he here comparing to that of a young bullock, and its glory consisting in its strength, the power of the tribes of Joseph is hereby denoted; which was so great, that they were the chief support of the kingdom of Israel, which began in Jeroboam, who was king of ten tribes; after whom there followed a long race of kings till the captivity. There may be also some respect in these words unto Joshua the first governor of all the people, who was of the tribe of Ephraim; as of Manasseh were Jair, Jephthah, and Gideon, who were famous men among the judges.

It is remarkable also here, that Joseph is compared to the *firstling* of a bullock, because Reuben being set aside for his incest, Joseph had the right of primogeniture, in part, translated unto him (1 Chron. v. 1, 2), and, in consequence of it, had a double portion in the land of Canaan.

It is to be noted likewise, that he is said to be like unto the firstling of *his* bullock, because there were not more goodly bullocks anywhere than in Bashan (Amos iv. 1), which fell to the share of some of the children of Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 5).

There have been some great men, who, from this place and other conjectures, have fancied that Joseph was worshipped in Egypt after his death, under the

ends of the earth: and they *are* the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they *are* the thousands of Manasseh.

18 ¶ And of Zebulun he said, Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out; and, Issachar, in thy tents.

19 They shall call the people unto the moun-

form of an ox, by the name of Serapis, which Bochartus hath confuted in the book forenamed, cap. 34.

His horns are like the horns of unicorns.] This is a farther description of the power and strength of the house of Joseph; for a *horn* is everywhere an emblem of mighty power and force, and an *unicorn* (as we translate the word *reem*) is a very strong as well as a stately creature. But Bochartus hath alleged a great many things to prove, that *reem* is a sort of wild goat in Arabia, as big as a deer, and of the same colour, which they now call *gazellas* (par. i. Hierozoicon, lib. iii. cap. 27). There were some of them sent lately to the French king by the divan of Tripoli, which had black horns, in shape like those of a goat, only they were round and pointed. But the tallness, strength, and swiftness of this creature, together with its fierce untameable nature, hath made Ludolphus (who at first was of Bochart's opinion) to conclude, upon second thoughts, that the *reem* in Scripture signifies the *rhinoceros*, as the Vulgar Latin here translates the word. See lib. i. Comment. in Histor. Æthiop. cap. 10, n. 74, which seems not so well to agree with these words of Moses; which suppose the creature here spoken of to have two horns (he using the plural number), with which the two tribes descended from Joseph are very fitly compared. And so David mentions the *horns of the reem* (Ps. xxii. 22). But whatsoever creature it was, princes and great men were wont to be compared to it, as appears from Isa. xxxiv. 7, where the grandees (as we now speak) of Edom are called *unicorns*, as in the following words they are compared to bullocks and bulls.

With them he shall push the people] Throw down all that oppose him, particularly the Canaanites. For these (saith the Jerusalem Targum) are the great men of the Amorites, whom Joshua, the son of Nun, slew; who was of the tribe of Ephraim; and the captains which Gideon, the son of Joash, slew, who was of the tribe of Manasseh.

To the ends of the earth.] Of the land of Canaan.

They are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh.] These things shall be performed by the numerous armies of Ephraim and Manasseh. Of these are the benedictions of these two tribes; the younger of which he signifies should be more powerful than the elder, according to the prophecy of Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 19).

Ver. 18. *Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out.*] About their business, as the Jerusalem Targum expounds it, that is, their merchandise; which they exercised upon the sea of Gennesaret, where they were situated, and not far from the Mediterranean; in which he prays they might have such good success, as to fill their hearts with joy. There are those who understand this of their going out to war against their enemies, which is the exposition of Onkelos. And so this phrase is often used, particularly in Gen. xiv. 8; and the valour of this tribe is, upon one occasion, celebrated in Judg. v. 18. But Jacob's prophecy determines us rather to the other sense, Gen. xlix. 13, where he represents this tribe as mariners rather than soldiers. Though it must be acknowledged, that there were great numbers among them in David's time, who were expert warriors (1 Chron. xii. 33), and that the Israelites generally were not addicted to traffic, the sea-coast

tain; there they shall offer sacrifices of righteousness: for they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand.

20 ¶ And of Gad he said, Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad: he dwelleth as a lion, and teareth the arm with the crown of the head.

21 And he provided the first part for himself,

being possessed by the Philistines and the Canaanites, save only what belonged to this tribe.

Issachar, in thy tents.] The same Jerusalem Targum expounds it, "Rejoice, ye house of Issachar, when ye come into your schools:" for this was a learned tribe, at least in some ages, as appears from 1 Chron. xii. 32. But Jacob's prophecy rather determines us to another sense, which is, that they should grow rich by feeding cattle, and by husbandry: for which their country being very proper, they chose rather that quiet kind of life than merchandise. Though they were near neighbours to Zebulun, and for that reason, as well as because they were brethren by the same mother, are here put both together in one benediction. This seems also best to agree with the phrase of rejoicing in *their tents*; in which they are said anciently to dwell who fed cattle, Gen. iv. 10. And perhaps the learning that the children of Issachar are said to have had, in 1 Chron. xii. 32, which consisted "in the understanding of the times," was nothing else but their skill in the proper seasons for sowing, and planting, and pruning, &c., *to know what Israel ought to do in the management and improvement of their land*; which was of great use, especially in that country.

Ver. 19. *They shall call the people unto the mountain.*] Here Moses predicts the house of God should be set upon a mountain; unto which, he saith, Zebulun (for the latter end of the verse shows he speaks particularly of them) should invite the rest of their tribes, by their forwardness and zeal, to go up to worship God at the three great festivals. So the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases, "Behold, the people of the house of Zebulun shall be ready to go to the mount of the holy house of the Lord." Or, by the *people*, perhaps, he means the gentiles their neighbours, whom they should endeavour to bring to the service of the true God; which was especially fulfilled when Christ came (Matt. iv. 15, 16).

There they shall offer sacrifices] Liberal sacrifices, out of their honest gains by merchandise.

They shall suck of the abundance of the seas,] Import abundance of various commodities, and grow rich by their traffic.

Of treasures hid in the sand.] This is a farther amplification of the same thing, relating particularly to their importation of gold, and silver, and precious stones, which are digged out of the earth. Some think it hath respect to the rich mines which were in this country; but of that I can find no proof.

Ver. 20. *Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad.*] That is, blessed be God, who hath allotted to him such a large inheritance; which he afterward also farther enlarged, as we read 1 Chron. v. 18—20.

He dwelleth as a lion.] Lives secure and fearless, though encompassed with enemies, whom the Gadites tore in pieces (as it here follows) if they offered to molest them. For this was a very warlike tribe, as we learn from 1 Chron. xii. 8, and therefore here compared to a *lioness* (so *labi* signifies), which equals a lion, if not exceeds him, in strength and fierceness; as Bochartus hath observed out of good authors in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 50. And so Onkelos here translates it, "He dwelleth as a lioness." And the Jerusalem Targum puts in both after this manner;

because there, in a portion of the lawgiver, *was he seated*; and he came with the heads of the people, he executed the justice of the Lord, and his judgments with Israel.

22 ¶ And of Dan he said, Dan is a lion's whelp: he shall leap from Bashan.

23 ¶ And of Naphtali he said, O Naphtali,

"he remains quiet, as a lion and a lioness; neither is there people or kingdom that shall stand before them."

Teareth the arm with the crown of the head.] Kills the princes with their kings, as Onkelos truly expounds it. For by arms are meant men of strength and power; and by the crown of the head is properly to be understood the chief commander, ruler, or king. And therefore the LXX. also translate, "crown of the head" by Ἀρχοντα, prince, or supreme governor.

Ver. 21. *He provided the first part for himself.*] He first received his portion in the land which they conquered, as Onkelos expounds it. Which he is said here to provide for himself, because this tribe (with Reuben, and part of Manasseh), desired to be possessed of the country of Sihon, which was accordingly given to them (Numb. xxxii. 1, 2, 33).

Because there, in a portion of the lawgiver.] Which Moses (who was their lawgiver) gave them by God's order; whereas the other nine tribes and a half had theirs given them by Joshua.

Was he seated.] The word in the Hebrew signifies hid, i. e. protected, when, going to the war in Canaan, they left their wives, and children, and cattle, without any defence, but God's providence, according to the promise they made to Moses (Numb. xxxii. 16, 17, &c.). What the Jerusalem Targum, and Onkelos, and several of the rabbins, even Abarbinel himself, here say, of Moses being buried in this tribe (which they make the sense of these words), I think is no more to the purpose, than what the cabalists observe upon this place, that, in the blessing of Gad, the whole alphabet is found, because Moses our master (saith Baal-Hatturim) was buried in his territory, who observed the whole law from aleph to tau, i. e. from the beginning to the end (see Theodoric Hacksan, Cab. Judaica, n. 10).

He came.] He speaks of this as a thing already done, because he certainly foresaw they would perform their engagement.

With the heads of the people.] With the chief commanders of the rest of the tribes of Israel. Or, as the word may be translated more literally, "He came, the heads of the people;" i. e. the Gadites marched in the front before the children of Israel. For so was the agreement between Moses and them, as we read in Numb. xxxii. 17, that they should "go ready-armed before the children of Israel." Of which engagement Joshua put them in mind when they were entering into Canaan (Josh. i. 14), and they stood to it (ver. 16, 17).

He executed the justice of the Lord.] Upon the seven nations of Canaan, whom God commanded them to extirpate.

His judgments with Israel.] Going in the forefront of the Israelites to battle, till the whole country was subdued to them (Numb. xxxii. 21, 22, 29; Josh. xxii. 2—3, &c.).

Ver. 22. *Dan is a lion's whelp.*] Courageous as a young lion; so Onkelos. Which was most eminently verified in Samson, who was of this tribe; and whom "the Spirit of the Lord began to move in the camp of Dan" (Judg. xiii. 25).

He shall leap from Bashan.] The tribe of Dan had no inheritance near Bashan; but he compares them to

satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord: possess thou the west and the south.

24 ¶ And of Asher he said, Let Asher be blessed with children; let him be acceptable to his brethren, and let him dip his foot in oil.

25 Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be.

the young lions of that place. For lions haunted mountains (Cant. iv. 8), and this mountain in particular was famous for them, and bred very fierce ones; which every one knows leap upon their prey, when they assault it, and fasten their nails and their teeth in it (so Bochart observes many ancient authors describe them, par. i. Hierozoicon, lib. iii. cap. 2, p. 739). And thus did the Danites on a sudden leap from one end of Judah to another, and seized on the city of Laish, near to the fountain of Jordan, calling it by the name of Dan, as we read Judg. xviii. 29.

Ver. 23. *O Naphtali, satisfied with favour.*] That is, with the favour of God, which is explained in the next words.

Full with the blessing of the Lord.] The word full, as Maimonides observes, signifies that which is most perfect and absolute in its kind (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 19). Such was the country of Galilee, wherein this tribe had their possession, which was πληρὸν τε ἄνθα, καὶ εὐβορίας, &c., (as Josephus speaks, lib. iii. De Bello Judaico, cap. 4), "a fat throughout in all its parts, and very fertile;" planted with all manner of trees, insomuch that it invited him to husbandry, who was averse to labour; and by that means was entirely inhabited, and had no void space in all the country, &c.

Possess thou the west and the south.] The same Josephus makes this tribe to have possessed the east and the north in the upper Galilee (lib. v. Antiq. cap. 1, p. 142), which is directly contrary to what Moses here saith; therefore Bochartus (in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 18), judiciously expounds these words of Moses, not with respect to the whole land of Canaan, but to the Danites before mentioned. For the portion of Naphtali extended from the south of the city called Dan, or Laish, to the sea of Tiberias. And so the three Chaldee paraphrasts expound the Hebrew word *jam* (which we translate west) by the sea of Tiberias, or Gennesaret, which is the same; for the Hebrews call great lakes by the name of seas. And by this sea is not meant the Mediterranean, but the sea of Galilee, or Tiberias, or Gennesaret; for by all these names it is called, as Mr. Selden observes in his Mare Clausum, p. 21.

Ver. 24. *Let Asher be blessed with children.*] With a numerous and beautiful issue.

Let him be acceptable to his brethren.] All the rest of the Israelites shall court them, for their goodly aspect; or (as some rather think), he prophesies this tribe should win the favour and affection of others, by their affability and obliging behaviour; for which Jacob predicts they should be famous (Gen. xlv. 21).

Let him dip his foot in oil.] Be planted in a rich soil, full of olive-trees: which should make oil so plentiful, that they might not only wash their faces, but their feet in it. Onkelos translates, "He shall be nourished with the delights of kings."

Ver. 25. *Thy shoes shall be iron and brass.*] Or, as in the margin, "Under thy feet shall be iron;" which hath made some think these minerals were digged out of Libanus, near to which lay the tribe of Asher; who, according to this exposition, trod upon a soil full of iron and brass. But no author, Bochartus saith, mentions any such thing as the brass of Libanus; and therefore some understand by these expressions, the

26 ¶ *There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun, who rideth upon the heavens in thy help, and in his excellency on the sky.*

27 *The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms: and he shall*

barbarous people that dwelt in Galilee of the gentiles, who pressed the Asserites, as an iron shoe or fetters do the feet. But the Arabic here by *minal*, which we translate *shoe*, understands a *bolt* or *bar*: and renders this passage, "Thy bolts shall be iron and brass;" that is, as Onkelos expresses it, "They should be as strong as iron and brass." And so Kimchi, expounding the words of Jonathan (who interprets it, "Thy habitation shall be as strong," &c.), saith the meaning is, "Their country should be as well fenced, as if it had been shut up in brazen or iron walls;" and R. Solomon to the same purpose (see Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. vi. cap. 16). But I have observed, that the same Bochartus acknowledges in his Phaleg, that Sarepta (which the Hebrews call Zarephath, 1 Kings xvii. 9), a city of Sidon, had its name from the brass and iron which were here melted; being in great plenty in that country, as the Hebrews gather from this blessing of the tribe of Asher (who were the inhabitants of those places), "Iron and brass are under thy shoe," as he there interprets it (lib. iv. cap. 34). And so a very learned man, long before him, David Chytraeus, expounds these words, and adds this observation; Nam Siden et Sarepta, quæ a metallis excoquendis nomen habet, in tribu Asser fuerunt, "For Sidon and Sarepta, which had its name from the melting of metals there, were in the tribe of Asher."

As thy days so shall thy strength be.] The same Chytraeus expounds it, "All the time of their life, they should retain the same vigour of body and mind:" Which seems to be the sense of Onkelos, "As the days of thy youth, so shall thy strength be." And the Jerusalem Targum more expressly, "Such as they were in the days of their youth, such they should be in their old age." Or simply, these words signify, that this tribe "should grow stronger and stronger;" which Hottinger seems to have aimed at, when he propounded this exposition in his Smegma Orientale, cap. 7, "As are thy days, so are thy riches and wealth." Masius, quite contrary, upon Josh. xix. 31, interprets these words to signify, that they should have perpetual conflicts with the old inhabitants of the country. All which various interpretations proceed from the uncertain signification of the Hebrew word *daba*, which we render *strength*.

Ver. 26. *There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun,*] And now, having blessed every particular tribe, he concludes with this general demonstration of their happiness, that their God was not like the gods of other nations, but super-eminent in all perfections. And therefore they must needs be blessed (as the same Chytraeus explains it), who had him propitious to them, as their father, their keeper, their defender, avenger, and saviour from all their enemies.

Who rideth upon the heavens in thy help.] Who commandeth the heavens, as well as in the earth; and sends help and succour to thee from thence by thunder, lightning, and hailstones; as we read he did in many places (Ps. xviii. 8, 9, &c., lxxviii. 33—35). "And as he that rides upon a horse, turns him this way, and that way, as he pleaseth (they are the words of Maimonides in his More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 70), so God by his power and pleasure commands the heavens; and is not fixed to them, as the soul of them (which was the foolish opinion of the Zabii), but, as the rider is far more honourable and excellent than the beast on which he sits, and of a quite dif-

ferent species from it; so God is represented by this metaphor (though but in a weak manner), as separate from the heavens, and of a more excellent nature, far transcending them, which are but the instruments he uses, to fulfil his will and pleasure."

28 Israel then shall dwell in safety alone: the fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine; also his heavens shall drop down dew.

In his excellency on the sky.] Or, as it may be translated word for word, and in his magnificence, the clouds. From whence he sends such storms and tempests, as demonstrate his power.

Ver. 27. *The eternal God is thy refuge.*] Or, "dwelling-place;" to whom they might always betake themselves for safety, and never fail of it (Ps. xc. 1). In the Hebrew the words are, "The eternal God is the habitation," or dwelling-place; from whence the Jews have framed this maxim to preserve all men from having low thoughts of God, as if he was contained in any thing, "God is the place wherein the world dwells, and not the world the place where God dwells." So Maimonides observes in the place above named, out of Beresith Rabbah.

Underneath are the everlasting arms.] To support all those, with an unwearied power and care, who commit themselves unto him.

He shall thrust out the enemy from before thee;] As he had carried them through the wilderness with an unwearied care, so he promises God would expel the Canaanites, and make room for them in their country.

Shall say, Destroy them.] Give the Israelites power, as well as authority, to root them out. For to say here is as much as to do, and therefore signifies "executing their destruction."

Ver. 28. *Israel then shall dwell in safety alone:*] Live in quiet and peace, separate from all other people: or, the Divine protection shall be sufficient for their security. This Rasi thinks was fulfilled in the days of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 25): but others of them think it still to be fulfilled.

The fountain of Jacob] That is, his posterity, who flowed from him as a river from a fountain (Isa. xlviii. 1, li. 1). Cocceius thinks these words should be joined to the foregoing in this manner, "Israel shall dwell in safety alone by the fountain of Jacob," that is, by God. But though this may have some countenance from the ancient interpreters (as I shall observe presently), yet most go the other way; there being the like expression in Ps. lxxviii. 26, "Bless the Lord in the congregation, from the fountain of Israel;" or, as it is in the margin, "Ye that be of the fountain of Israel;" i. e. are derived from him as your Father.

Shall be upon a land of corn and wine; also his heavens shall drop down dew.] In a fruitful country, upon which the heavens shall drop down refreshing dews. Onkelos paraphrases the whole thus, "Israel shall dwell securely alone, according to the blessing wherewith Jacob's father blessed them, in a land of corn," &c. And so the Jerusalem Targum (making more express mention of the word *fountain*), "Israel shall dwell by himself securely, from the fountain of benediction wherewith Jacob blessed them, in a land producing wine and oil; and the heavens above are commanded to send dews and rain upon them."

Ver. 29. *Happy art thou, O Israel:*] He was not able farther to express their happiness, and therefore breaks out into admiration of it; exciting them thereby to be deeply sensible of it, and affected with it.

29 Happy art thou, O Israel: who *is* like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who *is* the sword of thy

excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee; and thou shalt tread upon their high places.

Who is like unto thee,] Who had the Lord for their God, as he said before, ver. 26, &c., and iv. 7, 8.

O people saved by the Lord,] Who have been redeemed by his mighty power. So the Jerusalem Targum, "Whose redemption (I suppose he meant out of Egypt) is from the presence of the Lord." Who had preserved them ever since, and would still protect them, as it here follows.

Thus R. Isaac (in Chissuk Emuna, par. i. cap. 18) saith, signifies the spiritual blessings God bestowed on them. For true felicity (saith he) doth not consist in victory over enemies, and plenty of corn, or suchlike things, of which he had spoken before in the foregoing verse, but in the salvation of the soul, of which no nation in the world was secure but the Jews; which made Moses (saith he) break out into these words, "O happy people saved by the Lord!" As much as to say, Among all people, is there any saved like to thee? This he saith, because Christians were wont to tell them that they fixed their minds wholly on the corporal felicity which their law promised them; which made him look about to find out all that he could draw to a higher sense. And he fixes so much upon these words, that he repeats it again a little after, that the salvation here promised is everlasting. And yet his eyes could not be opened to see that this salvation was to be brought to them by the Messiah: and that our Lord Jesus is he, whose gospel is as full of such promises as their law is of the promises of corn, and wine, and oil.

The shield of thy help,] To defend them from all the assaults of their enemies. He adds this, saith the same R. Isaac, to show that they to whom he promises spiritual blessings are not thereby put out of hope of temporal; for the people that are saved by the Lord have him also for their *shield* and their *sword*, as it here follows.

Who is the sword of thy excellency!] To cut their enemies in pieces, so that they should glory and boast in magnificent victories over them. Or, as Onkelos translates it, "From his presence are all the victories of thy valiant men."

Thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee;] Find themselves deceived in all their vain hopes of saving themselves or hurting the Israelites. Or, should be so afraid of them, that with feigned stories they should court their friendship, as the Gibeonites did. Or, more simply, should submit to them, though not heartily, yet out of fear, as this phrase is used, Ps. xviii. 44, lxxvi. 3, and other places.

Thou shalt tread upon their high places.] Upon the necks of their kings, as both Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum understand it, taking *bamoth* here for great men, in high stations. And thus Joshua did, as we read Josh. x. 21. But this word commonly signifies either "strong holds," or "places of idolatrous worship;" which neither their great men nor their gods themselves should be able to preserve from ruin.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *Moses from mount Nebo vieweth the land.* 5 *He dieth there.* 6 *His burial.* 7 *His age.* 8 *Thirty days' mourning for him.* 9 *Joshua succeedeth him.* 10 *The praise of Moses.*

1 AND Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And

the LORD shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan,

2 And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim,

CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1. *Moses went up]* Having thus declared his affectionate concern for the happiness of every one of them, he took his leave of the elders and all the people, and went up whither God had commanded him (xxxii. 49, &c.).

From the plains of Moab] In which was their last station before they entered into Canaan, Numb. xxxiii. 48—50, where God delivered several commands to them, Numb. xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13, and where Moses spake to them what we read in this book, Deut. i. 5.

Unto the mountain of Nebo,] Which was the highest part of the mountain of Abarim, as appears from Numb. xxvii. 12, compared with Deut. xxxii. 49. Near to which there was a city of the same name (Numb. xxxii. 38; Isa. xv. 2).

Top of Pisgah] Which was the very top of the mountain Nebo (see Deut. iii. 27; Numb. xxi. 20).

That is over against Jericho.] A famous city on the other side of Jordan. I see no ground to believe that the people of Israel accompanied him thither (as Josephus tells the story), with so many tears that Moses wept also; and having besought them not to take his departure so heavily, he dismissed them together with the elders, and remained there alone.

The Lord] Or, as Jonathan hath it, "the Word of

the Lord," who had accompanied him with his blessed presence through the wilderness.

Shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan,] God had often promised him that he should see the good land promised to their fathers, though not be permitted to enter into it (Numb. xxvi. 12; Deut. iii. 27). And now fulfils his word, and gives him a full prospect of it; bidding him first look northwards, through the whole land of Gilead (which comprehends all that was given to the two tribes and half on this side Jordan, where they now were) to the land of Naphtali, which was in the upper Galilee, beyond the sea of Gennesaret, as far as the utmost northern border, which was then called Laish, and afterwards Dan (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 28), and in later times Cesaræa Philippi.

The mention of Dan, which was not the name of this place till after that tribe had conquered Laish in the time of the Judges, shows that this was not written at the same time with the rest of this book, no more than what we read (ver. 5, 6, 10) of his death and burial, &c., (unless we suppose Moses to have given an account of his own death and burial by the spirit of prophecy, which is not probable), but it is most likely by Samuel, who was a prophet, and wrote by Divine authority what he found in the records which were left by Joshua and others who suc-

and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea,

3 And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.

4 And the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac,

and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

5 ¶ So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.

ceeded him; who gave an account of Moses' leaving the world, and of all that was done after, till the end of the time of the judges.

Ver. 2. *All Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh.*] Having seen the northern parts, he bade him turn his eyes towards the midland country, where Ephraim and Manasseh were situated.

All the land of Judah.] Which lay southerly.

Unto the utmost sea.] By which some understand the Salt Sea, which lay on the south border of the land of Judah (Numb. xxxiv. 3). But then there will be no mention of the western part of Canaan, which lay upon the Mediterranean or Midland Sea, which is hereby meant.

Ver. 3. *And the south.*] And after he had seen the south, which the tribes of Judah and Simeon inhabited, he bade him take a view of the eastern parts of the country, as it here follows.

The plain of the valley of Jericho.] All the region about Jordan, especially the lovely plain of Jericho; which is very much celebrated by other authors, and lay in the tribe of Benjamin.

The city of palm trees.] Which is often mentioned in Scripture; sometimes without, and sometimes with the name of Jericho (Judg. i. 16, iii. 13; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15), which was so called because a multitude of palm-trees grew about it, as Strabo (as well as Josephus) testifies in his Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 763, where he describes this plain as πεδιον κάλαρ περιχόμενον ὀρεσὶ τινι, &c., as encompassed about with mountains, after the manner of a theatre, abounding with palm-trees and other garden-trees mixed with them, for the space of a hundred stadia. And there was also, he observes, ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως Παράδεισος, "the paradise of balsam;" which is a rare aromatic plant, like to the turpentine-tree, whose juice is of great virtue and value, &c. From which odoriferous plant growing here, some think this city had the name of Jericho, signifying sweet-smelling. So R. Judas, in the Gemara of Beracoth, where he mentions this tree as growing about Jericho, and thence derives its name from the Hebrew word *reach*, which signifies a *sweet smell*. This is more probable than the conjecture of D. Chytræus, who imagines Jericho to come from *Jerce*, which signifies the *moon*; and in their German language, he thinks, might be called Luneburgh.

Unto Zoar.] Which lay in the entrance of the Salt Sea.

Ver. 4. *The Lord said unto him.*] After he had showed him the land, the Word of the Lord (as the Jerusalem Targum hath it) spake these words to him which follow. And God having been wont to speak to Moses out of the cloud of glory, Josephus conceives that now he was encompassed with it, and from thence heard this voice; which the Jews fancy was so loud, that the people heard it into the camp. Thus at our Saviour's transfiguration upon the holy mount, a glorious cloud overshadowed him and his three apostles, who heard the voice say to them, "This is my beloved Son," &c. The Samaritans, as Hottinger relates in his *Smegma Orientale*, cap. 8, p. 456, tell the story thus: that Joshua, Eleazar the priest, and all the elders accompanying him to the mount, fell into such a passion when they were to take their leave, that they could not be parted from him. Whereupon

the pillar of fire came down, which separated them from Moses, so that they saw him no more.

This is the land] Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 15, xv. 18, &c.

I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes.] Which the Lord strengthened, it is likely, with a greater vigour than usual, that he might take a larger prospect than otherwise he could have done of this country. Or, as some of the Jews understand it, he laid a map of it before his eyes, wherein every part of it was exactly described. But that might have been done in the plains of Moab, without going up into a mountain; therefore the other is more reasonable, that he strengthened his visive faculty with a greater power, to see the whole country in its length and breadth, &c. And therefore some of the rabbins have been so wise as to put both together, as J. Bened. Carpovizius observes out of several of them (upon Schickard's *Jus Regium*, cap. 5, theor. 16, p. 285), who thus speak: "God showed him the whole land, as in a garden plot, forty miles in breadth, and as many in length; and gave his eyes such a power of contemplating the whole land, from the beginning to the end, that he saw hills and dales, what was open and what was enclosed, remote or nigh, at one view."

Thou shalt not go over thither.] This he had often said to him: and now mentions it, that he might die in a comfortable sense that he had been as good as his word to him, and consequently carry this belief along with him into the other world, that he would make good the oath which he swore to their fathers, of bringing them into Canaan, and there fulfil all that he had foretold.

Ver. 5. *So Moses the servant of the Lord*] So God himself calls him after his death, in the next book, Josh. i. 2, 7, as the most eminent minister of his, that he had hitherto employed in Israel. But the observation of R. Bechai is not well founded, that he is not called "the servant of the Lord" till after he was dead, and then admitted into the nearest familiarity with the Divine Majesty: for though these very words are not used, yet the Lord calls him "my servant Moses," which is the same thing. Numb. xii. 7.

Died there in the land of Moab.] For this country was still so called, because it anciently belonged to the Moabites (see Numb. xxi. 26), from whom Sihon had taken it, as Israel now had taken it from him: so that he really died in the land of Israel.

According to the word of the Lord.] The Jerusalem Targum expounds this very soberly, "According to the sentence of the decree of the Lord;" that is, as the Lord had determined and declared he should, xxxii. 49, 50. And so this phrase is commonly used in this very book, xvii. 6, 10, 11, as well as in other places of the Pentateuch, Numb. ix. 20, xiii. 3, &c., which will warrant this interpretation, that Moses did not die of any disease, nor was worn out with age, but merely because God, the supreme governor of all things, so ordered it. But some of the Jews, not satisfied with this, have far-fetched conceits concerning the death of Moses from these words: for because it is said he died, al pi, "at the mouth (as the words are literally in the Hebrew) of the Lord," Maimonides himself saith, that their wise men think (and he seems of their opinion), that it signifies the Lord drew his soul out of his body with a kiss. And thus died Aaron and Miriam, but none besides them. Of

6 And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.

Aaron indeed it is expressly said, he died at pi, "of the Lord," but it is not said of Miriam; and yet they will have her to have had the same favour; that is, they died, saith he, of too much love, from the pleasure they had in the thoughts of God; which apprehension of God, conjunct with the highest love to him, he thinks is called *kissing* (Cant. i. 2), "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth" (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 51). But this is not the meaning of the phrase, though no doubt Moses departed this life in a most delectable sense and taste of the Divine love, having no unwillingness to die, nor being surprised with death; for he knew the time, and the place, and the manner of it: and as he did not die of any disease (as was said before), or of old age, or by external force, but only by the will and pleasure of God, who took his soul out of his body; so he did not part with it against his will, nor with any fear, but with a placid mind and composed spirit committed himself to God, in whose embraces (as we may speak) he expired: and this it is likely the ancient Jews meant, when they said "his soul departed with a kiss."

As to the time of his death, the Scripture doth not mention the year, the month, and the day; but the Jews commonly place it in the last month of the fortieth year after their coming out of Egypt, called Adar, and the seventh day of that month. Thus they say, in Seder Olam Rabba, cap. 10, and in their calendar which they now follow; and so Patricides in Hottinger's Smegma Orientale, p. 457. But our great primate of Ireland in his Annals observes, that it agrees better with the following history, to place his death in the first day of that month; and Torriellus makes the same computation, that it must be either in the latter end of the eleventh month, or in the beginning of the twelfth.

Ver. 6. *He buried him*] This refers to the words foregoing; viz. the Lord, who commanded his angels to bury him. So Epiphanius, *ἐνταφίσαν αὐτὸν ἄγγελοι*, &c. Hæres. ix. p. 28, and see p. 600. Though in the Scripture active words are very often used passively, and the meaning may be only that *he was buried*, yet there is this to be said for the other sense, that thereupon it is thought, that the contest arose between Michael the archangel and the devil (as St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Procopius Gazæus, and others take it), who would not have had him buried, but opposed it, that he might administer an occasion to the Jews to commit idolatry; though we never find that the Jews were given to the worship of relics, as our most learned Usher observes in his Annals (see there).

In a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor:] This valley was in the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites (iv. 46), who had taken it from the Moabites, as I noted before, and was now possessed by the Israelites. And Beth-Peor was a part of the possession of Reuben, (Josh. xiii. 20), which was a place where the temple of Peor anciently stood; from whence it had its name: for this idol is not only called Baal-Peor, but simply Peor (Josh. xxii. 17); and as Beth-Baal is the temple of Baal, so Beth-Peor is the temple of Peor, as I. Ger. Vossius observes, De Orig. et Progr. Idol. lib. ii. cap. 7.

Now by all these circumstances of his burial, it appears how frivolous that opinion of the Jews is, mentioned in Jalkut, out of Siphri, that Moses did not really die, but was translated into heaven, where he stands and ministers before God; which conceit Josephus himself follows, lib. iv. Antiq. cap. 8, where

7 ¶ And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.

he saith, that he having dismissed the elders, who went with him to Mount Abarim, and then conversing awhile with Eleazar and Joshua, while he embraced them, *ἐφάπαξ αἰφνιδίον ἐντὶ αὐτοῦ σάρατος*, "a cloud on a sudden coming upon him," he was snatched out of their sight into a certain valley: which is not only beside, but contrary to the Scripture, which saith he died, and was buried in the valley. And yet some of the ancient fathers, particularly St. Ambrose and St. Hilary, have followed this opinion, that when Moses is said to *die*, it doth not signify the separation of his soul from his body, but his translation to a better life. See Sixtus Senensis, in his Bibliotheca, lib. v. Annot. 61, where he observes, this is not only against Scripture, but against the sense of almost all ecclesiastical writers.

No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.] These words "unto this day," show that this passage was not written by Moses, as Josephus and Philo imagine, who say he wrote this by the spirit of prophecy (see ver. 1). The reason why his body was concealed most think to have been, lest in future times it should become an object of their worship. So R. Levi ben Gersom: "Future generations, perhaps, might have made a god of him, because of the fame of his miracles: for do we not see how some of the Israelites erred, in the brazen serpent which Moses made?" And the heresy of the Melchisedekians shows this was no vain fear (as Hermannus Witsius observes, lib. i. Miscell. cap. 17), if Epiphanius may be believed, who saith, that in Arabia Petrea, *διὰ τὰ θεοσημεῖα θεῶν νομιζόντων*, &c., "they thought him to be God, because of his wonders he wrought," and worshipped his image. What would they have done, if they had had his very body? which he did not desire to be carried into Canaan, and buried among his ancestors, as Joseph ordered concerning his bones: for he understood, it is likely, the mind of God to be, that, as he should not go over Jordan while he was alive, so his body should not be carried over when he was dead; which R. Chama thinks might have proved dangerous, because in the time of their distress (especially at the captivity of the land) the children of Israel might have been prone to run to his sepulchre, and beg him with tears to pray for them, whose prayers had been so prevalent for them in his lifetime: for such a piece of superstition, it seems, crept in among them in latter ages; of which see Wagenseil upon the Gemara of Sota, cap. 1, sect. 52, annot. 2.

But though no man knew where Moses was buried when this was written, yet some Maronite shepherds, we are told, have pretended lately (1655) to find out his tomb, with this inscription in Hebrew, "Moses, the servant of the Lord." A great stir was made about it, as the same Witsius observes, out of Hornius's Historia Ecclesiastica. But a learned Jew, he saith, so confuted the story, showing it was another Moses whose tomb they found, that the report presently vanished; and the learned Wagenseil makes some probable guesses, that it was the tomb of Moses Maimonides (see Annot. 6, in Gemara Sota, cap. 1, sect. 51). But Bartoloccius, in his late Bibliotheca Rabbinnica, tom. iii. p. 928, &c., hath made it very probable, that Hornius was imposed upon by somebody in this narration, there being no such authors known among the Jews as R. Jakum, or Jacomus ben Gad, who, he saith, confuted this tale.

Ver. 7. *Was an hundred and twenty years old when he died:*] A third part of which time, wanting

8 ¶ And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days : so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended.

9 ¶ And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom ; for Moses had laid his hands upon him : and the children of Israel

hearkened unto him, and did as the LORD commanded Moses.

10 ¶ And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face.

11 In all the signs and the wonders, which

one month, he had been employed in the government of Israel, as Josephus observes in the conclusion of his fourth book of Antiquities.

His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.] That is, he had all the vigour of youth remaining, there being not so much as a wrinkle in his cheek : so some of the ancients interpret the last clause : others, he had not lost so much as a tooth out of his mouth (see Bochartus, in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45, p. 506). Both Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum refer it to the splendour of his countenance, which continued to the last. From hence it was that the heathen, who were not wholly unacquainted with this story, but had not a perfect knowledge of it, imagined that Moses was troubled to die, when he was so vigorous ; for Trebellius Pollio, in the life of Claudius, saith, that the most learned mathematicians were wont to say, that no man lived beyond a hundred and twenty years : for though Moses lived a hundred and five-and-twenty years (so he mistakes), being Dei, ut Judæorum libri loquantur, familiaris, “a man familiar with God, as the books of the Jews tell us ;” yet he complaining that juvenis interiret, “he died when he was young,” they say he was told by an uncertain God, that no man should ever live longer. This mistake arose from their misinterpretation of those words, Gen. vi. 3, “Yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years ;” for Huetius well observes, that this *incertus Deus* was the true God, the creator of heaven and earth : whom St. Paul saith they called also the *unknown God*, Demonstr. Evang. propos. 4, cap. 1, n. 57. And I cannot but add, that this passage out of Trebellius was taken notice of above a hundred years ago, by a learned man I have often mentioned, David Chytræus, to show that these sacred books were not unknown to the heathen, and that they had a reverence for them.

Ver. 8. *Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days.]* The time of mourning for the dead was longer or shorter, according to the dignity of the person. And the Jews have a tradition which distinguishes between the days of weeping and mourning ; the former of which never exceeded a month, which was the time they wept for Moses ; the latter never lasted more than a year, as they gathered from the example of the greatest doctor they ever had, R. Judah, who composed the Mishna ; for whom they mourned twelve months (see Schieckard. in his Jus Regium, cap. 6, theor. 19, and upon Gen. 1. 3, 10 ; Numb. xx. 29).

So the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended.] They lamented him completely thirty days, and no longer. By which it seems, that *weeping and mourning* (whatsoever difference was between them) were anciently of the same length, though the Jews, in the forenamed tradition, are pleased to make the one last much longer than the other.

Now by this, and what follows in the book of Joshua, we may certainly know the truth of what I said (on ver. 5) concerning the day on which Moses died ; for if we add unto these thirty days, which followed immediately upon it, the three days wherein the spies lay hid in the mountain (Josh. ii. 22), and allow three or four days more for their going and

coming back, and then add the three days they lay by Jordan before they passed over (Josh. iii. 2), they make just a month and ten days, from the first day of the last month, when I suppose Moses died, unto the day they got safe over Jordan, which was the tenth day of the first month ; whereas, if we reckon as the Jews do, that Moses died on the seventh day of the last month, it would have been the seventeenth day of the first month before they got over Jordan. I observe also, that, though the Talmudists generally make him to have died on the seventh day of Adar, yet there have been some who placed it on the first ; for the Medrasch Rabbah, telling the story of Haman's casting lots to find the best time to do execution on the Jews, saith he pitched upon the month Adar, because it had been unlucky to the Jews, by the death of their master Moses therein. But he did not consider, saith that Medrasch, that “as Moses died on the first day of this month, so he was born on the same first day.”

Ver. 9. *And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom ;]* To take the government upon him, and manage it prudently, as soon as Moses left them ; which was necessary to be mentioned, that it might not be thought they wanted a head to conduct them, as their neighbours possibly might imagine, when the news came of Moses's death : for, as the Samaritans tell the story, (in Hottinger's Smegma Orientale, p. 462), when they heard the lamentations which the whole congregation made for Moses, they began to rejoice, and gather their forces together to set upon the Israelites, as wanting a leader : but they soon found themselves mistaken, Joshua having taken the charge of them, and being endued with his spirit.

For Moses had laid his hands upon him :] Whereby he committed to him the supreme authority after his departure, and implored the Spirit of God to qualify him for it ; for power to execute any office among the Jews was given by laying on of hands, whereby they were ordained and appointed to it. And this was a rite of prayer also, as many have observed for the obtaining the gifts of the Spirit, which were necessary for the discharge of that office. And, though no words of prayer be mentioned, yet the very “laying on of hands” denotes it, as our learned Dr. Outram observes from this very place, and from 1 Tim. v. 22, lib. i. De Sacrific. cap. 15, n. 8. Of Moses's laying on hands upon Joshua, we read Numb. xxvii. 18, &c. And he was solemnly also, a little before Moses's death, presented unto God, by his own command, xxxi. 14, &c. of this book.

Israel hearkened unto him,] Obeyed him as their supreme governor, according to God's command, delivered to Moses, Numb. xxvii. 20 ; Deut. xxxi. 23 (see Josh. i. 16, 17, &c.).

Ver. 10. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses,]* This is a plain demonstration, that the promise God makes by Moses, that he would raise up “a Prophet like to him” (Deut. xviii. 15, 19, &c.), was not fulfilled either in Joshua or in Samuel (who it is likely wrote this chapter, as I said before), and the best of the Jews confess, shall not be fulfilled till Messiah come. Thus the author of Sephir Ikkarim, lib. iii. cap. 20, “It cannot be, but that a prophet shall at last arise like to Moses, or greater

the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land,

12 And in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses shewed in the sight of all Israel.

than he; for the king Messiah shall be as great or greater: therefore these words are not to be expounded, as if there should never be such a prophet, but that in all the time of the following prophets, till the cessation of prophecy, none should arise like to Moses. But after that, there shall be one like him, or rather greater than he."

Whom the Lord knew face to face.] Or, as De Dieu thinks it should be translated, "Who knew the Lord face to face." This was one pre-eminence of Moses above all the prophets, that he conversed more familiarly with God than any of them did. See Numb. xii. 8, which place explains this: for "to know him face to face," was to speak familiarly to God, and to hear God speaking in like manner unto him. And so the Jerusalem Targum expounds these words; only instead of *the Lord*, he saith, "Who knew the Word of the Lord talking with him," and delivering to him most excellent laws, for the good government of his people. In which laws he still lives, they all remaining upon record to this day, when the laws of all the famous lawgivers, whom the gentiles honoured as gods are obliterated: but it must be observed, that in this wherein Moses excelled all the prophets, our blessed Saviour far transcended him: for he was "in the bosom of the Father" (John i. 18), and spake "what he saw and heard," &c. (Josh. iii. 11, 32).

Ver. 11.] The Jerusalem Targum hath it, "Which the Word of the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land" (see iv. 34, vi. 22, vii. 19). In these signs and wonders Moses excelled all the prophets, doing more miracles than all that succeeded him, as Maimonides observes, More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 35. But our blessed Saviour excelled him in this, as well as them; doing more wonders than all the prophets put together had done from the beginning of the world, and far greater also than theirs (John xxi. ult.).

Ver. 12. *In all that mighty hand, and in all the great*

terror which Moses shewed] As the former verse relates to what he did in Egypt, so this hath respect unto their passing through the Red Sea, and to all that befell them in the wilderness, both at the giving of the law, and afterward till this time: so the Jerusalem Targum expounds these words, "In all that strong hand, and in all those great visions, which Moses managed." And Onkelos to the same purpose.

In the sight of all Israel.] In the place forenamed, Maimonides insists much upon this, that Moses wrought all his miracles publicly, the whole congregation being witnesses of them. And so our Saviour commonly wrought his (till they sought to kill him) in their synagogues, at their public feasts, when there was the greatest concourse of the people of Israel: so that in this he was a prophet "like unto Moses," though infinitely superior; which some of the old Jews could not but discern (as I observed upon ch. xviii.), when upon these words of Isa. lii. 13, "He shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high," they thus gloss in Tanchuma, which is an ancient book among them, "This is the king Messiah who shall be exalted above Abraham, extolled above Moses, and be very high above the angels of the ministry." Upon which Conradus Pellicanus thus glosses, and concludes his commentary, as I shall do mine, with these words: "What it is to be above the angels, let the Jews explain; we can understand nothing by it, but the very Word of God, which was in the beginning with God, and was God, by whom all things were made, and without him nothing was made, viz. the Lord God of hosts: to whom in perfect unity, God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be all honour, and glory for ever," Amen.

Thus ends the Pentateuch, which, as our great prime of Ireland computes, contains the history of two thousand five hundred and fifty-two years and a half, from the beginning of the world to the death of Moses.

THE BOOK OF J O S H U A.

This title doth not necessarily signify that this book was written by JOSHUA, as the five foregoing were by Moses, but only that it contains the acts done by Joshua. Yet there want not arguments to prove that Joshua was the author of this book: for though Grotius and many other modern writers, with some of the ancients, think they find reasons in the book itself against this opinion; yet the ancient Talmudists, and several of the later, ascribe it to him, being principally induced thereunto by those words in the last chapter of this book, ver. 26, which I cannot say are an evident proof of it (for those words may relate only to the covenant mentioned in that chapter); but thus they say expressly in Bava-bathra, cap. I, "Joshua wrote his own book, and the last eight verses of the law;" and then concerning the last five verses of this book, they write after this manner in the same place; "Eleazar wrote the twenty-ninth verse, &c. of the twenty-fourth

chapter, as Phineas did ver. 33." And there are men of excellent learning who have undertaken to answer all that can be objected unto this (particularly Daniel Huetius, in his *Demonstratio Evang. propos. 4*). Which objections I shall consider in their proper places, where they seem to arise in this book.

Which the Jews reckon among the first prophets (as they call them), though it contain only a history of what passed till the death of Joshua; which, in all likelihood, he would not neglect to write himself, as Moses did what passed in his time, that every tribe and every family might have an unquestionable title to their inheritance under his own hand, who had by God's order made a division of the land; and that all posterity might see the promises made unto them by Moses were so punctually fulfilled, that there failed not aught of any good thing which the Lord had spoken, but all came to pass, as he observes xxi. 45, and that in a short time: for this book contains the history of the Israelites, from the death of Moses to the death of Joshua; that is, as some compute, for the space of seventeen years, or rather, near twenty-seven (see upon xiv. 10).

CHAPTER I.

1 *The Lord appointeth Joshua to succeed Moses.* 3 *The borders of the promised land.* 5, 9 *God promiseth to assist Joshua.* 8 *He giveth him instructions.* 10 *He prepareth the people to pass over Jordan.* 12 *Joshua putteth the two tribes and half in mind of their promise to Moses.* 16 *They promise him fealty.*

1 Now after the death of Moses the servant of the LORD it came to pass, that the LORD spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying,

2 Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel.

3 Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses.

4 From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.

5 There shall not any man be able to stand

CHAP. I.

Ver. 1. *After the death of Moses*] Thus those books are wont to begin, whose argument relates to the book foregoing. As the book of Judges is in this manner connected with this of Joshua, and the book of Ruth with that of Judges; and the LXX. make such a preface to join the book of Lamentations with the prophecy of Jeremiah.

After the death of Moses] I suppose immediately after the days of mourning for him were ended (Deut. xxxiv. 8).

The servant of the Lord] See Deut. xxxiv. 5.

It came to pass, that the Lord spake unto Joshua the son of Nun,] Out of the sanctuary, it is most likely, from whence he had spoken to him a little before Moses's death, and made him a promise of what he orders him now to accomplish (Deut. xxxi. 14, 23), and where Eleazar was appointed long before to ask counsel for him, when there was great occasion (Numb. xxvii. 21).

Moses' minister,] Who had attended upon Moses from the beginning, in his highest employment (Exod. xxiv. 13; Deut. i. 38).

Ver. 2. *Moses my servant is dead;*] He hath finished his work, and can do me no farther service.

Now therefore arise,] Put an end therefore unto your mourning for him, and go about the business which he hath left thee to perform.

Go over this Jordan,] Within sight of which they lay encamped.

Unto the land which I do give to them,] As he promised when he changed his name from Oshea into Joshua (Numb. xiii. 16; Deut. i. 38, iii. 28).

Ver. 3. *Every place*] Within the limits mentioned in the next verse.

As I said unto Moses,] He would not have them doubt of what Moses said from him (Deut. xi. 24), though he were dead.

Ver. 4. *From the wilderness*] This was the bounds of the country on the south.

This Lebanon] Which was the bounds on the north. And Joshua seems now to have been in sight of it; to which the Divine Majesty directed his observation, as the most eminent mountain in those parts of the world.

Even unto the great river—Euphrates,] Which was the eastern bounds, and called by other authors the great river, as I have observed on Deut. i. 7.

All the land of the Hittites,] Who were a very powerful people in the country, dwelling, together with the Amorites, in the mountainous parts of it (Numb. xiii. 29), some of which were of the race of the giants, and are therefore particularly mentioned, to show that the most terrible people should not be able to stand before Joshua; but he should either destroy them, or expel them, and make them flee their country as these Hittites did; of whom we read, and of their kings, 2 Kings vii. 6.

Unto the great sea] The Mediterranean, which was the western border, as it here follows.

Toward the going down of the sun,] See upon Deut. xi. 24, and in other places.

Ver. 5. *Be able to stand before thee*] Deut. vii. 24. *As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee:*] To subdue all the people of Canaan before him: as he did the Egyptians, the two kings of the Amorites, and the Midianites before Moses; to counsel also, and advise him in all difficulties, as he had done Moses.

I will not fail thee,] See upon Deut. xxxi. 6, 8. On which promise they relied in future times (1 Kings viii. 57).

before thee all the days of thy life : as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee : I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

6 Be strong and of a good courage : for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land, which I sware unto their fathers to give them.

7 Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee : turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest.

8 This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth ; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein : for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.

Ver. 6. *Be strong*] This charge he had given him before the death of Moses (Deut. xxxi. 23), and David gave the same to Solomon (1 Chron. xxviii. 20).

Unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land] He had promised him, in the place before named, that he "should bring them into the land," &c., and here now adds, that he should settle them in the possession of it, by assigning every one their portion in it ; which he did by such a Divine direction as silenced all disputes about it.

Ver. 7. *Only be thou strong and very courageous,*] It requires the greatest courage and resolution, especially in a governor, to be truly pious and religious, by observing the laws himself, and seeing them observed by others.

Turn not from it to the right hand or to the left,] By adding to it, or taking away from it (Deut. xii. ult.) or, more simply, no way deviate from it ; for it is a metaphor from men in a journey, who go straight forward in the plain highway, and turn not aside into by-paths, which lead they know not whither.

That thou mayest prosper] Or do wisely, as it is in the margin ; for it is the greatest policy to be truly religious.

Ver. 8. *This book of the law*] The original of which was preserved in the sanctuary ; from whence God now spake to him (Deut. xxxi. 26).

Shall not depart out of thy mouth ;] He was to read in it continually, that he might instruct others and be thereby an example to all future governors and kings according to the law (Deut. xvii. 18, 19). By which it is evident, that Joshua had a copy of the law ; which was then written and extant in his time.

But thou shalt meditate therein] His other weighty employments were not to hinder him from pondering as well as reading, the law of God ; because it was to be his rule in all his private transactions and public administrations.

That thou mayest observe to do] Which was not possible without the serious and attentive consideration before mentioned.

Thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and—have good success.] Or do wisely. Prudence and prosperity go together : but no prudence is comparable to the strict observance of the laws of God, upon which the felicity of kingdoms and states depends.

Ver. 9.] He confirms him in the resolution he had put into him (ver. 6), by two arguments, the Divine vocation, and the Divine presence with him (see Deut.

9 Have not I commanded thee ? Be strong and of a good courage ; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed : for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.

10 ¶ Then Joshua commanded the officers of the people, saying,

11 Pass through the host, and command the people, saying, Prepare you victuals ; for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan, to go in to possess the land, which the Lord your God giveth you to possess it.

12 ¶ And to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to half the tribe of Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying,

13 Remember the word which Moses the servant of the Lord commanded you, saying, The Lord your God hath given you rest, and hath given you this land.

14 Your wives, your little ones, and your

i. 29, 30, xxxi. 6—8). The latter of which the Targum thus expresseth, "For the Word of the Lord thy God shall be for thy help, in every place where thou goest" (see ver. 14).

Ver. 10. *Joshua commanded the officers*] I have often observed, that as *shophetim* were judges, who heard causes in their courts, and pronounced sentence ; so *shoterim* were inferior officers belonging to the court, who summoned people to attend, and executed the sentence ; for after Moses had mentioned (Deut. i. 15) the chief of their tribes, captains over thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, and tens, he at last mentions these officers among their tribes ; who were employed, it appears by this place, in the camp, as well as in the courts of justice.

Ver. 11. *Command the people, saying, Prepare you victuals ;*] They were to make proclamation not only in all the four camps of Israel, but in the several tribes who were under those standards, to provide themselves with such victuals as the country of Sihon and Og, which they had lately conquered, afforded. For being, after three days (iii. 1), to remove very early in the morning, perhaps they might not have had time to gather manna sufficient, and to prepare it before they began their march.

For within three days.] See iii. 1, 2.

Ye shall pass over this Jordan,] Which was not so far from Shittim, where they now lay, but they could see it.

Which the Lord your God giveth you to possess it.] He constantly remembers them of this donation from God ; both to strengthen their faith, and to excite their thankfulness. "For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their arm save them ; but his right hand, &c., because he had a favour to them," as the Psalmist speaks, xlv. 3.

Ver. 12.] Here he begins to do according to the command of Moses, as God before directed him, ver. 7, 8. For Moses had given this charge to the Reubenites, &c., when he gave them their possession on this side Jordan, Numb. xxxii. 20, 21, &c., and put them in mind of it again, Deut. iii. 18, &c.

Ver. 13. *Remember the word which Moses—commanded you,*] It is very observable, how gently and not imperiously Joshua exercises his authority, at his first entrance upon his office. For he only puts them in mind of what Moses required from them, and leaves them to reflect upon the promise they made to him.

The Lord your God hath given you—this land.] That is, actually bestowed upon them a country to settle in.

cattle, shall remain in the land which Moses gave you on this side Jordan; but ye shall pass before your brethren armed, all the mighty men of valour, and help them;

15 Until the Lord have given your brethren rest, as *he hath given you*, and they also have possessed the land which the Lord your God giveth them: then ye shall return unto the land of your possession. and enjoy it, which Moses the Lord's servant gave you on this side Jordan, toward the sunrising.

16 ¶ And they answered Joshua, saying,

For here their wives, and children, and cattle remained (with a sufficient number of persons to look after them), when they marched into Canaan, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 14. *Ye shall pass before your brethren armed.*] March in the front of them, to show their forwardness to bring them into the same happy condition with themselves.

All the mighty men of valour, and help them.] Such as Joshua picked out; for it is evident they did not all go over, but only forty thousand of them (iv. 13). The rest, though fit for war, were left to defend their wives, children, and flocks, while those mighty men of valour went to help their brethren.

Ver. 15. *Until the Lord have given your brethren rest.*] A settled possession of the land of Canaan, as they had of the land of the two kings of the Amorites.

They also have possessed the land] He would have them look upon the conquest of the land as certain, because God had made a grant of it to their brethren.

Which Moses—gave you on this side Jordan] According to the agreement which Moses had made with them (Numb. xxxiii. 20—22).

Ver. 16.] It is likely, this was the answer not only of the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites, but of all the rest of the tribes; before whom Joshua puts these two tribes and a half in mind of their duty: which they all engage to perform exactly; these words containing a full recognition of Joshua's authority, and their absolute submission to it.

Ver. 17. *According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee:*] Here they acknowledge his authority to be equal to that of Moses,

All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go.

17 According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses.

18 Whosoever *he be* that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage.

who was undoubtedly set over them by God, as they now own Joshua to be.

Only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses.] These words are not a restriction of their obedience, which did not depend upon his successes, but a solemn prayer to God, of whom they desired no other governor than Joshua, that he would make him as victorious as Moses was over all their enemies. Therefore, some translate the words, not *only*, but "*may the Lord thy God,*" &c., or, "Since the Lord thy God hath promised to be with thee." The Targum paraphrases these words as he did ver. 9, "Only let the Word of the Lord thy God be thy helper, as he was to Moses."

Ver. 18. *Whosoever he be that doth rebel—shall be put to death.*] This seems to be the voice of all the people, and of their elders, or a decree made by the elders, as the Jews understand it: who, looking upon Joshua to be a king, as Moses was, extend this to all the kings of Israel in following times. So Guil. Schickard observes out of Maimonides in his *Mischpat Hammelech*, cap. 4, theor. 14. p. 101. But it should rather be said, that Joshua was a king and a prophet as Moses was; and the law, as Rasi observes, ordered him to be put to death that transgressed the orders of Moses, and of a prophet.

Only be strong] He had the greater reason to be courageous, since they resolved as one man, to stand by him, and never to disobey him. And therefore the word *rak*, which we translate *only*, should rather be translated *therefore*, as it plainly signifies, xiii. 6, where, speaking of the land that remained to be possessed, God promises to drive out the inhabitants, and *therefore* bids Joshua to divide it to the Israelites for an inheritance.

CHAPTER II.

1 *Rahab receiveth and concealeth the two spies sent from Shittim.* 8 *The covenant between her and them.*
23 *Their return and relation.*

1 AND Joshua the son of Nun sent out of Shittim two men to spy secretly, saying, Go view the land, even Jericho. And they went,

and came into an harlot's house, named Rahab, and lodged there.

2 And it was told the king of Jericho, saying,

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *Joshua—sent*] Or *had sent*, before the directions given to the officers, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 10, 11, which best agrees with the twenty-second verse of this chapter, and the rest of the story.

Out of Shittim] Which was in the plains of Moab, where Israel now lay (Deut. xxiv. 1), called Abel-Shittim, Numb. xxxiii. 49.

Two men] Which were sufficient for the business they went about.

To spy secretly] So that none were privy to it among the Israelites but Joshua; who, it is probable, did not send them without an order from God, who intended to dispose things so, that they should bring back to him a great encouragement to his faith.

Saying, Go view the land] Not the whole country of Canaan, but only that part of it which lay about Jericho, as it here follows: whose fortifications they were to observe, and the approaches to it, with the strength that was in it.

They went] Over the fords of Jordan, I suppose, mentioned ver. 7.

Behold, there came men in hither to night of the children of Israel to search out the country.

3 And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, saying, Bring forth the men that are come to thee, which are entered into thine house: for they be come to search out all the country.

4 And the woman took the two men, and hid them, and said thus, There came men unto me, but I wist not whence they were:

5 And it came to pass about the time of shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went I wot not: pursue after them quickly; for ye shall overtake them.

Came into an harlot's house, named Rahab.] Who kept a public house, or an inn, to entertain strangers: by going into which, they thought they would be less suspected of any design. The word *zonah*, which is commonly translated a *harlot*, the Chaldee paraphrase renders *pundakitha*; which is plainly the Greek word *παδοξία*, signifying she kept a house of public reception. And so St. Chrysostom calls this woman, in his second sermon of repentance, *παδοξεύτρια*: for there is no doubt she kept a public house. But such persons, in those days, made their bodies as public as their houses; and, therefore, she is constantly called Rahab the harlot by the ancients; and even by two apostles, who call her πόρνη (Heb. xi. 21; James ii. 25). For so she had been, though now it is probable, converted by the faith which was wrought in her. Which was so eminent, that she was not only admitted into the society of God's people, but married into a noble family of the tribe of Judah, from whom Christ sprung (Matt. i. 5), and is propounded as an example of lively faith unto all Christians (Heb. xi. 31; James ii. 25).

Lodged there.] Took up their lodging in her house, by a divine direction, as appeared afterward.

Ver. 2. *It was told the king of Jericho,]* Who was not negligent, we may well think, to set a watch to observe who came in and went out of the city.

Behold, there came men in hither to night] In the evening, which was the most proper time to come into the city undiscovered, because then the people, whose business lay out of the city, were generally going home to their own houses.

Of the children of Israel] As they judged by their habit, or language, or aspect.

To search] For they could not think they came for any other end.

Ver. 3.] He sent some officers with a warrant to apprehend them, and to require her to deliver them up into their hands, as enemies of their country.

Ver. 4. *The woman took the two men, and hid them,]* Or rather *had hidden* them before the officers came; having heard, it is likely, a rumour that they were discovered, and search would be made for them.

There came men unto me, but I wist not whence they were:] She could not deny that she received such strange guests, but would not own that she knew from what country they came: nor was it her business to make such inquiry, her house being open unto all.

Ver. 5. *About the time of shutting of the gate,]* The gate of the city next to her house, which was wont to be shut (as they are now in all well-governed cities) at a certain hour.

When it was dark,] And consequently few or none stirring in the street.

Whither the men went I wot not:] She would have them think they went both out of the house and out

6 But she had brought them up to the roof of the house, and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in order upon the roof.

7 And the men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the gate.

8 ¶ And before they were laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof;

9 And she said unto the men, I know that the Lord hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land faint because of you.

10 For we have heard how the Lord dried

of the city; though she knew not which way they went, it being dark.

Pursue after them quickly; for ye shall overtake them.] Yet it was so little a while since they went out, that she would have them believe they could not, if they made haste, but overtake them before they got over Jordan. For if they were Israelites, it might be certainly concluded they went that way. Nobody can say that Rahab did not tell an untruth; but this may be said in her excuse: that it is no wonder if she thought it lawful, if not necessary, so to do, for the saving of the life of innocent men. Since several great philosophers have been of that opinion, and some of the ancient fathers of the church; particularly St. Austin confesses it to be a very difficult question, cap. xv. ad Consensum: and Arius Montanus upon this very place, makes it one's duty to elude those who we think intend to do mischief to others: which he pretends to justify by many examples, in a discourse concerning Men's true and certain Duties. But that is too bold an undertaking; since the fathers before St. Austin, and all the Jews condemn this practice.

Ver. 6. *She had brought them up to the roof of the house,]* Which was made flat, so that men might lie or walk upon it in those countries (see Deut. xxii. 8).

Had them with the stalks of flax,] Covered them all over with the stalks of flax, which I suppose were newly cut, and laid upon the roof of the house to be dried by the sun, till they were fit to be peeled. Or, as some think, these were stalks of flax cut the year before; and made use of now to show that nobody was gone upon the roof, where she laid them.

Ver. 7. *The men pursued after them the way to Jordan unto the fords:]* Where Jordan was so shallow that men might wade, or so narrow that they might soon swim over it. There the pursuers lay three days, waiting to catch them in their return.

As soon as they—were gone out, they shut the gate.] Which, being opened to let the pursuers out, was immediately shut again; that if the spies lurked in the city, they might not escape in the dark; and that no other person might enter, who they might possibly think lay watching an opportunity to get in.

Ver. 8. *Before they were laid down,]* To compose themselves to sleep; which after their journey they might be glad to take anywhere.

She came up unto them] To bring them down, it is likely, to a more commodious lodging.

Ver. 9. *I know that the Lord hath given you the land,]* Wonder not that I have taken such care of your preservation; for I believe in the Lord as you do, and know that he hath bestowed this country upon you for your possession.

And that your terror is fallen upon us,] She was

up the water of the Red sea for you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that *were* on the other side Jordan, Sihon and Og, whom ye utterly destroyed.

11 And as soon as we had heard *these things*, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more courage in any man, because of you: for the LORD your God, he *is* God in heaven above, and in earth beneath.

12 Now therefore, I pray you, swear unto me by the LORD, since I have shewed you kindness, that ye will also shew kindness unto my father's house, and give me a true token:

13 And *that* ye will save alive my father,

the more confident of their success; because she observed the people of the land were struck with such a dread of them, as not to be able to defend their country against them (see Deut. xi. 25).

Ver. 10. *For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red sea for you,*] And there overthrew Pharaoh and his host, after he had smitten him and his country with divers miraculous plagues. The report of which was come to them, as well as their passing through the sea: which, though it was forty years ago, was remembered with astonishment.

What ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites,] This was a thing of fresh memory, and could not but strike them with consternation; these two kings being very potent; and their near neighbours and allies. For they were part of the Amorites, who dwelt in the mountainous parts of this country; as was before observed.

Ver. 11. *As soon as we had heard these things,*] As Moses prophesied they would (Exod. xv. 14, 15).

Our hearts did melt,] The same phrase in Deut. i. 28, where we translate it *discouraged*: and so it is here explained in the next words.

Neither did there remain any more courage in any man,] The most valiant among them were utterly disheartened.

For the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and in earth beneath,] This is a plain confession of the true God, the creator of heaven and earth; wherein he rules and governs all things according to his pleasure. This is her faith celebrated by the apostle to the Hebrews, which moved her to entertain the spies, and to preserve them with the danger of her own life, if she had been discovered.

Ver. 12. *Swear unto me by the Lord,*] The Targum hath it, "by the Word of the Lord." An oath was the greatest security that could be desired for the performance of what they promised. For all nations expected grievous punishments would fall upon perjured persons; which they that feared the Lord, the true God, above all men dreaded (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cap. 11, n. 4).

Since I have shewed you kindness,] As they could not but acknowledge.

Shew kindness unto my father's house, and give me a true token:] She asked two things of them; first, that she and her whole family might be preserved, as she had preserved them; and then, that they would give her such a token, as should not fail her; but upon the sight of it, the Israelites should abstain from doing them any hurt.

Ver. 13. *That ye will save alive my father, and my mother, &c.*] This is a particular explication of what she meant by "her father's house," in the foregoing verse; and shows that she had no husband, nor children.

and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have, and deliver our lives from death.

14 And the men answered her, Our life for your's, if ye utter not this our business. And it shall be, when the LORD hath given us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with thee.

15 Then she let them down by a cord through the window: for her house *was* upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall.

16 And she said unto them, Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers meet you; and hide yourselves there three days, until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye go your way.

17 And the men said unto her, *We will be*

All that they have, &c.] All her kindred, as we translate it, vi. 23. Or the children of her brethren and sisters: or, perhaps, all their cattle, that they could bring with them into her house.

Ver. 14. *Our life for your's,*] They swore to her (it appears from ver. 17) and wished they might perish, if they did not preserve her and her family. For they did not doubt but Joshua would ratify what they promised, though without his authority, for the public good and safety.

If ye utter not] Do not divulge or declare to any one.

This our business,] In the Hebrew, *this our word*, i. e. this agreement they had made with her. Lest others should shelter themselves under her roof, or use that token they intended to give her; and thereby secure themselves from destruction. In this they showed great prudence and management; taking care that their gratitude might not prove an obstruction to the public justice.

We will deal kindly and truly with thee,] Upon this condition they promise, when they had taken Jericho (for that is here meant by *the land*, ver. 1), they would keep their word faithfully with her, and be as kind to her as she had been to them.

Ver. 15. *She let them down—through the window:*] Which in those countries were large, as appears by the story of Jezebel, whom her eunuchs threw down out of a window, 2 Kings ix. 30, 33.

Her house was upon the town wall,] Both the time (which was in the night) and the place were very commodious to contrive their escape; because her house was adjoining to the wall of the city.

She dwelt upon the wall,] I take the meaning to be, that the apartment she reserved for herself was next to the wall, and built upon it; the rest of her house towards the street being kept for strangers. This gave her the fair opportunity, without any noise, to let them down.

Ver. 16. *Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers meet you:*] This was prudent advice, not to go towards Jordan presently, but first to one of the mountains, wherewith the plain of Jericho was surrounded, as Josephus tells us (lib. i. De Bello Judaico, cap. 12, 13, and lib. v. cap. 4): and the Scripture itself informs us as much, 2 Kings ii. 15, 16.

Hide yourselves there] In some of the caves, which were frequent in the mountains.

Three days,] For so long she thought the pursuers might stay about Jordan, waiting for their return.

Until the pursuers be returned:] Which she thought probably would be within that time; and perhaps she understood their orders were to stay no longer.

Ver. 17. *The men said unto her,*] As she was about to let them down; for it was not safe to have this

blemless of this thine oath which thou hast made us swear.

18 Behold, *when* we come into the land, thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt bring thy father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and all thy father's household, home unto thee.

19 And it shall be, *that* whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house into the street, his blood *shall be* upon his head, and we *will be* guiltless: and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood *shall be* on our head, if any hand be upon him.

20 And if thou utter this our business, then we will be quit of thine oath which thou hast made us to swear.

discourse together after they were down; which might have been overheard by the watch.

We will be blemless of this thine oath which thou hast made us swear.] The meaning is, that it should not be their fault if their oath was not kept; and therefore they now name the token, upon which the preservation of her family should depend; with some other conditions that were reasonable to be observed. Which they mention, to show how studious they were not to be guilty of violating their oath.

Ver. 18. *Bind this line of scarlet thread*] It is called a cord before, ver. 15, and no doubt consisted of so many threads twisted together, as made it a line strong enough to hold the weight of a man's body, and not break. But there are those who doubt whether the Hebrew word *sheni* signify any thing of the colour, but only a *twined* or *twisted* cord, funiculum conductum, or contortum; from *shanah* to double (see Gataker in his Miscellanea, cap. 40).

In the window which thou didst let us down by:] Or rather, "do not let us down by." For she was about to do it, but had not done it, when they had this discourse with her. Some refer this to the window at which she let them out; but it is most natural to refer it to the line. For by that they were let down; and it was to remain in the window, that the Israelites might see it, as the token that that was the house which was to be saved. Procopius Gazæus compares this scarlet line with the blood which Moses ordered to be struck upon the side posts of their doors, which was a token they should be preserved (Exod. xii. 7, 13).

Bring thy father, &c., home unto thee.] That is, all their children; and perhaps near relations, such as uncles, aunts, and cousins; as we seem to understand it, vi. 23. And one cannot but think, that great-grandfathers and grandmothers, if she had any alive, were comprehended in these words.

Ver. 19. *Whosoever shall go out of the doors—his blood shall be upon his head,*] They would be bound to preserve none but those who kept in the house. Which was but reasonable, for they did not know how to distinguish them from others, if they were in the street.

Whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood shall be on our head, if any hand be upon him.] They would as soon die themselves, as let any of those perish. An emblem of our safety and salvation, by continuing constantly in the church in faith and holiness. For her house was a very fit figure of the

21 And she said, According unto your words, so be it. And she sent them away, and they departed: and she bound the scarlet line in the window.

22 And they went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there three days, until the pursuers were returned: and the pursuers sought them throughout all the way, but found them not.

23 ¶ So the two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the son of Nun, and told him all things that befell them:

24 And they said unto Joshua, Truly the Lord hath delivered into our hands all the land; for even all the inhabitants of the country do faint because of us.

church, especially of the gentiles; who, like her, had gone a whoring after idols, but were converted to serve the living God.

Ver. 20.] They repeat the condition mentioned ver. 14, as of great importance (see there).

Ver. 21. *According unto your words, so be it.*] She agreed to all the conditions they imposed upon her.

She sent them away,] After this mutual agreement, confirmed with an oath.

She bound the scarlet line in the window.] Immediately, as some think; that the spies might know where to look for it hereafter, and that she might have always before her eyes such a comfortable pledge of her safety. It was more prudent also, as Arius Montanus observes, to do it now, than when the Israelites came to besiege the place; for that novelty might have made the people of Jericho suspect some correspondence.

Ver. 22. *They went, and came unto the mountain, and abode there three days.*] Being furnished, it is likely, with sufficient provision by Rahab. Many think they stayed there but one whole day, and part of other two, which, according to the style of the Scripture, may be called three days: but their only reason for it is to make these three days, and those mentioned in the first chapter, ver. 11, to be the same, which is not probable.

The pursuers sought them throughout all the way, &c.] Which led to the fords of Jordan. This expresses their diligence, though it wanted success; and, perhaps, there were more ways than one that led thither; in all which they placed themselves, or some other persons, to watch for them.

Ver. 23. *So the two men returned, and descended from the mountain,*] From whence, perhaps, they could see when the pursuers came back; or they had some intelligence of their return; or, as I said before, that they had commission only to search for them three days.

And passed over,] The river Jordan.

And came to Joshua—and told him all things that befell them:] Since they left him. This shows that Joshua sent them so privately, that it was unknown to the people (as I expounded, ver. 1), for they give him alone an account of what had happened unto them (see vi. 17).

Ver. 24.] This was part of what they had learned from Rahab (ver. 9, &c.), who had strengthened their faith by her own.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Joshua cometh to Jordan.* 2 *The officers instruct the people for the passage.* 7 *The Lord encourageth Joshua.*
 9 *Joshua encourageth the people.* 14 *The waters of Jordan are divided.*

1 AND Joshua rose early in the morning; and they removed from Shittim, and came to Jordan, he and all the children of Israel, and lodged there before they passed over.

2 And it came to pass after three days, that the officers went through the host;

3 And they commanded the people, saying, When ye see the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it.

CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *Joshua rose early in the morning;*] The next morning after he had commanded the officers to warn the host to prepare for their removal (ch. i. 10, 11).

They removed from Shittim.] Where they had lain now above two months; for they came hither on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt (see Deut. i. 3).

Came to Jordan.] Which river, as Josephus tells us, was sixty *stadia* from Shittim; but it is so uncertain what his *stadia* or *furlongs* were, that one can only guess how many of our miles threescore of them made. Most think about seven.

Lodged there.] The Hebrew word *jalinu* doth not necessarily signify that they lodged there only one night, for it often denotes a longer time of abode; and therefore the Vulgar Latin translates it *morati sunt*, "they stayed there;" viz., three days, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 2.] In the end of the three days before mentioned (ch. i. 10, 11), he sent the same officers there mentioned to make a new proclamation; for it seems to me most reasonable to take all this story in the order wherein it is related, only supposing the spies to have been sent before the first proclamation made by the officers (as I observed, ii. 1, the words may be translated). And thus our great primate of Ireland understands it. After Joshua was confirmed in his office (ch. i. ver. 1, 2, &c.), he sent out the spies, and then commanding the people to provide themselves victuals, he marched from Shittim to Jordan; and the third day (after that command to provide themselves victuals) he gave a new command to prepare themselves to pass over Jordan the next day.

Ver. 3. *They commanded the people.*] By order from Joshua, and in his name and authority.

Saying, When ye see the ark—and the priests the Levites bearing it.] "Hitherto (saith Kimchi upon this place) the Levites (that is, the children of Kohath) carried the ark; but now the priests are appointed to that office, for the greater sanctification or honour of it, and because of the miracle which was to be wrought before it. Our rabbins say that the priests carried it thus three times; now in this place, and when they compassed Jericho, and when Zadok and Abiathar brought it back to Jerusalem, when David fled from Absalom" (2 Sam. xv. 29). Unto which he adds a fourth, when it was brought into the temple which Solomon built; for the Levites were not permitted to go into the sanctuary, much less into the most holy place, into which it was carried by the priests (1 Kings viii. 6).

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4 Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near unto it, that ye may know the way by which ye must go: for ye have not passed *this* way heretofore.

5 And Joshua said unto the people, Sanctify yourselves: for to morrow the Lord will do wonders among you.

6 And Joshua spake unto the priests, saying, Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over before the people. And they took up

Then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it.] By this it appears the ark was carried in the front of them; whereas usually it was ordered to be carried in the middle of their camps, as we read Numb. ii. 17. But at their first removal from Mount Sinai, which was a time extraordinary, it marched before them for three days (Numb. x. 33), and so it did now (and at no other time), when they were to enter into Canaan, for a special reason also, as I shall observe on the next verse. Concerning the phrase "the priests the Levites," see Deut. xvii. 9.

Ver. 4. *Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits.*] This is a demonstration that it was not usual for the ark to go before the whole army; for if it had, there would have been no need to instruct them at what distance they should keep from it, which would have been constantly observed.

By measure.] It is likely they measured the distance by a line, at which the people were first set; and then walking in equal paces with the priests, kept at the same distance, though perhaps not precisely; for they might chance to move a pace or two faster, or take larger paces; and therefore he saith about two thousand cubits.

That ye may know the way by which ye must go.] There was the very same reason for the ark's going before them now, that there was when they came from Mount Sinai; for then it was "to search out a resting-place for them;" i. e. to show them where they should rest: and now it was to lead them in the way they were to march, unto their long-expected settlement in the promised land. If it had not been for this, it would have been carried in its usual place; but the pillar of the cloud, which hitherto conducted them, having now left them, as R. Solomon observes, this supplied its place, and went before them, as that had been wont to do.

Ye have not passed this way heretofore.] They were to be led in an untrodden path, which the power of God (of whose presence with them the ark was the symbol) made for them.

Ver. 5. *Joshua said unto the people.*] The night before they went over Jordan, as appears by the latter part of the verse; and perhaps he spake this himself, at the head of every one of their tribes, it being of great importance.

Sanctify yourselves.] Other places tell us what was their usual sanctification (see Exod. xix. 10, 11; Numb. xi. 18). But besides the legal purifications, one cannot but think that he intended they should dispose their minds by holy meditations and prayer to God to receive his benefits, and to be more sensible of them when they were bestowed on them.

the ark of the covenant, and went before the people.

7 ¶ And the Lord said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.

8 And thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When ye are come to the brink of the water of Jordan, ye shall stand still in Jordan.

9 ¶ And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, Come hither, and hear the words of the Lord your God.

To-morrow the Lord will do wonders] Which he would have them be in a condition to observe and to lay to heart; and in order thereunto, prepare themselves by serious thoughts of God and of his providence, as well as by washing their bodies, and abstaining from their wives, which were a part of the sanctification here intended.

Ver. 6. Joshua spake] The next morning.

Take up the ark] Upon their shoulders, for so it was to be carried (Numb. vii. 9).

Pass over before the people.] This precept had been unnecessary if they had been wont to carry it before the people.

They took up the ark] After Joshua had spoken what follows, ver. 7, 8, &c. But it is mentioned now to show the readiness of the priests, as well as of the people, to obey the commands of Joshua; whom they looked upon as a prophet, as Moses was, who had power to give extraordinary orders from God. Such were these for the priests to carry the ark, and to march with it before the people, not in the midst of their camps.

Ver. 7. The Lord said unto Joshua,] By an audible voice, I suppose, from the sanctuary, near unto which he now was; the priests being about to take out the ark from thence, to carry it before the people.

This day] The tenth day of the first month, on which the paschal lamb was by the law to be set apart, to be offered four days after (Exod. xii. 3).

Will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel,] By doing such wonders before them all, as should convince them Joshua was appointed by God to be their supreme governor, who should give them possession of the land of Canaan (see iv. 14).

As I was with Moses so I will be with thee.] See i. 5. From the time of Moses to the days of Saul, God declared by some extraordinary things whom he would have to be the supreme governor of his people, whose authority he established by doing wonders.

Ver. 8. Thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark] Every thing was done by his order, that it might appear he was powerful with God, who wrought those wonders at his word.

When ye are come to the brink—of Jordan,] Jordan then overflowed beyond its banks; therefore they were not to go to the brink of the river, but of the water.

Ye shall stand still] And there stop till the waters above were suspended, and those below run away; and then they went and stood in the midst of the river (ver. 17).

Ver. 9. Come hither,] To the sanctuary, I suppose, where he now was (ver. 7).

Hear the words of the Lord] Which Joshua reported to them from God, who was about to demonstrate himself to be the omnipotent Lord of all creatures, and in a peculiar manner their God, in covenant with them, and full of kindness to them.

10 And Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you, and that he will without fail drive out from before you the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Hivites, and the Perizzites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Jebusites.

11 Behold, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan.

12 Now therefore take you twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, out of every tribe a man.

13 And it shall come to pass, as soon as the soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark

Ver. 10. Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you,] These are the words of the Lord their God, who is called the *living* God, in opposition to the idols of the heathen; who could do nothing, much less such miracles as demonstrated the God of Israel to be the eternal Lord of heaven and earth, who giveth life to all things; and he is said to be *among* them (or *in the midst of them*) whom he takes into his protection, to defend and preserve them from all evil.

He will without fail drive out from before you] Most certainly make good his promise made to Abraham long ago (Gen. xv. 18, &c.), because he lives for ever to perform his word.

The Canaanites, &c.] Here all the seven nations are mentioned (as they are Deut. vii. 1), though sometimes only six of them are mentioned, the Girgashites being omitted (see Exod. xiii. 17).

Ver. 11. The ark of the covenant] So called, because in it were the two tables of the covenant between God and them. It is frequently called “the ark of the testimony” (Exod. xl. 20, 21; Numb. iv. 5, and here in this book, iv. 16).

Of the Lord of all the earth passeth over before you] To take possession of the land of Canaan, which he gave them as Lord of the whole earth, and as particularly engaged by his covenant to bestow upon them. The author of the book Cosiri understands this as if the ark of the covenant was called “the Lord of the whole earth;” because God was so present with it, that where the ark was there were wonders wrought, which ceased in its absence (par. iv. sect. 3). D. Kimchi and Jos. Albo say the same; and I find Andreas Masius following this fancy; because there is an accent after “the ark of the covenant,” distinguishing those words from what follows, which (say they) are therefore added by apposition. But Bonfrerius hath confuted this very judiciously, observing, that the accent is not of that nature; and therefore the LXX., the Chaldee, the Vulgar Latin, Symmachus, Aquila, the Syriac, and Arabic, translate it as we do, “the ark of the covenant of the Lord of the whole earth” (see Buxtorf, De Arca, cap. 1). And yet, I know not how it came to pass, some have been so bold as to alter our translation in some printed copies which I have met withal, where these words are thus translated, “the ark of the covenant, even the Lord of the whole earth.”

Into Jordan.] By which miracle they were confirmed in their belief of his promise, when they saw the waters of Jordan flee before him.

Ver. 12. Take you twelve men] To do what he should command them (iv. 2, &c.).

Out of every tribe a man.] The tribe of Levi was one of the twelve, upon all accounts but only in the dividing of the land: Ephraim and Manasseh being but one, viz., the tribe of Joseph.

Ver. 13. The ark of the Lord,] Here the ark of the covenant is called the *ark of Jehovah* (not *Jehovah*),

of the LORD, the LORD of all the earth, shall rest in the waters of Jordan, *that* the waters of Jordan shall be cut off *from* the waters that come down from above; and they shall stand upon an heap.

14 ¶ And it came to pass, when the people removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, and the priests bearing the ark of the covenant before the people;

15 And as they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest,)

who is the Lord, or governor and ruler of the whole earth: in which is comprehended the sea, and the rivers, and all waters, which he commandeth as he pleaseth.

Shall rest in the waters] Dip their feet in the brim of the waters, as it is explained ver. 15.

That the waters of Jordan shall be cut off from the waters that come down from above:] The waters which now ran in one stream were divided over against the place where the priests trod; so that the lower part of them ran down the channel towards the Dead Sea; and those above not coming down to supply their place, the ground was left dry.

They shall stand upon an heap.] viz. The waters above, towards the head or springs of the river, were made to stand still, as if they were congealed; rising in a heap, piled one upon another, but not running down at all.

Ver. 14.] The priests moved first, and then the people followed them, at such a distance as Joshua prescribed (ver. 3, 4).

Ver. 15. *As they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan,*] Which had overflowed, as it here follows, beyond the bounds of the channel.

For Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest.] This is meant of barley-harvest, which began about the passover, as many have observed, and particularly Hermannus Conringius, in his book *De Initio anni Sabbatici* (see upon Deut. xvi. 9). And it appears by the next chapter (iv. 19), that it was in the first month, or the month Abib, when the passover was to be kept; and therefore must signify that harvest) see also 1 Chron. xii. 15). This was likewise a time when the river was more likely to overflow than in wheat-harvest; because now the snow began to melt that was in the neighbouring mountains, especially in Lebanon; at the foot of which was the fountain of Jordan. By which the river was always swollen at this time, and thereby the miracle increased. Such overflows of other rivers, greater than this, are observed by authors at certain seasons, with which I shall not trouble the reader.

Ver. 16. *The waters which came down from above stood*] Stopped, and ran no farther; but were driven back unto those that were coming down.

Rose up upon an heap] Instead of flowing down the channel, were lifted up in the air; and appeared like a mountain, as the Vulgar Latin translates it.

Very far from the city Adam,] At a great distance from a city then called Adam, which lay upon the river.

16 That the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap very far from the city Adam, that *is* beside Zaretan: and those that came down toward the sea of the plain, *even* the salt sea, failed, *and* were cut off: and the people passed over right against Jericho.

17 And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan, and all the Israelites passed over on dry ground, until all the people were passed clean over Jordan.

city, and therefore its situation is described by a place of greater note called Zaretan, which lay on one side of it, in the plain of Jordan, as we read 1 Kings vii. 46.

Those that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the salt sea, failed,] Those waters of the river, which were below, towards the salt sea, into which Jordan emptied itself, ran all thither, and so left the channel perfectly dry, that the people might pass over, which they did, directly over against Jericho.

The people passed over right against Jericho.] Having that famous city in their view; from whence, perhaps, the people on the walls might, with amazement, see the Israelites walk through the river on dry ground. It was a great refreshment also to the Israelites after their march, to pitch their tents in so goodly a plain as this before Jericho.

Ver. 17. *The priests—stood firm on dry ground*] In one and the same place and posture with their faces towards Jericho.

All the Israelites passed over] Keeping, I suppose, the same distance, of two thousand cubits from the ark; for there was room enough on either side to march by it, and not come near it.

Until all the people were passed clean over] Which they could not do in a short time, unless we suppose them to have marched all in abreast, which is not likely. For there was a certain place called, ever after, by the name of Bethabara, to preserve the memory of their passing over there; which is mentioned John i. 28. It made, therefore, the faith and constancy of the priests very remarkable, who remained so long in the middle of the river, till the whole multitude were got over, without fear of that great mountain of waters from above coming tumbling down upon them.

They who look upon this part of the Divine history as improbable, if not incredible, should consider, what a shame it is to have less faith than the heathens: who lest their gods should be thought less powerful than the God of Israel, forged those stories which the Persians tell of Zoroaster's passing over rivers; and the Greeks of Inachus dried up by Neptune: and other suchlike; which Huetius hath collected in his *Questiones Alnetanæ*, lib. ii. cap. 12, n. 15. Why then do they call in question the power of the true God; who, either by himself, or his angels, could easily stop the course of a river which he himself made; and both make the waters rise up in a heap, as high as he pleased; and also stand so reared up in a firm hardness, as if they had been congealed?

That is beside Zaretan.] The former was a small

CHAPTER IV.

1 Twelve men are appointed to take twelve stones for a memorial out of Jordan. 9 Twelve other stones are set up in the midst of Jordan. 10, 19 The people pass over. 14 God magnifieth Joshua. 20 The twelve stones are pitched in Gilgal.

1 AND it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over Jordan, that the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying,

2 Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man,

3 And command ye them, saying, Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night.

4 Then Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man :

5 And Joshua said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the LORD your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel :

6 That this may be a sign among you, that

when your children ask *their fathers* in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones ?

7 Then ye shall answer them, That the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the LORD; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever.

8 And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded, and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the LORD spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, and carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged, and laid them down there.

9 And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood : and they are there unto this day.

10 ¶ For the priests which bare the ark stood

CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *The Lord spake unto Joshua,*] It is likely he went to return thanks unto God for so wonderful a mercy : and then God spake to him what follows.

Ver. 2.] He bids him now call together the twelve men formerly chosen, iii. 12.

Ver. 3. *Command ye them,*] I suppose Joshua had some of the elders, or heads of the tribes, that joined with him in this office.

Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan,] Which continued perfectly dry for some space after they were all gone over; that is, till the priests removed from thence.

Out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones,] Some understand this so precisely, as if they were to take them from under the very soles of the priests' feet, which is not probable; but only near to the place where they stood. For the priests did not stir a step from the place where they first stood, and therefore none can tell how they should take these stones from under their feet, and place others in their room (ver. 9), while they remained standing fixed in the same place.

Ye shall carry them over with you,] In the sight of all the people, to make the miracle more known among them all.

Leave them—where ye shall lodge this night,] As a monument of this miraculous work of God; which remained ever after in Gilgal; the place where they lodged that night, ver. 19, 20.

Ver. 4.] Before they passed over Jordan (iii. 12).

Ver. 5. *Pass over before the ark of the Lord your God into the midst of Jordan,*] This is a Divine order to go back again into the river, to the very place where the priests stood with the ark; by which these twelve men were dispensed withal, to come nearer to the ark than the rest of the congregation.

Take you up every man—a stone upon his shoulder,] Great stones, as big as they could well lift and carry. So the Hebrew word imports, ver. 3.

According unto the number of the tribes] That they

might publish in every tribe this evident testimony of the power of God; which laid the bottom of the river dry for so long a time, that they not only all went over on dry ground, but some of them returned again and took up these stones, and laid others in their room (ver. 9).

Ver. 6. *That this may be a sign among you,*] A token of what God had now done for them.

That when your children ask—What mean ye by these stones?] It was natural for men, in future ages, seeing great stones (in a place, perhaps, where there were no more), and just twelve of them, laid together or one upon another, to ask how they came there, and for what end they were brought thither, and by whom.

Ver. 7. *Then ye shall answer them, &c.*] This was to give them occasion to report, at large, what God had done for them at their entrance into Canaan; that their posterity might be affected with it, no less than themselves.

These stones shall be for a memorial] To keep in memory this miracle in all ages to come, as long as this nation lasted. All people have been wont to erect monuments of stone to preserve the memory of covenants or victories, or other great things. And though there was no inscription upon these stones, yet the number of them, and the place where they lay, which was not stony, was sufficient to signify some memorable thing; which, upon inquiry, would be made known to those that saw and observed them.

Ver. 8. *The children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded,*] That is, the twelve men did according to his order, both in taking up the stones and carrying them to the place where they lodged.

Laid them down there,] Which, perhaps, were erected into a kind of pillar, that they might look like a monument of something done thereabout. Or, they were so placed, as to be so many little monuments of God's mercy (see ver. 20).

Ver. 9. *Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan,*] This renders it probable, that the other twelve stones taken out of Jordan were set up in Gilgal, as these, taken out of some of the fields there-

in the midst of Jordan, until every thing was finished that the Lord commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua: and the people hastened and passed over.

11 And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of the Lord passed over, and the priests, in the presence of the people.

12 And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of Israel, as Moses spake unto them:

13 About forty thousand prepared for war passed over before the Lord unto battle, to the plains of Jericho.

abouts, were erected in the midst of the river, to testify to all posterity their miraculous passage over it at this place.

They are there unto this day.] From hence, not only such men as Mr. Hobbes, but Masius, and Grotius, and divers others, have argued, that this book was not written by Joshua, but by some person who lived at a great distance from his time, as these words, they fancy, import. But this is a mere fancy; for if Joshua wrote this book in his old age, or, at least, then added his last hand to it (as it is probable he did), he might as well use these words as one that lived a hundred years after. And, at this rate of arguing (as Huetius observes), Moses must not be the author of the book of Deuteronomy (where he speaks in the same style, x. 5, xi. 4), nor St. Matthew the author of the gospel, which he wrote not many years after our Saviour's death; who uses the very same words, xxvii. 8, xxviii. 21 (see Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 24).

Ver. 10. *For the priests which bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan.*] It is remarkable in this whole relation, that when the priests are mentioned, these words are still added, "that bare the ark," or, "the ark of the covenant" (both in this chapter, ver. 9, 16, 18, and in the foregoing, ver. 13—15, 17), to show that this miracle was not to be ascribed to them, but to the power of the Lord unto whom they ministered.

Until every thing was finished that the Lord commanded.] Concerning the taking up of the twelve stones, and placing others in their room; and all that preceded concerning their passing over the river; which, it is likely, he exhorted them to do cheerfully.

According to all that Moses commanded Joshua.] We do not read that Moses gave any particular directions about the foregoing matters; therefore the meaning is, that Joshua strenuously executed all that God ordered, as Moses had admonished him, Deut. iii. 28, and other places.

The people hastened, and passed over.] This doth not refer to all the people, as if they went a swift pace over the river, out of fear of the waters overwhelming them (as some think), but to such as remained still behind the ark, to attend its motion. Who now seeing all that Joshua commanded was finished, made haste to get over the river, as their brethren had done before them. It is said, indeed (ver. 1), that when all the people were clean passed over, Joshua gave order about the twelve stones: but the meaning is, when the main body of the people were gone over: for it appears by the next verse, that they had not all entirely passed over until now.

Ver. 11. *When all the people were clean passed over,*] So that none were remaining in the plains of Moab, from whence they came.

14 ¶ On that day the Lord magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.

15 And the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying,

16 Command the priests that bear the ark of the testimony, that they come up out of Jordan.

17 Joshua therefore commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up out of Jordan.

18 And it came to pass, when the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord were come up out of the midst of Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up unto the dry land, that the waters of Jordan returned unto their place, and flowed over all his banks, as they did before.

19 ¶ And the people came up out of Jordan

That the ark of the Lord passed over, and the priests,] They who went first into the river came last out: it being by the power of the Lord, whose ark the priests bare, that the course of the river was stopped, and a way made for all the people to pass over.

In the presence of the people.] Who beheld the water standing still on a heap, while the ark was in the river; but come tumbling down when it was gone. Which demonstrated that it was God's presence with them, to which alone they owed this miraculous mercy.

Ver. 12.] They were the first that passed over (according to their engagement, Numb. xxxiii. 20, 21, 27, of which Joshua had put them in mind, i. 13), ready to encounter any enemy that might have opposed their landing.

Ver. 13. *About forty thousand prepared for war.*] Or, *ready armed* (as it is in the margin), and prepared to fight, in case they met with any opposition. It is observable, that in the last muster, made not long ago, of those that were fit for war, in their several tribes, there were above *forty thousand* in the tribe of Reuben alone; and above fifty thousand in that of Manasseh (Numb. xxvi. 7, 34). And therefore it is likely, Joshua picked out only this number of chosen men; and left all the rest to look after their families and flocks.

Passed over before the Lord unto battle,] Being passed over the river, they stood in battle array before the ark; at the distance, I suppose, of two thousand cubits.

To the plains of Jericho.] Where it might be supposed the people of Jericho would have encamped, to hinder their passage.

Ver. 14. *The Lord magnified Joshua.*] As he promised, iii. 7.

They feared him,] This wonder gained him the like respect and reverence, that the dividing the Red Sea did to Moses (Exod. xiv. 31).

Ver. 15.] All this business was managed purely by the Divine direction.

Ver. 16.] The midst of which river, where they stood, being the lowest and deepest part of it, they are properly said to *come up* when they left that station.

Ver. 17.] Where they waited for the Divine order, and did not stir till they received it.

Ver. 18. *The dry land,*] Where the waters of Jordan, when it overflowed farthermost, were never wont to come.

That the waters of Jordan returned.] The channel was filled again by the descent of the waters. Which for some time had stood heaped up, and could not stir; but now were let loose to keep their ancient course.

Flowed over all his banks,] Which was done, it is

on the tenth *day* of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, in the east border of Jericho.

20 And those twelve stones, which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua pitch in Gilgal.

21 And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What *mean* these stones?

22 Then ye shall let your children know,

likely, by a gradual descent of the water, and not by the tumbling down of that great heap all at once.

Ver. 19. *The people came up out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month.*] In which month they came out of Egypt, upon the fifteenth day of it; so that there wanted just five days of forty years since their coming from thence.

Encamped in Gilgal.] A place very famous in after-times, because of their first encampment here; where they seem to have continued for several years, during the wars of Canaan. Here also they were circumcised (from whence the place had its name, ver. 9), and kept the first passover; the tabernacle and the ark remaining here, as long as the Israelites kept their station in this place. See ix. 6, x. 6, 43, xiv. 6, which was, I suppose, till the war was ended; and they had also begun to divide the land (see xiv. 6). After which the tabernacle was fixed in Shiloh (xviii. 1, xxii. 9, 12); though still Gilgal continued a famous place, as appears from Judg. ii. 1; 1 Sam. xi. 14, 15, xiii. 4, &c.

In the east border of Jericho.] That is, between Jordan which lay behind them, and Jericho which lay before them.

Ver. 20.] We are not told in what form they were pitched; whether they remained single and distinct, or, as Josephus will have it, joined together in the form of an altar. It seems to agree best with the end and intention of them, if we conceive them to have been set down single, but in some order (suppose three in a row), representing, like so many little pillars, the twelve tribes of Israel; who passing over Jordan on dry ground, a man out of each tribe was ordered to bring a stone, and place them here, for a perpetual memorial (ver. 7) of what God had done for them. For stones, every one knows (especially some sorts of them), are of a very durable nature, and therefore used by all nations in the monuments they have made to preserve the memory of persons and things. Inasmuch, that if it be true which Propcopius reports (in his second book *De Bello Vandalico*) concerning the two pillars erected by the Canaanites, who fled into Africa before the face of Joshua, with an inscription signifying their expulsion by him; I conclude it to have been done in imitation of these

saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land.

23 For the LORD your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the LORD your God did to the Red sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over:

24 That all the people of the earth might know the hand of the LORD, that it is mighty: that ye might fear the LORD your God for ever.

stones, whereby Joshua preserved the memory of the miraculous way which was opened to him for their expulsion.

Ver. 21.] See ver. 6, where he had said this, at the time they took up the stones; and now repeats it, when they pitched them. For then he may be thought to have spoken only to the twelve men; but now to all the twelve tribes.

Ver. 22.] That it might not be left to every man's liberty to give what answer they pleased to their children, when they inquired the meaning of these stones, he sets down the very words they should speak unto them; that they might be sure to be duly instructed in the wonderful mercy of God to their nation.

Ver. 23. *The Lord your God dried up the waters*] He would have posterity made sensible it was a Divine benefit bestowed on them by the Divine Power: which alone could stop the course of a river, till a whole nation passed over on dry ground.

As the Lord your God did to the Red sea.] At the same time he would have them take occasion to remember them of another miraculous mercy, like unto this, though superior to it. Which the prophets, in after times, delighted to commemorate together, as appears from Ps. cxiv. 5.

Which he dried up from before us.] What he did for their forefathers he did for them, who reaped the happy fruit of it: just as the saving of Noah and his family in the ark was the saving of all mankind, who sprang from them.

Ver. 24. *That all the people—might know the hand of the Lord.*] All nations round about, who heard of this, might be made sensible of the power of the God of Israel.

That it is mighty:] Which can do all things.

That ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.] The people of Israel especially (for whom these wonders were wrought), might religiously worship and serve him: for so the *fear of God* frequently signifies in Scripture; and therefore the LXX. here translate these words, *ὅνα ἑμεῖς αἰετῶς Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν*, "that ye may worship the Lord your God;" which includes in it all the duty owing to him. And so they translate the last words *for ever*, *ἐν παντί ἕως*, "in every thing that you do."

CHAPTER V.

1 *The Canaanites are afraid.* 2 *Joshua reneweth circumcision.* 10 *The passover is kept at Gilgal.* 12 *Manna ceaseth.* 13 *An Angel appeareth to Joshua.*

1 AND it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, which *were* on the side of Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites,

which *were* by the sea, heard that the LORD had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over,

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *When all the kings of the Amorites.*] These were the principal inhabitants, and the most valiant in all the country; as hath been formerly noted.

Which were on the side of Jordan westward.] This seems to be added, to show, that, besides the two kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, whom they had already subdued on the other side of Jordan, eastward, there were other kings of the same nation on

that their heart melted, neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel.

2 ¶ At that time the LORD said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time.

3 And Joshua made him sharp knives, and

that side of Jordan, where the Israelites now were. And it is not improbable, that these kings commanded the Hittites, Hivites, and Jebusites, as well as the Amorites.

And all the kings of the Canaanites which were by the sea,] i. e. The Mediterranean, where the people properly called Canaanites dwelt; though there were colonies of them spread in other places. The LXX. here call them βασιλεῖς τῆς Φοινίκης, "the kings of Phœnicia;" for upon that sea were the principal cities of the ancient Phœnicians, viz. Tyre and Sidon. But though the people that lived upon the sea-coast were peculiarly called by this name of Phœnicians, yet they were so powerful, that the whole country was called χώρα τῶν Φοινίκων, "the country of the Phœnicians;" as the LXX. call the land of Canaan, ver. 12, of this chapter.

Heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of Jordan] This sounds like the language of Joshua, or of some other person then present, when this wonder was wrought; which astonished those that lived in the remotest parts of the country; who little thought of an invasion on that side (which, it is likely, made them not draw any forces that way), imagining the river, especially when it overflowed all its banks, was a sufficient security unto them on that frontier.

That their heart melted,] They quite lost their courage; which began to fail them before, as we read ch. ii. ver. 11. Or, as the LXX. expound it, "their understanding failed them;" and they were in such a consternation, that none knew what to advise for their safety. In which the providence of God is much to be observed, that, by this means, the Israelites were securely circumcised (as it here follows); whereas, if the people of Canaan had been courageous and watchful, they had taken them at a great advantage, if they had then fallen upon them; as appears by the story of the Shechemites, Gen. xxiv. 25. They had leisure also, without any disturbance, to celebrate the passover (ver. 10).

Ver. 2. At that time the Lord said unto Joshua,] The next day which was the eleventh day of the first month; as our primate Usher and others judge most likely.

Make thee sharp knives,] Or, as it is in the margin of our Bibles, "knives of flint;" which stones were plentiful, it is likely, in the mountains thereabouts. And, after they had marched forty years in the wilderness, it is probable (as Theodoret notes) that they were not provided with such knives as we use, of iron. By the very words also of Joshua it appears he speaks of knives they were now to provide; and not of such as they had already. Nor is it strange such knives should be used, for they were common in the eastern countries, as may be gathered out of the Talmud, in the treatise of the Sabbath; where they say, "in the killing of beasts, they use either a flint-stone (so they interpret the word *tzur*), or glass, or a quill." From whence Theodoric Hackspan concludes, that if sharp stones sufficed for the killing of beasts, there was no need of any other in circumcision. Who observes also, that the Jews say, they might circumcise with any instrument, made either of stone or glass, but not of a quill; because there was danger it might slit and hurt so tender a part. And at this day they do circumcise in the east with knives

circumcised the children of Israel at the hill of the foreskins.

4 And this is the cause why Joshua did circumcise: All the people that came out of Egypt, that were males, even all the men of war, died in the wilderness by the way, after they came out of Egypt.

made of stones, such as Zipporah, it is supposed, used in the circumcision of her son (Exod. iv. 25). See this question debated in Sixtinus Amama's *Antibarbarus*, lib. ii. p. 282. Justin Martyr thinks there was some mystery in the use of these knives (see his dialogue with Trypho, p. 341, 342).

Circumcise again the children of Israel the second time.] This doth not signify that they who had been circumcised heretofore, were to be now circumcised again (from whence some have drawn an argument for the repeating of baptism, as St. Austin tells us), but that there had been such a general circumcision heretofore ordered, as there was to be now after a long omission of that rite. And it is probable that it was at Mount Sinai, in the first month of the second year after they came out of Egypt. When they kept a passover on the fourteenth day of that month (Numb. ix. 1—3), and before they kept it, circumcised all that had not been circumcised in Egypt, or since they came out of it. For no uncircumcised person, nor any one who had a son, or a man-servant in his house uncircumcised, was capable to be admitted to it. We do not read, indeed, of the neglect of circumcision in Egypt, or in that year wherein they came out of it; but, considering the great oppression they lay under in that country, and the several distresses they were in after their deliverance, for three months, till they came to Sinai; and the absence of Moses a long time after they came thither; it is very probable this rite was omitted till God called upon them (as he did now) to celebrate the passover; and then they were constrained to take care of it, because otherwise they could not have kept it, (see Selden, lib. ii. De Synedr. cop. 2, n. 1).

Ver. 3. Joshua made him sharp knives, and circumcised the children of Israel] Ordered every one that wanted it to be circumcised; and, it is probable, not only all those that came over Jordan, but such of the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites, as were left on the other side, were circumcised also, and all in one day, that they might be in a condition to eat the passover: nor need it seem strange that it was despatched in such a short time, for they might employ as many hands as they pleased in this work, there being no necessity that a priest or a Levite should do it, but it might be performed by their fathers or mothers, or any other person.

At the hill of the foreskins.] In the Hebrew, at "Gibeah Naaraboth;" which some take to be the name of the place where they were circumcised; but then that place was so called from the foreskins that were there thrown; which were so many, that being laid upon a heap and covered with earth, they made a little hillock, as the Jews conceive (see Pirke Eliezer, cap. 29).

Ver. 4. This is the cause] The reason of this order, and of the execution of it, is here given.

All the people that came out of Egypt,—even all the men of war, died in the wilderness] That is, all that were then twenty years old, for such only were reputed men of war, and were guilty of the sedition mentioned in Numb. xiv. for which they were doomed to perish in the wilderness.

Ver. 5. Now all the people that came out were circumcised:] Not only those who died for their rebel-

5 Now all the people that came out were circumcised: but all the people *that were* born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, *them* they had not circumcised.

6 For the children of Israel walked forty years in the wilderness, till all the people *that were* men of war, which came out of Egypt, were consumed, because they obeyed not the voice of the LORD: unto whom the LORD swore that he would not shew them the land,

lion, but all the rest under twenty years old were generally circumcised, except some infants, who (as I said upon ver. 2), might have been neglected during their heavy oppression there.

But all the people that were born in the wilderness—them they had not circumcised.] Never since they removed from Mount Sinai, where it is likely there was a general circumcision, as there was now to be before their celebrating the passover, which had not been kept since that time.

Ver. 6.] These words seem to give the reason why they were not circumcised, because they were in a wandering condition, while they remained in the wilderness, and did not know when the cloud would remove from the tabernacle to lead them to another place; which if it had done when children were newly circumcised, their lives might have been endangered by motion, while they were sore. This, a great many think, made Moses dispense with circumcision by God's direction. We do not find him, indeed, consulting God about it; but he was satisfied that God approved of this reason for the omission of it. R. Jose, as Mr. Selden observes, gives this account of the whole business: "The Israelites kept but one passover all the time they were in the wilderness; the reason was, in that year (which was the next to that wherein they came out of Egypt), their tents were pitched in a place where they might safely circumcise the males that had been lately born, lest the neglect of it should hinder the legitimate eating of the passover. But in all the time following, wherein they wandered in the desert, they did not circumcise their children, because of their incommodious journeys, and the danger of circumcision by the way; so that they could keep no more passovers till they came to Canaan. This is a far better reason than what many of them give, who say circumcision was omitted, because the north wind never blew all the time they were in the wilderness; and wounds are very dangerous when it doth not blow. Whence their medical maxim mentioned in the Talmud: "In cloudy days and when the east wind blows, we neither circumcise nor open a vein" (see Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaica, cap. 4). But if this matter be well considered, we cannot rest satisfied with the foregoing reason; for all the time they were in the wilderness, children were born, and women lay in; and there was greater danger by their motion, while they were in labour, and when they were newly brought to bed, than there was in their children being circumcised, who were sore but for a few days; whereas the others were not fit to go abroad, or to travel, in a great many. For which, and for several other reasons, Fortunatus Seaculus thinks this was not the cause why they were not circumcised during their travels in the wilderness; but the true reason was, that they did not look upon the precept of circumcision as obliging them, till they came to settle in the land of Canaan: for in the covenant which Moses made with them at Mount Sinai, there is nothing said about cir-

which the LORD swore unto their fathers that he would give us, a land that floweth with milk and honey.

7 And their children, *whom* he raised up in their stead, *them* Joshua circumcised: for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the way.

8 And it came to pass, when they had done circumcising all the people, that they abode in their places in the camp, till they were whole.

9 And the LORD said unto Joshua, This day

cumcision, unto which they were bound by the covenant made with Abraham (as our Saviour observes, John vii. 21), and that runs thus: "I will give unto thee, and unto thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, &c. Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee, &c. Every man-child shall be circumcised" Gen. xvii. 8—10 (see Sacror. Elæochrysm. Myrothec. 2, cap. 54).

Ver. 7. *Their children.*—*Joshua circumcised:*] Now that they were come to their rest in the land of promise.

For they were uncircumcised,] For the reason above mentioned: to which this may be added, that several great men (such as Theodoret and St. Jerome among the ancients) think that circumcision, being a note of distinction between the Israelites and other people, there was no need of it in the wilderness, when (as Cedrenus speaks) they were πάντες ἀλλογίνους χειρωμένοις, separated from all strangers by the wilderness itself. Others think, that the mixed multitude of Egyptians, who, moved by the miracles they had seen done in their country, went out of it with the Israelites, and joined themselves to them, were the cause of this omission; for they could not presently incorporate with them by receiving circumcision; and therefore it was suspended, that these Egyptians might not look upon themselves as quite a different people: but longer than till they came to Canaan they would not have it discontinued, when all, Egyptians as well as Israelites, received it, that they might not be upbraided as a people of a different original. And as the omission of it in the desert made the proselytes who came out of Egypt equal with the Israelites, while they stayed there; so, as a most learned friend of mine (Dr. Alix) suggests to me, it showed, that there was no absolute necessity of this rite, and that it could not be of eternal obligation.

Ver. 8. *They abode in their places in the camp,*] Lay still without motion (which would have hindered the healing of the sore), and had not the least disturbance given them by the people of Canaan.

Till they were whole.] Which they were against the passover; for, reckoning the eleventh day for one, there were four days between their circumcision and the passover, which was not kept till the fourteenth day at even, when the pain was pretty well over, for it was smartest on the third day (see upon Gen. xxxiv. 25).

Ver. 9. *This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you.*] It is commonly thought, that by the reproach of Egypt is meant nothing else but uncircumcision, with which the Israelites always reproached other people, particularly the Egyptians, among whom they had long dwelt, and with whom they were best acquainted. But our learned Dr. Spenser thinks "the reproach of Egypt" is the slavery to which they had been there long subject, but now were fully declared a free people by receiving the mark of the seed of Abraham, and made heirs of the

have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day.

10 ¶ And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month at even in the plains of Jericho.

11 And they did eat of the old corn of the land on the morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes, and parched corn in the selfsame day.

12 ¶ And the manna ceased on the morrow

after they had eaten of the old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more: but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.

13 ¶ And it came to pass, when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, *Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?*

promised land. This he very often repeats, lib. i. De Leg. Hebr. Ritual. cap. 4, p. 44, 51, 55. And no doubt Joshua now chose, immediately upon their entrance into the land of Canaan, to cause them to be circumcised, not only as a token they peculiarly belonged to him, but to oblige them to be careful to observe all the laws of God; many of which could not, and others were not observed in the wilderness, but were now to be regularly practised, because they held the land of Canaan by this tenure. To this purpose also Theodoret discourses, in his questions upon this book; They were made now lords of the promised land, who were lately slaves in Egypt; for they could not be the legitimate children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and heirs of the promises made to them, till they were circumcised. Ralbag hath another notion of it; That the Egyptians seeing the Israelites wander so long as they did in the wilderness, reproached and flouted them, as if they were brought thither to be destroyed, and not to possess the land of Canaan; from which reproaches God now delivered them, when he assured them, by enjoining their circumcision, that they should shortly enjoy that country which God promised; but which no uncircumcised person might inherit: but the first is the plainest and most unconstrained sense.

The name of the place is called Gilgal] This was the first original of the name, which this place had ever after; for *Galal*, in Hebrew, from whence this word comes, signifies to remove, take away, or devolve. And so here the LXX. translate the word *gallothi* (I have rolled away) by ἀπέλκον, and the Vulgar Latin by abstuli ("I have taken away"); which makes it strange that Josephus should say (lib. v. Antiq. cap. 1), that this word *Gilgal* signifies liberty, whom Theodoret follows; as if this place was so called, because now they found themselves perfectly freed from the Egyptians, and from all the troubles they endured in the wilderness.

Unto this day.] These words are alleged by some against Joshua's being the author of this book; to which an answer hath been given, iv. 9.

Ver. 10. *Encamped in Gilgal*] Continued their camp there, as they were enjoined, ver. 8.

Kept the passover] Which was the second passover that had been kept since its first institution, the first being observed the second year after their coming out of Egypt at Mount Sinai; after which it had been omitted thirty-nine years, because many of the people were uncircumcised.

On the fourteenth day of the month] According to the command of God (Exod. xii. 6).

In the plains of Jericho.] Where the tabernacle was in the midst of their camp, unto which they brought their lamb, for it could be sacrificed nowhere else (Deut. xvi. 2). And therefore hither the Reubenites, and Gadites, and Manassites, on the other side Jordan, came to offer this sacrifice; which was easier for them, than it was in aftertimes to go up to Jerusalem.

Ver. 11. *They did eat of the old corn of the land*

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Which the people of the country had left in their barns when they fled into Jericho, and other strong holds.

The morrow after the passover.] There is a great dispute among the Jews, whether this were the fourteenth day of the month, which was properly the next day after the passover, or, as others take it, the sixteenth day, which was the solemn Sabbath kept on the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 10, 11), when they were to wave the sheaf of the first-fruits before the Lord. The former are in the right.

Unleavened cakes.] That is, they kept the feast of unleavened bread, which was distinct from the passover, as I observed, Exod. xii. 15, &c.

And parched corn] This was new corn, which was growing that year they entered into Canaan, of which it was not lawful to eat, till they had offered the sheaf before mentioned (Lev. xxiii. 14), and therefore it is made an argument by some, that it was the sixteenth day of this month when this corn was parched.

Ver. 12. *Neither had the children of Israel manna any more;*] Because they had no need of it (as Kimchi and others interpret it) being supplied by the store of old corn which they found in the land of Canaan, and by what was growing upon the ground.

But they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.] After they had offered the sheaf before mentioned (Lev. xxiii. 11). So that manna ceased on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of the first month, having continued with them forty years, wanting about a month. So R. Bechai truly interprets these words (Exod. xvi. 35), not to signify forty years complete, but near forty years; for it began to fall on the fifteenth day of the second month, and ceased on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of the first month of the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt; and therefore, to show that they were not to expound those words, "They did eat manna forty years," in a strict and precise sense, Moses immediately adds, "until they came to a land inhabited;—they did eat manna until they came to the borders of the land of Canaan;" which was exactly fulfilled, Gilgal being on the "borders of the land," where it now ceased; but it continued till that time, though they came "to a land inhabited," when they conquered the kingdoms of Sihon and Og.

Ver. 13. *When Joshua was by Jericho.*] After he had performed the solemn rites of circumcision and the passover, Joshua went to take a view of Jericho, and to observe, as generals are wont to do, the approaches to it.

That he lifted up his eyes and looked.] These words signify a sudden apparition of a person to him; for so this phrase is used, when something new and unexpected presents itself, as one is intent upon something else (Gen. xviii. 1, Dan. x. 5).

There stood a man over against him] Whom he took to be a man.

14 And he said, Nay; but *as* captain of the host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What saith my lord unto his servant?

With his sword drawn] He seemed to be a soldier, or rather a great commander, and stood directly opposite to him.

Joshua went unto him,] Such was his undaunted courage, with which God had inspired him.

Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?] He demands of him, whether he came to help the Israelites, or the people of Canaan; for whom (it appears by the answer) Joshua suspected he came to fight.

Ver. 14. *And he said, Nay;* i. e. I am not on the side of your adversaries.

But as captain (or prince) of the host of the Lord am I now come.] By the "host of the Lord" is here meant the whole body of the people of Israel, whom the Lord himself led forth out of Egypt, as his army (see Exod. xii. 41), and now appeared in this manner, that he might show he would still conduct them, as their chief commander and leader, by whom they should be victorious over their enemies: for though many take this to have been a created angel (Michael, suppose, the chief of them), yet it is evident that Joshua did not think him so to be, for he fell down and worshipped him, as we read in the words following.

Joshua fell on his face] With the profoundest reverence.

Did worship,] Which he durst not have given (for God alone is to be adored), nor would an angel have received, without such a check as an angel gave St. John (Rev. xxii. 10), if he had not taken him to be the Divine Word that was to come to fight for them. So the Chaldee paraphrase upon Josh. x. 42. "It was the Word of the Lord that fought for them," according to God's promise, i. 9, 17. This a most learned friend of mine (Dr. Alix) shows was the judgment of the ancient Jewish church (see his late book on that argument, p. 234), and it is most certain was the judgment of the ancient Christians, particularly of Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and Theodoret (see Valesius in his Annotations upon Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, lib. i. cap. 2, p. 7). And therefore our great primate of Ireland fears not to say in his Annals, "Jesus Dominus noster, princeps militiæ patris sui, Jesu typico ad

15 And the captain of the Lord's host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so.

Jerichuntem gladio stricto apparens, promittit se populum defensurum;" that is, "Jesus our Lord, the Prince of his Father's host, appearing to him who was a type of him at Jericho, with a drawn sword, promised to be the defender of the people;" where he seems by the "captain of the Lord's host" to understand our Lord, who commands angels themselves; for they are sometimes called "the host of heaven" (1 Kings xxii. 19, Luke ii. 13). And it may very well be thought the meaning here.

What saith my Lord unto his servant?] Joshua was possessed of such a deep sense of the greatness of this person, that he humbly desires to receive his commands, and he would obey them.

Ver. 15. *Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy.*] This is the fullest evidence that can be given of the Divinity of this person that appeared to him; who was so far from reproving him for doing him too much honour, that he commanded him to do much more; for that which he here requires, is the highest acknowledgment of a Divine presence that was used among the eastern nations, as the same Dr. Alix observes. And considering that these are the very same words which were spoken to Moses, Exod. iii. 2, 3, we learn the reason why God commanded this to Joshua; which was, for the strengthening of his faith, that as now he was placed in Moses's stead, so God would be with him, as he had been with Moses. And thus Joh. à Coch discourses very reasonably upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 6, n. 3. "This angel, who suffered himself to be worshipped, and by whose presence the place where he appeared was sanctified, so that Joshua was commanded to put off his shoes, no doubt was He whom all the angels in heaven worship."

Joshua did so.] Put off his shoes, in token of reverence to that place; which was holy, while that Divine presence remained there, though not after it was gone: and it continued there for some space of time, to give Joshua advice, and to encourage him to hope for his protection and assistance; as appears from ver. 2, of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

1 Jericho is shut up. 2 God instructeth Joshua how to besiege it. 12 The city is compassed. 17 It must be accursed. 20 The walls fall down. 22 Rahab is saved. 26 The builder of Jericho is cursed.

I Now Jericho was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in.

2 And the Lord said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour.

CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *Now Jericho was straitly shut up*] The Targum understands it as if he spake of the strong fortifications of Jericho, which made it needful Joshua should be encouraged in his enterprise against it. But the words in the Hebrew are literally (as is noted in the margin of our Bibles) "did shut up, and was shut up," which plainly relates to the strict guards which were kept, that none could get into the city, nor get out of it: so it is explained in the next words.

None went out, and none came in.] They shut up their gates so close, that none could go out to carry intelligence to Joshua; and they were blocked up so close by the Israelites (to which the latter part of the foregoing words may perhaps refer), that none could get in to bring any intelligence or relief to the inhabitants of Jericho.

Ver. 2. *The Lord said unto Joshua,*] The same person speaks to him (all agree) who is called the "Prince of the Lord's host" in the foregoing chapter; and here is called Jehovah. Which shows he was

3 And ye shall compass the city, all ye men of war, and go round about the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days.

4 And seven priests shall bear before the ark seven trumpets of rams' horns: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets.

5 And it shall come to pass, that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, and when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, and the people shall ascend up every man straight before him.

6 ¶ And Joshua the son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven

trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the Lord.

7 And he said unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city, and let him that is armed pass on before the ark of the Lord.

8 ¶ And it came to pass, when Joshua had spoken unto the people, that the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns passed on before the Lord, and blew with the trumpets: and the ark of the covenant of the Lord followed them.

9 ¶ And the armed men went before the priests that blew with the trumpets, and the rereward came after the ark, the priests going on, and blowing with the trumpets.

10 And Joshua had commanded the people,

not a created angel, but God himself; who alone could promise and perform what follows.

See, I have given into thy hand Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour.] Who were gathered together in this place out of several nations: it being a frontier city, which they made as strong as they were able, and defended by the most valiant men they had in the country (see xxiv. 11). For we are to suppose that they had refused the offers of peace, which God ordered to be first sent unto them (Deut. xx. 10), and, trusting to their forces, took up a desperate resolution not to yield upon any terms.

Ver. 3. Go round about the city once.] At such a distance, I suppose, that they could not reach them from the city, with their arrows or stones slung against them.

Thus shalt thou do six days.] Once every of those days, in such order as is described, ver. 6—9. This looked not like making war; but appeared to the besieged, it is probable, as a pastime.

Ver. 4. Seven trumpets of rams' horns:] Such trumpets as they used to blow withal in the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv. 9), for so the phrase is in the Hebrew, "trumpets of Jubel:" and I have observed elsewhere, that rams' horns not being hollow, trumpets could not be made of them.

The seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times.] The seventh day's march differed in two things from the other six: that they compassed it but once on other days, and made not the least noise, but now seven times, and made a great shout at the end of the last circuit. Concerning this number seven, see Drusius upon this place, and upon Lev. iv. 6. Grotius saith of it, in short (upon 2 Chron. xxix. 21), heptas sacris propria; "the number seven is proper to sacred things:" as appears by the seven angels and seven trumpets (Rev. vii. 2).

The priests shall blow] All the times they marched so often round the city (see Tertullian, lib. ii. adv. Marcion, cap. 21).

Ver. 5. That when they make a long blast] A loud sound, protracted after a rustic manner, as Bochart interprets it in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 43.

When ye hear the sound of the trumpet.] And were commanded by Joshua to shout (ver. 16).

All the people shall shout with a great shout;] Such as soldiers use when they make an onset upon a place, or when armies meet to give battle.

The wall of the city shall fall down flat,] Or, fall under it, as it is in the Hebrew; which seems to signify, that the foundations of the wall were subverted, so that it sunk and fell into the ditch, or (as the Jews explain it) sunk into the very ground on which it stood, so as to leave no ruins, as in the common

fall of walls; in which they suppose another miracle.

The people shall ascend up every man straight before him.] The whole wall did not fall down, for Rahab's house stood, which was upon the wall (ii. 15). But such wide breaches were made everywhere round about, that the Israelites went straight forward, and found an easy entrance into this city, which the amazed inhabitants had no heart to defend; or, rather, the whole wall sunk into the earth, only Rahab's house was left standing, which made the thing more remarkable. And thus God demonstrated, that it was his wonderful power which overthrew the city, against which they brought no engines nor battering rams, &c., ἀλλὰ μόνῃ φωνῇ σάλπιγγος χειρῶν, καὶ εὐχῇ διακόνων, &c., as Epiphanius speaks, Hæres. lxxvi. n. 83.

Ver. 6. Take up the ark of the covenant,] This is the second time that the priests are ordered to carry the ark, which belonged to the office of the Kohathites (see iii. 3).

Let seven priests bear seven trumpets] As the Lord commanded, ver. 7.

Ver. 7.] This explains ver. 3, where he seems to command only "the men of war" to compass the city. But the meaning is, that the whole body of the people should march in this circuit, the men of war going before the ark, and the rest of the people following it, as it is explained ver. 9.

Ver. 8. When Joshua had spoken unto the people,] By the priests, as the LXX. understand it.

The ark of the covenant of the Lord following them.] According to the direction given ver. 6.

Ver. 9. The armed men went before the priests] Here the order of their march explains the command, ver. 7.

The rereward came after the ark,] That is, the rest of the people who had no arms, old men, women, and children, came in the rear of the ark. Concerning the word *measseph* (which we translate *rereward*), see Numb. x. 23. From whence may be gathered that by this *rereward* is meant the tribe of Dan; as the Targum, Rasi, and Kimchi, understand it; who by the armed men before mentioned, understand the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites, who were engaged by Moses to go "armed before the Lord to war," Numb. xxxii. 20, and renewed this engagement to Joshua, i. 12, &c.

The priests going on, and blowing] The word *priests* is not in the Hebrew, which made the Vulgar to translate the words in such a manner as if the whole multitude before mentioned made a sound with trumpets, "buccinis omnia concerepabant." But there being no order for any to blow with trumpets but only the *priests*, our translators have done well to

saying, Ye shall not shout, nor make any noise with your voice, neither shall *any* word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout; then shall ye shout.

11 So the ark of the Lord compassed the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp.

12 ¶ And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark of the Lord.

13 And seven priests bearing seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the Lord went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the armed men went before them; but the re-ward came after the ark of the Lord, the priests going on, and blowing with the trumpets.

14 And the second day they compassed the

supply that word from ver. 4, as they do also ver. 13, where this is again repeated.

Ver. 10. *Ye shall not shout, nor make any noise*] They were not to talk to one another as they went along, but march in a profound silence, before and after the Lord, waiting on him, to see what he would do for them.

Until the day I bid you shout;] That is, on the seventh day, after they had compassed the city seven times.

Ver. 11. *So the ark of the Lord compassed the city, going about it once;*] It is uncertain upon what day they began to do this; but it is very probable (as the Jews say in their larger Chronicle) that it was the next day after the seven days of unleavened bread were ended.

And lodged in the camp.] They spent the rest of the day in the camp to refresh themselves, and lay there the following night.

Ver. 12. *Joshua rose early*] viz. That morning of the first day of compassing the city.

The priests took up the ark] These words, and those that follow in the next verse, give a particular account of what was done the first day, according to that which was said in general, ver. 8, 9.

Ver. 13. *Seven priests—went on continually,*] Without resting or making any stop, in a continued motion, till they had finished their circuit.

Blew] As soon as they began their motion.

The priests going on, and blowing with their trumpets.] Till they had ended their circuit.

Ver. 14. *The second day they compassed the city once,*] In the same order before described.

Returned into the camp;] As they had done the first day (ver. 11).

So they did six days.] The remaining four days were spent in the same pompous show, without striking a stroke, or speaking a word, that the subversion of the city might be ascribed wholly to the power of God, which secretly undermined the walls, and threw them down.

Ver. 15. *On the seventh day,*] The Jewish writers say this was the Sabbath, as Raymundus observes in his Pugio Fidei, and Jos. de Voysin in his Annotations upon him, p. 625. But I shall only mention the words of Kimchi, which are these: "The ark of the Lord compassed the city the first time, on the first day of the week: so our doctors, of pious memory, have delivered, that the seventh day whereon the city was taken was the Sabbath, though they killed and burnt upon that day: for he that commanded the Sabbath to be observed, commanded it now to be profaned for the destruction of Jericho, as he commanded burnt-offerings to be sacrificed on this day:" which is the very instance whereby our blessed

city once, and returned into the camp: so they did six days.

15 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they rose early about the dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: only on that day they compassed the city seven times.

16 And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the Lord hath given you the city.

17 ¶ And the city shall be accursed, *even it*, and all that *are* therein, to the Lord: only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that *are* with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent.

Saviour justifies his doing some works upon the Sabbath-day. And here I cannot but note, that it was Jehovah, according to this explication, who gave this command to compass the city on this day as well as any other. That great Lord who gave the command to keep the Sabbath now dispensed with it: he that spake from Mount Sinai was the person who appeared to Joshua: for, whether this day was the Sabbath or not, it is certain, one of the seven days wherein they were thus employed was the Sabbath, and consequently their resting on that day was dispensed withal, by the same authority that made the law of the Sabbath.

They rose early about the dawning of the day,] All the six days, I suppose, they rose early, as they did upon the first (ver. 12); but upon this day, very early, as soon as they could see, because they had seven times as much work to do as they had upon the other days.

And compassed the city—seven times;] Not with a continued motion, I suppose, but resting awhile (perhaps after each circuit) to refresh themselves; otherwise, by such motion, they might have been dispirited, and unfit to attack Jericho, when the wall of it fell down before them.

Only on that day they compassed the city seven times.] For so the Lord ordered, ver. 4.

Ver. 16. *At the seventh time,*] As soon as they had ended the seventh circuit.

When the priests blew] Such a long sound as is mentioned ver. 5.

Joshua said unto the people,] By such officers as he had appointed to give the order, when they heard that unusual sound of the trumpet.

Shout;] In assured hope of victory, as it follows in the next words, "for the Lord hath given you the city."

Ver. 17. *The city shall be accursed,*] All the commands given in this and in the two following verses could not be delivered just before he bade them shout, but they had been given some time before they began to march the seventh time about the city. And if any thing of these matters was repeated now, it was very briefly, by bidding them remember the orders they had received concerning the city and all that was therein.

I have observed elsewhere, that this word *cherem* (which we translate *accursed*) signifies sometimes the gift itself, which is devoted to God for his uses (Lev. xxvii. 24), sometimes that which is devoted to perpetual destruction, by the right which God hath to punish capital enmities to him, as here in this place. And thus, Mr. Selden observes, the great Sanhedrin might devote those to destruction who in war did not observe such charges as were given them; of which they find an instance in Judg. xxi. 5 (see him, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6).

18 And ye, in any wise keep *yourselves* from the accursed thing, lest ye make *yourselves* accursed, when ye take of the accursed thing, and make the camp of Israel a curse, and trouble it.

19 But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, *are* consecrated unto the Lord: they shall come into the treasury of the Lord.

20 So the people shouted when the *priests* blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city.

21 And they utterly destroyed all that *was* in

the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword.

22 But Joshua had said unto the two men that had spied out the country, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she hath, as ye swore unto her.

23 And the young men that were spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had; and they brought out all her kindred, and left them without the camp of Israel.

24 And they burnt the city with fire, and all that *was* therein: only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord.

Even it, and all that are therein] As the first-fruits of their victories in the land of Canaan. All whose inhabitants God ordered to be exterminated; but thought fit to make such an example of the first that refused to submit, as to raze their very city, and command it never to be built again: for that this was done by a particular order from God, appears from 1 Kings xvi. 34. Thus he commanded even such cities in Israel to be destroyed as should hereafter revolt to idolatry, Deut. xiii. 15—17.

Only Rahab—and all that are with her] Which is explained in the execution of this order, ver. 23.

Because she hid the messengers] Who swore unto her that she should be preserved; and therefore, both in justice and gratitude, Joshua was bound to take care of her; and no doubt had order from God to make good the oath of the spies.

That we sent.] This seems to import that Joshua sent the spies by the advice or consent of the elders; though it may signify no more but that he sent them upon a public account (see ch. ii. 1, 23).

Ver. 18. *Keep yourselves from the accursed thing.*] Take heed, lest you meddle with any of the spoils which are devoted to God, and appropriate them to your own use.

Lest ye make yourselves accursed.] Bring yourselves under the same sentence of being devoted to destruction.

And make the name of Israel a curse.] And, more than that, expose the whole camp to the same danger. For many times God takes occasion to punish the whole body of a people for their other sins, when some of them only have highly offended him.

Trouble it.] Disturb the course of their victories.

Ver. 19. *But all the silver, and gold, &c.*] And other metals, I suppose.

Are consecrated unto the Lord.] Except the gold and silver of their images, which were utterly to be destroyed, according to an express command of God, Deut. vii. 25, 26.

They shall come into the treasury of the Lord.] Which was in the tabernacle. To the service of which such things were wholly appropriated, and might not be applied to any other use. But it is very probable, that before such things were put into the treasury, they were purified, by making them go through the fire: according to the law, Numb. xxxi. 22, 23. The Jews think these things were given to God, because the city was taken on the Sabbath.

Ver. 20. *So the people shouted*] As they had been commanded, ver. 16.

The people shouted] This is repeated, to show that this was all that the people contributed to the expugnation of this city; which they wholly ascribed unto God.

The wall fell down] As the Lord had promised, ver. 5.

So that the people went up into the city.] As it was easy to do when the garrison was in such a consternation at the sudden fall of the wall, without any visible force to throw it down; that in all likelihood they could make little or no resistance.

Ver. 21.] See Deut. xx. 16, 17. Some have observed that there are no camels here mentioned, which were not commonly bred in this country; much less mules, which were not known in the land of Israel till the days of David. As Bochart concludes, from the mention upon several occasions of oxen, sheep, and asses; but never of these creatures till his time. But if there were any other animals in Jericho besides these here named, they were all killed; for that was the law of the *cherem*. As for their killing of *infants and women*, see Grotius lib. iii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4, sect. 9. And it must also be remembered, that they were a people guilty of such foul idolatry, that it was fit the whole race of them should be destroyed, as Sodom was; where all the children perished, as well as others. And this was a type of the entire destruction of New Babylon, mentioned in the Revelation.

Ver. 22. *But Joshua had said unto the two men that had spied out the country.*] He had given this order before the falling of the wall; when they began their march on the seventh day, the seventh time, and before they shouted.

Go into the harlot's house.] Which, by the wonderful providence of God over her, was left standing, with part of the wall upon which it was built, when the rest sunk into the ground.

All that she hath.] With her in the house.

As ye swore unto her.] Ch. ii. 14.

Ver. 23. *They brought out all her kindred.*] By this it appears, that all related to her who took shelter under her roof were preserved from destruction. Such is the great clemency of God, who, for the sake of one excellent woman, spared a great many that had done nothing to deserve his favour.

Left them without the camp] They were brought out of the house, because it was to be burnt with all the rest of the city: which was to be laid desolate without inhabitant. And they were carried without the camp of Israel, because it was holy by the presence of the Lord there: which made it unlawful for them to enter into it till they had abjured their gentile superstition; and by circumcision (and by baptism, as the custom was in after times, if not now) admitted into the body of the Israelites.

Ver. 24. *They burnt the city with fire.*] By the just judgment of God upon it, for the horrible wickedness

25 And Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had; and she dwelleth in Israel *even* unto this day; because she hid the messengers, which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

26 ¶ And Joshua adjured *them* at that time,

committed therein (see Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. iii. cap. 12, sect. 2).

Only the silver,—they put into the treasury, &c.] As had been enjoined before they took the city, ver. 19.

Ver. 25. *Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, &c.]* It is likely her father and his household gave credit to what she said; and consequently were converted, as she was, to the true religion, by what they had heard before and now saw with their own eyes, of the wonderful works of God.

She dwelleth in Israel even unto this day;] Was incorporated with the Israelites and made a member of their body; as all her kindred, it is likely, were: at least they became proselytes of the gate (as they called those who renounced idolatry, and worshipped the God of Israel), though they were not circumcised. Concerning this phrase, “unto this day,” see before, iv. 9.

Because she hid the messengers,] Which proceeded not merely from her humanity, but was a noble act of courageous faith.

Ver. 26. *Joshua adjured them at that time, saying,]* He made the elders and heads of their several tribes (I suppose) bind themselves by a solemn oath, and they took the same security of all the people; adding a curse upon themselves and their posterity if any of them broke this oath.

Cursed be the man before the Lord,] This shows that this *cherem*, whereby he adjudged him and his family to destruction who should rebuild Jericho, was a sentence pronounced by the Lord, and not by Joshua without his order. And so we read expressly in the first book of the Kings, xvi. ult. See concerning this *cherem*, Mr. Selden, lib. iv. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7, p. 505.

That riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho,] Whose ruins God would have remain, as a perpetual monument of his power and of his severity. So Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 50. “This anathema (saith he) was pronounced, that the miracle of the subversion of Jericho might be kept in perpetual memory: for whosoever saw the walls sunk

saying, Cursed *be* the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it.

27 So the Lord was with Joshua; and his fame was noised throughout all the country.

deep into the earth (as he understands it), would clearly discern that it was not the form of a building destroyed by man, but miraculously thrown down by God.”

He shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn,] That is, in the death of his first-born.

In his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it,] The meaning is, in the progress of the work the rest of his children should die; and when he had finished (which was when he “set up its gates”) he should lose the last of them. Which was fulfilled exactly in the days of Ahab, as we read in the place before named (1 Kings xvi. 34). Which, by the way, shows this book of Joshua to have been older than the book of the Kings.

We are not to imagine that this anathema reached any farther than to the builder of Jericho and his family; not to those who should inhabit it after it was rebuilt. For there was a company of prophets who made no scruple to settle here in future times (2 Kings i. 15). And if it had been built in any other place, and not on the ruins of the old city (though they had given it the name of Jericho), one cannot think he that built it would have fallen under this curse. Which either he did not mind, or did not believe, otherwise he would not have adventured to restore this city: unto which he was tempted by its pleasant situation (2 Kings i. 19).

Ver. 27. *The Lord was with Joshua;]* Thus God made good his promise to him, i. 5, 9, where the Targum, as I observed, hath it, “The Word of the Lord thy God shall be thy helper.” And so these words run in that paraphrase, “And the Word of the Lord helped Joshua:” that Divine Person who appeared to him, and encouraged him in this undertaking, ch. v. 13, 14, &c.

His fame was noised throughout all the country,] There was no part of the country which did not hear of their wonderful entrance into it over Jordan, and of the miraculous taking of Jericho, and the execution done there; which made the name of Joshua famous among them, as a captain before whom rivers fled, and the strongest walls fell down flat.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *The Israelites are smitten at Ai.* 6 *Joshua's complaint.* 10 *God instructeth him what to do.* 16 *Achan is taken by the lot.* 19 *His confession.* 22 *He and all he had are destroyed in the valley of Achor.*

1 But the children of Israel committed a trespass in the accursed thing: for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah,

of the tribe of Judah, took of the accursed thing: and the anger of the Lord was kindled against the children of Israel.

CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *But the children of Israel]* That is, one among them. Which is an usual form of speech in the Holy Scripture, to ascribe that to many indefinitely wherein one alone is concerned; because where men are united in a society, they are all to partake in the good or evil that every of their members doth. Instances of which we find in Gen. viii. 4, xix. 29, xxiii. 6; Judges xii. 7; Matt. xxvi. 8. See Bochart in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 17, p. 212, and a

great many more instances he heaps up, par. ii. lib. v. cap. 3, p. 669.

Committed a trespass] Offended God by purloining to his own use some of the spoils which were devoted to destruction, or appropriated to God's treasury, with a curse upon him that meddled with them.

For Achan,] Who is called Achan in 1 Chron. ii. 7, because he having troubled Israel (as the word *Achar* signifies, ver. 25, of this chapter), it is likely that in after times they turned his name into Achan, instead of Achan.

2 And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is beside Beth-aven, on the east side of Beth-el, and spake unto them, saying, Go up and view the country. And the men went up and viewed Ai.

3 And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; and make not all the people to labour thither; for they are but few.

4 So there went up thither of the people about three thousand men: and they fled before the men of Ai.

5 And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men: for they chased them *from* before the gate *even* unto Shebarim, and smote them in the going down: wherefore the hearts of the people melted, and became as water.

6 ¶ And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord until the eventide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads.

7 And Joshua said, Alas, O Lord God, wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us? would to God we had

Son of Zabdi,] Who is called Zimri, 1 Chron. ii. 6. *Son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah,]* For we find Zerah was the son of Judah, and came with him into Egypt when he was very young; for we read of no children he had (Gen. xlii. 13). And if we suppose him to have begotten Zabdi when he was seventy years old, and allow as many years before Zabdi begat Carmi, and as many before Carmi begat Achan; we may make account (with Bonfrerius) that Achan was now about fifty years old; an age wherein many men begin to be more covetous than they were in their youth.

Took of the accursed thing:] What it was he himself confesses, ver. 21.

The anger of the Lord was kindled] The sin of one member of the body provoked the Divine Majesty to express his displeasure against them all (which they deserved upon other accounts), that they might be awakened to find out, and to punish him who had brought them into great danger.

This preface is made to this chapter, to show whence the ill success they had at Ai proceeded.

Ver. 2. *Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai,]* Called Hai in Abraham's time (Gen. xii. 8). Which Joshua, I suppose, had summoned to surrender, according to the precept in Deut. xx. 10, but they had refused. It was a city about three miles distant from Jericho, as the Jews say in Semoth Rabbah; which Masius takes to signify three leagues.

Which is beside Beth-aven,] Whether Beth-aven here signify a city, or a wilderness, is uncertain (see xviii. 12).

On the east side of Beth-el,] A place which was but one league from Ai, as Masius computes, and lay westward of it (Gen. xii. 8), for the war was carried on from the east, where Jericho was, to the western parts of the country. It was called Beth-aven, in future times, by way of reproach, when the golden calves were set up in it; which made it not a "house of God" (as Beth-el signifies), but a "house of iniquity;" i. e. idolatry, which is the import of *Beth-aven*. But it is plain from hence, that these were two distinct places.

The men went up and viewed Ai,] How it lay, and how it was fortified, &c. And it seems to have been seated in the hilly country and belonged to the Amorites (ver. 7).

Ver. 3.] They thought this number would be sufficient, because, as it follows in the end of the verse, *they were but few*; and therefore they would not have all Israel put to the trouble of marching thither. In which counsel a good providence of God interposed; for if the flight of three thousand men put the Israelites into such a consternation (as we read, ver. 5, 6), what a condition would they have been in, if all the people had been put to the worse? as they would have been, if they had attacked Ai, while this guilt remained among them.

Ver. 4.] Who seeing so small a number, came out and engaged the Israelites; whose courage quite failed them, so that they seem not to have struck a stroke, but immediately ran away. For God had left them; to whom they owed all their valour and victories.

Ver. 5. *The men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men:]* Of the hindmost of them, it is most likely, who could not run away so fast as the rest.

Chased them from before the gate] Of the city Ai. *Unto Shebarim,]* A place, I suppose, between Ai and Jericho; which the Targum thinks had its name from the rout of the Israelites there.

Smote them in the going down:] Till they came to the plains of Jericho. For Ai standing on a hill, there was a descent from thence thither.

The hearts of the people melted,] As wax doth before the fire (Ps. lxxiii. 2), or as ice before the sun.

Became as water,] Weak and wavering, in uncertain resolutions, not knowing what to do.

Ver. 6. *Joshua rent his clothes,]* As the manner was when they were full of grief, upon occasion of any great calamity, or the commission of any great crime. Which custom was very ancient (Gen. xxxvii. 34, xlii. 13), and continued in the times of the prophets, who make it a crime that men did not rend their clothes when grievous sins were committed.

Fell to the earth] To make his supplication to God for mercy.

Before the ark] Not in the sanctuary, but with his face towards it. In imitation of which, the precentor in the Jewish synagogue, at this day, falls down before the chest, wherein they keep the book of the law, when he takes it out to read; as Buxtorf observes in his Synag. Judaica. And on solemn fast-days, as the Mishna tells, such prostrations were usual.

Until the eventide,] Continued all day in fasting and prayer to God.

He and the elders] Who rent their clothes, I suppose, as he had done; and then presented themselves in this mournful manner before God to implore his mercy.

Put dust upon their heads,] This was still a higher expression of great grief, and of a deep sense of their unworthiness to be relieved. Which was very usual in this nation (1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2, &c.), and was imitated by the gentiles; as we see in the example of the Ninevites (Jonah iii. 6), and of Achilles, who bewailed the death of Patroclus by throwing dust on his head, and lying down in the dust, as Homer describes it in Iliad Σ . ver. 23, 24.

Ver. 7. *Alas, O Lord God,]* A form of speech dolefully bewailing their forlorn condition: which did not misbecome so great a captain as Joshua was; for the most generous spirits have the most tender sense of humanity, as Arius Montanus excellently discourses upon this place.

been content, and dwelt on the other side Jordan!

8 O Lord, what shall I say, when Israel turneth their backs before their enemies!

9 For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it, and shall environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do unto thy great name?

10 ¶ And the LORD said unto Joshua, Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face?

11 Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: for they have even taken of the accursed

thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuff.

12 Therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed: neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you.

13 Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against to morrow: for thus saith the LORD God of Israel, *There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel*: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the accursed thing from among you.

14 In the morning therefore ye shall be

Wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hands of the Amorites, to destroy us?] This is not a sinful expostulation with God (for Joshua is not reprehended for it, but graciously instructed), but only a confession of his ignorance, why God should do such wonders for them as he had done, and now let them fall into the hands of those enemies whom they had conquered on the other side of Jordan. And it is as if he had said, I am confounded in my thoughts, being unable to understand why, &c., and consequently, he humbly desired to be informed in the reason of this change of his providence.

Would to God we had been content, and dwelt on the other side Jordan!] As far as he could apprehend, they had better have rested satisfied with what they had in possession, than be thus defeated in their attempt to acquire more.

Ver. 8. *O Lord, what shall I say.*] What course shall I take? or how shall I answer the reproaches of our insulting enemies?

When Israel turneth their backs before their enemies!] What hope is there of conquering them or preserving ourselves?

Ver. 9. *For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear of it.*] They that are at the greatest distance, by the sea-side, will hear the report of our defeat, which will soon be spread over the whole country.

Shall environ us round.] Be encouraged thereby to gather all the forces together and surround us.

Cut off our name] Utterly destroy us.

What wilt thou do unto thy great name?] And which was worse, God would lose the glory of all the miracles he had wrought, and be thought unable to accomplish what he had begun to do for his people. This argument Moses had formerly pressed (Exod. xxxii. 12; Numb. xiv. 16; Deut. ix. 28), and God himself, in the song which he bade Moses teach the people, makes use of it (Deut. xxxii. 26, 27).

Ver. 10.] These words are not a reproof, but a gracious answer to his prayers; for when a person who supplicates a prince is commanded to rise up from his knees, it is a token of acceptance.

Ver. 11. *Israel hath sinned.*] See ver. 1.

They have also transgressed my covenant] They had promised obedience to all God's commands (Exod. xxiv. 7), and assured Joshua they would do whatsoever he bade them (i. 16—18). And this was a late command delivered by him from God, that they should not meddle with any thing devoted to God, with a solemn curse.

They have even taken of the accursed thing.] That which belongs to me, ver. 1.

Have also stolen, and dissembled also.] Not only purloined that which God reserved to himself, but denied it after the fact was done. For I suppose

Joshua, after the destruction of Jericho, had made inquiry, whether the silver and gold, &c., were brought into the treasury, and whether they had destroyed all other things, as God commanded; and they all answered, that they had.

They have put it even among their own stuff.] To conceal it from discovery: or, it is an expression of his impudent transgression of God's command, in converting it immediately to his own private use. For in this verse the crime is aggravated in a gradual manner, in that Achan had not only sinned, but against the covenant they had solemnly made with him; and that in a matter of great importance, in which he had lately laid his injunctions upon them: having not only taken to himself what belonged to God, but done it by way of stealth, as if he could not see it; and likewise denied the doing of it; and persisting in the sin, by mixing what he had stolen with his own proper goods.

Ver. 12. *Because they were accursed.*] By having a man among them who was fallen under the curse of God.

Neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you.] These words show that only one man among them was accursed, though they all suffered for it; and were to continue to suffer, till he was destroyed. For now that they knew that there had been such a crime committed among them, they had been as guilty as Achan if they had not punished it.

Ver. 13. *Up.*] He was not still lying on the ground, for God had bid him rise before, and he, I suppose, had obeyed him: but this is a word whereby he quickens him to make all the speed he could, to do as he now directed him.

Sanctify the people.] Call upon them to sanctify themselves; as it here follows.

Sanctify yourselves] As they did when they were to meet the Lord at Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 10, &c.), and as they were lately commanded to do when he led them over Jordan (iii. 5). For now they were to appear before his majesty, that an inquisition might be made who he was that had been guilty of this foul crime.

To morrow.] For he would not have the guilt remain any longer upon them.

There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel.] He speaks in this style both to awaken them to sanctify themselves, and also to appear before the Lord next morning.

Until ye take away the accursed thing from among you.] Both the person that had violated the anathema, and the thing he had purloined.

Ver. 14. *Ye shall be brought*] Before the Lord.

According to your tribes.] Some principal persons of every tribe, representing the rest, were set before the Lord.

brought according to your tribes: and it shall be, *that the tribe which the Lord taketh shall come according to the families thereof*; and the family which the Lord shall take shall come by households; and the household which the Lord shall take shall come man by man.

15 And it shall be, *that he that is taken with the accursed thing shall be burnt with fire*, he and all that he hath: because he hath transgressed the covenant of the Lord, and because he hath wrought folly in Israel.

16 ¶ So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken:

17 And he brought the family of Judah; and he took the family of the Zarahites: and he brought the family of the Zarahites man by man; and Zabdi was taken:

It shall be, that the tribe which the Lord taketh, &c.] There is no difficulty in these words, but only to understand how this inquisition was made, and the author of the fact discovered: which is not here expressed, there being no words to signify how the Lord took one tribe, and family, and household, and person, from the rest. The Jews (who are never at a loss in these matters) tell us, that when they stood before the sanctuary, the high-priest was in it with the *urim* and *thummim*; wherein were twelve stones, with the name of the children of Israel engraven in them. And when that tribe, suppose, to which the guilty person belonged, was called, that stone in which was the name of that tribe changed colour; and so it did when the family, and the household, and the person, were called. But this is a mere fancy, of the stones shining, or becoming dusky; by which, I have shown elsewhere, answers could not be given to inquiries by *urim* and *thummim*. And what others of them say is not much better: for instance, Kimchi, who tells us some are of opinion, that they being made to pass before the ark, the guilty could not stir a foot (see several other conceits in Buxtorf's *Historia Urim et Thummim*, p. 304, &c.).

But the plainest account of this matter is this, that they were discovered by casting of lots, in the presence of God; which was an usual way in aftertimes of discovering noxious persons (1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42; Jonah i. 7). So Josephus, lib. v. cap. i, and Ralbag.

Ver. 15. *He that is taken with the accursed thing shall be burnt*] After they had stoned him to death with stones (ver. 25).

He and all that he hath.] His children, and his cattle; his tent, and all his goods; as it is explained ver. 24.

Because he hath transgressed] See ver. 11.

He hath wrought folly] Committed a very heinous sin.

Ver. 16. *So Joshua rose up early*] It is probable he acquainted nobody with these orders; but made all the haste he could to put them in execution: for if they had been known abroad, Achan's guilt might have made him flee from so terrible a sentence.

The tribe of Judah was taken.] Who, if we may believe the Jews, immediately stood to their arms, and would not lay them down, till they saw the man apprehended and punished who had done this thing.

Ver. 17. *He brought the family of Judah.*] Every family of that tribe, till that of the Zarahites was taken.

Zarahites man by man.] That is, every head of their several households, as he was directed, ver. 14.

18 And he brought his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken.

19 And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him; and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me.

20 And Achan answered Joshua, and said, Indeed I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done:

21 When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them; and, behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it.

Zabdi was taken.] That is, the lot fell upon his household.

Ver. 18.] Here the Samaritan Chronicle tells the very same story with the Talmudists, that the stone in the breastplate of the high-priest, in which was engraven the name of Judah, was darkened when Achan was named (see Hottinger's *Smegma Orientale*, cap. 8, p. 505).

Ver. 19. *My son.*] All great minds are full of tenderness and compassion; and nothing more unbecomes a prince than violent passion: which Joshua was so far from expressing on this occasion, that he speaks to him with the greatest mildness imaginable.

Give—glory to the Lord God] The Samaritan Chronicle, before named, paraphrases this not amiss, "Lift up thine eyes to the King of heaven and earth, and acknowledge that nothing can be hid from him; who knows the greatest secrets."

Make confession unto him; and tell me now what thou hast done.] Openly confess thy guilt; and relate to me what it is, that thou hast converted to thine own use.

Hide it not from me.] Who thou seest have God at hand, to discover that which none of us know but thyself.

Ver. 20. *Indeed I have sinned*] Which the Samaritan Chronicle thus expresses: "I acknowledge that I have grievously sinned before God, who knows all secret and hidden things; for I have prevaricated against the covenant of God, and against his ambassador."

Thus and thus have I done.] Committed this sin, with such circumstances as here follow.

Ver. 21. *When I saw among the spoils*] He doth not say in what place; but the forenamed Chronicle saith, it was as he entered into one of their temples.

A goodly Babylonish garment.] There are a great many opinions about this garment; which Bochartus most probably judges to have been a *various garment*, as the LXX. translate it; that is, of *divers colours*, wherein were several figures either woven or wrought with a needle: for which sort of work Babylon was famous, inasmuch that they were called *painted garments*; which made a most glorious show, and therefore was very inviting to the eye of Achan: who was tempted by its lustre, to reserve one of these garments for his own use, or to sell; for they were of an immense price. See him in his Phaleg, lib. i. cap. 6, where he hath a long dissertation about this garment.

Two hundred shekels of silver.] Which is as much as a hundred German dollars, as Masius observes.

22 ¶ So Joshua sent messengers, and they ran unto the tent; and, behold, *it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it.*

23 And they took them out of the midst of the tent, and brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel, and laid them out before the Lord.

24 And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons,

A wedge of gold] In the Hebrew a *tongue*; for it had that shape.

Of fifty shekels weight.] This may be understood two ways; either that it was worth so many shekels in value, that is, fifty dollars; or, that it weighed as much as fifty shekels, that is, three hundred dollars. The last sense Masius thinks most probable.

Then I coveted them, and took them.] To his own use; when he should have brought them into God's treasury (James i. 15).

They are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent.] Till he could have time to dispose of them to his best advantage.

The silver under it.] The silver was immediately under the Babylonish garment, and the gold under that: for both silver and gold are here meant, though one only mentioned.

Ver. 22. *So Joshua sent messengers.*] Least any one should remove them, and render the fact dubious; and that the children of Israel might be speedily executed.

It was hid in his tent, and the silver under it.] They found the Babylonish garment (as was said before) hid in the earth, and the silver and gold under it. The LXX. indeed, understand it, as if the gold and Babylonish garment were uppermost, and the silver under them: for so they translate these words both here and in the foregoing verse, *τὸ ἀργύριον ὑποκάτω αὐτῶν*, "the silver under them." The wedge of gold, perhaps, was wrapped in the Babylonish garment; and so the silver might be said to lie either *under it*, or *under them*.

Ver. 23. *They took them out*] Where he told them he had buried these things.

Brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel.] For they were all assembled at the tabernacle, waiting to see the issue of this matter.

Laid them out before the Lord.] That the fact might be manifest, and the Lord acknowledged to be omniscient.

Ver. 24. *And Joshua, and all Israel with him.*] By an universal consent.

Took Achan the son of Zerah.] He was Zerah's great-grandchild.

The silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold.] Which God would not have put into his treasury, after they had been thus perverted to a private use.

His sons, and his daughters.] This seems very hard, that they should be executed in such a terrible manner, as here follows, for their father's fault. But the Jews in Pirke Eliezer say, they were punished because they were privy to their father's stealth, and concealed it. Others think this was a necessary severity in the beginning of a new empire, and of a plentiful fortune, upon which they now entered; that they might not wantonly abuse it. But there are those who think this is but a seeming difficulty; Achan alone being stoned (as we read in the next verse, "all Israel stoned him with stones"), and his children brought forth to be spectators of it. And when it is said, in the conclusion of the next verse, "they

and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had: and they brought them unto the valley of Achor.

25 And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us? the Lord shall trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones.

26 And they raised over him a great heap of

stoned them with stones," it relates to his oxen, and asses, and sheep, which were stoned with him (see Guil. Vorstius, in his annotations on Pirke Eliezer, p. 224).

All that he had.] This was done, to represent to the people the heinousness of this offence; and to strike such a terror into them, that they should not dare to commit the like.

They brought them unto the valley of Achor.] Which had its name from him, ver. 26 (see there).

Ver. 25. *Joshua said.*] He was the sole judge, as the Jews think, in this matter. And whereas, by the law, none might be condemned out of the mouth of one witness, nor was any judge to sit alone without assistance (according to their doctors), nor any man's testimony to be admitted against himself (because, in a mad fit, he might undo himself), yet their king had this singular prerogative, that he might try a man alone by himself, and condemn him out of the mouth of one witness, nay, from his own confession; as Joshua did here (who was their king or supreme governor) in Achan's case; and as David did afterward in the case of the Amalekites, 2 Sam. i. 15 (see G. Schickard, in his *Jus Regium*, cap. 4, theor. 14). But Joshua is impertinently alleged as a proof of this extraordinary power; for it was God who convicted Achan, and pronounced this sentence; which Joshua only put in execution.

The Lord shall trouble thee this day.] The doctors in the Jerusalem Talmud, in the treatise Sanhedrin, cap. 6, fancy there is a peculiar emphasis in these words, *this day*. As if he had said, "In this day thou shalt be troubled, but thou shalt not be troubled in the world to come." For they think that he having given glory to God, by confessing his sin, had all his punishment here.

All agree Joshua alludes to his name; the word *Achar* signifying to *trouble* or *disturb*. Or rather, his name was changed from Achan unto Achar, because of this disturbance which he gave to all Israel.

All Israel stoned him] Which was a punishment of great crimes, as I have observed elsewhere. See Lev. xx. 9, 11—13, &c. as I remember. This is said to be done by *all Israel*; because they were all present, and consenting to it.

Burned them with fire.] Burnt their dead carcasses. Why they were both stoned and also burnt, Eliezer in his Pirke, and Vorstius upon him, gives a reason in the place above named.

Ver. 26. *They raised over him a great heap of stones*] As a monument of his sin, and of God's judgment upon him. Thus they did with Absalom, 2 Sam. xviii. 17. And houses or cities which were destroyed, are said to be turned into a *heap* (Isa. xxv. 2), or *heaps* (Jer. ix. 11), as a token of their utter ruin.

The Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger.] Was reconciled to his people, after they had executed his sentence against him, that provoked his anger. So the Samaritan Chronicle: "Thus the anger of God was removed from the children of Israel, and he was pleased with what they had done" (see Deut. xiii. 17).

stones unto this day. So the LORD turned from the fierceness of his anger. Wherefore the name

of that place was called, The valley of Achor, unto this day.

The name of that place] Where he was stoned and burnt.

Was called, The valley of Achor,] From that time all the people called this place by that name, in memory of this execution done upon Achar : so he was also called ever after this. For though his name was

Achan, yet from henceforward they called him Achar the troubler of Israel. And so he is here called in the Syriac version, and by Josephus, Athanasius, Basil, and others mentioned by Bochartus; as Ezra himself also calls him, 1 Chron. ii. 7. See Hierozoi-con par. i. lib. ii. cap. 31, in the latter end.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 God encourageth Joshua. 3 The stratagem whereby Ai was taken. 29 The king thereof is hanged.
30 Joshua buildeth an altar, 32 writeth the law on stones, 33 propoundeth blessings and cursings.

1 AND the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed : take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai : see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land :

2 And thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king : only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves : lay thee an ambush for the city behind it.

3 ¶ So Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up against Ai : and Joshua chose out thirty thousand mighty men of valour, and sent them away by night.

4 And he commanded them, saying, Behold,

ye shall lie in wait against the city, even behind the city : go not very far from the city, but be ye all ready :

5 And I, and all the people that are with me, will approach unto the city : and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as at the first, that we will flee before them,

6 (For they will come out after us) till we have drawn them from the city ; for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first : therefore we will flee before them.

7 Then ye shall rise up from the ambush, and seize upon the city : for the LORD your God will deliver it into your hand.

8 And it shall be, when ye have taken the

CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *The Lord said unto Joshua,*] Who, it is likely, now consulted God about their progress in this war : which he had not done before (vii. 2), being sufficiently authorized by what God had often said to him, and by their success against Jericho : but this late defeat, before Ai, might make him think it necessary to take advice of the Divine Majesty, before he attempted any thing farther.

Fear not,] Because of the late ill success ; of which he now knew the cause ; which was removed.

Take all the people of war with thee,] This order may seem strange, since the people themselves thought two or three thousand were sufficient, if God were with them. But God would have them all to share in the spoil of Ai ; that they who had obeyed him in abstaining from laying their hands on any thing in Jericho, might be now rewarded for it, by the prey of this city ; as it follows in the next verse.

Go up to Ai :] Which it appears by this was in the hill country.

I have given into thy hand the king of Ai,] He bids him be confident of a complete victory, as if he had already won it.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt do to Ai—as thou didst unto Jericho*] Only with such difference as follows in the next words.

Only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves :] None of the silver or gold, or any thing else, was separated to God's use, nor ordered to be destroyed ; but they were to enjoy it all entirely themselves.

Lay thee an ambush—behind it,] On the west of it ; for they were now in Gilgal, which lay eastward.

Ver. 3. *So Joshua arose, and all the people of war,*] In obedience to the Divine direction (ver. 1).

Sent them away by night,] When they were less liable to be observed.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall lie in wait against the city,*] Like a great general, he assigns their post to every part of the army.

Go not very far from the city,] Lie as close to it as you can, without being discovered.

But be ye all ready :] To seize upon the city, when all the people were drawn out of it.

Ver. 5. *And I, and all the people—will approach*] As if they intended to assault it.

When they come out against us, as at the first,] Which he rationally presumed they would, being flushed with such good success.

That we will flee before them,] Counterfeit a flight, as soon as they appeared.

Ver. 6. *(For they will come out after us)*] Pursue them, with all their force.

Therefore we will flee before them,] He gives the reason of their flight, without striking of a stroke (as we now speak), that all the people might be enticed out of the city, in pursuit of them, as he concluded they would be ; because now there was a greater number of the Israelites than before ; which would require their whole power to deal withal.

Ver. 7. *Then ye shall rise up from the ambush,*] Upon the signal given, mentioned ver. 18.

The Lord your God will deliver it into your hand,] He would not have them fear to enter the city : which he assured them God would put into their possession.

Ver. 8. *That ye shall set the city on fire :*] The gate where they entered, or some of the skirts of the city : as a token they were possessed of it. For they were to take the spoil of the city before they burnt it (ver. 28).

According to the commandment of the Lord shall ye do,] And not transgress, as Achan did.

See, I have commanded you,] Acquainted them with the will of God ; in the observance of which they might be confident of success.

Ver. 9. *They went to lie in ambush,*] He selected

city, *that ye shall set the city on fire*: according to the commandment of the Lord shall ye do. See, I have commanded you.

9 ¶ Joshua therefore sent them forth: and they went to lie in ambush, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but Joshua lodged that night among the people.

10 And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and numbered the people, and went up, he and the elders of Israel, before the people to Ai.

11 And all the people, *even the people of war that were with him*, went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and pitched on the north side of Ai: now *there was a valley between them and Ai*.

12 And he took about five thousand men, and set them to lie in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of the city.

13 And when they had set the people, *even*

these thirty thousand men out of the rest of the army; and when it was dark they went upon the forenamed design.

Joshua lodged that night among the people.] The forenamed detachment (as we now speak), was commanded by some great officer, in whom Joshua confided; but he himself lay all night in the body of the army; that he might be ready in the morning to give the necessary orders.

Ver. 10. *Numbered the people.*] He first gave orders to the officers (for he could not do it himself alone) to see that none of the people were wanting.

He and the elders of Israel.] And when he commanded them to march, he was attended by the elders of Israel, leading them on towards Ai. But it is uncertain who are here meant by the "elders of Israel." Some think, the chief commanders in the army; but they are never called *elders*, much less the *elders of Israel*. But the rulers and judges are called by this name, who, I suppose, waited upon Joshua as a council of war: being men authorized by God to assist the supreme governor (Numb. xi. 16. 24, 25).

Ver. 11. *All the people, even the people of war that were with him, went up, and drew nigh.*] The distance between Gilgal and Ai being but three leagues, it is likely, the people being mustered early in the morning, they got thither before noon. Those words, "even the men of war that were with him," seem to be opposed to the thirty thousand, whom he had sent before to lie in ambush (ver. 3).

Pitched on the north side of Ai.] Here the main body of the army lay, behind the hills, it is likely, so that they were not discovered till the evening, or the next day.

There was a valley between them and Ai.] Where they of Ai, I suppose, drew up; when they resolved to engage them.

Ver. 12. *Between Beth-el and Ai.*] Which places were but a league distant one from the other (see vii. 2).

On the west side] Where the former detachment was ordered to lie, ver. 4. But these seem to have been a distinct party from them, and sent, it is likely, for another purpose; to intercept all those that might think to save themselves, by flying through by-ways, which they were to guard. There are those, indeed, who think that there were but thirty thousand men in all employed in this expedition against Ai; and out of them these five thousand men were sent to lie in ambush, that they might, in convenient time, set fire to the city (see Masius). But this is so directly con-

trary to God's command, to "take all the people of war with him, ver. 1. and to what is said, ver. 3. 11. that I cannot think it to be true. One had better say, this party was added to strengthen the thirty thousand men in their undertaking.

Ver. 13. *When they had set the people.*] That is, when things were thus disposed about the evening.
Joshua went—into the midst of the valley.] To pray to God, it is likely, for a blessing upon their enterprise.

Ver. 14. *When the king of Ai saw it.*] That is, was informed of their investing the city on the north side of it; which, it is likely, was in the evening, or late that night.

That they hasted] He called a council, and they speedily resolved to dislodge the Israelites.
The men of the city went out—he and all his people.] The meaning is, all that could fight went out, and their king at the head of them.

At a time appointed.] They had agreed all to issue out at several gates (it is likely) at a certain hour.

Before the plain;] He means, perhaps, the valley which lay between Ai and the camp of Israel; before which they drew up their army to engage the Israelites.

But he wist not that there were liers in ambush] The king had no intelligence of that strong party, which Joshua had sent to lie behind the city; they keeping, I suppose, their gates shut (as they did at Jericho, that none could get in or go out, vi. 1), and suspecting no danger from the western coast where they lay, but only from the east, whence they knew the Israelites were to march.

Ver. 15. *Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten*] At the first onset, Joshua himself turned his back, and all the rest of his army; as if they durst not stand before them.

And fled by the way of the wilderness.] Which lay between Jericho and Ai.

Ver. 16. *All the people*] Who were able to fight.
Were called together to pursue after them.] I suppose some of the men of war might be left in the city till they saw the Israelites fly, and then they were all called out (as ver. 14. is to be understood) together with those of Beth-el, who were come to their assistance; being near neighbours, and both under the same king.

They pursued after Joshua, and were drawn away from the city. They were so eager in their pursuit, that they were drawn to a greater distance from Ai than they would have been, if they had considered the danger of leaving it naked.

Beth-el, that went not out after Israel : and they left the city open, and pursued after Israel.

18 And the Lord said unto Joshua, Stretch out the spear that is in thy hand toward Ai ; for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the spear that he had in his hand toward the city.

19 And the ambush arose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand : and they entered into the city, and took it, and hasted and set the city on fire.

20 And when the men of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ascended up to heaven, and they had no power to flee this way or that way : and the people that fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers.

Ver. 17. *There was not a man left in Ai*] None that were able to fight.

Or Beth-el,] For they of Beth-el, it appears by these words, were come to the assistance of Ai, before any of the army of Israel arrived : for afterward they could not, because the ambush lay between Beth-el and Ai (ver. 9).

They left the city open, and pursued after Israel,] There was not so much as a man left to guard the gates ; but all were engaged in the pursuit.

Ver. 18. *The Lord said unto Joshua,*] God secretly suggested to him, that now was the time for the ambush to fall upon the city ; when their army was drawn so far from it, that they could not return soon enough to relieve it.

Stretch out the spear—toward Ai ;] He bids him face about (as we now speak) and stop the flight of the Israelites. It is much disputed what the Hebrew word *chidon* signifies ; which the Vulgar Latin translates a *shield*. But Bochartus hath taken a great deal of pains to show, that it everywhere signifies in Scripture a *spear* (as we translate it), or a *lance*, or some kind of such-like offensive weapon ; especially in this place, he thinks, there can be no doubt of it ; for it was a weapon he had in his hand, and was to stretch forth towards the city ; that it might be a signal to those in ambush to rise and enter the city ; and to those who fled to make a stand, and encounter the enemy. To which purpose, nothing could be more proper than a spear, with a flag, it is highly probable, at the end of it (like to our ensigns), which made it more visible (see Hierozo. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 135, &c.) The LXX. here translate it *γαισων*, which Suidas says signifies a kind of weapon, *οιον δογας*, “ like to a spear.” See the same most learned author, in his *Canaana*, lib. i. cap. 42. p. 744.

I will give it into thine hand.] As he promised ver. 1. *Joshua stretched out the spear—toward the city,*] That all Israel might see it ; as they did the rod of Moses, when they fought against Amalek.

Ver. 19. *The ambush arose quickly out of their place,*] Being admonished by some Divine suggestion (as Masius thinks) as well as by the signal, that now was the time to execute their design.

They ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand ;] Which they might see from some of the hills, at the back of which they lay. But why they should watch for this sign, or understand what it meant, unless Joshua had received this order, and told it them before they went, cannot be conceived.

They entered into the city, and took it,] For there was nobody to oppose them.

21 And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai.

22 And the other issued out of the city against them ; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side : and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or escape.

23 And the king of Ai they took alive, and brought him to Joshua.

24 And it came to pass, when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they chased them, and when they were all fallen on the edge of the sword, until they were consumed, that all the Israelites returned unto Ai, and smote it with the edge of the sword.

And hasted and set the city on fire.] In one place ; which, it is likely, was on the north side of the city ; that both the Israelites and the people of Ai might see the smoke. This the Lord had strictly commanded (see ver. 8), which made them make such *haste*, as soon as they had possessed themselves of the city, to set fire to it.

Ver. 20. *When the men of Ai looked behind them,*] I suppose there was a great shout made by all the Israelites, when they saw the smoke ascend ; which made the men of Ai look about them.

They saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ascended] The firing of any out-houses, or barns, was sufficient to make such a smoke ; for it is certain the city was not yet burnt (see ver. 28).

They had no power to flee this way or that way ;] Either they were so dismayed, that they stood stock-still (as we speak), or found themselves so environed, that they could no way escape. For on the north and east sides, the great army came upon them ; and on the west the ambush issued forth against them ; and the other five thousand men blocked up their way on the south : which could not but very much amaze and perplex their minds ; and the more, to see all their vain-glorious hopes vanished, which their king no doubt had entertained, of stopping the progress of the Israelites, and being the deliverer of his country.

The people—turned back upon the pursuers.] Ver. 15. They counterfeited a flight no longer, but now boldly looked their enemies in the face.

Ver. 21. *When Joshua and all Israel saw*] By this it is plain the whole body of the men were here ; and not only three thousand of them, as some suppose (see ver. 12).

That the smoke of the city ascended,] Whereby they understood it was taken.

They turned again, and slew the men of Ai.] After they had made a stand awhile, and rallied, they fell upon the men of Ai, and made a great slaughter of them.

Ver. 22.] By this stratagem they were all entirely cut off.

Ver. 23.] Perhaps they were ordered so to do, that he might be made a public spectacle of the Divine vengeance.

Ver. 24. *Had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai*] That is, the men of war.

In the wilderness wherein they chased them.] By this it appears, that they fled before the Israelites as soon as they turned upon them, having no heart to fight them (ver. 20).

25 And so it was, *that* all that fell that day, both of men and women, *were* twelve thousand, *even* all the men of Ai.

26 For Joshua drew not his hand back, where-with he stretched out the spear, until he had utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai.

27 Only the cattle and the spoil of that city Israel took for a prey unto themselves, according unto the word of the LORD which he commanded Joshua.

28 And Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an heap for ever, *even* a desolation unto this day.

29 And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide: and as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the

entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon a great heap of stones, *that remaineth* unto this day.

30 ¶ Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD God of Israel in mount Ebal,

31 As Moses the servant of the LORD commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up *any* iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the LORD, and sacrificed peace offerings.

32 ¶ And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel.

33 And all Israel, and their elders, and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark and

[When they were all fallen on the edge of the sword,] This is repeated to express a complete victory.

[All the Israelites returned unto Ai,] From whence they counterfeited a flight.

[And smote it] All the people that were left in it, as every one was that was not able to go to war.

Ver. 25. *All that fell—were twelve thousand,] By which it appears this was no great city; and that they who were sent to view the country had reason to think a small party sufficient to subdue it (vii. 2, 3). For the men of Beth-el seem to be included also in this number, being mixed with those of Ai, from whom the Israelites could not distinguish them.*

[Even all the men of Ai,] The inhabitants of the city (as it follows in the next verse), and the territory about it, great and small, men and women.

Ver. 26. But kept his arm extended with the spear in it, as Moses' rod was lifted up during the fight with Amalek. Or, the meaning may be, that he himself charged them, and continued to fight as long as there was a man left.

Ver. 27. *Only the cattle and the spoil] i. e. Their silver and gold, and household stuff, &c.*

Israel took for a prey unto themselves,] Who was so far from reserving any of these things to himself, that he made an express grant of them to the Israelites (ver. 2).

Ver. 28. *Joshua burnt Ai,] After they had gotten all the spoil of it, which had been lost if it had been burnt before by the liars in ambush (see ver. 8, 19).*

[Made it an heap] Laid it waste, so that it was known only by its ruins for a long time after, as it was at the time when this was written (see ver. 11. 26).

Ver. 29. *The king of Ai he hanged on a tree] Being the head of a very wicked people, who was fit to be made a public spectacle of God's displeasure. Lipsius, in his book De Cruce, lib. i. cap. 11, produces this as an ancient instance of crucifying notorious malefactors. But that is a great mistake, crucifixion being no Jewish, but a Roman punishment. Nor were crucified persons hanged and strangled, as the king of Ai and Haman were, but fastened alive to a cross, with nails stuck into their hands and feet. The LXX. indeed here expound it, "he was hanged," ἐν ξύλων δένοντων, wherein they seem to have respect to the figure of the cross; but there is no such thing in the Hebrew (see Numb. xxv. 4).*

[As soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down] For so God had commanded, Deut. xxi. 22, 24 (see there).

[Cast it at the entering of the gate] Where he was wont to sit in judgment: and, in all probability, had exercised a great deal of injustice and cruelty.

[Raise thereon a great heap of stones,] As they did

upon Achan, vii. 26. and for the same end, to be a monument of his being hanged near to this place.

Ver. 30. *Joshua built an altar—in Mount Ebal,] If this mount lay between Ai and Beth-el (as Gerardus Mercator endeavours to prove by many arguments), then this altar, we may well think, was built immediately after the taking of Ai, as soon as they came into possession of this mount: for they looked upon themselves, no doubt, as obliged to fulfil the command of God, given them by Moses, as soon as it was possible. But the Scripture plainly describes this Mount Ebal as near Shechem, for there was only a valley between Ebal and Gerizim, from whence Jotham spake to the men of Shechem (Judg. ix. 7), which was a great way distant from Ai. And therefore we must suppose that which is here related not to have been done till they had the country about Shechem.*

Ver. 31. *As Moses—commanded] Deut. xi. 29, 30, xxvii. 2, &c. See in those places.*

As it is written in the book of the law] The altar was built according to the directions given by God in a foregoing law of his, Exod. xx. 25, and repeated in Deut. xxvii. 5, 6 (see there).

[They offered thereon burnt offerings] For now they renewed their covenant with God the third time, as I observed upon that chapter in Deuteronomy, ver. 10.

Ver. 32.] It is a great question what it was he wrote upon these stones. Some fancy all the five books of Moses; others only the book of Deuteronomy; which is more likely than the other; but too long for these stones to contain, or for him to write, "in the presence of all Israel." Others, therefore, think only the ten commandments, or a compendium of the law of Moses; or, perhaps, the blessings and cursings: but Fortunatus Seacchus, with some probability, conjectures, that he only wrote the words of the covenant, by which the children of Israel acknowledged they held the land of Canaan of God, as their great Lord; upon condition they observed his laws, to which they and their posterity were obliged. And this he principally grounds upon those words (Deut. xxvii. 3), "Thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law." Where the Hebrew word *hazoth* (*this*) he thinks hath a particular respect to what he is speaking of: viz. their going over Jordan to possess the land which God gave them, upon condition they observed his statutes (see Sacror. Elæochrysm. Myrothec. lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 570, &c. and my notes upon Deuteronomy, xxvii. 3).

Ver. 33. *Stood on this side the ark, and on that side] With their faces towards the ark.*

Before the priests the Levites,] Who were to pronounce the blessings and cursings prescribed by the law (see Deut. xxvii. 24).

on that side before the priests the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, as well the stranger, as he that was born among them; half of them over against mount Gerizim, and half of them over against mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded before, that they should bless the people of Israel.

34 And afterward he read all the words of the

As well the stranger, as he that was born among them;] For the law made no distinction between them (Lev. xix. 34).

As Moses—had commanded before,] In Deut. xxvii. 12, 13 (see there).

That they should bless the people] There were cursings as well as blessings pronounced: but the intent of cursing was, that they might avoid those sins against which they were denounced; and thereby obtain a blessing.

Ver. 34.] viz. In Deut. xxvii. ver. 15—17, &c. The word *afterward* is not to be neglected, which imports, that after the building of the altar, and the offering sacrifices thereon, and writing the law on the stones, and disposing the people in their place about the ark, then he read the law to them. Which was likely to be heard with the greater attention when they were

law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law.

35 There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them.

thus prepared to receive it, and had solemnly worshipped God and owned his authority.

Ver. 35. *Not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not]* viz. All that Moses directed in Deut. xxvii. or, as others will have it, the whole book of Deuteronomy, wherein these blessings and cursings are contained (see Deut. xxxi. 13).

The strangers] By the *strangers* here mentioned (and in ver. 33), are to be understood such as were proselytes to their religion: and had undertaken to observe this law, as well as themselves; and therefore were to be made acquainted with it. And that they might be moved to have the greater regard to it, Joshua himself, their chief governor, read it to them. So some of the Jews understand it; after the priests had read the blessings and cursings, then Joshua read all the commanding and forbidding precepts in the law.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The kings combine against Israel.* 3 *The Gibeonites by craft obtain a league.* 16 *For which they are condemned to perpetual bondage.*

1 AND it came to pass, when all the kings which were on this side Jordan, in the hills, and in the valleys, and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof;

2 That they gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord.

3 ¶ And when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai,

4 They did work wilyly, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine bottles, old, and rent, and bound up;

5 And old shoes and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them; and all the bread of their provision was dry and mouldy.

CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *The great sea]* By the *great sea*, is meant the Mediterranean; where those people, peculiarly called Canaanites, dwelt, as hath been observed. And the Amorites seem to have been the principal inhabitants of the hilly country, in the south of Judea (see on Deut. i. 7. 19, 20).

Over against Lebanon,] The LXX. and the Vulgar understand this, as if he spake of those that dwelt near Lebanon.

The Hittite, &c.] Thus they are reckoned up in Deut. xx. 17, where the Girgashites are omitted, as they are here (see an account of it in my notes upon that place: and on ch. xvi. of this book, ver. 10).

Heard thereof;] Of the taking of Jericho and Ai: for what is said, in the words immediately foregoing, concerning the Israelites meeting at Mount Ebal, is not inserted as a thing wherein these nations were concerned.

Ver. 2. *They gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua]* They entered into a confederacy to oppose Joshua's farther progress in the conquest of their country. But they did not gather themselves to battle, till they heard what Gibeon had done.

With one accord.] The whole country were unanimous in that resolution; and thereupon rejected the summons which Joshua had sent them to surrender themselves and their cities to him.

Ver. 3. *And when the inhabitants of Gibeon]* Or, "But when," &c. Gibeon was a city in the mountainous country; for we read afterward of a high place at Gibeon.

Heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai,] They being Hivites (ver. 7), had at the first rejected the offers of peace which Joshua sent them, as the rest of their nation (ver. 1) had done. But hearing that Joshua had taken Jericho and Ai, and destroyed all their inhabitants, they repented of that resolution; and consulted how they might, by some means or other, make their peace with the Israelites.

Ver. 4. *They did work wilyly,]* It being too late to surrender their city to Joshua upon such terms, as he is supposed to have offered (for there was no mercy to be shown them, after they had stood out against the three proclamations, which the Jews say were made to them), they contrived how to put a fallacy upon the Israelites, and by craft and cunning procure their favour (see my annotations on Deut. xx. 10, 11).

Went] They chose some from among them, who went in the name of the rest, towards the camp of Israel.

Made as if they had been ambassadors,] Pretending that they were sent upon an embassy to them, from a far country; as they affirmed, ver. 6.

Took old sacks] Wherein was their provision.

6 And they went to Joshua unto the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We be come from a far country: now therefore make ye a league with us.

7 And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us; and how shall we make a league with you?

8 And they said unto Joshua, *We are thy servants.* And Joshua said unto them, *Who are ye? and from whence come ye?*

9 And they said unto him from a very far country thy servants are come because of the

name of the LORD thy God: for we have heard the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt,

10 And all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was at Ashtaroth.

11 Wherefore our elders and all the inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take victuals with you for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, *We are your servants:* therefore now make ye a league with us.

12 This our bread we took hot for our pro-

Wine bottles,—and bound up;] Where they were rent.

Ver. 5. Old shoes and clouted upon their feet,] As if they had been worn out, and patched up, with long travel.

Old garments upon them, &c.] It is observed by Arius Montanus, that nothing is said of the decay of their wine: which they pretended, it is likely, to have drunk all up, in so long a journey. For it was not so easy to procure sour wine, as mouldy bread.

Ver. 6. They went to Joshua—and to the men of Israel,] They addressed themselves to him, as the head of the people; and he had his council about him: who, in all probability, are here called “the men of Israel.” Though some conceive, that they had laid hold of every one they met withal, and besought them to admit them to their friendship.

We be come from a far country:] To sue to you for your friendship.

Make ye a league with us.] As they might do with those that accepted the offers of peace, which they sent them (Deut. xx. 11), and therefore much more with those who came to seek to be at peace with them: and were not inhabitants of the land of Canaan, but came from a far country; which they gave as a reason, why they should make a league with them. And, indeed, they had been to blame, if they had denied their petition: as the Romans were, who, when they were grown great, refused to receive a remote nation into their protection (as Appian tells us), who by their ambassadors submitted themselves to their power, because they did not see they were likely to get any thing by them. Which Bodinus (in his book against Maistretrus De Caritate Rerum) censures as a base action, and injurious to Almighty God. “As if (saith he) the majesty of ruling and administering justice, especially to miserable and ill-instructed people, were not the greatest gift of God; and the highest honour of which a man is capable in this world.”

Ver. 7. The men of Israel] This shows that “the men of Israel” before mentioned were not ordinary persons, but such as had authority to treat with ambassadors.

Unto the Hivites,] Unto those who came from Gibeon, who were really Hivites, as is expressly said, xi. 19.

Peradventure ye dwell among us;] Are some of the people of this land; which we are commanded to root out.

How shall we make a league with you?] Then it is utterly unlawful for us to do what you desire: for God hath often forbidden it (Exod. xxiii. 32, 33. xxxiv. 12—16. Dent. vii. 2, 3, &c. and other places).

Ver. 8. They said unto Joshua,] With whom alone they had a desire to treat.

We are thy servants.] This doth not signify that they were ready to yield themselves to be tributaries to the Israelites, or accept of any terms that should

be imposed on them: but are only expressions of great humility and civility; acknowledging the Israelites to be superior in power and strength, and therefore desiring their protection in their liberties. Thus Abraham addressed himself to the travellers, whom he entertained as greater persons than himself (Gen. xviii. 3, 4). And Jacob calls himself and his household the servants of Esau (Gen. xxx. 20). And thus Batricides understood their language here; who says the king of Gibeon wrote a letter to Joshua, wherein he desired security from him; and presented him with great gifts, as Hottinger observes in his *Smegma Orientale*, cap. 8. p. 507.

Who are ye? and from whence come ye?] They being backward to name the country from whence they were sent, it begat a reasonable suspicion in Joshua that they were some of the people of Canaan.

Ver. 9. From a very far country] They still avoid giving a particular account of their country, but answer in general terms; in which commonly lies deceit.

Because of the name of the Lord thy God:] To divert him from pressing them to give a more satisfactory answer, they pretend religion had invited them to take this long journey: which they knew would procure them a favourable audience.

For we have heard the fame of him, &c.] Of his miraculous works, particularly those which he did to deliver them from the Egyptian slavery; which, as it is evident, were come to their knowledge: so it is very reasonable to believe such wonderful things were the motives that made them seek for the Israelites’ friendship; they being wrought upon, as Rahab was, to embrace their religion.

Ver. 10.] They say not a word of the drying up of Jordan, and of the taking of Jericho and Ai: but prudently conceal their knowledge of those things, because they would have it supposed the tidings of those wonders could not yet be arrived at a country so far off as they pretended theirs to be.

Ver. 11. Wherefore our elders] The principal persons in their country: who were the rulers and governors of it.

And all the inhabitants] With the unanimous consent of all the people.

Take victuals with you for the journey,] Made choice of us for this embassy; and ordered us to provide ourselves with necessaries for so long a journey.

Go to meet them,] To prevent the Israelites from entertaining any hostile intentions against them.

We are your servants:] The Samaritan Chronicle saith, they had orders to tell Joshua that they would embrace the Jewish religion; and refuse nothing, great or small, that he should desire of them. And indeed one would think, by what they said before, that they had a sense of the God of Israel as superior to all other gods: and consequently were disposed to become worshippers of him. For which reason he was pleased to dispose things so, that by their wiles

vision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy:

13 And these bottles of wine, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey.

14 And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord.

15 And Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live: and the princes of the congregation sware unto them.

16 ¶ And it came to pass at the end of three

they should compass their end, and be entertained into the friendship of the Israelites.

Ver. 12. *This our bread we took hot for our provision*] When it was newly come out of the oven.

But now, behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy:] This they say to demonstrate that they came from a country far distant from Canaan. Which, though it was not true, yet there are those (particularly Puffendorf) who think it was not culpable, not properly a lie; being a device to save their lives. For who will reprehend a person (saith he), who by a fiction preserves himself from being killed by an enemy? especially in such a case as this, wherein the Israelites suffered no damage by their craft? for what loss doth he sustain who is hindered from shedding another man's blood, but hath it in his power to despoil him of all he hath, and bring him into perpetual servitude, so disarmed and weakened that he can never rise up against him? Thus he. Which is a doctrine that ought not to be allowed.

Ver. 13.] They use thus many words, to divert him from making any farther inquiry what the name of their country was (lest some among the Israelites, who had many strangers in their camp, should have been able to disprove them), and mention only the long time they had spent in their journey, that he might be moved to be kind unto those who had taken so much pains to beg the favour of the Israelites.

Ver. 14. *And the men*] That is, the persons mentioned ver. 7., who were the οἱ ἀρχοντες (as the LXX. here say), the princes or rulers of Israel.

Took of their victuals,] Not to eat them, but to inspect and examine them, whether their provision was so dry and mouldy as they pretended. For the word we translate *victuals*, is the very same with that we before translate *provision* (ver. 5). Which shows he doth not speak of victuals now prepared, but which they brought along with them. Some, indeed, think the meaning is, that they entered into a league with the Gibeonites, by tasting their victuals. But as this must suppose that they had made a feast for the entertainment of these princes, and invited them to it (which is altogether unlikely), so the making a league with them follows after this in the next verse, and therefore was not made by taking of their victuals.

And asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord.] These words may seem to favour the sense now mentioned; that by eating with them (which was a token of friendship) they had performed part of the ceremony which belonged to the making of leagues, without consulting the Divine Majesty about it, but hastily believing an improbable story (see Gen. xxvi. 30, 31. xxi. 44, 45). But the meaning of these words may be no more than this; that they depended wholly upon their own judgment, and that founded on such slight examination of the truth, as only taking their victuals into their hands and inspecting them, when God was near at hand to give them advice if they

days after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them.

17 And the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim.

18 And the children of Israel smote them not, because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel. And all the congregation murmured against the princes.

19 But all the princes said unto all the con-

would have consulted him; and it is probable would have allowed them to make a league with the Gibeonites on such conditions as he directed.

Ver. 15. *Joshua made peace with them,*] Following the opinion of the princes; who took them to be what they pretended.

Made a league with them, to let them live:] Not merely to spare their lives (which, supposing them to belong to a far country, they had no warrant to take away), but to let them continue in the enjoyment of all they had. For to live, in Scripture, signifies to be happy; and therefore he promised not to hurt, but to protect them in their rights and liberties.

Sware unto them.] Ratified the league by a solemn oath: the violation of which in future times was severely punished (2 Sam. xxii. 6).

Ver. 16.] Speedy news being sent by the pretended ambassadors to Gibeon of their good success (as we may well think), there were great rejoicings made there, as Arius Montanus supposes. The report of which came to the Israelites three days after the league was concluded.

Ver. 17. *The children of Israel journeyed,*] Not the whole body of the people, but a party was sent to understand the truth.

Came unto their cities on the third day.] On the third day after they began their march thither.

Now their cities were Gibeon, &c.] The capital city was Gibeon (called a royal city, x. 2), upon which the other three were dependants. The first three of which fell afterwards to the tribe of Benjamin (xviii. 25, 26), as the last was in the tribe of Judah (xv. 60).

Ver. 18. *The children of Israel smote them not,*] Though they were not such as they supposed, but Canaanites, who were under the curse of God; yet they did not destroy them, for the reason following.

Because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them] Some think their oath did not bind them, because it was made upon a false supposition, that the Gibeonites were no part of the seven nations of Canaan. But if this were true, as it is not (see Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 13, sect. 4), the princes judged right, that it had been very scandalous, and would have highly dishonoured the name of God, by whom they had sworn, if they had broken their oath. By the keeping of which, the reverence which the Gibeonites had already to the Divine Majesty was very much increased; whereas it had been vile in all people's eyes, if the Israelites had not expressed this great regard unto it.

And all the congregation murmured] Or, "But all the congregation murmured," &c., because they were hereby deprived of the spoil of those cities.

Ver. 19. *But all the princes said*] Their unanimity in this opinion was of great moment to quiet the people's discontent.

We have sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel:] Especially since they had engaged themselves,

gregation, We have sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel : now therefore we may not touch them.

20 This we will do to them ; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we swore unto them.

21 And the princes said unto them, Let them live ; but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation ; as the princes had promised them.

22 ¶ And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you ; when ye dwell among us ?

23 Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen,

by a solemn oath, to their great and glorious Lord, who fought for them, and gave them all their victories (ver. 13, 14). For so the Targum here expounds these words, "We have sworn by the Word of the Lord God of Israel."

We may not touch them.] That is, do them any hurt ; which we cannot do without breaking our oath, and forfeiting his favour.

Ver. 20. *We will even let them live.*] As they had covenanted, ver. 15.

Lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath] Lest God be very angry with us for breaking our oath. Which Joshua, as St. Ambrose observes, religiously observed, Ne, dum alienam perfidiam arguit, suam fidam solveret, "that he might not be guilty of so shameful a thing as to break his faith, whilst he re-proved their peridiousness" (Lib. iii. De Officiis, cap. 10).

Ver. 21. *The princes said*] But they added this.

Let them live ;] Though we let them live, because we must be as good as our word, which is the meaning of the last words of this verse (which must be joined with these), "as the princes had promised them."

But let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water] Yet they shall not be equal to us in all privileges, but we will make them in some sort serviceable to us ; in such employments as will save us a great deal of labour.

Unto all the congregation ;] They were not to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water, for every private person, but for the benefit of the whole congregation of Israel, who were bound to find wood and water for the service of God at the tabernacle. Which burden it was now resolved should be laid upon the Gibeonites ; and thereby the children of Israel eased of it, ver. 23, where they are said to be made "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of the Lord." This was no breach of their oath, for they did not make them absolutely slaves ; but only a sacred kind of servants (as Josephus calls them), being employed about the house of God, which was in itself honourable, and not base and contemptible. Some think they were afterward called *Nethinim*, which signifies persons given to God for his service : of whom we read in 1 Chron. ix. 2. Ezra viii. 20, and other places.

Ver. 22. *Joshua called for them,*] For the ambassadors with whom he had made a league.

Wherefore have ye beguiled us, &c.] Imposed upon our belief by a false story.

Ver. 23. *Now therefore ye are cursed,*] Notwithstanding our oath, you must not quite escape that curse of God which hath long lain upon all the people of Canaan, part of which you are. For a servile state

and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God.

24 And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly told thy servants, how that the Lord thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, therefore we were sore afraid of our lives because of you, and have done this thing.

25 And now, behold, we are in thine hand : as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do.

26 And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew them not.

of any sort, to which they were reduced, was no small punishment (called here a *curse*), and so much the more grievous, because it was to be perpetual.

There shall none of you be freed from being bondmen,] None of them were to continue freemen, but have a servitude imposed upon them : not, indeed, such a one as made them entire slaves, but only condemned them to the laborious employment which here follows.

And hewers of wood and drawers of water] This is the limitation of their servitude ; which did not extend to all things, but only to these and such like (it is probable) ; to hew stones, for instance, for the reparation of the temple after it was built, and to carry them to those who were employed in that work. Grotius hath well expressed their condition, *Additi sunt personali cuidam servituti*, "they were addicted to certain personal servitude ;" whereas if they had dealt plainly and openly with the Israelites, they might have been admitted only to pay a certain tribute (lib. ii. De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 13. sect. 4. n. 3).

Ver. 24.] They first give an answer unto Joshua's demand, *Wherefore have ye beguiled us ?* Which was done to save themselves, if they could, by any shift, from that destruction which they believed God had decreed against all the inhabitants of their land ; and they did not know how to evade it, but by this artifice ; which, since it arose from some degree of faith, God suffered to take effect, that they might remain for ever among the Israelites, as an unquestionable witness of their miraculous conquest of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 25.] Here they humbly submit to the doom he had passed upon them, or to any other imposition he should think fit to load them withal.

Ver. 26.] But Joshua would take no farther advantage of their submission, but contented himself with this burden alone ; which, by a public decree, he laid upon them. It appears by this, that some gentiles had more goodness in them than many of the children of Israel ; who would have destroyed these well-disposed people (if Joshua had not hindered) who were better believers, being struck with a greater fear of God's threatenings than themselves.

Ver. 27. *Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water*] He passed this sentence into a law ; that, from henceforth, they should be subject to this servitude ; in which they served God faithfully even to the times of Nehemiah : who tells us great numbers of the *Nethinims* (who many great men make no doubt were of the posterity of these Gibeonites) returned from Babylon to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple (Neh. vii. 46, &c. 73).

27 And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation,

For the congregation,—even unto this day,] They served the congregation (who otherwise must themselves have done it) by serving the altar with wood and with water. Which, that they might do regularly, it is probable, they were dispersed throughout all the coasts of Israel, where the priests and Levites were settled, and came and served with them in their courses, and (as Conradus Pellicanus thinks) were maintained out of the public stock, and the profits of the altar. For they did not keep possession of their cities, but surrendered them to the tribe of Benjamin

and for the altar of the LORD, even unto this day, in the place which he should choose.

and Judah, to whose lot they fell; as we read in the following part of this book. Concerning these words, “unto this day,” see iv. 9.

In the place which he should choose,] Which was now at Gilgal; afterward at Shiloh; and some time in Gibeon itself; which was a city given to the priests (Josh. xxi. 17); and, as Maimonides saith (in his treatise of the Building of the Temple), after Shiloh was destroyed, the tabernacle was placed in Nob, and then in Gibeon: in which two places it continued fifty and seven years.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Five kings war against Gibeon.* 6 *Joshua rescueth it.* 10 *God fighteth against them with hailstones.* 12 *The sun and moon stand still at the word of Joshua.* 16 *The five kings are mured in a cave.* 21 *They are brought forth,* 24 *scornfully used,* 26 *and hanged.* 28 *Seven kings more are conquered.* 43 *Joshua returneth to Gilgal.*

1 Now it came to pass, when Adoni-zedec king of Jerusalem had heard how Joshua had taken Ai, and had utterly destroyed it; as he had done to Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king; and how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and were among them;

2 That they feared greatly, because Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai, and all the men thereof were mighty.

3 Wherefore Adoni-zedec king of Jerusalem sent unto Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of Eglon, saying,

4 Come up unto me, and help me, that we may smite Gibeon: for it hath made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel.

5 Therefore the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together, and went

CHAP. X.

Ver 1. *When Adoni-zedec king of Jerusalem]* Who seems to have been the most potent prince in Canaan, and carried in his name an honourable title, which had been anciently given to the kings of this place; who had been famous for doing justice. For, it is probable, that ever since Melchizedek, who was king of Salem (the same with Jerusalem), and truly king of righteousness, as his name signified, they affected this title, though they did not always answer their character: for this Adonizedek (whose name imports the law of righteousness) had none of the virtues that were in Melchizedek.

King of Jerusalem] It is probably thought that this city held the name of Salem, which it had in Abraham's time, till the Israelites came into the land of Canaan; and then they called it Jerusalem, when they first took possession of it. Which they did not so fully, but that still the Jebusites dwelt there with the children of Benjamin (see Judg. i. 8, 21), who were so weak, that the Jebusites, in time, recovered it wholly to themselves, and expelled the Benjamites; see Judg. xix. 10, where it is called Jebus, though the other name is also acknowledged; because the Israelites call it Jerusalem, while the Jebusites, having prevailed, called it Jebus.

Heard how Joshua had taken Ai,] By which means the Israelites were come nearer to him, than when they took Jericho.

And had utterly destroyed it,] And therefore it highly concerned him to provide, the best he could, for his own safety.

How—Gibeon had made peace with Israel,] Especially, since one of the prime cities of the country had submitted to the Israelites.

And were among them;] Joined in society with them, or come (as we now speak) into their interest.

Ver. 2. *That they feared greatly,]* All his people thought themselves in great danger; they as well as their king having heard of the terrible execution Joshua had made at Jericho and Ai.

Because Gibeon was a great city,] Having others depending on it.

As one of the royal cities,] The Vulgar Latin takes no notice of the particle *caph* (*as*); but saith it was a royal city. And, indeed, that particle doth not always denote likeness, but only the truth of the thing spoken of; as in Hosea iv. 4. and many other places of the New Testament, as well as the Old (John i. 14. Phil. ii. 7). But I think here it should be expressed, as we do in our translation; because Gibeon was not a royal city, that is, had no king in it that we read of; but was, notwithstanding, equal to those cities that had kings, being governed by elders (ix. 11), who were persons of very great authority.

It was greater than Ai,] More populous.

All the men thereof were mighty,] The inhabitants were esteemed men of great valour; which made their revolt to the Israelites the more considerable.

Ver. 3. All these cities afterward belonged to the tribe of Judah; as appears from the following part of this book.

Ver. 4. *Help me,]* He was the most active in the war, and seems to have been of greatest power; calling the other kings only as auxiliaries to him.

That we may smite Gibeon,] He thought to discourage others from yielding, by making this city an example of their vengeance.

For it hath made peace with Joshua] Forsaken the interest of their country, and gone over to our enemies.

up, they and all their hosts, and encamped before Gibeon, and made war against it.

6 ¶ And the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us.

7 So Joshua ascended from Gilgal, he, and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour.

8 ¶ And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear them not: for I have delivered them into thine hand; there shall not a man of them stand before thee.

Ver. 5. *Therefore the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, &c.*] It is certain that Hebron belonged to the Hittites; as Jerusalem did to the Jebusites. But the Amorites being the most powerful people in Canaan (as appears from Gen. xv. 16), had, it seems, brought them under their power, and set kings of their own nation over them. Whence it is, that the Gibeonites, who were originally Hivites (ix. 17), are said to be of the "remnant of the Amorites" (2 Sam. xxi. 2), because they were fallen under their power, when Joshua conquered their country.

Gathered themselves] Had a general meeting, and sent out a summons to all their people, who were fit for war, to rendezvous (as we speak) at the place they appointed.

Went up.] Though they lived in the high country, yet Jerusalem was still higher; where they seem to have all met, according to Adonizedek's desire, ver. 4.

Encamped before Gibeon.] Laid siege to it.

Made war against it.] Began to assault it.

Ver. 6. *The men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua*] Or, *had sent*, as soon as they heard of their march towards them.

Slack not thy hand from thy servants.] They doubted not of his succour, because they were his servants who had put themselves under his protection; but begged it might be speedy, for fear they should be overpowered by such numerous forces as were coming against them.

Come up to us quickly, and save us.] They did not hope to be preserved without his help; nor unless it arrived quickly.

Ver. 7.] These last words are the explication of the former, as if he had said, "All the people of war, even all the mighty men of valour." For it is not likely he took along with him all the fighting men (some of which were necessary to guard the camp at Gilgal), but only the choicest of them; on whose valour he could most rely, and who could march most swiftly to the relief of their confederates.

Ver. 8. *The Lord said unto Joshua.*] Before he stirred a foot, he consulted the Divine Majesty about this expedition; who encouraged him to undertake it.

Fear them not: for I have delivered them into thine hand.] He promised him an entire victory; which emboldened him to fall upon them undauntedly.

Ver. 9.] Accordingly, Joshua made all the haste he could towards them, marching all night, that he might surprise them in their quarters (as I suppose he did) before they could draw out their army against him.

Ver. 10. *The Lord discomfited them before Israel.*] The suddenness of the attack, no doubt, put them into great confusion. And besides, God struck a terror into them, which made them seek for safety by flight, rather than fighting.

9 Joshua therefore came unto them suddenly, and went up from Gilgal all night.

10 And the LORD discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth up to Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.

11 And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Beth-horon, that the LORD cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: *they were* more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.

12 ¶ Then spake Joshua to the LORD in the

Slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon.] Near to the city, as the particle *beth* signifies in many places; particularly in the second chapter of this book, where Rahab's house is said to be upon the wall (we translate it, near or adjoining to the wall), and v. 13. where Joshua is said to be *bejericho*, near to that city, for he was not in it when the Captain of the Lord's host appeared to him (see Bochart's Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50).

Chased them—to Beth-horon.] To the place which was called by this name, when this book was written; for there was no such place now; it being built after they were settled in Canaan by Sherah, daughter or grand-daughter of Ephraim; as we read in 1 Chron. vii. 24.

Smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.] Two cities afterward in the tribe of Judah (xv. 35. 41). For, in the great confusion wherein they were, by the hailstones falling upon them (as it here follows), they fled backward and forward, as we speak, sometimes this way, sometimes the quite contrary (for Beth-horon lay northerly, and these other towns in the south), according as the hailstones, by the shifting of the wind, flew in their faces.

Ver. 11. *Beth-horon.*] Which was seated on the side of a hill; and seems to have taken its name from this wonderful storm here mentioned: for Beth-horon signifies as much, as the house or place of fury or anger.

The Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them] The LXX. call them λίθους χαλάζης, "hailstones of a vast bigness;" which some think were accompanied with thunder and lightning. And thus the ancient heathen say, that Hercules was assisted in his war against Albion, &c. (see Vossius, lib. i. De Orig. et Progressu Idolol. cap. 26). And that raining of stones is not a fable, but a real truth, see him also, lib. iii. cap. 12. Plutarch also, in the life of Timoleon, relates how a terrible storm, in the face of the Carthaginian army, gave him a great victory over them, with a very few forces which he had to encounter them. They that desire to see more to this purpose may look into Huetius' *Questiones Alnetanæ*, lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 12.

Unto Azekah.] This storm meeting them at Beth-horon drove them back to Azekah, as I observed on the foregoing verse.

They died.] They upon whom the hailstones fell were killed by them.

They were more which died with hailstones, &c.] For they could not flee from the stones which came from heaven, as they did from the sword of Israel.

Ver. 12. *Then spake Joshua to the Lord*] This song, as the Hebrews call it (see Masius).

In the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites] It is not certain at what time of the day he spake

day when the LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon: and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

13 And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves

what follows. Many think, when the sun was declining; others, rather in the morning. For he marched all night to surprise them, and in all probability fell upon them by break of day; and having routed and chased them for some hours, and killed great numbers of them, and seen others fall by the hailstones, concluded he should destroy them all, if he had but time enough before night came to favour their escape. Which made him pray that he might have light to continue his pursuit, and gain a complete victory over them.

In the sight of Israel,] It is a frivolous observation of Maimonides, that, because it is not said "in the sight of all Israel" (before whom Moses did his miracles), Joshua was inferior to him, even when God wrought this stupendous miracle at his request: for all Israel did not hear him speak these words, but only some few; as many, perhaps, as were with Elijah at Mount Carmel, when he brought fire down from heaven to consume his sacrifice. But there is no question that Israel signifies all the army; who heard, or were told what he said.

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon:] He desired it might stand immovable, in that part of the heavens where he saw it now shining upon Gibeon.

Thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.] There were more Ajalons than one; and it is not certain which it is he means: but it is most likely that in the tribe of Dan (xix. 42. Judg. i. 35), which was farthest from Gibeon; for we must suppose these two places to have been at some distance, otherwise Joshua could not have seen the sun and the moon both appear at the same time; as it is probable they were both now in his eye, when he spake these words. It is not fit to enter into such questions as these; in what sign the sun now was, and whether the moon was in her increase or decrease, &c. They that can make, and are disposed to such inquiries, may consult Bonfrorius.

Ver. 13. *The sun stood still, and the moon stayed,]* Thus Callimachus represents the sun as stopping the wheels of his chariot, to behold a chorus of nymphs; which so highly pleased him, that it made him prolong the day (ver. 181, 182, of his hymn to Diana):

Ἦλθε κατ' Ἡέλιος καθὼν χορόν, ἀλλὰ δεῖται
Δίφρον ἐπιστήσας, τὰ δὲ φαῖα κενύοντα.

Where Ezek. Spanhemius excellently notes, that what the poets only fancied might be, was really done in the days of Joshua; and wishes Grotius had not followed some of the Jews, who make this only a poetical phrase to express a long summer's day: for the prophet Habakkuk represents it otherwise, and so do many of the Talmudic doctors. They that can consult Huetius also, in his *Ancient Questions* (lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 27), will find enough to shame those who disbelieve this history: when they read a great number of stories among the heathen, which show they thought it within the power of their gods to do such things. And, among other memorable things, he doth not forget the ancient tradition of the Egyptians, related by Herodotus (in his *Euterpe*, cap. 142), concerning the stupendous alteration of the course of the sun. And our Dr. Jackson hath observed, that the heathen people of those times did note this mira-

culous event, and deliver the tradition of it to their posterity; who, as men are wont to do, endeavour to assign some cause of it. And the poets in ages following ascribe it (with some additions) unto that unnatural murder which Atrous committed: at which the heavens blushed, and the sun stood still. For this bloody fact, if Statius mistake not, was in the time of the Theban war; and that is placed, by good chronologers, about the time of Joshua's conquest of Canaan. (see book i. upon the Creed, ch. 15). But in this he was deceived, for Atrous lived in the days of the Judges.

14 And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the LORD fought for Israel.

Until the people had avenged themselves) Till they had gained a complete victory, and utterly destroyed their enemies.

Is not this written in the book of Jasher?] The Targum expounds it, "in the book of the law:" as if the meaning was, that there God had foretold what wonders he would do for his people. But from the marginal translation (which is, "the book of the upright, or of righteous men") others take it for a book where was recorded the wonderful things done by or for the religious heroes. And there are some probable arguments that it was written in verse, to fix these things in the memory of the people. Grotius is of this opinion: for we find mention of it nowhere else but only in 2 Sam. i. 18, and there it is mentioned upon account of a song made upon the death of Saul and Jonathan by king David, who caused it to be recorded in this book. Which was not accounted sacred (being written by several hands and in several ages), and so not preserved with such care as this and the other canonical books were. As for their opinion who think this book contained the ancient annals of the Jews more largely than they are recorded in this and the following books, it hath no ground at all; but is invented merely to frame an argument from thence, that Joshua was not the author of this book; but that it was collected in aftertimes, out of this great Chronicle; by somebody who made an abridgment of it. But Du Pin hath well observed, that it is not said here the wars of Joshua were related in the book of Jasher; but only that mention is made therein of the miracle by which the moon stood still.

So the sun stood still] There is no more mention of the moon; for it was the light of the sun that made the day.

In the midst of heaven,] This doth not necessarily signify that it stood still precisely in the meridian point; but that it appeared visibly to every body, fixed in the same place where it was, when Joshua spake the foregoing words, to which he was moved, no doubt, by a Divine inspiration.

About a whole day.] It may be simply translated, "a whole day:" the particle *caph*, as I observed before, signifying oftentimes nothing of similitude, but the very thing itself. Therefore I look upon Maimonides' explication as ungrounded; who by *kajom thaimim* ("as a whole day") understands only as the longest day in summer (More Nevochim, par. xi. cap. 35). Which was a poor business, it being now summer-time, when this miracle was wrought: and, as Lyra thinks, in the month of June.

Ver. 14. *There was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of man.]* That is, did at his desire (or rather command) such a

15 ¶ And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp at Gilgal.

16 But these five kings fled, and hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah.

17 And it was told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found hid in a cave at Makkedah.

18 And Joshua said, Roll great stones upon the mouth of the cave, and set men by it for to keep them :

19 And stay ye not, but pursue after your enemies, and smite the hindmost of them ; suffer them not to enter into their cities : for the LORD your God hath delivered them into your hand.

20 And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end of slaying

them with a very great slaughter, till they were consumed, that the rest *which* remained of them entered into fenced cities.

21 And all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace : none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel.

22 Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring out those five kings unto me out of the cave.

23 And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eg-lon.

24 And it came to pass, when they brought

stupendous thing as this. Whereby he gave an evident demonstration, that he who did such wonders in Egypt, and at the Red Sea, and the river Jordan, had an absolute power not only over the *elements* (as we call them) and all inferior creatures, but over the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, and stars, whom the heathen worshipped. They have strange love to cavilling, who would hence have it thought this book was not written by Joshua : when, if he wrote it in his old age, there were many days passed since this prodigy, as Huetius well observes in his *Demonstr. Evang.* p. 186. See various opinions about the length of this day in Sixtinus Amama's *Antibarbarus Bibli-cus*, lib. iii. p. 381, &c.

For the Lord fought for Israel.] By throwing stones from heaven upon their enemies ; and giving the Israelites strength to pursue them ; and stopping the sun's course, that they might not want light for their pursuit ; and preserving them from the stones which fell upon their enemies, and not upon them, though mingled with them in the fight.

Ver. 15. *Joshua returned, — unto the camp at Gilgal.*] The LXX. in the common copies wholly omit this verse ; because Joshua did not return to Gilgal, till he had done what follows. and then he speaks of his return, in the same words and syllables, ver. 43, but it is in the edition of Hervaeus, 1540, as my most learned friend Dr. Alix informs me ; and the meaning of it here, therefore, is no more than this ; that he was about to return till he heard where the five kings were ; and that many of the enemies were still remaining.

Ver. 16. *But these five kings*] Mentioned ver. 3.

Fled.] Escaped the sword of the Israelites by flight ; being provided, perhaps, with swift beasts for that purpose ; and taking some by-ways, separate from their scattered forces, so that the hailstones did not fall upon them.

Did themselves in a cave] Which they knew to have secret lurking-places in it ; where they could not be easily discovered.

At Makkedah.] In the confines of that city. Which not being yet taken, Joshua could not command great stones to be rolled upon the mouth of the cave, if it had been in the city itself.

Ver. 17.] It is likely Joshua had given a particular charge about them ; and they made no inquiry what was become of them, till it was discovered, that they were in this place.

Ver. 18. *Roll great stones*] To hinder their coming out.

Set men by it] He ordered a guard also, to see that none removed the stones.

Ver. 19. *Stay ye not, but pursue after your enemies,*] They that brought this intelligence, were, it is likely, some officers in the army ; whom he would not have to stop their pursuit of the scattered Canaanites, by

looking after these kings ; but leave it to others to take care to keep them safe shut up in the cave.

Smite the hindmost] He means all that they could overtake in their flight.

Suffer them not to enter into their cities.] And hinder the rest from retreating into their own cities ; by which means they would not remain in a body together ; but dispersed here and there, where they could save themselves.

God hath delivered them into your hand.] Given you an opportunity to complete their destruction.

Ver. 20. *When Joshua and the children of Israel*] i. e. The children of Israel, by the command and direction of Joshua, who sent out strong parties to pursue them ; but he himself seems to have gone to lay siege to Makkedah.

Till they were consumed,] Till there was none of them to be seen in a body together.

The rest — entered into fenced cities.] Those few that escaped got into such fortified cities as they could reach.

Ver. 21. *All the people*] Who had been sent out, and engaged in pursuit of the enemy.

Returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah] Where, no doubt, he had ordered a general rendezvous, as we now speak, of the whole army that had been employed in this war.

In peace.] The LXX. translate it *εἰρῆς*, "sound and safe," and the Vulgar, *sani et integro numero* : "sound and without the loss of a man." Which is to be understood of that detachment sent to pursue them (ver. 19), who came all safe to the camp, and not a man of them lost, or so much as wounded.

None moved his tongue] There was not so much as a dog that barked at them. For that word *dog* is to be supplied (as Bochartus thinks), according to what we read, *Exod.* xi. 7 (see Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 55). It is an expression of the great tranquillity wherein they were, and of an entire victory, there being not so much as a dog left to disturb them.

Ver. 22.] The wisdom of Joshua is here observed by Arius Montanus, who would not do this execution till all the people were returned to the camp to be witnesses of it. And he might have added, that he executed them before he assaulted Makkedah, that the inhabitants of that city might see there was no hope of any succour from those kings who had been very powerful.

Ver. 23.] They are named in the same order as in ver. 3, according to their rank and quality ; for next to the king of Jerusalem, who was the chief, the king of Hebron seems to have been of greatest note ; and so of the rest. The same Montanus thinks it probable, that as they brought them forth and set them before Joshua, they said, This is the king of Jerusalem ; and then, This is the king of Hebron, &c.

out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them.

25 And Joshua said unto them, Fear not, nor be dismayed, be strong and of good courage: for thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies against whom ye fight.

26 And afterward Joshua smote them, and slew them, and hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening.

27 And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had been hid, and laid great stones in the cave's mouth, which remain until this very day.

Ver. 24. *All the men of Israel,*] That is, all the men of war.

Captains of the men of war,] That is, the great officers of the army.

Put your feet upon the necks of these kings,] Who lay bound, I suppose, prostrate upon the ground.

They came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them,] Not out of insolence and pride; but in token that these kings and their countries were brought in absolute subjection to them; and that God had fulfilled his promise (Deut. xxxiii. ult.).

Ver. 25. *Fear not, nor be dismayed,*] The same that Moses had said to them all long ago, Deut. i. 21. 29, and God had lately said to Joshua, i. 6, 7, 9, and might be said with greater reason now, when they saw their greatest enemies lie prostrate under their feet.

Thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies,] To all the inhabitants of Canaan.

Ver. 26. *Afterward Joshua smote them,*] After they had trampled upon them he ordered them to be killed.

Hanged them on five trees,] As a mark of infamy, whereby a terror was struck into all others.

They were hanging upon the trees until the evening,] Exposed to this contempt all that long day; which God made on purpose that they might do all the great things before mentioned, and what follows, before the night came upon them. Then their bodies were taken down, not in honour to them, but in honour to the land of Israel, where God now dwelt. So Aben Ezra.

Ver. 27.] He had given this order as soon as they were hanged, according to the law of Moses, by which he acted before Ai (viii. 29). And with their bodies he cast all the instruments of their punishment (the trees, and whatsoever fastened them unto them) into the cave, as Maimonides saith, and the Samaritan Chronicle here particularly observes.

Ver. 28. *That day Joshua took Makkedah,*] The same day the king of it was hanged; and it seems to be probable it was on that long day (as I said before) which God made that they might complete their conquest of these kings; and when they had done, take this city also. Our great primate of Ireland indeed, by *that day*, understands the same day that he set down before the city; which he thinks was some time after what is before related.

The king thereof he utterly destroyed,] He was

28 ¶ And that day Joshua took Makkedah, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof he utterly destroyed, them, and all the souls that *were* therein; he let none remain: and he did to the king of Makkedah as he did unto the king of Jericho.

29 Then Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah:

30 And the Lord delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that *were* therein; he let none remain in it; but did unto the king thereof as he did unto the king of Jericho.

31 ¶ And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it:

32 And the Lord delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, which took it on the second day,

slain among the rest, and not taken alive as the king of Ai was.

All the souls that were therein,] All the fighting men, together with the women and children; because they had refused the offers of peace, sent them from Joshua, before he invaded their land.

He let none remain,] But saved the cattle, which they took, with their goods, for a prey.

As he did unto the king of Jericho,] What he did to the king of Jericho is not recorded; but by what is said of other kings, it is probable that he hanged him up after he was found dead.

Ver. 29. *Then Joshua passed from Makkedah,*] This only signifies what was their next expedition; for it is likely they refreshed themselves awhile before they left this place.

All Israel with him,] All that he brought along with him to the relief of Gibeon (see ver. 7).

Unto Libnah,] A city which fell to the share of the tribe of Judah, in the division of the land (xv. 42), and was one of the cities given to the priests (xxi. 13. 1 Chron. vi. 57).

Fought against Libnah,] Laid siege to it, and planted their batteries against it.

Ver. 30. *The Lord delivered it also,*] They made an easy conquest of it, because God gave it up into their hand.

He smote it, &c.] The same words whereby the destruction of Makkedah is described, ver. 28. For both these cities favoured the five kings before mentioned, and therefore (as Conradus Pellicanus thinks) were destroyed utterly, not only by the command of God, but by the right of war. But the command of God, was the only ground, as it is expressed, ver. 40.

Ver. 31. *Joshua passed from Libnah,—unto Lachish,*] Another city which fell to the tribe of Judah (xv. 39), and was not far from Libnah.

Encamped against it,] This, it seems, was a stronger city than either of the former; for there is no mention of an encampment against them before they began their assault.

Ver. 32. *The Lord delivered Lachish,*] He doth not add, "and the king thereof," as he doth of Makkedah and Libnah, (ver. 28. 30), because he was one of the five kings which he had lately hanged, and they had not, it is likely, set a new one on his throne (ver. 23).

Which took it on the second day,] After they began the siege; or, the second day after the taking of Makkedah and Libnah. The former is most likely,

and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that *were* therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.

33 ¶ Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left him none remaining.

34 ¶ And from Lachish Joshua passed unto Eglon, and all Israel with him; and they encamped against it, and fought against it:

35 And they took it on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that *were* therein he utterly destroyed that day, according to all that he had done to Lachish.

36 And Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it:

37 And they took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the souls that *were*

therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon; but destroyed it utterly, and all the souls that *were* therein.

38 ¶ And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it:

39 And he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof: and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that *were* therein; he left none remaining: as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to the king thereof; as he had done also to Libnah, and to her king.

40 ¶ So Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings: he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded.

41 And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon.

because their encampment against it signifies they spent some time before it.

Smote it with the edge of the sword, &c.] These words, and the following, are the very same with what he said before of the two forenamed cities; only he doth not add, "he let none remain," which is to be supposed.

Ver. 33. *Then Horam king of Gezer]* This was a city afterward in the tribe of Ephraim (xvi. 10), belonging to the Levites (xxi. 21), and not far from Gibeon, as may be guessed from 1 Chron. xiv. 16.

Joshua smote him and his people,] If he destroyed his city at this time, he returned to Lachish. And it is probable, he sent forth a detachment to fight Horam and his army; who having routed them, destroyed also their city, and then went on with the siege of Lachish.

Ver. 34. *Joshua passed unto Eglon,]* Which also belonged afterward to Judah (xv. 39), and seems to have been as considerable as Lachish; for it follows, that "they encamped against it, and fought against it," as they had done against the other. Their king was one of the five who were killed and hanged before (ver. 23).

Ver. 35. *They took it on that day,]* The same day they set down before it; for none came to their relief, as Horam did to help Lachish, which may be one reason that city was not taken till the second day (ver. 32).

Smote it] The same he had said of the forenamed cities; only he saith, he "utterly destroyed all" that were therein on the same day, which is the same with those words, "he let none remain."

Ver. 36. *]* This was also a city of Judah (as every one knows, xv. 54), and was seated in the mountainous country, as the former were in the plain, which is the reason he is said to go up to it from Eglon.

Ver. 37. *And the king]* Their king was one of the five whom Joshua had lately killed and hanged. But it seems, they had set up a new one, being a city of great note, which had other cities depending on it, as it follows in the next words.

All the cities thereof,] It was not only one of the royal cities, which had other cities subject to it (as Gibeon had, which was a kind of royal city) but of very great power. For these words import, as if there were many cities under its jurisdiction.

All the souls that were therein;] In this conquest, Caleb was very instrumental, and signalized himself (as we now speak) by driving out the three sons of

Anak (xv. 13, 14), who were slain there (Judg. i. 10). Thus we must understand this history; or else say, as some do, either that Joshua only took the city and destroyed it, but could not take the citadel or strong fort, on the top of the mountain (which doth not seem to be exactly true, for we read in the next chapter, ver. 21, 22, that he cut off the Anakims from the mountains, &c.), or that, after he had destroyed it, as is here related, the Anakims came from Gaza, and other cities of the Philistines, whither they now fled, and peopled it again, but were expelled again by Caleb, as some understand, xiv. 12. (see Judg. i. 10).

Ver. 38. *]* He had not been there before, but having gone as far south and west as he thought fit, (even as far as Gaza, which was in the western coast, ver. 41), he turned his course towards the camp at Gilgal, which was now north-east from him and in his way thither took Debir, which also was a city of Judah (xv. 49), and one of the cities of the priests (xxi. 15. 1 Chron. vi. 58), called also Kiriath-Sepher, and Kiriath-Sanna.

Ver. 39. *]* It was a great city (we may gather from hence, like to Hebron), in the conquest of which Othniel the brother of Caleb did great service, and therefore it was given to him, as we read, xv. 15—17, and Judg. i. 11.

Ver. 40. *Joshua smote all the country of the hills, &c.]* He forbears to name all the cities he took, and, in short, saith he subdued the whole country that lay south and west (as it is explained in the next verse), of whatsoever sort it was; both the hilly and the low country: for they that describe countries are wont to have respect to two things; the condition and quality of the soil, and then the situation: the first of these he expresses in this verse, and the other in the next. For here he describes it as partly hilly and dry, and partly plain and full of springs.

Utterly destroyed all that breathed,] Which must be restrained to mankind; for they kept their cattle as a prey to themselves.

As the Lord God of Israel commanded.] This is added as a justification of the Israelites, from all imputation of cruelty or severity; for they only executed a Divine sentence against this people for their abominable wickedness (Lev. xviii. 24, 25, &c.) wherewith the Israelites would have been in danger to be infected, if they had not been extirpated.

Ver. 41. *Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea]*

42 And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because the Lord God of Israel fought for Israel.

Which was in the south of Canaan, as appears from Numb. xxxiv. 4, and chap. xv. of this book, ver. 3, where it is mentioned as belonging to the tribe of Judah.

Even unto Gaza,] A city of the Philistines, in the west part of Canaan, toward the south.

All the country of Goshen,] There was a city in the tribe of Judah of this name, which lay in the mountains, as Hebron did, in the southern part of the country (xv. 51). From which city, the region thereabouts was called the country of Goshen: which had excellent pasture-ground in it, and was well watered (like that country in Egypt of the same name), and thence was called Goshen, as Conradus Pellicanus conjectures; because the Hebrew word *gashem* signifies large showers, which make the earth fruitful.

Even unto Gibeon,] Which was in the more northerly part of the country. And therefore, as before he gave an account of his conquest from the south to the west; so here of his conquest from the south to the north.

Ver. 42. *At one time,*] In one expedition.

Because the Lord God of Israel fought for Israel,] Which made their conquest easy and speedy. The Targum hath it, "The Lord God of Israel, by his Word, fought for Israel." That is, by him who ap-

peared to Joshua as the captain of the Lord's host, ver. 13, 14.

Ver. 43.] To refresh themselves with the company of their wives and children; and to make those who were left to defend them partakers of their booty; but especially to return solemn thanks to God for their victories at his house, which was now settled at Gilgal.

Our great primate of Ireland thinks, that this war with the five kings that came against Gibeon, &c. concluded this famous year. In the first part of which Moses took the kingdoms of Sihon and Og on the other side Jordan; and in the latter part of it Joshua conquered a great part of the land of Canaan; and in the middle of it the manna ceased, and they ate of the fruit of the country. So that in the autumn of this year they began to sow, and consequently, from this time, they began to number their sabbatical years (see him in his Annals, A. M. 2554). But another great man (Dr. Alix) admonishes me, that this is against the opinion of the ancient Jews, who suppose that the first year of the *semitah* was the fourteenth after their entrance into Canaan: for the land must have been divided before it was cultivated; and so the sabbath of the land must be seven years after the division.

CHAPTER XI.

1 *Divers kings overcome at the waters of Merom.* 10 *Hazor is taken and burnt.* 16 *All the country taken by Joshua.* 21 *The Anakims cut off.*

1 AND it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor had heard *those things*, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph,

2 And to the kings that *were* on the north of

the mountains, and of the plains south of Chinneroth, and in the valley, and in the borders of Dor on the west,

3 *And* to the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and

CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *When Jabin king of Hazor*] This city was the metropolis of the northerly part of Canaan (ver. 10), and fell to the share of the tribe of Naphtali in the division of the land (xix. 36). Jabin was the name of the king of the Canaanites in this part of the country in future times, and reigned in this very city (Judg. iv. 2).

Heard those things,] Of the conquest Joshua had made of so many kings, and their kingdoms, in the south and the west part of the land.

That he sent to Jobab king of Madon,] This is the name of a place we read of nowhere else, but was subject, no doubt, unto Hazor, as the rest were.

To the king of Shimron,] A place afterward in the tribe of Zebulun, near to the country of Naphtali (xix. 15).

To the king of Achshaph,] In the tribe of Asher (xix. 25). These two last places Arius Montanus thinks were more remote from Hazor than Madon, and lay towards the south near Mount Tabor, being the only southern people that remained after the five kings were destroyed. But towards the north, and the east, and the west, there were many still left, whom Jabin now gathered together.

Ver. 2. *The north of the mountains,*] Or, mountainous country, near Lebanon; for that was in the north part of Canaan.

Of the plains south of Chinneroth,] In the flat country, which lay south of the lake called afterward Gennesaret, now Chinneroth (see Numb. xxxiv. 11).

In the valley,] Some conjecture he means that pleasant valley between Mount Hermon and Mount Gilboa, called the valley of Jezreel.

Dor] A city, with a country belonging to it, in the tribe of Manasseh (xvii. 11).

On the west,] Upon the midland sea. Where Josephus mentions (in his second book against Appion) a city called Dora, near Mount Carmel (see Bochartus in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 41. p. 752).

Ver. 3. *To the Canaanite*] The people peculiarly so called.

On the east and on the west,] It hath been noted before, that some of this people lived on the east near Jordan; and others of them on the west, near the midland sea (see Numb. xiii. 29).

The Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite,] There were other Amorites scattered up and down the country, besides those who were subject to the five kings mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 5, who were all now assembled together by Jabin, with the rest of the Hittites and Perizzites (who were in several parts of the country), that they might make as powerful an army as could be raised.

The Jebusite in the mountains,] About Jerusalem, where they kept a strong hold till the time of David;

the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountains, and to the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh.

4 And they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many.

5 And when all these kings were met together, they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.

as the Perizzites lived in other mountainous and woody countries, as Bochartus observes.

To the Hivite under Hermon] This was a mountain in the north-east part of the country, where some Hivites were settled, as others were about Gibeon. That Hermon was easterly, appears from Ps. lxxxix. 12, whence it is that the Hivites are called Kadmonites, that is, *easterlings* (Gen. xv. 19) as Bochart hath observed in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 36, and in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 19.

In the land of Mizpeh.] There were several cities of this name; one in the tribe of Judah (xv. 38), another belonging to Benjamin (xviii. 26), and two more beyond Jordan in the land of Gilead; one in the tribe of Gad, the other in the tribe of Manasseh, or very near it; which gave name to the country about it, and seems to be here intended.

Ver. 4. *They went out.*] The kings of all these people.

Much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in multitude.] A vast army, which could not easily be numbered; or, which covered the place where they were encamped, as sand doth the sea-shore; so that nothing could be seen but armed men, horses, and chariots, &c. It is a proverbial speech in Scripture for vast numbers of men, or great quantities of corn: or exceeding much knowledge and wisdom, as every one knows.

With horses and chariots very many.] This made them the more formidable, because the Israelites were all footmen: who might easily be beaten by a strong body of horse; especially when they had chariots also, which carried men in them (see upon Deut. xx. 1), and they had greater numbers also of them, as these words intimate. Josephus makes their chariots alone to have been twenty thousand. The land of Canaan, indeed, did not breed horses (as I have often observed), but they might easily procure them out of Egypt, and they trusted much to this kind of forces, wherein the Egyptians excelled most people (see Deut. xvii. 16).

Ver. 5. *When all these kings were met together.*] In some place which the king of Hazor appointed for a general rendezvous. For though this multitude were of different nations, yet they all now combined against the Israelites. But it was a great providence of God, that as all this country was not united under one head, but divided into several petty kingdoms; so they did not all enter into a confederacy at the first against Joshua, but fought severally; only five of their kings joining together. Though now they seem to have seen their error; and therefore all that remained, joined, as one man, to oppose Joshua's further proceeding.

They came and pitched together at the waters of Merom.] They marched to these waters, and there formed a camp, to prepare, and set themselves in order, to give Israel battle. These waters, all agree, were that lake which Josephus calls Σαλαζωνίδα, from the abundance of fishes that were in it: for *Sanachon*, or *Semechon*, in the Arabic language, signifies a fish

6 ¶ And the LORD said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them: for to-morrow about this time will I deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire.

7 So Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly; and they fell upon them.

8 And the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them unto

(as Bochart observes in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. i. cap. 6), and Joshua here calls the "waters of Merom;" that is, the *upper waters*; for this lake was near the fountain of Jordan, which ran through the lake of Tiberias, and fell into the lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea. With respect to which waters, these were called the *upper*, they being *lower*. And here they pitched rather than any other place, being under the jurisdiction of Jabin, who had called them together: for Hazor, where he reigned, was situate upon this lake, as Josephus tells us, lib. v. Antiq. cap. 6.

Ver. 6. *The Lord said unto Joshua.*] Who went, it is probable (as he had done formerly, x. 8), to consult the Divine Majesty, how he should manage himself upon this great occasion.

Be not afraid because of them.] Some collect from hence (even Josephus himself,) that Joshua was possessed with some fear, when he heard of such a numerous army, and so well appointed, coming against him. But I do not think it at all probable, that after so many late assurances and signal demonstrations, as God had given him of his presence with him in this war, he should be capable of this passion (see the first chapter of this book, ver. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9. iii. 7, 9, 10. v. 13—15. x. 8). Therefore these words were spoken to him, that he might animate the people, whose hearts were apt to fail them, when they saw such terrible enemies.

To-morrow about this time] It is not certain what this time was; but it is likely in the morning after he had marched all night (as he did against the five kings, x. 9), that he might fall upon them unexpectedly.

Will I deliver them up all slain before Israel.] The LXX. translate it *τεγορμωμενους*, "put to flight." Which agrees with what follows; for it is certain they were not all slain, but many of them fled, and the Israelites pursued them: and therefore other copies of the LXX. have it *τετροπυμους*, "wounded;" so broken and shattered, that they were all in effect dead men.

Hough their horses.] Cut their hamstrings, and thereby render them unfit for future service.

Burn their chariots] That they might be no more used; no, not by the Israelites themselves.

Ver. 7. *Joshua came—against them*] He did not wait for their motion; but attacked them as they lay in their quarters; for that is signified by the next word.

Suddenly] When they thought not of an enemy near them; but were consulting, perhaps, how to manage the war against the Israelites.

They fell upon them.] When they were unprovided to make such resistance as they would have done, if they had been ready to receive them.

Ver. 8. *The Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them.*] Routed and killed a great many of them.

Chased them unto great Zidon.] This, it seems, was a large city, and of great note in these days (for there

great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward; and they smote them, until they left them none remaining.

9 And Joshua did unto them as the LORD bade him: he houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.

10 ¶ And Joshua at that time turned back, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.

11 And they smote all the souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, utterly destroying them: there was not any left to breathe: and he burnt Hazor with fire.

12 And all the cities of those kings, and all

the kings of them, did Joshua take, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and he utterly destroyed them, as Moses the servant of the LORD commanded.

13 But as for the cities that stood still in their strength, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn.

14 And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they any to breathe.

15 ¶ As the LORD commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so did Joshua; he left nothing undone of all that the LORD commanded Moses.

was no Zidon the less), built by the eldest son of Canaan (as Josephus thinks), from whom it had its name (see Gen. x. 15). It lay in the north-west part of Canaan, upon the sea.

Unto Misrephoth-maim,] It is thought by some that this was a place where there were hot waters, which I shall not examine, but only note it as a probable conjecture, from xiii. 6, that it was a place in the country of Zidon where they made salt.

Unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward,] See ver. 3. This signifies, that, in their confusion, some of them fled westward to Zidon and Misrephoth-maim, and others eastward towards Mizpeh.

Smote them, until they left them none remaining,] As they divided themselves, and fled several ways; so did the Israelites send out several parties, both to the west and to the east, who pursued them so close, that they left not a man of them escape.

Ver. 9.] We do not read, as Kimchi notes upon this place, of any horses or chariots which the five kings, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, brought into the field; because they were only to besiege Gibeon, and hoped to take it presently by an assault, in which there was no use of horses and chariots; which they did not want, no more than these kings, who abounded in them, and placed their principal confidence in their horsemen and chariots. Which was the reason God commanded them to hough their horses; that is, to cut their nerves and sinews in their hams, which Josephus translates ἀρρίστους ποιεῖν, "to make them useless and unprofitable:" for God would not have his people place their safety and security in this, but in himself alone, as good people always did (Ps. xx. 7). Accordingly, when David had conquered Hadezezar, and taken from him a great number of horses and chariots, he disabled all the horses, after this example of Joshua (as if God intended by him to teach all future rulers of his people what to do), reserving only as many as would serve for a hundred chariots (2 Sam. viii. 4). And Schickardus observes, out of the Jewish authors, that they were wont thus to enervate all the horses they found in the king's stables after his death, that they might not be of use to his successor (see his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 6. Theor. 19, and Bochart's Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 11).

Ver. 10. *Joshua at that time,]* Before he thought of returning to his camp, at Gilgal.

Turned back,] From pursuing those that fled towards the western coast.

Took Hazor,] Which was in the eastern part of the country, upon the lake before mentioned.

Smote the king thereof,] This was one reason, it is likely, why he made haste to invest Hazor; because the king thereof, who was the chief author of this

war, had escaped out of the battle, and thought to defend himself there.

For Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms,] Not of all the kingdoms of Canaan; but of all those mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Which was another reason why he fell upon it at this time: that by taking the most considerable city of this part of Canaan, all the rest might be disheartened to hold out against him.

Ver. 11. *There was not any left,]* See x. 40.

He burnt Hazor,] Which the Canaanites afterward rebuilt, and possessed it for some time; another king of the same name reigning in it (Judg. iv. 2). For the kings of this city were called Jabin in many successions, as the Egyptian kings were called Pharaoh, and the kings of the Philistines Ahimelech, &c.

Ver. 12. *The cities—and all the kings of them, did Joshua take,]* viz. Those mentioned ver. 2, 3, whom Jabin drew into confederacy with him; and perhaps were his dependants.

Utterly destroyed them,] That is, all their inhabitants.

As Moses—commanded,] Deut. vii. 2, and many other places.

Ver. 13. *As for the cities that stood still in their strength,]* The Hebrew words all *thillam* (which we translate "in their strength"), literally signify *on their heap*, as is noted in the margin of our Bibles; that is, were seated in an eminent place, and therefore of greater strength than those that stood in the plain. Thus Bochart interprets it in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 29, from whence he thinks came the names of Thelassar (2 Kings xix. 12), and of Thelabib (Ezek. iii. 15.) And thus I observe the prophet Jeremiah speaks, xxx. 18, Jerusalem shall be built on her own heap, or high hill. But the meaning may be, according to our translation, the cities whose walls were not battered down in the taking of them.

Israel burned none of them,] Because they intended to dwell in them; and would not be at the charge and pains of building new walls for their safety.

Save Hazor only,] Because it was the capital city and began this war against them: which being laid desolate by the Israelites, without inhabitant, the Canaanites took their opportunity to rebuild it, and settle themselves there again.

Ver. 14. *All the spoil—the children of Israel took,]* As the LORD allowed them to do at Ai (viii. 2).

But every man they smote, &c,] Because God had often commanded these nations should be rooted out for their abominable wickedness; lest the Israelites should be drawn in to imitate them in their filthy lewdness, as I observe from Lev. xviii. 24—26, &c. See also xx. 22, 23, &c.

Ver. 15. *As the Lord commanded Moses,]* See Exod. xxxiv. 11, 12, &c.

16 So Joshua took all that land, the hills, and all the south country, and all the land of Goshen, and the valley, and the plain, and the mountain of Israel, and the valley of the same;

17 *Even from the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and slew them.*

18 Joshua made war a long time with all those kings.

19 There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: all *other* they took in battle.

So did Moses command Joshua,] See Numb. xxvi. 19. Deut. xxxi. 7.

He left nothing undone of all that the Lord commanded Moses,] Which is a demonstration that Moses left in writing what we read the Lord commanded in the foregoing books, and that they were not written (as some pretend) in later times: for then it would have been impossible for Joshua to have executed every thing that he commanded, unless he had had the book of the law before him for his direction. But so desirous are some men to weaken the authority of these holy books, that from hence they argue this book of Joshua could not be written by himself, but some other; because he gives himself this high commendation. So the author of Theolog. Polit. who by the same reason might have rejected St. Paul's Epistles as none of his, and Cæsar's Commentaries; for both of them relate their own virtues, and the noble things they did.

Ver. 16. *Joshua took all that land,]* Belonging to the kings before mentioned.

The hills, &c.] This is a description of his whole conquest, as appears from x. 40.

The mountain of Israel,] It is very uncertain what place this was, but many think it probable to be Beth-el: where God appeared to Jacob, as he went to Padan-Aram, and promised to give him this land (Gen. xxviii. 12, 13), and where he dwelt, by God's direction, after he came from Padan-Aram, and God appeared again to him there, and made him the same promise, and changed his name from Jacob to Israel (Gen. xxxv. 1. 9, 10, &c.).

The valley of the same,] Belonging to the same mountain. But Conradus Pellicanus thinks the singular number is put for the plural, and thus explains the whole verse: The land of Israel was partly in the hill-country, partly in the south towards Egypt, partly in the plain near the great sea, and the sea of Sodom, and the spring of Jordan, near Tabor, in Galilee. And moreover, the mountains of Israel were the two Carmels, Hermon, Gilead, Lebanus, those about Jerusalem, and many other.

Ver. 17. *Even from the mount Halak,]* Or the stony mountain, as Bochart interprets it, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 5.

That goeth up to Seir,] Which was the bounds of the country of Edom.

Even unto Baal-gad,] As in the foregoing words he expresses the bounds of Joshua's conquest southward, so hither they reached northward. And this seems to be a description of the length of the country which he took from the king of Hazor, and all those that joined with him, as Archbishop Usher understands it.

All their kings he took, and smote them,] So that none appeared to make head against him.

Ver. 18.] But those kings were so many, and made such great opposition, that he spent six years (as the

20 For it was of the LORD to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them, as the LORD commanded Moses.

21 ¶ And at that time came Joshua, and cut off the Anakims from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel: Joshua destroyed them utterly with their cities.

22 There was none of the Anakims left in the

forenamed great person computes) in this war before he could finish it.

Ver. 19. *There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel,]* This is the reason the war continued so long, because there was but one city that surrendered on such terms as had been offered them; but all the rest obstinately refused to yield unto Joshua.

Save only the Hivites,] See viii. 3. Who, if they had truly discovered who they were (which out of fear they concealed), and begged peace, they might have obtained it on such conditions as were proposed to all.

All other they took in battle,] By force of arms.

Ver. 20. *For it was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel,]* Being a people obstinately wicked, God ordered things so in his providence, that they were emboldened (notwithstanding the wonders they had certainly heard were done for Israel) to fight with them. By which it appears the Gibeonites were a better sort of people, who considered what God had done in favour of the Israelites.

That they might have no favour,] Which they might have found, if they had not been so fool-hardy (as we speak), as to imagine they could withstand those before whom the river Jordan fled, and the walls of Jericho fell down flat.

As the Lord commanded Moses,] In many places, particularly in Deut. vii. 2. xx. 16, 17.

Ver. 21. *At that time,]* That is, in the war before mentioned, and perhaps in the conclusion of it; after he had left none to oppose him in other places, but only in those mountainous countries which were of difficult access.

Came Joshua,] Either from the camp at Gilgal, or from destroying the kings and their countries, of which he had been speaking in this chapter.

Cut off the Anakims,] Who were a distinct people (Arius Montanus thinks) from the Canaanites; of a fierce, cruel, and tyrannical disposition, who oppressed all their neighbours.

From the mountains,] Where they had settled, and it is likely, strongly fortified themselves; which moved Joshua to let them alone till he had finished his other conquests. Concerning these Anakims, see Numb. xiii. 22, 23.

From Hebron,] Called also Kiriath-Arba, the city of Arba, who was a great man among the Anakims (see Bochartus, in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 1. p. 363).

Debir,] Also Kiriath-Sepher, as I noted before.

Anab,] This, as well as the two forenamed cities, fell to the tribe of Judah (xv. 50).

All the mountains of Judah,] All the mountainous country which afterward fell by lot to that tribe.

All the mountains of Israel,] All the mountainous country which was in the rest of the tribes of Israel, where these people, it is likely, fled for safety.

Joshua destroyed them utterly with their cities,]

land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, there remained.

23 So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses; and

Which it seems they had in those mountainous countries of Israel; besides Hebron, Debir, and Anab, in the tribe of Judah.

Ver. 22. *There was none of the Anakims left in the land*] He rooted them out of the whole country which the Israelites conquered.

Only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, there remained.] Three cities of the Philistines; unto which either some of them escaped, and there took shelter, or they had been there from ancient time, and the Israelites could not yet expel them. For they did not possess themselves of the country of the Philistines till the time of David: when we find some of these giants still there; particularly in Gath. But that there were any of them at Ascalon, the famous Bochart shows to be an error in the place before mentioned (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 1).

Ver. 23. *So Joshua took the whole land,*] Which either the Canaanites or the Anakims possessed; that is, subdued it so that none rose up against him, though many places were not yet in the possession of the Israelites (see xiii. 1, 2, &c.). For which were many reasons; one of which was, because the Israelites were not yet so many as to be able to people the whole country, and keep the beasts of the field from multi-

plying upon them (Exod. xxiii. 29): and two more reasons are added, Judg. iii. 1, 4.

That the Lord said unto Moses;] Deut. xxxi. 7, 8. *Gave it for an inheritance unto Israel*] Deut. iii. 28. *According to their divisions*] Numb. xxvi. 53. xxxiii. 54.

The land rested from war.] None of the lords of the Philistines, or any other, adventured to give any disturbance to the Israelites in their possessions; but they enjoyed them quietly: and thereby had liberty to make a division of the country; which God ordered them to go about, ch. xiii.

Now began the seventh year from the time the Israelites first ploughed and sowed in the land: and therefore was the first sabbatical year that they observed after Joshua had brought them to their rest in the land of promise. An emblem (as our great primate of Ireland observes, of that eternal sabbatism, or rest, unto which the true Jesus will bring his people (Heb. iv. 8, 9). And from this they were to reckon unto their jubilee, mentioned Lev. xxv. 8. 13. But that was not from their entrance into Canaan, but from the seventh year after the division of the land, as I observed before upon the last verse of the tenth chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *The two kings whose countries Moses took and disposed of.* 7 *The one and thirty kings on the other side Jordan which Joshua smote.*

1 Now these are the kings of the land, which the children of Israel smote, and possessed their land on the other side Jordan toward the rising of the sun, from the river Arnon unto mount Hermon, and all the plain on the east:

2 Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from Aroer, which is upon the bank of the river Arnon, and from the middle of the river, and from half Gilead, even unto the

river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon;

3 And from the plain to the sea of Chinneroth on the east, and unto the sea of the plain, even the salt sea on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth; and from the south, under Ashdodth-pisgah:

4 ¶ And the coast of Og king of Bashan, which was of the remnant of the giants, that dwelt at Ashtaroth and Edrei,

CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1. *Now these are the kings of the land,*] Before he gives an account of the division of the land, he thinks fit to lay before every one's eyes, as in a table, the land they had conquered: which was to be divided.

On the other side Jordan toward the rising of the sun,] There they began their conquests, before they passed over Jordan.

From the river Arnon unto Mount Hermon,] So the bounds of this conquest are described by Moses, Deut. iii. 8. iv. 48 (see there).

All the plain on the east;] That is, on the east of Jordan (see Deut. i. 1), called the plain of Moab, Deut. xxxiv. 1.

Ver. 2. *Sihon king of the Amorites,*] He was the first king whose land they conquered and possessed (see Numb. xxi.).

Ruled from Aroer,] See Numb. xxi. 24.

From the middle of the river,] In which stood the city called Aroer. For Ar never was in the hands of Sihon; but his kingdom was bounded by it, on that side (see Deut. ii. 36. iii. 16).

From half Gilead,] In the Hebrew, "and half of

Gilead;" there being nothing to answer to the word *from*: which being left out, the sense is plain, that half of the country of Gilead belonged to Sihon, as the other half did to Og (ver. 5).

Unto the river Jabbok,] Thus his country is constantly described: particularly in Numb. xxi. 24. Deut. iii. 16.

Ver. 3. *From the plain, &c.*] There is nothing answering to the word *from* in the Hebrew; which may most clearly be translated *and the plain*: and so the LXX. only retaining the word *araba*, which we translate *plain*. This was another part of Sihon's country, a great plain, which lay eastward of the sea of Chinneroth, and the salt sea; by which it was bounded on the west.

The way to Beth-jeshimoth;] Which, by the next words, is thought to have lain towards the south.

From the south, under Ashdodth-pisgah;] The meaning seems to be, that on the south it was bounded by Ashdodth-pisgah (see Deut. iii. 17). I do not touch these things, leaving them to a very learned friend and brother of mine, who hath most accurately considered every part and place of this country.

Ver. 4. *The coast of Og king of Bashan,*] The next

5 And reigned in mount Hermon, and in Salcah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maachathites, and half Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon.

6 Then did Moses the servant of the LORD and the children of Israel smite: and Moses the servant of the LORD gave it for a possession unto the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

7 ¶ And these are the kings of the country which Joshua and the children of Israel smote on this side Jordan on the west, from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; which Joshua gave unto the tribes of Israel for a possession according to their divisions;

8 In the mountains, and in the valleys, and in the plains, and in the springs, and in the wilderness, and in the south country; the Hittites, the

Amorites, and the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites:

9 ¶ The king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside Beth-el, one;

10 The king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one;

11 The king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one;

12 The king of Eglon, one; the king of Gazer, one;

13 The king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one;

14 The king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one;

15 The king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one;

16 The king of Makkedah, one; the king of Beth-el, one;

17 The king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one;

conquest they made was of the kingdom of Og, who was of the remnant of the giants (see Deut. iii. 11).

That dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei,] See Deut. i. 4. Some would gather from this place, and from xiii. 12, that he had two royal seats, one at Ashtaroth another at Edrei; and he lived sometimes in the one, and sometimes in the other.

Ver. 5. Reigned in mount Hermon,] At the bottom of which some other people lived, who were conquered by Joshua (xi. 17).

In Salcah,] This was one of his cities in that part of his kingdom which was next to Hermon, as some conjecture from xiii. 12. But others think it was in the southern part of this country, possessed afterward by the Gadites; which they gather from 1 Chron. v. 11, 12, 16.

All Bashan, unto the border, &c.] See an account of this, and of all that follows in this verse, Deut. iii. 13, 14.

Ver. 6. Them did Moses—smite,] These two kings were conquered by Moses before they came into Canaan (Numb. xxi.).

Moses the servant of the Lord gave it for a possession unto the Reubenites, &c.] See Numb. xxxii. and Deut. iii. 12, xiii. 8. He gave Moses the title of "the servant of the Lord" twice in this verse, to make them sensible that this war against the two kings before named was made by Divine authority; and that their land was afterward given to the Reubenites, &c. by the same authority.

Ver. 7. These are the kings] They that follow in the rest of the chapter.

Of the country which Joshua—smote on this side Jordan,] In the late wars, before mentioned in this book. *On the west,]* Westward of Jordan.

From Baal-gad—even unto the mount Halak,] This was the northern and southern bounds of the country of these kings (see xi. 17).

Which Joshua gave unto the tribes] Unto the rest of the tribes, who had not their share on the other side Jordan (xi. 23).

Ver. 8. In the mountains, and in the valleys, and in the plains,] This is a description of the condition of the country; in which valleys and plains differ only in this, that the former were such as lay between mountains, and the latter, the flat country, which was remote from mountains.

In the springs,] Which commonly were at the foot of mountains.

In the wilderness, and in the south country;] These

are joined together, because their wildernesses were southerly, in the hottest and driest part of the land: whereby we are not to understand countries without people; but that were thinly peopled, in comparison with other parts of the land. For we read of houses and towns in the wilderness, 1 Kings ix. 18. xi. 34.

The Hittites, &c.] This may relate either to the kings, or the countries, forementioned.

Ver. 9. King of Jericho, one;] He is first mentioned, because first conquered.

King of Ai,] He was the next.

Which is beside Beth-el, one;] The people of which place came to assist the king of Ai; and were conquered at the same time (viii. 17).

Ver. 10. King of Jerusalem, one;] Who was the next that opposed Joshua, and therefore next mentioned (x. 1).

King of Hebron, one;] He, and the next three, the kings of Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon (ver. 11, 12), joined with the king of Jerusalem and were vanquished at the same time.

Ver. 12. King of Gazer, one;] He came out to help Lachish, and was smitten at the same time (x. 33).

Ver. 13. King of Debir, one;] Mentioned x. 38.

King of Geder, one;] We read not of him before; but we find several towns in the tribe of Judah of the same or neighbouring name, viz. Gederah, and Gederoth, and Gedrothaim, and Geder (xv. 36. 41. 56. 2 Chron. xxviii. 18). All which, as Bochartus observes, have their name a sepimento, "from the fence that was about them" (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 36).

Ver. 14. King of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one;] We have no mention of these kings before; but we know that Hormah was a city in the tribe of Judah (xv. 30. Judges i. 17. 1 Sam. xxx. 30), and afterward given to Simeon (Josh. xix. 4). Arad also was a place in the tribe of Judah, as appears by the story in Judg. i. 16.

Ver. 15. King of Libnah, one;] Mentioned before (x. 29).

King of Adullam, one;] This was a city in the same tribe of Judah (xv. 35. 1 Sam. xxii. 1).

Ver. 16. King of Makkedah, one;] See x. 26.

King of Beth-el, one;] We read not of any king here before; but it seems there was one depending upon Ai (viii. 17).

Ver. 17. King of Tappuah, one;] There were two cities of this name; one in the tribe of Judah, (xv. 34), the other in the tribe of Ephraim (xvii. 8). It is

18 The king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one;

19 The king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one;

20 The king of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one;

21 The king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one;

22 The king of Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam of Carmel, one;

23 The king of Dor in the coast of Dor, one; the king of the nations of Gilgal, one;

24 The king of Tirzah, one: all the kings thirty and one.

probable the latter is here meant; because the king of it is mentioned next to the king of Beth-el, which was in the confines of Benjamin and Ephraim. And immediately follows the king of Hopher; which was a place not far off, in the tribe of Zebulun.

King of Hopher, one;] We read of the *land of Hopher*, in 1 Kings ix. 10. Which St. Jerome saith was in the tribe of Zebulun, near Sephorim, or Dioscesarea.

Ver. 18. *King of Aphek,*] There were two Apheks in this country which Joshua conquered, one in the tribe of Judah (xiii. 53. 1 Sam. ix. i. xxix. 1), another in the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 53). Which of them is here intended, cannot certainly be determined.

King of Lasharon, one;] This place is never named any where else in Scripture. But I take it for Saron (as the Vulgar Latin here doth, leaving out the first syllable), which was a city near Lydda, as we learn from Acts ix. 35. And the country about it was very pleasant and fruitful (Isa. xxxiii. 9. xxxv. 2). There was another Saron also on the other side of Jordan, in the east, in the country of the Gadites (1 Chron. v. 16), of which some think the prophet Isaiah speaks, lxxv. 10.

Ver. 19. *King of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one;*] Both of these are mentioned before, as conquered by Joshua (xi. 1).

Ver. 20. *King of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one;*] These two are mentioned in the same place (xi. 1). And Shimron was in the tribe of Zebulun; and Achshaph in the tribe of Asher (xix. 15. 25). The former hath the addition of Meron to it in this place, to distinguish it from some other Shimron; which some think was in the tribe of Ephraim, called Shomeron, or Samaria.

Ver. 21. *King of Taanach, one;*] A city given to the tribe of Manasseh (xvii. 11), and in the confines of Zebulun. It belonged to the Levites (xxi. 25); but the old inhabitants were not expelled out of it (Judg. i. 27).

King of Megiddo, one;] This city fell to the same tribe, as we read in the same place; and was near the river Kishon; as may be gathered from Judg. v. 19. The Canaanites were not driven out of this city (Judg. i. 27).

Ver. 22. *King of Kedesh, one;*] There were two cities called Kedesh, or Kadish; one in the tribe of Judah (xv. 23), the other in the tribe of Naphtali (xix. 37), the latter is here meant; for it was a fenced city, as we read there; but the other was of no note.

King of Jokneam of Carmel, one;] A city in the tribe of Zebulun, at the bottom of Mount Carmel, near the river Belus (xix. 11), and one of the cities of the Levites (xxi. 34). It had its name from its delightful situation, as Bochart conjectures, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 23.

Ver. 23. *King of Dor—one;*] A city in the lot of the tribe of Manasseh (xvii. 11), which had a large territory belonging to it, called after its name: for it

was a royal city, and one of the most ancient in Phœnicia, as Bochart observes. So strong, also, that the Israelites could not get possession of it (or could not keep out the ancient inhabitants), when it fell to the portion of Manasseh (Judg. i. 27). Nor could Antiochus Sidetes, in future times, take it, though he laid siege to it with a very great army (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 41).

King of the nations of Gilgal, one;] This Gilgal is not the place where Joshua encamped when he came over Jordan; for there was no city there, nor any king of that country, but the king of Jericho. That place also had its name from the circumcision of the Israelites there (ver. 9). We have no mention indeed of any other Gilgal in Scripture; but St. Jerome says, in his time, there was a place called Gelgel, about six miles from Antipatris, which was near the sea, not far from Joppa. Hither, it is likely, merchants from several countries resorted; and thence the chief ruler there was called the *king of the nations of Gilgal*. Some finding mention of *Galilee of the nations*, fancy that it is the place here meant. But that name, for some part of Galilee, was not known in the days of Joshua; being occasioned by Solomon's giving Hiram twenty towns in this country (1 Kings ix. 11). So the same St. Jerome.

Ver. 24. *King of Tirzah, one;*] It is not certain in what part of the country this city was; but it is very probable in the lot of the tribe of Ephraim. For Jeroboam (who was of this tribe) and his successors, made it the royal seat until the building of Samaria (1 Kings xiv. 17. xvi. 23, 24).

All the kings thirty and one.] Some cannot believe that in so small a country there were so many kings. But they should consider, that these kings were only petty princes, or lords of cities, which had a few villages depending on them, the inhabitants of which were their tenants. This appears by ver. 9. where we read of the king of Beth-el; which was so small a place, that he and the king of Ai, joined together, had but twelve thousand subjects (viii. 25). For kingdoms, like all other things, were anciently very small in their beginnings. See upon Gen. xiv. 1. and Grotius upon the first verse of this chapter, and Masius upon the seventh. Unto which may be added, that Cæsar, in his fifth book of his Commentaries, speaks of four kings here in the county of Kent alone: how many then were there in all Britain? for it appears by Tacitus, that the Silures and the Brigantes had their own kings also. And Cæsar informs us, that in France there were as many kings as princes; and so it was in Spain, as Livy writes. And Vopiscus, in the life of the emperor Probus, relates, that when he was in Germany, *reguli novem ex diversis gentibus*, &c. "nine petty kings came from divers nations, and threw themselves at his feet;" as he himself wrote to the senate of Rome, in a letter which is there recorded. In which he call them *novem reges*, "nine kings."

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *The bounds of the land not yet conquered.* 8 *The inheritance of the two tribes and half.* 14, 33 *The Lord and his sacrifices are the inheritance of Levi.* 15 *The bounds of the inheritance of Reuben.* 22 *Balaam slain.* 24 *The bounds of the inheritance of Gad,* 29 *and of the half tribe of Manassch.*

1 Now Joshua was old and stricken in years; and the LORD said unto him, Thou art old and stricken in years, and there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.

2 This is the land that yet remaineth: all the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri,

3 From Sihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, which is counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines; the Gazathites, and the Ashdothites, the

Eshkalonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; also the Avites:

4 From the south, all the land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that is beside the Sidonians, unto Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites:

5 And the land of the Gibletes, and all Lebanon, toward the sunrising, from Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath.

6 All the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, and all the Si-

CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *Now Joshua was old and stricken in years;]* To what age he was advanced we cannot certainly know; because we do not know how old he was when they came out of Egypt. Some think three and forty; and then he was fourscore and three when they came into Canaan: and now, it may be gathered by probable conjectures, wanted not much of a hundred.

There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.] Which, in his declining age, he could not hope to live to conquer; and therefore he would have him go about another business (ver. 7).

Ver. 2. *That yet remaineth.]* To be subdued hereafter.

The borders of the Philistines.] Who lay in the south-west part of Canaan, near the sea.

All Geshuri.] Which was a city, and a country in the north-east, not far from Hermon, belonging to the lot of the tribe of Manassch (see Deut. iii. 14).

Ver. 3. *From Sihor, which is before Egypt.]* He describes more largely the borders of the Philistines, whose country extended along the sea-coast, south and north, from Sihor, which was a little stream from one of the branches of the Nile, whereby Palestine was bounded on that side (see Gen. xv. 18. and Vossius De Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 74).

Even unto the borders of Ekron northward.] A famous city among the Philistines, where Baal-zebub was worshipped, called in the New Testament "the prince of the devils" (or demons), because he was the principal god of the people of Palestine. This city was given to the tribe of Judah at first (xv. 45), afterward to the tribe of Dan (xix.), though neither of them could get possession of it.

Which is counted to the Canaanite.] For the Philistines were not original inhabitants of this country, which belonged to the offspring of Canaan, the youngest son of Ham; whereas the Philistines were descended from Misraim, his second son; who expelled the Avites out of this country; as we read, Deut. ii. 23. and see my annotations on Gen. x. 14. 19.

Five lords of the Philistines;] Which country was under the government of five lords, as they are constantly called in Scripture; in the Hebrew, *seranim*, or *seranaim*; which seems to be an ancient Phœnician word (the same with *sarim*) for a ruler of a province, or city. The LXX. call them *Σάρπαραι*, and the Vulgar Latin, *reguli*, "petty princes." But they are never called *melakim*, i. e. *kings*, in Scripture, as the rest of the princes of Canaan are. Which inclines me to think that their government was not so absolute, as that of the rest of the kings of Canaan. Only we

read in future times, that Achish was king of Gath; having, it seems, in David's days, made himself more absolute than the former lords of that place.

The Gazathites, &c.] These people had their names from the five principal cities in this country, where they inhabited; which are commonly known.

Also the Avites.] These were a people mixed with them, being a remnant (as I said before) of the ancient inhabitants of this country. But there was no distinct lord of them; there being but five in all; and so many without one over these. Some have confounded them with the Hivites; but their name is quite different in the Hebrew, and so is their country. For the Hivites lived in Hermon in the north; and these here in the west. From whence, though they were driven by the Caphtorites (Deut. ii. 23), yet some of them, it seems, remained; as several of the Canaanites did, when the Israelites dispossessed them of their country. See Bochartus, in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 36. who thinks they were not the offspring of Canaan; but it is manifest they inhabited part of the country belonging to him: for Sidon was the first-born of Canaan, who was settled on that coast; and the border of the Canaanites is said to be from thence unto Gaza (Gen. x. 19).

Ver. 4. *From the south.]* Of the Philistines' country.

All the land of the Canaanites.] All that tract of land which belonged to the people properly called Canaanites; who lived upon the sea-coast.

And Mearah.] We find no mention of this place elsewhere: some translate it, *a cave*.

That is beside the Sidonians.] Who were in the northern part of that sea-coast.

Unto Aphek.] See xii. 18, where I observed there were two cities of this name; but it is most reasonable here to understand that in the tribe of Ashur; whose king though Joshua had slain, he had not taken his country.

Amorites.] Who were in these parts: for they being a mighty people had dispersed themselves, not only in the east, and in the south, but in these northern regions.

Ver. 5. *Gibletes.]* A people inhabiting a city called Gebal, and the country about it, near to Tyre and Sidon; as appears from Ezek. xxvii. 9. and in 1 Kings v. 18. they are mentioned as stone-cutters, sent by Hiram king of Tyre to king Solomon (see also Ps. lxxxiii. 7).

All Lebanon, toward the sun-rising.] They extended their conquests thus far (xi. 17) but could not subdue the eastern part of this country.

From Baal-gad—unto the entering into Hamath.] Concerning Baal-gad, see xi. 17. and concerning "the entering into Hamath," Numb. xxxiv. 8.

donians, them will I drive out from before the children of Israel: only divide thou it by lot unto the Israelites for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee.

7 Now therefore divide this land for an inheritance unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

8 With whom the Reubenites and the Gadites have received their inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan eastward, *even* as Moses the servant of the Lord gave them;

9 From Aroer, that is upon the bank of the river Arnon, and the city that is in the midst of the river, and all the plain of Medeba unto Dibon;

10 And all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, unto the border of the children of Ammon;

11 And Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salcah;

12 All the kingdom of Og in Bashan, which reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, who remained of the remnant of the giants: for these did Moses smite, and cast them out.

13 Nevertheless the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites: but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites unto this day.

14 Only unto the tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; the sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance, as he said unto them.

15 ¶ And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of Reuben inheritance according to their families.

Ver. 6. *Hill country*] In the northern parts of the land. *From Lebanon*] This shows what hilly country he speaks of.

Unto *Misrephoth-maim*,] A place before mentioned, xi. 8, where, as I observed, some render it *hot waters*, or *baths*: for *sharaph* signifies to burn, and *maim* is waters. And I may add, there are those that think they were *lime-kilns*, others *glass-furnaces*; but most likely *salt-pits*.

All the *Sidonians*,] Who were near to the inhabitants of Libanus, westward upon the sea.

Them will I drive out,] If they persisted constant in his worship and service. Which they did not; and therefore we never read that the Sidonians were conquered by the Israelites: and the people of Lebanon were only made tributaries in the days of David and Solomon.

Only] Or rather *therefore*, as the word *rak* sometimes signifies (see ch. i. ult.).

Divide thou it by lot—for an inheritance,] Though they be not yet driven out, yet, since I have promised to expel them, assign all the forementioned countries to the children of Israel by lot, as the inheritance I have bestowed upon them. Which gave them a strong assurance they should have all this land; both because God had given it to them for an inheritance, and ordered it to be divided by lot.

As I have commanded thee,] Or, as I now command thee, and give thee authority to do.

Ver. 7.] Both that which was conquered, and that which remained unconquered, was to be divided, that every tribe might know what belonged to them, by God's gift; and be encouraged to attempt the conquest of it when they were able; and be preserved from entering into any covenant or society with those who kept their inheritance from them; and likewise hinder the unconquered people from joining their forces together to recover their country; the Israelites inhabiting the cities and fields that lay between them.

Ver. 8. *With whom*] That is, with the other half of the tribe before mentioned.

The *Reubenites*, &c.] See Numb. xxxii. 33, &c. *Even as Moses—gave them;*] Which he did by order from God; and therefore they were not to be disturbed in their possession (Deut. xii. 18).

Here the words of God to Joshua (ver. 1) end; and in the next verse the writer of this book begins to describe the country which God ordered to be given to the forenamed two tribes and a half, that there might be no future dispute about this division; but it might be held as good as that which was made by lot among the rest of the tribes.

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Ver. 9. *From Aroer*,] See xii. 2. and Deut. iii. 16. *All the plain of Medeba unto Dibon;*] These are

two cities which the Amorites took from the Moabites (as we read Numb. xxi. 30), and the Israelites took from them when they conquered Sihon their king. The former of them was in the portion of the Reubenites; the other of the Gadites: and when the ten tribes were carried captive, they returned into the possession of the Moabites again. For Isaiah speaks of them as belonging to Moab, xv. 2. and so doth Jeremiah, xlviii. 22. The plain of Medeba seems to be the same with the plain of Moab.

Ver. 10.] See Numb. xxi. 24, 25. &c.

Ver. 11. *Geshurites and Maachathites*,] Geshur and Maacha were two cities near Mount Hermon, in the extreme bounds of this country northward, whose inhabitants the Israelites could not drive out (ver. 13), and yet their land was divided among them.

All mount Hermon,] See all this verse explained, xii. 5. I shall only add, that Maacha was in the tribe of Manasseh, and is the city which Ptolemy calls Epicerus. Which name the Chaldee paraphrast uses both here and xii. 4, 5. and Deut. iii. 14. instead of Maacha, as Bochart observes, lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 6.

Ver. 12. *Og in Bashan*,] See xii. 4. and Deut. iii. 11.

These did Moses smite,] These *Rephaim* (which we translate *giants*) were perfectly conquered, and rooted out by Moses. They were smitten in Abraham's time, by Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 5), but recovered strength so much, that their country, when Moses conquered it, was called "the land of giants," Deut. iii. 13.

Ver. 13. *Expelled not the Geshurites*,] See ver. 2.

Dwell among the Israelites until this day,] For Joshua growing old (ver. 1) made no further conquest, but left this people unsubdued, as Moses also had done.

Ver. 14. *Only unto the tribe of Levi he gave no inheritance*,] For the tithes of the whole country were instead of their portion in land (Deut. xviii. 2). And this is set down here by Joshua, as formerly by Moses, to show that they had as indisputable a right to the tithes as their brethren had to the land.

The sacrifices—made by fire, are their inheritance,] That is, the inheritance of the priests; for the whole tribe of Levi had nothing to do with them. See Numb. xviii. where the portion of the priests and of the Levites is exactly set down; and see ver. 33. of this chapter, and xiv. 3. xviii. 7.

As he said unto them,] See Numb. xviii. 20, 21. where this is distinctly said, both with respect to the priests and to the Levites.

16 And their coast was from Arceot, that is on the bank of the river Arnon, and the city that is in the midst of the river, and all the plain by Medeba;

17 Hesbion, and all her cities that are in the plain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal, and Beth-basimeth.

18 And Jahaza, and Kedemoth, and Mephath.

19 And Kirjathaim, and Shilmah, and Zareth-shahar in the mount of the valley.

20 And Beth-peor, and Asithoth-pigrah, and Beth-jeshimoth.

21 And all the cities of the plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, which reigned in Hesbion, whom Moses smote with

the princes of Midian, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, whose wives were daughters of Sihon, dwelling in the country.

22 * Balazam also the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword among them that were slain by them.

23 And the border of the children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border thereof. Thus was the inheritance of the children of Reuben after their families, the cities and the villages thereof.

24 And Moses gave inheritance unto the tribe of Gad, even unto the children of Gad according to their families.

25 And their coast was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, unto Arceot that is before Rabbah;

Ver. 15.] Having said in general what Moses gave to the two tribes and a half, he proceeds to set down in particular what share each of them had in this country: that so they might no more quarrel among themselves about their portion, than the nine tribes and a half quarrel with them all. And, first, he mentions what part of the land was given to Reuben; which was divided into as many portions as they had families.

Ver. 16.] See ver. 9. Arceot itself was in the tribe of Gad (Numb. xxxii. 34), unto which the portion of the Reubenites reached.

Ver. 17.] Hesbion, and all her cities that are in the plain.] He means the plain before mentioned, ver. 9. *Dibon.*] It is said plainly, in Numb. xxxii. 34, that it belonged to the Gadites: for it was, as Masius well judges, in the confines of both tribes; and so was inhabited by both. Which is to be said also of Hesbion, here ascribed to the Reubenites; but in xli. 29, is said to be a city of the Levites in the tribe of Gad. And so we read also in 1 Chron. vi. ult. And this is still more evident: for Hesbion, which in this verse is reckoned to the Reubenites, in the twenty-sixth verse of this very chapter, is said to be given to the tribe of Gad; which is a demonstration they had in between them.

Bamoth-baal, and Beth-basimeth.] We read of Bamoth not far from this country, Numb. xxi. 19, but nowhere else of Bamoth-baal; which it is probable, was some high place where Baal was worshipped: for we read of high places in this country, Numb. xxi. 25. We find mention of Beth-basimeth in many places, particularly Numb. xxxii. 36, where it is said to be given to this tribe. And the addition of Beth to it, signifies there was some house, that is, temple of Baal, in this place.

Ver. 18. *Jahaza.*] Here they fought with Sihon (see Numb. xli. 23).

Kedemoth.] From whence Moses sent friendly messages to Sihon, to desire a peaceable passage through his country (Deut. iii. 26).

Mephath.] This, with the two foregoing, were Levitical cities in the tribe of Reuben (xli. 36, 37. 1 Chron. vi. 78, 79).

Ver. 19. *Kirjathaim, and Shilmah.*] These two are mentioned in Numb. xxxii. 37, 38, as given to the Reubenites.

Zareth-shahar.] We do not read of this city anywhere else.

In the mount of the valley.] In the mount which overlooked the great plain before mentioned; which may be supposed to be one of the mountains of Abarim, where this city, and perhaps the two former, were seated.

Ver. 20. *Beth-peor.*] It seems to have had its name from the first idol which was there worshipped by the Moabites (Numb. xiv. 2. 5. see Deut. xxxii. 6). *Asithoth-pigrah and Beth-jeshimoth.*] See xli. 2.

Ver. 21. *All the cities of the plain.*] As well as those mentioned in the mountain which overlooked it (ver. 19).

And all the kingdom of Sihon.] That is, all the first-mentioned places belonging to the kingdom of Sihon. But they had not all his kingdom given them: for it was shared between them and the Gadites, as appears from ver. 27.

Whom Moses smote with the princes of Midian.] Not in the war with Sihon, mentioned Numb. xxi. but in another war after that, undertaken by a particular command of God (Numb. xxxi.).

Evi and Rekem, &c.] Who are mentioned as killed in that war (Numb. xxxi. 5).

Which were dukes of Sihon.] This is the reason why they are here mentioned, because, though they lived in Midian, yet they were tributaries to Sihon; and it is likely, assisted him in his war with Israel, in which, though they then escaped, yet afterward they were slain by them.

Dwelling in the country.] It is uncertain whether he meant that Sihon had given them some place in his country to dwell in (that they might be ready on all occasions to assist him with their forces), or that they were settled in the country of Midian; whereas some of that people were unsettled, and moved from place to place, like to the ancient Nomades. However it was, they were such great men in Midian, that they are called kings, Numb. xxxi. 8, as here they are called princes: but much inferior to Sihon, whom they served only as great commanders under him. So our translators, I suppose, understood it, which made them render the Hebrew word *melechi* by the English word *dukes*; which we elsewhere translate *nobles*, in Ps. lxxviii. 13.

Ver. 22. *Balazam—the soothsayer.*] He had been a prophet, but degenerated into a soothsayer, or diviner (see Numb. xlii. 5—7), and became a prophet again for the sake of Israel.

Did the children of Israel slay.] It is hard to give an account why he is here mentioned; unless we suppose him to have been an adviser of Sihon, and those dukes that joined with him to undertake the war; as it is certain he was of the Midianites to draw in the Israelites to commit idolatry (Numb. xxi. 17).

Ver. 23.] This river was the bounds of their country westward.

Ver. 24.] As he had done to the Reubenites, ver. 15 (see there).

Ver. 25. *Jazer.*] See Numb. xli. 32, and xxxii. 35.

26 And from Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh, and Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of Debir;

27 And in the valley, Beth-aram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, Jordan and his border, even unto the edge of the sea of Chinnereth on the other side Jordan eastward.

28 This is the inheritance of the children of Gad after their families, the cities, and their villages.

29 ¶ And Moses gave inheritance unto the

half tribe of Manasseh: and *this was the possession of the half tribe of the children of Manasseh by their families.*

30 And their coast was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities:

31 And half Gilead, and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan, *were pertaining unto the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, even to the one half of the children of Machir by their families.*

The cities of Gilead.] That lay next to Jazer: for half of Gilead was given to the children of Manasseh (ver. 31).

Half the land of the children of Ammon.] The children of Israel took nothing from them, but were expressly forbidden to meddle with their country (Deut. ii. 19). He speaks therefore of that part of their country which Sihon had taken from them (as he did part of the Moabites' country, Numb. xxi. 26), and the Israelites, having vanquished Sihon, justly possessed, from Arnon to Jabbok; as Jephthah represents to the Ammonites, when they demanded this land as belonging to them: when the Israelites had enjoyed it near three hundred years (Judg. xi. 13. 22. &c.).

Unto Aroer.] This was the bounds of that country taken from the Ammonites by Sihon, from Aroer unto Jabbok; for Aroer was seated upon Arnon before mentioned (Judg. xi. 13).

That is before Rabbah.] Over against Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites' country: which was in the north part of it, as Aroer in the south.

Ver. 26. From Heshbon.] See ver. 17.

Unto Ramath-Mizpeh.] The same with Ramoth-Gilead, of which we read xx. 8, and many other places. It seems to be the same place which is called Mizpeh of Gilead, where Jephthah the Gileadite lived (Judg. xi. 29. 34).

Betonim.] We know no more of this place, than that it was, in all likelihood, a city in the north part of this tribe, as Ramoth-Gilead was; and Heshbon in the south.

From Mahanaim.] This was a city built in that place where Jacob saw the camps of angels (Gen. xxxii. 1, 2). It was not far from the river Jabbok, as appears from that chapter, ver. 22. This city was very considerable in after-times; Ish-bosheth, who reigned over Israel after Saul, having his residence here; and David making some stay here when he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. ii. 8. 12. xvii. 27). It was one of the Levitical cities (xxi. 37).

Unto-Debir:] There was another city of this name in the tribe of Judah (xv. 15. 49). But this was (as St. Jerome and Eusebius tell us) a city of the Ammonites upon Jordan.

Ver. 27. Beth-aram, and Beth-nimrah,] Having mentioned the frontier places, he comes to speak of those cities which were in the midst of the country. And these two are mentioned, Numb. xxxii. 36. The latter of which here called Beth-nimrah (*Domus Paradisum*, as Bochart interprets it), is simply called Nimrah in the third verse of that chapter. And the waters of Nimrim (Isa. xv. 6), seem to have been in the same place; which Moses and Joshua say belonged to the Gadites; but Isaiah and Jeremiah call it a city of the Moabites: who, in the days of those prophets, after the ten tribes were carried captive, recovered those places (see Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 7).

Succoth,] Which was the place where Jacob fixed after he had passed over Jabbok, in his return from Padan-aram (Gen. xxxiii. 17).

Zaphon,] A place which St. Jerome saith lay upon the river Jordan.

The rest of the kingdom of Sihon.] That is, all but that which was given to the Reubenites.

Jordan and his border,] For instance, the country bordering upon Jordan.

Even unto the edge of the sea of Chinneroth, on the other side Jordan eastward.] To the extreme part of the lake, in after times called Gennesaret; where the river Jordan came out of it on the south-east.

Ver. 28,] Which are not all named, but they were in the region here described.

Ver. 29,] The country which they conquered on the other side Jordan being too large for the Reubenites and Gadites alone, Moses bestowed what follows upon the half tribe of Manasseh; who did not desire it, as far as I can find (see Numb. xxxii. 1, 2), but were thought fit to be joined with the other two tribes, because they were very numerous (Numb. xxvi. 34), and, it is likely, had great store of cattle, as the other had.

Ver. 30. From Mahanaim,] Mentioned before, ver. 26.

All Bashan, all the kingdom of Og.] This kingdom consisted of three parts (Deut. iii. 13), half of Gilead, Bashan, and the region of Argob: all which sometimes are comprehended under the name of Bashan, because it was the principal part of his kingdom.

All the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan.] This is an explication of what went before; for these towns were in the forenamed kingdom of Bashan, and not distinct from it. Why they are called "the towns of Jair," Moses gives an account, Numb. xxxii. 41.

Threescore cities:] Which were in the region of Argob, as we read Deut. iii. 4. 14.

Ver. 31. Half Gilead,] The other half that was not given to the Gadites (ver. 25). This is also but an explication of what he said at the first; for Gilead was not distinct from the kingdom of Og king of Bashan; but a part of it.

Ashtaroth, and Edrei,] Royal cities, as is commonly thought, from xii. 4.

Were pertaining unto the children of Machir the son of Manasseh.] All the posterity of Manasseh came from Machir; for he had no other son beside him (Numb. xxxii. 29), unto whose children, that is, to one half of them (as it is explained in the following words), he gave this part of that kingdom (Deut. iii. 15).

Even to the one half of the children of Machir.] Among whom Jair and his posterity had the honour to be reckoned, though he was of the tribe of Judah; because he was his grandchild by his daughter, and so instrumental in conquering this country, that he had his inheritance given him here (1 Chron. ii. 21, &c. Numb. xxxiv. 41, 42).

32 *These are the countries* which Moses did distribute for inheritance in the plains of Moab, on the other side Jordan, by Jericho, eastward.

Ver. 33.] Which countries, with their bounds and limits, are thus particularly described, that every tribe might rest satisfied with God's appointment, and not invade their brethren's territories.

Ver. 33.] This had been noted before in this very

33 But unto the tribe of Levi Moses gave not any inheritance: the LORD God of Israel was their inheritance, as he said unto them.

chapter, ver. 14, and is again noted, xiv. 3, 4, and again, xviii. 7. Which frequent repetition was for the honour of this tribe; and that the people might have the greater regard to them, and care of them.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *The nine tribes and a half are to have their inheritance by lot.* 6 *Caleb by privilege obtaineth Hebron.*

1 AND *these are the countries* which the children of Israel inherited in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed for inheritance to them.

2 By lot *was* their inheritance, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine tribes, and for the half tribe.

3 For Moses had given the inheritance of two tribes and an half tribe on the other side Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance among them.

CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *These are the countries*] viz. Those mentioned in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and following chapters; for this chapter is but a kind of preface to the division of the land.

Which the children of Israel inherited in the land of Canaan.] Which was now conquered by Joshua; as that of Sihon and Og had been by Moses.

Which Eleazar, &c. distributed for inheritance to them.] According to the command given by God to Moses, Numb. xxxiv. 17, 18, where the names of the twelve heads of the tribes, or the princes (as they are there called), are set down, ver. 19, 20, &c.

Ver. 2. *By lot was their inheritance.*] To take away all occasion of controversy, the matter being determined by God.

As the Lord commanded] Numb. xxvi. 55, 56. xxxiii. 54.

For the nine tribes and for the half tribe.] Who were to be provided for in the land of Canaan; as the other, it here follows, had been on the other side Jordan.

Ver. 3. *For Moses had given the inheritance of two tribes and an half tribe on the other side Jordan.*] This seems to argue a strong faith, which the nine tribes and half had in the promise of God, that they were contented to see their brethren put in actual possession of their inheritance, when they were only in hope of their portion.

But unto the Levites he gave none inheritance] Neither on this side Jordan, nor on the other; as was said before, xiii. 33, and mentioned here again for the reason following.

Ver. 4. *For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim.*] The privilege of the first-born was transferred from Reuben to Joseph (1 Chron. v. 1, 2), from whose two sons sprung two tribes: so that there were still twelve tribes, without reckoning Levi for one (Gen. xlviii. 5, 6).

Therefore they gave no part unto the Levites] Because the children of Joseph succeeded in their room,

4 For the children of Joseph were two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: therefore they gave no part unto the Levites in the land, save cities to dwell in, with their suburbs for their cattle and for their substance.

5 As the LORD commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.

6 ¶ Then the children of Judah came unto Joshua in Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite said unto him, Thou knowest the thing that the LORD said unto Moses the man of God concerning me and thee in Kadesh-barnea.

as the Vulgar Latin translates the foregoing words; that is, to make up the number of twelve tribes.

Save cities to dwell in,] Not for a possession, as Conrad. Pellicanus observes, but only for a habitation: for they could not sell them, as their brethren might their possessions.

With their suburbs] See Numb. xxxv. 2, 3, &c.

Ver. 5. *So the children of Israel did,*] That is, assigned them cities and suburbs (xxi. 1, 2, &c.).

They divided the land.] That is, when Eleazar, Joshua, and the princes had divided it.

Ver. 6. *Then the children of Judah*] Before they went to cast lots for the division of the land, some of the children of Judah interposed in the behalf of Caleb; coming along with him, I suppose, as witnesses to the truth of what he alleged.

Came unto Joshua in Gilgal.] Where the tabernacle as yet was; for Joshua had not removed his camp from thence; and, accordingly, here the division of the land began to be made; though it was finished at Shiloh, as we read ch. xviii.

And Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite said unto him.] This shows that he was the principal person concerned in this address to Joshua; though the rest, perhaps, who came along with him, were not only witnesses to the truth of his pretensions, but came to desire Joshua to begin the division of the land: the tribe of Judah, now that the Reubenites were provided for, being the eldest of those that wanted their portion. Among whom, Caleb was not only a considerable person, but one of those princes who were appointed by God to assist in the division of the land (Numb. xxxiv. 19), and therefore would not be a judge in his own case, but have it settled before by Joshua, the supreme governor of God's people. Why he is called the Kenezite, is not easy to resolve; nor is it certain, whether Caleb or Jephunneh be called the Kenezite. But it comes to the same, whether the one or the other he so called, and the Hebrew words will bear either construction; yet St. Jerome and the LXX. take it to belong to Caleb, some of whose ancestors were called Kenez; which

7 Forty years old *was* I when Moses the servant of the Lord sent me from Kadesh-barnea to espy out the land; and I brought him word again as *it was* in mine heart.

8 Nevertheless my brethren that went up with me made the heart of the people melt: but I wholly followed the Lord my God.

9 And Moses swore on that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy feet have trodden shall be thine inheritance, and thy children's for ever, because thou hast wholly followed the Lord my God.

10 And now, behold, the Lord hath kept me alive, as he said, these forty and five years, even since the Lord spake this word unto Moses, while the children of Israel wandered in the wil-

derness: and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old.

11 As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in.

12 Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof the Lord spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the Anakims were there, and that the cities were great and fenced: if so be the Lord will be with me, then I shall be able to drive them out, as the Lord said.

13 And Joshua blessed him, and gave unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh Hebron for an inheritance.

14 Hebron therefore became the inheritance of

was certainly a name very common in their family (see xv. 17, and Judg. i. 13). And there is no improbability in it, that Kenez was the father of Jephunneh, from whence both he and his son were called Kenezites.

Said unto Moses the man of God] He gives him this title, that what he ordered might be thought of greater authority, i. e. a Divine command.

Concerning me and thee in Kadesh-barnea.] Which he was confident that Joshua could not but remember, being concerned in it as well as himself (see Numb. xiv. 21. 30. 38).

Ver. 7. Forty years old was I when Moses—sent me from Kadesh-barnea] He mentions this, partly to show that Moses took care to send persons of some experience, able to make observations, and judge aright; as well as in their full strength of body, able to travel and take pains. Such, it is probable, were all the rest, as well as he; men grown up every way to maturity, both of judgment and bodily vigour.

I brought him word again as it was in mine heart.] Delivered my true opinion freely and sincerely, without either fear or flattery (Numb. xiii. 30).

Ver. 8. My brethren—made the heart of the people melt:] Numb. xiii. 31, 32. xiv. 1, &c. which did not discourage him at all from speaking the truth.

But I wholly followed the Lord] This testimony God himself gave him (Numb. xiv. 24), which he might therefore mention without any breach of modesty, it being the ground of his present petition.

Ver. 9.] See Deut. i. 34—36. This was first pronounced by God himself, and that with an oath, Numb. xiv. 21. 24 (see my notes there). Some think "his treading on it with his feet" was his taking possession, and being admitted the owner of that land; according to the present notion of civil lawyers, who will have *possessio* to be as much as *pedis positio*. But this is only a modern conceit.

Ver. 10. The Lord hath kept me alive, as he said, these forty and five years.] Thus far he had fulfilled his words, in preserving him alive till the country was conquered, wherein he promised him a certain portion; so that he wanted only actual possession of it.

While the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness:] Which was thirty and eight years.

I am this day fourscore and five years old.] It seems then that seven years were passed since they came into Canaan, before they began to divide the land; which was not till a year after the war was ended (see xi. 18). As for the time that followed between the complete division of the land, and the death of Joshua, it is not set down in this book; nor have we words in it, from whence to make a probable conjecture about it, but only those, xxiii. 1. where it is said,

"A long time after God had given them rest, Joshua waxed old," &c. Which shows it is not to be restrained to so short a time as seven, or ten years, but may rather be thought twenty, as Du Pin computes it.

Ver. 11. As yet I am as strong this day] As able, both in body and mind, to undertake, and to despatch any business, as he was forty and five years ago: which was a wonderful blessing of God, and an argument his petition should be granted; because he wanted neither courage nor strength to assault and take the place he desired, if it were still in the Canaanite's hands; or to defend and preserve it, if it were already conquered.

For war, both to go out, and to come in.] This is a repetition of what he affirmed; as is usual when a thing is certain and undoubted. Concerning this phrase, "go out and come in," see Numb. xxvii. 17. And this shows the force and efficacy of God's promise, confirmed by an oath; which (as Dr. Jackson well observes) was as remarkable in preserving his life and strength, as in bringing mortality on others, who he swore should not enter into Canaan.

Ver. 12. Give me this mountain.] The mountainous country where Hebron lay (xi. 21), which was the place promised to him, as I observed upon Numb. xiv. 24.

Thou heardest in that day] The LXX. and the Vulgar Latin refer this to what goes before, and make the sentence to be, as if he had said, "in thy hearing," God promised this country to me.

How the Anakims were there, and that the cities were great] The Vulgar makes the sense to be, "Where the Anakims are," &c. (see Numb. xiii. 23. 32, 33). He mentions cities in the plural number; for we read of two other, beside Hebron, which they possessed (xi. 21).

If so be the Lord will be with me,] These are not words of doubting; but a pious acknowledgment that nothing could be successfully enterprised, without God's gracious assistance; of which, no question, he was very confident. The Targum hath it, "If so be the Word of the Lord will be my helper:" which is the constant language of that paraphrast in all this book upon such occasions (see i. 9. 17. vi. 27. x. 42. and xxiii. 3. 10).

Then I shall be able to drive them out.] Which, whether it was done now or before, when Joshua conquered the country, is a dispute (see x. 37).

Ver. 13. Joshua blessed him,] Acknowledged his deserts, and besought God to prosper him in his undertaking, and gave his consent that he should have this country: for then God is said to *bless* a man, when he bestows his benefits upon him; and we do not *bless* others to purpose, unless we do what they desire. Accordingly it here follows.

Caleb the son of Jephnnneh the Kenezite unto this day, because that he wholly followed the LORD God of Israel.

Gave unto Caleb—Hebron for an inheritance.] That is, the country about it: for Hebron itself was a city of the priests, xxi. 11. 13. where it is expressly said, ver. 12, the fields and the villages of it were given to Caleb.

Ver. 14.] God rewarded his fidelity by this singular gift, which he bestowed upon him before the land was divided by lot.

Ver. 15. *The name of Hebron before was Kirjath-arba;]* See upon Gen. xxiii. 2.

Which Arba was a great man among the Anakims.] Of great authority as well as strength. So the word *gadol* is used, Gen. xxiv. 35. and so we call men at this

15 And the name of Hebron before was Kirjath-arba; *which Arba was a great man among the Anakims.* And the land had rest from war.

day, who are of great power, by the name of *mag-nates*. He was the father of Anak (xv. 13. and xxi. 11), who either built this city, or fortified it, or made it his royal seat (being a kind of prince among them), and perhaps was here buried; which made it be called his city (see upon Numb. xiii. 33).

The land had rest from war.] Which gave them liberty to divide the land. This was said before (xi. ult.), and now repeated, perhaps to show that what is here reported concerning Caleb was done some time ago, at the end of the war; and now mentioned to show, that he held this portion of land by a Divine donation, before the country was divided by lot.

CHAPTER XV.

1 *The borders of the lot of Judah.* 13 *Caleb's portion and conquest.* 16 *Othniel, for his valour, hath Achsah, Caleb's daughter, to wife.* 18 *She obtaineth a blessing of her father.* 21 *The cities of Judah.* 63 *The Jebusites not conquered.*

1 *This* then was the lot of the tribe of the children of Judah by their families; *even to the border of Edom the wilderness of Zin southward was the uttermost part of the south coast.*

2 And their south border was from the shore of the salt sea, from the bay that looketh southward:

3 And it went out to the south side to

Maaleh-acrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side unto Kadesh-barnea, and passed along to Hezron, and went up to Adar, and fetched a compass to Karkaa:

4 *From thence* it passed toward Azmon, and went out unto the river of Egypt; and the goings out of that coast were at the sea: this shall be your south coast.

CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *This then was the lot—of Judah]* The first lot that came up was for the tribe of Judah; in honour of it, and that the prophecy of Jacob might be fulfilled concerning his pre-eminence among his brethren. The manner of drawing these lots, see upon Numb. xxvi. 55, 56, which it is apparent could not be done without a precedent survey of the whole country. A description of which being laid before Joshua, he, and Eleazar, and the princes, divided it into nine shares and a half, as equal as they could; considering not merely the quantity of ground, but the quality also, and goodness of the soil. This survey is not mentioned here; but it is afterward, ver. 4. and therefore it is to be supposed when they began to divide the land.

By their families;] The lot was only of so much land (bound as follows) for the whole tribe. Unto every family of which a portion was assigned by Joshua, and the rest, who were appointed to see that none were neglected, and that they had every one a just proportion. Therefore the lot for each tribe was not so unalterably fixed and determined, but that it might be enlarged or diminished; by taking from that tribe which had too much, and giving it to that which had too little (see xix. 9).

Even to the border of Edom, &c.] See Numb. xxxiv. 2. Edom lay upon the wilderness of Zin; and the lot of Judah extended as far as that, which was the south part of the land. And, indeed, the tribe of Judah (as Conr. Pellicanus observes) had half of the south part of the whole land of Canaan for their portion; as the tribes of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) had the north part; with whom the rest of the tribes were intermixed, viz. Simeon, Benjamin, and Dan, with the tribe of Judah; and Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali, with the portion of Joseph.

Ver. 2. *From the shore of the salt sea,]* The foregoing verse was a short description of the length of Judah's country: now he describes the bounds of it on all quarters; and here saith, that the *Salt*, or *Dead*, sea, was the bounds of it on the south-east. For so it was, as here follows.

From the bay that looketh southward:] In the Hebrew, from the *tongue*; which signifies either a creek, or a promontory, as some understand it, pointing to the south-east (see Numb. xxxiv. 3).

Ver. 3. *To the south side to Maaleh-acrabbim,]* There was a mountain so called, from the multitude of scorpions that were there. It lay at the end of this lake (Numb. xxxiv. 4). From whence the country of Aerabatene had its name, as Bochart thinks (see Hieroz. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 29), which lay near the country of Edom (1 Macc. v. 3).

To Zin, and ascended up on the south side unto Kadesh-barnea,] This is the very description of the southern bounds of the promised land, Numb. xxxiv. 4.

To Hezron,] There is nothing said of this place in the book of Numbers; but it appears to have been a city from the twenty-fifth verse of this chapter.

Went up to Adar,] This place is mentioned in the forenamed Numb. xxxiv. 4. and called Hazar-addar. So that Hezron lay between Kadesh-barnea and this town.

Fetched a compass to Karkaa:] This place is not mentioned in Numbers, or any where else; but lay beyond Adar, not in a right line, but bending towards the west.

Ver. 4. *Toward Azmon,]* This is mentioned in the forenamed place, Numb. xxxiv. 4.

The goings out of that coast were at the sea:] That is, the Mediterranean sea (see Numb. xxxiv. 5).

This shall be your south coast.] From the tongue of the Salt sea to the Mediterranean.

5 And the east border *was* the salt sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And *their* border in the north quarter *was* from the bay of the sea at the uttermost part of Jordan:

6 And the border went up to Beth-hogla, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben:

7 And the border went up toward Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is before the going up to Adummim, which is on the south side of the river; and the border passed toward the waters of En-shemesh, and the goings out thereof were at En-rogel:

8 And the border went up by the valley of the

son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite; the same is Jerusalem: and the border went up to the top of the mountain that *lieth* before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of the giants northward:

9 And the border was drawn from the top of the hill unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim:

10 And the border compassed from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side, and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed on to Timnah:

11 And the border went out unto the side of

Ver. 5. *The east border was the salt sea, even unto the end of Jordan.*] Having described the southern limits, he sets down the eastern; which, beginning where the southern did, at the tongue of the Salt sea, reached to the other end of it, where Jordan falls into this sea. So that the whole length of this sea, from one end of it to the other, was the eastern bounds of Judah's country.

Their border in the north quarter was from the bay of the sea at the uppermost part of Jordan.] It had its beginning where the eastern border ended, viz. at the mouth of Jordan, where it runs into the Salt sea.

Ver. 6. *To Beth-hogla,*] A city in the tribe of Benjamin (xviii. 21).

By the north of Beth-arabah;] Another city in the same tribe (xviii. 21), though there was one in this tribe of the same name (ver. 61. of this chapter), which some take to be the same city, which lay in the frontier of both tribes.

The border] That is, this northern border.

Went up to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben.] We find mention made of this stone again in xviii. 17. where he speaks of the bounds of the tribe of Benjamin. It was but lately laid here, since the Israelites came into this country; but by whom, or of what it was a monument, is not known. It is certain Bohan did not dwell here; for the Reubenites had their portion on the other side of Jordan: but perhaps he performed some famous exploit in this place, or died and was buried here: being one of those that came over Jordan to assist their brethren in the conquest of Canaan.

Ver. 7. *Toward Debir*] Which is mentioned in no other place: for it is not the same with that Debir in ver. 15. which was in the south near Hebron, but this in the northern parts.

From the valley of Achor,] Mentioned vii. 24. 26.

So northward, looking toward Gilgal,] Having Gilgal on the north of it. Which is to be understood, not of that Gilgal near Jericho, but of that place called Gelliloth, xviii. 17, which was distant from thence, as appears by what follows.

Before the going up to Adummim,] A place which stood upon a rising ground, which some think was in the tribe of Judah, others of Benjamin.

On the south side of the river:] Or of the brook, which some take to be the brook Cedron.

Toward the waters of En-shemesh, and the goings out thereof were at En-rogel:] This place, it is evident (1 Kings i. 9), was near Jerusalem; which shows that Gilgal before mentioned was not the place where they were once encamped.

Ver. 8. *The border went up*] For it was an ascent from the Salt sea to this country; especially when they came nigh to this place.

By the valley of the son of Hinnom] A famous place on the east side of Jerusalem; and so delightfully shady, that it invited them to idolatrous worship in this valley, whereby it became infamous (2 Kings xxiii. 10. Jer. vii. 32). Hinnom, in all probability, was some eminent person, in ancient times, who was the owner of this valley: for it is sometimes called the valley "of the children of Hinnom," which shows his posterity were planted here. After it was polluted by idolatry, it became a place where they threw all their filth, and excrements, and dead carcasses, and where there was a continual fire, the Jews say, to burn bones, and such sordid things as were thrown here; from whence, they think, it became the name for hell-fire.

Of the Jebusite;] i. e. The city of the Jebusites.

The same is Jerusalem;] Which is called Jebusi, in the last verse of the eighteenth chapter, and Jebus, Judg. xix. 10. Especially that part of it fortified by the Jebusites, which was called Mount Sion, and lay on the south of Jerusalem.

To the top of the mountain] Which is thought to be Mount Moriah.

That lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward,] It was westward to the valley of Hinnom; and so had that valley on the east of it.

At the end of the valley of the giants northward:] Which mountain had on the north part the valley of Rephaim (as the word is in the Hebrew), which was in the tribe of Judah extending itself from Mount Moriah as far as Bethlehem, as Josephus tells us.

Ver. 9. *Unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah,*] Where this fountain, or well of water was, cannot be known; for it is nowhere mentioned but here, and in xviii. 15.

Mount Ephron;] This place also is unknown; for it cannot be that in the tribe of Ephraim, mentioned 1 Chron. xiii. 19.

To Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim:] Called ver. 60. and xviii. 14. Kirjath-Baal; there being, it is likely, a temple of Baal in this place, whose name the Israelites changed into Kirjath-jearim; which signifies *urbs sylvorum*, because of the goodly trees hereabouts, which made it the fitter for idolatrous uses.

Ver. 10. *Compassed from Baalah westward*] Not in a direct line, but bending towards the west.

Unto Mount Seir,] Not that mount belonging to the Edomites, but another of that name.

Unto the side of mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side,] This was a woody country, as appears from the name of this mountain, and from Mount Seir also; which signifies as much as *hairy*.

To Beth-Shemesh,] A known place in the tribe of Judah, and a city of the priests (xxi. 16).

Ekron northward : and the border was drawn to Shicron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out unto Jabneel ; and the goings out of the border were at the sea.

12 And the west border *was* to the great sea, and the coast *thereof*. This is the coast of the children of Judah round about according to their families.

13 ¶ And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a part among the children of Judah, according to the commandment of the Lord to Joshua, *even the city of Arba the father of Anak, which city is Hebron.*

To Timnah.] Another city in the same tribe (ver. 17), but afterward given to the tribe of Dan (xix. 43).

Ver. 11. *Unto the side of Ekron northward.*] This city belonged to the Philistines ; but fell to the lot of Judah, as did also Ashdod and Gaza, ver. 45—47. But afterward Ekron was given to the Danites, as the foregoing place tells us, xix. 43.

Drawn to Shicron, and passed along to Mount Baalah, and went out unto Jabneel.] It cannot now be known where these three places were ; only it appears by what follows, that they were not far from the coast of the Philistines.

The goings out of the border were at the sea.] That is, the northern border ended at the Mediterranean Sea ; where there was a city called Jamnia ; which some think the same with Jabneel.

Ver. 12. *To the great sea, and the coast thereof.*] All along that coast of the Mediterranean, unto the river of Egypt, where the west border met with the southern (ver. 4).

This is the coast of the children of Judah round about.] That is, thus their lot was bounded on all sides, in the first draught of it. Which being afterward found too large, it was contracted into a narrower compass, that more room might be made for the tribe of Simeon, who had part of this lot given them ; as some other places were added out of it, to the tribes of Benjamin and Dan ; as will appear afterward.

Ver. 13. *Unto Caleb—he gave a part among the children of Judah.*] Or rather, he (that is, Joshua) *had* given him a part in this country, which by lot fell to the tribe of Judah. See the foregoing chapter, xiv. 6, 7, &c. where we read how Caleb petitioned for it, and founded his petition on a grant made to him of it, long ago, by God himself.

According to the commandment of the Lord to Joshua.] God promised it by Moses : and it appears from these words, that Joshua had an order from God to make it good.

Even the city of Arba the father of Anak, which city is Hebron.] See xiv. 15. This is here again particularly remembered, and an addition made to it, for this reason ; that Joshua having described the bounds of the country of Judah, and intended to set down the particular cities which were included in it, and distributed among them (as he had just before said, ver. 12), “according to their families ;” it might be remembered, that there were two cities, or rather the territories about them, given to two families, antecedent to this distribution made by him, Eleazar, and the princes. Which being a matter fit to remain for ever upon record, and to be known to all posterity, he inserts it here at large, in this description of the portion of Judah ; of which, it is likely, every family of that tribe had a map in their houses ; that they knowing their limits might both preserve them, and keep within them.

Ver. 14. *Caleb drove thence*] Not by his own power

14 And Caleb drove thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi, the children of Anak.

15 And he went up thence to the inhabitants of Debir : and the name of Debir before *was* Kirjath-sepher.

16 ¶ And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife.

17 And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it : and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.

18 And it came to pass, as she came *unto him*,

alone, but by the confederate army of the tribe of Judah and Simeon (Judg. i. 3, 9, &c.), in which, it is probable, he had a principal command ; and led on that party which assaulted this city (see x. 36, 37. xi. 21).

The three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi.] Whom he had seen five and forty years ago, and was not at all affrighted at them (see Numb. xiii. 22, and Judg. i. 10, &c.).

Ver. 15. *The inhabitants of Debir.*] See x. 38, 39.

The name of Debir before was Kirjath-sepher.] See Judg. i. 11, 12. It is called also Kirjath-Sanna, ver. 49, of this chapter ; which hath the same signification : for *sanna* (as Bochart observes, lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 17), in the Arabic language, is *learning*, or *the law*. The Chaldee there calls it Kirjath-arche ; which he translates *urbis archivorum*, “the city where the ancient records of these nations were kept.” All which shows the conjecture of some very learned men is not improbable, who think this city in those times was the seat of learning, as Athens was among the Greeks in future ages : inasmuch, that Grotius takes this city to be the same with that which Xenophon calls Φοινίκιον γυμνάσιον, “the school of the Phœnicians.” But, as the word γυμνάσιον in Xenophon’s days did not signify a school of learning, but a place designed for exercises of the body ; so we do not read of any famous place in that country, to which men resorted in his time for study.

Ver. 16. *Caleb said,*] Made proclamation, I suppose, throughout the army, which he led against Debir.

He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher, and taketh it.] Assaults this fortress, and possesseth himself of it.

To him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife.] With this place, I suppose, for her dowry.

Ver. 17. *Othniel—the brother of Caleb, took it.*] He was stirred up by the Spirit of God, it is probable (as he was when he was made judge of Israel, Judg. iii. 9, 10), to attack this place with an extraordinary courage, in which the providence of God appeared (as Caleb hoped it would) in bestowing his daughter upon a worthy person, and keeping the inheritance in his own tribe.

He gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.] Some think this was not lawful, because he was her uncle : but this is a mistake, for Othniel was not Caleb’s brother, but Kenaz, who was Othniel’s father. For Caleb is constantly called the son of Jephunneh, and Othniel the son of Kenaz. Therefore they had not the same father, but were very near of kin ; which is all the word *brother* signifies in many places.

Ver. 18. *As she came unto him.*] As she was brought from her father’s house to her husband’s ; according to the accustomed manner (see Selden, in his Uxor. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. 11).

That she moved him to ask of her father a field.] Desired her husband, unto whom she thought her father at this time would deny nothing, to bestow a

that she moved him to ask of her father a field : and she lighted off *her ass* ; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou ?

19 Who answered, Give me a blessing ; for thou hast given me a south land ; give me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper springs, and the nether springs.

20 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Judah according to their families.

21 And the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children of Judah toward the coast of Edom southward were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur,

22 And Kinah, and Dimonah, and Adadah,

23 And Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan,

24 Ziph, and Telem, and Bealoth,

25 And Hazor, Hadattah, and Kerioth, and Hezron, which is Hazor,

26 Amam, and Shema, and Moladah,

27 And Hazar-gaddah, and Heshmon, and Beth-palet,

field upon her. Or, perhaps, she moved him to give her leave to ask it of her father ; as she did, either by his permission, or by his desire ; who might tell her, it was more proper for her to ask it than himself.

She lighted off her ass ;] Upon which they rode then in those countries ; having no horses, nor mules, till aftertimes. And her lighting down was in reverence to her father ; unto whom she addressed herself in an humble posture.

Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou ? He seems to have prevented her request ; knowing, by her posture, she had something to desire of him. But Ludov. De Dieu takes it quite otherwise ; that when she came to her husband's house, she did not alight from her ass but continued still sitting upon it. Which her father observing, and asking her the reason, why she did not come down and go to her husband ; she told him, she had first a thing to beg of him. And thus both the LXX. and the Vulgar translate it, as if she did not alight, but sighed and cried, *ἐκ τοῦ ἄσους*, from the ass on which she sat.

Ver. 19. *Give me a blessing ;*] Bestow a gift upon me, as the word *blessing* is used, Gen. xxxiii. 11, or make my happiness complete.

For thou hast given me a south land ;] A dry country ; being both mountainous and towards the south ; that is, towards the deserts of Arabia, from whence very hot and scorching winds were wont to blow.

Give me also springs of water.] A field hard by, wherein were springs of water : for it was not merely the springs she begged, but the ground in which they were ; as appears from the foregoing verse, where she moved her husband to ask a field.

He gave her the upper—and the nether springs.] Whereby that dry ground might be watered and made fruitful. He seems to have given her more than she desired ; not only those springs that were in the mountain, but those which were below also. That so neither the rising ground, nor the plain, might want water ; as Arius Montanus expounds it.

Ver. 20.] Now follows an account of the cities within the lot of this tribe ; which were assigned to their several families, after Hebron, which was the principal of them (for here David reigned over the tribe of Judah alone seven years), was given to Caleb. Which the Jews generally think he did not get into his possession till after the death of Joshua ; as is related in the book of Judges (see there, i. 11—13, &c.).

Ver. 21. *The uttermost cities—of Judah*] Those

28 And Hazar-shual, and Beer-sheba, and Bizjothjah,

29 Baalah, and Iim, and Azem,

30 And Etlolad, and Chesil, and Hormah,

31 And Ziklag, and Madmannah, and Sansannah,

32 And Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and Ain, and Rimmon : all the cities *are* twenty and nine, with their villages :

33 *And* in the valley, Eshtaol, and Zoreah, and Ashuah,

34 And Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam,

35 Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah,

36 And Sharaim, and Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim ; fourteen cities with their villages :

37 Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdal-gad,

38 And Dilean, and Mizpeh, and Joktheel,

that were in the confines ; for he doth not seem to number all that were in the heart of the country. So the Jews think, though the truth is, as will appear in the following part of the chapter, he only begins with the outmost cities, but afterward proceeds to those that were in the midst of the country.

Toward the coast of Edom southward] He begins with those that lay on the south side of the country ; which was the border he first described, ver. 1, 2.

Kabzeel,] Where that valiant person Benajah was born, who smote two lion-like men of Moab (1 Chron. xi. 22).

Eder,] Which Eusebius calls Ἐδραί. But he hath no more to say of it ; nor of Jagur, and the rest that follow, but that they were in the tribe of Judah ; nor shall I go about to inquire further after every particular city mentioned ; the number of which is summed up ver. 32.

Ver. 32. *All the cities are twenty and nine, with their villages :*] If the foregoing places be told, there are no less than thirty and eight of them. But there were only twenty and nine of them (as some solve the difficulty), that could be called cities ; the other being only villages. Or, the meaning is (as the Jews generally think) that twenty and nine only belonged to the tribe of Judah ; the rest being afterward given to the tribe of Simeon, as we find in the nineteenth chapter ; where nine of these very cities here mentioned are said to be in that tribe, viz. Beer-sheba, Moladah, Hazar-shual, Baalah, Azem, Hormah, Ziklag, Ain, and Rimmon : which nine, with the twenty and nine here set down as the sum total make just thirty and eight. And this seems to be the truer account, because the villages of other cities are mentioned ver. 36 and 41, and yet none of them set down by name, as is supposed in the first interpretation of these words.

Ver. 33. *In the valley,*] Or in the plain below the mountains : but which way I shall not examine ; because the geography of this country will be done, I hope, by a better hand.

Ver. 36. *Fourteen cities*] There are fifteen in all, if we take the last two for distinct cities. But in all probability there might be one, called indifferently Gederah, or (as we translate it in the margin) Gederothaim. Perhaps there might be a double city, the old and the new : or Gederothaim was an appendix to Gederah, as the borough of Southwark is to the city of London.

Ver. 37. *Zenan, and Hadashah, &c.*] I suppose

Japhleti, unto the coast of Beth-horon the nether, and to Gezer: and the goings out thereof are at the sea.

4 So the children of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, took their inheritance.

5 ¶ And the border of the children of Ephraim according to their families was *thus*: even the border of their inheritance on the east side was Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper;

6 And the border went out toward the sea to Michmethah on the north side; and the border went about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah;

7 And it went down from Janohah to Ataroth,

a neighbouring city to Joppa, Azotus, and Jamnia (see his annot. upon lib. xvi. Strabonis, p. 261, 262).

The goings out thereof are at the sea.] The Vulgar hath it, "at the great sea;" which is certainly here meant; this being a short description of the lot of this tribe from Jordan on the east to the Mediterranean on the west.

Ver. 4.] According to the following mesures. Which give a more particular account of what is before said in general.

Ver. 4. *The border of the children of Ephraim*] And first, he shows what was given to Ephraim, reserving the description of Manasseh's portion to the next chapter.

On the east side] The north-east. For he describes, though grossly, only the breadth of this lot from south to north.

Was Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper;] The first of those was in the south, and the latter in the north.

Ver. 6. *Toward the sea*] From Beth-horon the upper this northern border went on one side westward towards the Mediterranean.

To Michmethah on the north side;] And on the other side eastward towards Jordan. This is very obscurely expressed; but it appears, from what follows, it must be thus interpreted.

About eastward unto Taanath-shiloh;] Still proceeded further eastward unto this place; the name of which only is now known.

Passed by it on the east to Janohah;] Another place easterly, of which we are now ignorant. For there are no records left to make us understand whereabouts in the east it was situated; which was perfectly understood when this country was inhabited by the Ephraimites.

Ver. 7. *It went down from Janohah—and came to Jericho.*] Not to the very city, for that belonged to Benjamin; but to the country adjoining.

Went out at Jordan,] Which was the eastern bounds of this country.

Ver. 8. *From Tappuah westward unto the river Kanah.*] He returns to describe the length of it from east to west; if the river or brook Kanah be the same with the brook Cherith, mentioned 1 Kings xvii. 3. And so not only Adricomius understands it, but that great man Bochartus: who observes, it was called the brook Cherith, from the Hebrew word *cara*, which signifies to *eat* or *feed*, because here God commanded the ravens to feed Elijah; and it was called Kanah, from the multitude of reeds which grew there (and so the Vulgar here translates it, *the valley of reeds*), in which it may be supposed Elijah lay hid (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 14). But there is so much to be objected against this situation of the brook Kanah, that I must leave it in suspense whether it were in the east, or in the west; and confess with Conradus Pellicanus that as none of the Hebrews or Latins have

and to Naarath, and came to Jericho, and went out at Jordan.

8 The border went out from Tappuah westward unto the river Kanah; and the goings out thereof were at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim by their families.

9 And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim were among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages.

10 And they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute.

given a satisfactory account of these last four verses, so I do not pretend to it.

At the sea.] Where *sea* alone is mentioned, it is commonly understood to signify the *Mediterranean*; which quite overthrows the opinion, which makes Kanah the same with Cherith. But the Vulgar here took it for the *Salt sea* (adding the word *salissimum*) which favours the forenamed opinion.

This is the inheritance of—Ephraim] A gross description of it.

Ver. 9.] What these separate cities were cannot now be known, because we have not a particular account given of all the cities of this tribe (as we had of Judah), but only of those which were the limits of their country. But they seem to have been some cities in the tribe of Manasseh, which were inhabited by the children of Ephraim, though the territories about them belonged to the Manassites, and were occupied by them (see xvii. 8, 9).

Ver. 10. *They drave not out the Canaanites that dwell in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites*] The inhabitants of Gezer were properly Canaanites; who dwelt upon the sea coast, where Gezer was situated (see ver. 3). This is mentioned also Judg. i. 29.

Serve under tribute.] They so far subdued them, as to make them tributaries: and, some fancy, imposed on them the precepts of the sons of Noah. But they ought to have destroyed them, and were forbidden to make peace with them upon any conditions (see Judg. ii. 1—3). Unless Grotius' conjecture be true, that the inhabitants of Gezer submitted and accepted the terms of peace, which Joshua was bound to offer them, before he began the war as the Gergashites, he thinks, also did: who remained even in our Saviour's time: for they delivered up themselves at the first summons to surrender; which is the reason, he imagines, that they are omitted in the enumeration of their enemies, both in xi. 1, and in Deut. xx. 17 (see his annot. on his thirteenth chapter of the second book De Jure Belli et Pacis, sect. 4).

This city, and the people of it, were destroyed in Solomon's time by Pharaoh, king of Egypt: who made a present of it to his daughter, Solomon's wife; who thereupon rebuilt it (1 Kings ix. 16, 17). Till then the Canaanites lived in it; from whence Spinoza would have it concluded, that this book was not written by Joshua, because we find the same thing recorded in the book of Judges (i. 29), which is of a later date. But this is a very frivolous cavil; for, as Huetius well observes, if an historian should have said in the life of Tiberius the Germans were not destroyed, the same might, in like manner, have been said in the life of Vespasian; and just so, when Joshua saith the Gezerites were not cut off by the Ephraimites, it did not hinder him that wrote in the following age from saying the same; because they still remained in the possession of their ancient habitation.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *The lot of Manasseh.* 7 *His coast.* 12 *The Canaanites not driven out.* 14 *The children of Joseph obtain another lot.*

1 THERE was also a lot for the tribe of Manasseh; for he was the firstborn of Joseph; to wit, for Machir the firstborn of Manasseh, the father of Gilead: because he was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan.

2 There was also a lot for the rest of the children of Manasseh by their families; for the children of Abiezer, and for the children of Helek, and for the children of Asriel, and for the children of Shechem, and for the children of Hepher, and for the children of Shemida: these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph by their families.

3 ¶ But Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters: and these are the names of his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah.

CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *There was also a lot for—Manasseh;* That half of it which had no portion on the other side Jordan.

For he was the firstborn of Joseph; I cannot make any sense of this; and therefore think the particle *ki* should be translated *though*, not *for*. And then the meaning is plain enough, that the lot of Manasseh came up after that of Ephraim (not before it), though he was the first-born of Joseph; for Jacob had preferred Ephraim before him (Gen. xlviii. 19, 20).

For Machir the firstborn of Manasseh, And his only son, from whom sprang such a multitude, that there was no room for them all on the other side Jordan; but part of them were to be disposed of here.

Father of Gilead: Numb. xxvi. 29.

Because he was a man of war, This is generally thought to relate to Machir; who had done some famous exploits in the skirmishes they had with some neighbouring people while they were in Egypt (see 1 Chron. vii. 21, 22), for he was not alive to fight when they came to Canaan.

He had Gilead and Bashan. A share in this country; for some of it was given to the Reubenites and Gadites, xiii. 25, but the Gileadites were also planted here (ver. 31); for, inheriting the valour of their progenitor, they were fit to defend this frontier country.

Ver. 2. *There was also a lot for the rest of the children of Manasseh* A great part of the Manassites being disposed of before they passed over Jordan, now follows the lot which fell to the rest, whose several families he names.

For the children of Abiezer, &c. These six families descended from Gilead, as we read Numb. xxvi. 30, &c. Where the first of them, who is here called Abiezer, is there called Jeezer.

These were the male children of Manasseh He uses the expression of *male children* to introduce what follows concerning the females. And they are called "the children of Manasseh," because they inherited in his right; being families descended from him (see Selden, De Successionibus, cap. 22.)

Ver. 3. *But Zelophehad, &c.* Here he recites their pedigree from the son of Joseph.

4 And they came near before Eleazar the priest, and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, The Lord commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren. Therefore according to the commandment of the Lord he gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father.

5 And there fell ten portions to Manasseh, beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, which were on the other side Jordan;

6 Because the daughters of Manasseh had an inheritance among his sons: and the rest of Manasseh's sons had the land of Gilead.

7 ¶ And the coast of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that lieth before Shechem; and the border went along the right hand unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah.

8 Now Manasseh had the land of Tappuah:

Had no sons, but daughters: And so could not make a family in Manasseh; and consequently have no share in the land.

Mahlah, and Noah, See Numb. xxvi. 33.

Ver. 4. *They came near before Eleazar the priest, &c.* To whom God had committed the care of dividing the several lots (xiv. 1 Numb. xxxiv. 17, 18.)

Saying, See Numb. xxvii. 6, 7.

According to the commandment of the Lord he gave them an inheritance Or, an inheritance was given them according to this commandment of God to Moses, by Eleazar and Joshua, and the rest who were appointed to divide the land. For after the lot had determined what land every tribe should have, Eleazar, Joshua, and the princes, considered how many families there were in the tribe, and how large they were; and accordingly divided it among them. So Numb. xxvi. 55, 56, imports.

Ver. 5. *There fell ten portions to Manasseh,* For there were six portions given to six sons; but the portion of Hepher, the last of them, being divided into five parts among his five daughters, there were ten portions in all (see Selden, De Succession. cap. 23). Which ten portions being assigned to so many families, Eleazar, Joshua, and the princes were not concerned any further in dividing these ten portions into lesser among several households; but that, I suppose, they agreed among themselves.

Beside the land of Gilead and Bashan, Mentioned before, ver. 1.

Ver. 6. *Because the daughters of Manasseh* That is, of Zelophehad, descended from Manasseh.

Had an inheritance among his sons: Being considered as heirs to their father.

The rest of Manasseh's sons Which were not of the six families before mentioned.

Had the land of Gilead. On the other side Jordan, as hath been often said; and is again repeated, to prevent all contentions that might arise about their portions.

Ver. 7. *The coast of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah,* This was the south border, which went from a city called Asher, to another called Michmethah; which was over against a city in the tribe of Ephraim, called Shechem.

but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh *belonged* to the children of Ephraim;

9 And the coast descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river: these cities of Ephraim *are* among the cities of Manasseh: the coast of Manasseh also *was* on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea:

10 Southward *it was* Ephraim's, and northward *it was* Manasseh's, and the sea is his border; and they met together in Asher on the north, and in Issachar on the east.

11 ¶ And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Beth-shean and her towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of En-dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Taanach and her

towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, *even* three countries.

12 Yet the children of Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitants of those cities; but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.

13 Yet it came to pass, when the children of Israel were waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute; but did not utterly drive them out.

14 And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me *but* one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I *am* a great people, forasmuch as the Lord hath blessed me hitherto?

15 And Joshua answered them, If thou *be* a great people, *then* get thee up to the wood country, and cut down for thyself there in the land of

On the right hand unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah.] And so to those that lived in the land of Tappuah, leaving Tappuah itself on the right hand.

Ver. 8. *Manasseh had the land of Tappuah:]* All the territory adjoining to this city belonged to the tribe of Manasseh.

But Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to —Ephraim:] But the city itself, which lay on the confines of their country, was one of those separated cities spoken of in the foregoing chapter (ver. 9), in which the children of Ephraim dwelt.

Ver. 9. *The coast descended unto the river Kanah,]* Concerning this place, see ver. 8, of the foregoing chapter.

These cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh:] That is, the cities on the coast before mentioned were inhabited by the Ephraimites, as well as Tappuah; though they were in the tribe of Manasseh. For these two tribes were nearer of kin than any other; and so greater friendship was intended to be established between them.

The coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river:] By the coast of Manasseh, is meant the cities inhabited by the Manassites; which were all on the north side of this river. As all those on the south side of it, though belonging to the Manassites, were inhabited by the children of Ephraim.

The outgoings of it were at the sea:] The coast mentioned in the beginning of the verse, ended at the Mediterranean Sea.

Ver. 10. *Southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's,]* These words express how these two tribes lay, with respect to each other; Ephraim on the south, and Manasseh on the north: and both bounded on the west by the Mediterranean.

They met together in Asher on the north, and in Issachar on the east,] Though on the south the tribe of Manasseh was wholly joined to the tribe of Ephraim, yet on the north-west, towards the great sea, it had the tribe of Asher on the confines of it; and on the east (towards Jordan and the sea of Tiberias) the tribe of Issachar. So Conradus Pellicanus rightly explains these words. For both the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh could not touch these other tribes.

Ver. 11. *Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher]* As Ephraim had some towns in the tribe of Manasseh so Manasseh had some in the tribes of Issachar and Asher, unto whom, in the north-west, and the east, they were near neighbours.

Beth-shean and her towns,] This was a place not far from the sea of Tiberias before mentioned, and near Jordan.

Ibleam and her towns,] It appears by 2 Kings ix.

27, that it was not far from Megiddo, mentioned in the latter end of this verse.

The inhabitants of Dor and her towns,] Concerning Dor, see xi. 2, whose inhabitants, (as also those of the other cities following) are here mentioned; because, it seems they possessed the people (whom they ought to have destroyed), as well as their cities and towns, making them their slaves.

En-dor] The city whither Saul went to consult with the witch. It was not far from Mount Tabor; which was in the confines of the tribe of Issachar.

Taanach] This city lay not far from the other; and was one of those given to the Levites (xxi. 25).

Megiddo] This was near the former, not far from the brook Kishon (Judg. v. 19).

Even three countries.] Or rather, three parts of these countries before mentioned.

Ver. 12. *Yet the children of Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitants of those cities:]* Through want of faith in God, and of zeal to perform his commands; which made them slack in their attempts to expel the inhabitants of this country.

But the Canaanites would dwell in that land,] Finding themselves strong enough to maintain it, against such feeble endeavours as they used to conquer it.

Ver. 13. *When the children of Israel were waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute:]* When they were more numerous and expert in war, not only the Manassites, but they of other tribes also, brought the Canaanites to be tributaries to them.

But did not utterly drive them out,] In which they grievously offended against God's command (Deut. xx. 16—18).

Ver. 14. *The children of Joseph spake unto Joshua,]* Both they of Ephraim, and they of Manasseh (ver. 17).

Saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion] They were discontented with their lot, which they thought too straight for them; because they were so very numerous, that the country which was assigned them was little enough for one of them.

The Lord hath blessed me hitherto?] Multiplied them exceedingly, as appears from Numb. xxvi. 34, 37.

Ver. 15. *If thou be a great people,]* Though he was their flesh and blood, yet Joshua would not humour them; but returns their argument upon them, that since they were so great a people, they should do as here follows.

Then get thee up to the wood country,] Which was in the highlands (ver. 18), which was full of trees; for *Aba*, as Bochart observes, signifies very thick woods (lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 9).

Cut down for thyself there.] Make it habitable.

In the land of the Perizzites] Who were a rough

the Perizzites and of the giants, if mount Ephraim be too narrow for thee.

16 And the children of Joseph said, The hill is not enough for us : and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are of Beth-shean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel.

17 And Joshua spake unto the house of Jo-

uncivilized people, living in these mountainous forests, as Bochart gathers from this place ; and thinks they had their name from thence. Because they did not live in cities and towns, but in those *Pagi* that were in the woods ; which the Hebrews call *Pherazoth* ; from whence the Pagani, the people who lived in those places, where called *Pherazim* : lib. iv. *Phaleg*. cap. 36.

Of the giants,] There were some of the *Rephaim* (as the Hebrew word is) still remaining here ; or it was a place where they had been wont to dwell.

If mount Ephraim be too narrow for thee.] If that noble mount which was given them for their portion, with the rest of the land before mentioned (which is included in the name of Mount Ephraim, the principal part being put for the whole) did not afford them room enough, he exhorts them to enlarge their bounds, by taking in those woodlands before mentioned.

Ver. 16. *The hill is not enough for us.*] They still insisted, that if they could get possession of the woody mountain, and destroy all the inhabitants, and cut down all the trees, it would not be sufficient to contain them.

All the Canaanites—of the valley] But if it would, they further allege, they had no hope to conquer it ; because, before they could come at it, they must encounter those that lived in the valley below it, who were too strong for them.

Have chariots of iron,] Before which they were not able to stand : for he doth not mean chariots made of iron, but armed with iron ; which the ancients called *currus falcati*, in Greek *δρεκασφόροι*, having a kind of scythes of two cubits fastened to long axle-trees on both wheels ; which being driven swiftly through a body of men, made great slaughter, mowing them down like grass or corn. Xenophon gives a description of them in his *Cyropædia*, lib. vi. and Quintus Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 9. Vegetius also, *De Re Mili-*

seph, even to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou art a great people, and hast great power : thou shalt not have one lot only :

18 But the mountain shall be thine ; for it is a wood, and thou shalt cut it down : and the outgoings of it shall be thine : for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have iron chariots, and though they be strong.

tari, lib. iii. cap. 24. Bonfrerius hath heaped up abundance on this subject ; and so hath Joh. Conradus Dietericus in his *Antiq. Biblicæ*, p. 329, &c. where he observes Xenophon imagined Cyrus to have been the inventor of these chariots ; which had been in use among the Canaanites eight hundred years before.

Both they who are of Beth-shean and—Jezreel.] Which cities, it seems, lay near to this mountain, unto which Joshua directed them, and both of them possessed by the Canaanites.

Ver. 17. *Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph.*] He was not moved, by their objections, from his resolution ; but told them,

Thou art a great people, and hast great power.] That, by their own confession, they were very numerous, and consequently of great power.

Thou shalt not have one lot only.] And therefore need not be straitened in their habitation ; which they said was not sufficient for one tribe.

Ver. 18. *The mountain shall be thine.*] For they should have the mountain added to their portion ; which he could not enlarge any other way, it being settled by a Divine decree.

For it is a wood, and thou shalt cut it down.] Or, though it be a wood, yet they could cut it down, and grub it up ; and then it would afford a commodious habitation.

The outgoings of it shall be thine.] They should have the product of it : or, all the country below in the valley (ver. 16) should be theirs also.

Thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, &c.] He answers all their objections (ver. 16) with an assurance that they should be able, with God's help, to dispossess the present inhabitants, notwithstanding their great force and power : for so God had commanded them to believe, and not to be afraid of their chariots, which now seemed so terrible to them (see Deut. xx. 1).

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 *The tabernacle is set up at Shiloh.* 2 *The remainder of the land is described, and divided into seven parts.* 10 *Joshua divideth it by lot.* 11 *The lot and border of Benjamin.* 21 *Their cities.*

1 AND the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set

up the tabernacle of the congregation there. And the land was subdued before them.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *The whole congregation*] All their elders and heads of their tribes, who represented the people of Israel ; and are sometimes meant by the "whole congregation," as Corn. Bertram hath showed in many instances, particularly in 1 Chron. xiii. 1, 2, &c. (see L. De Repub. Judaica, in the latter end of cap. 6. and cap. 11). But here it may well signify the whole body of the people, who accompanied the ark to settle it in a new place.

Assembled together at Shiloh.] A place in the tribe of Ephraim, not far from Jerusalem : and, as the great

primate of Ireland thinks, the same with Salem. But I do not find any ground for that opinion.

Set up the tabernacle of the congregation there.] Which had hitherto remained in Gilgal : but now, by God's order, no doubt (for he was to choose the place of his own residence, Deut. xii. 5. 11. 14, &c.), was removed thither ; together with the camp of Israel, which tarried so long in Gilgal, merely because the tabernacle was there. If it be inquired, what token God gave of his choice of this place, Mr. Mede answers (discourse xlv. book i.), perhaps it was by giving some extraordinary token of his approbation, by accepting their sacrifices ; or, it may be, they

2 And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet received their inheritance.

3 And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long are ye slack to go to possess the land, which the LORD God of your fathers hath given you?

4 Give out from among you three men for each tribe: and I will send them, and they shall rise, and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them; and they shall come again to me.

5 And they shall divide it into seven parts:

consulted him in this case by the oracle of *urim* and *thummim*. For when he made choice of Mount Sion, an angel bade the prophet Gad tell David he should set up an altar in the thrashing-floor of Ornan; and there God answered him by fire, &c. (see 1 Chron. xxi. 18, 26). Now the reason of its being translated to Shiloh, it is likely, was because it would have been too far, after the division of the land, for all the tribes of Israel to go to Gilgal, to perform all that the law required to be done at the tabernacle. Which was now indispensably to be performed, though while they lived in the wilderness they did not live by these rules (Deut. xii. 8—10), and, perhaps, while they continued unsettled in Canaan could not exactly observe them. This place also was very convenient for all the tribes to resort unto; and likewise very safe, being guarded by the two powerful tribes of Judah and Ephraim. And it was, as I said, in the lot of the latter; for it was fit it should be where Joshua was; who, being of this tribe, lived among them. Here it is thought the tabernacle continued for the space of three hundred and fifty years, till the days of Samuel; but our primate before mentioned reckons no more than three hundred and twenty-eight years.

The land was subdued] Or rather, for the land was subdued, &c. that is, continued quiet, without any opposition from the old inhabitants, since the conquest mentioned, xi. 23.

Ver. 2.] For whom no lot had been drawn at Gilgal. The reason of which was, perhaps, because the last mentioned tribes, of the house of Joseph, were not satisfied with the division which was begun to be made there. And therefore Joshua stopped his proceedings till he had made a new survey of the whole country. In order to which, God commanded him to remove hither; from whence, being in the middle of the country, they might do it more easily; and also give the children of Joseph greater content, by settling God's house among them.

Ver. 3. *Joshua said unto the children of Israel,*] Unto the congregation before mentioned, ver. 1.

How long are ye slack to go to possess the land,] He doth not blame them for not taking possession of the land which was conquered, without God's direction, by a lot (for that was expressly commanded), but for their being so slow to consider of, and propound some means of making such an equal division, as they desired; that they might take possession of the land, where their lot should fall.

Ver. 4. *Give out from among you three men for each tribe:*] He therefore himself propounds a method for their satisfaction; and such a one as they could not dislike, viz. that they should choose three men (for he would not appoint them, but only give them orders what to do) out of each of the seven remaining tribes that were not provided for; or rather, out of the nine tribes and a half; that they who had

Judah shall abide in their coast on the south; and the house of Joseph shall abide in their coasts on the north.

6 Ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the description hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the LORD our God.

7 But the Levites have no part among you; for the priesthood of the LORD is their inheritance; and Gad, and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, have received their inheritance beyond Jordan on the east, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave them.

already received their portion, might be willing to resign up some part of it, if they found, upon the survey, there was not sufficient left for their brethren.

I will send them,] Give them orders to go immediately through the whole country; both that which was divided, and that which was not.

Describe it] Set down not only the dimensions of it, but its condition and quality, whether barren or fruitful, mountainous or plain, &c.

According to the inheritance of them;] Making so many parts in the description, as there remain tribes that want their inheritance. Thus the next verse teaches us to explain it.

They shall come again to me,] Make their report to him, when they had done, that he might judge of it.

Ver. 5. *They shall divide it into seven parts:*] Of equal extent, with a just respect, as Josephus observes, not merely to the quantity of ground, but the goodness of the soil. But there was no respect to the greater or lesser number of persons in each tribe; for then these men had given each tribe their portion, and there had been no need of a lot. Their business was to divide the country into seven equal portions, and leave God to appoint which portion should fall to each tribe: who would have no reason to complain, when the division was made by themselves.

Judah shall abide in their coast on the south, and the house of Joseph—on the north.] But the lot of Judah, which was southerly, and the lot of Ephraim and Manasseh, which, with respect to the former, was northerly, were not to be altered. But these tribes were to remain undisturbed in their possessions, unless it should be found that they had more than they needed, and others had less. For this was the very reason of making a new and more exact survey of the country, than had been made before the first division, that there might be an allotment made more to every one's satisfaction, when they had a more perfect account of all the land. Accordingly, it is evident, that the tribe of Judah (by common consent, no doubt) parted with some of their portion to the Simeonites, and the Danites, whose lot appeared to be too scanty (xix. 29, 41).

Ver. 6. *Bring the description*] When the men who were appointed to measure the country, had divided it into seven parts, he orders that the description thus divided should be laid before him.

That I may cast lots for you here before the Lord] Whereby their possessions were settled and established by a Divine authority. For the lots being drawn before the sanctuary, God was desired to declare what portion every tribe should have. Accordingly, it was their duty to look upon it as a sacred appointment, and to be contented with it; for it was done at the very door of the tabernacle, as we read, xix. ult.

Ver. 7. *But the Levites have no part among you;*] He declared, what had been often said before, that in

8 ¶ And the men arose, and went away : and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, that I may here cast lots for you before the Lord in Shiloh.

9 And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven parts in a book, and came again to Joshua to the host at Shiloh.

10 ¶ And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before the Lord : and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel according to their divisions.

11 ¶ And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin came up according to their families :

and the coast of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph.

12 And their border on the north side was from Jordan ; and the border went up to the side of Jericho on the north side, and went up through the mountains westward ; and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Beth-aven.

13 And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz, which is Beth-el, southward ; and the border descended to Ataroth-adar, near the hill that *lieth* on the south side of the nether Beth-horon.

14 And the border was drawn *thence*, and compassed the corner of the sea southward, from the hill that *lieth* before Beth-horon southward ; and the goings out thereof were at Kirjath-baal,

this division of the land, the priests and Levites were to have no share ; God having otherwise provided for them (see xiii. 14. 32. xiv. 3).

Gad, and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manassah, have received their inheritance beyond Jordan, &c.] And, as for the rest, no care was to be taken of them in this division ; because Moses had provided for them before they came over Jordan.

Ver. 8. *The men arose, and went away.]* Being chosen by their brethren (as Joshua directed, ver. 4), to act in their name.

Joshua charged them, &c.] Before they went, Joshua gave them a charge to do the business they went about with care and fidelity ; using their best diligence to be truly and fully informed : and at their return, give him an account, that he might put an end to all disputes, by desiring God to assign every tribe their portion.

That I may here cast lots for you before the Lord in Shiloh.] These words sound as if he gave this charge to them in the presence of God, before the sanctuary, that they might be excited to execute his orders with greater diligence.

Ver. 9. *The men went and passed through the land,]* Through the whole country which they had conquered.

Described it by cities] Set down the name of every city, and its villages, and the territory about it, with its situation. For so, I suppose, Joshua charged them.

Into seven parts in a book,] In which were seven maps, as we now call them ; which made a chorographical description of all the cities, towns, mountains, plains, woods, and all other conditions of the soil.

Came again to Joshua to the host at Shiloh.] For the tabernacle being removed hither, the camp followed it, as I observed, ver. 1. And here it remained till the land was divided among the seven tribes. Which could not be done in a short time ; for Josephus saith they were seven months in taking this survey, and making the forenamed description.

Ver. 10. *Joshua]* With the assistance of Eleazar and the princes (xiv. 1).

Cast lots for them in Shiloh] As he told them he would, ver. 6. The manner of it, see upon Numb. xxvi. 55, 56.

There Joshua divided the land—according to their divisions.] That is, according to the divisions made by the surveyors ; which were so just and equal, that all consented the lot should determine what part should belong to them.

Ver. 11. *The lot of the tribe of—Benjamin came up]* The providence of God so ordered it, that his children should have the first lot of these seven, next to the tribe of Joseph, they two being the only sons of Rachel, Jacob's beloved wife.

According to their families:] To be divided according to their families.

Their lot came forth between the children of Judah] Who lay on the south of them.

And the children of Joseph.] For the Ephraimites lay on the north of them. And it is observable, that in the blessing of Moses, Benjamin is placed between Judah and Joseph (Levi having no inheritance among them), which prophecy of Moses by this lot was exactly fulfilled concerning him (Deut. xxxiii. 12).

Ver. 12. *Their border on the north side was from Jordan, &c.]* Just thus the south border of Ephraim proceeded from Jordan by Jericho, which was in the tribe of Benjamin (see xvi. 1. 7).

Through the mountains westward:] Through the mountainous country, which lay on the north of Jericho, it went up to the western part of the country.

At the wilderness of Beth-aven.] A place near Beth-el, which in aftertimes (when they committed foul idolatry there) was called Beth-aven, a house or place of iniquity (Hosea iv. 15. x. 8).

Ver. 13. *To the side of Luz, which is Beth-el, southward:]* On the south side of that city (see xvi. 2). The Jews think there were two Beth-els ; one here named in the confines of Benjamin and Joseph, where Jacob had the vision of the ladder reaching up to heaven, and the other Beth-el near to Ai (viii. 6. 17).

Ataroth-adar,] Called in the place forenamed (xvi. 2), Archei-Ataroth.

Nether Beth-horon.] A city in the tribe of Ephraim (xvi. 3), called “the nether,” because there was a higher hard by it in the mountain adjoining. Though others will have the two Beth-horons to have been at a great distance ; one in the mountains of Ephraim, the other in the valley near Jordan.

Ver. 14. *The border was drawn thence,]* In a line bending westward, as appears by what follows in the end of the verse ; which tells us the western border began from Beth-horon the nether.

Compassed the corner of the sea southward, from the hill that lieth before Beth-horon] I cannot give any account of this border, according to our translation : for, it is certain, it did not compass any corner of the Mediterranean (and no other sea can be here meant), nor came near unto it. Therefore, by *peath*, which we translate *corner*, must be understood the side of the sea. As if he had said, It ran along in a parallel line to the sea. So the Vulgar hath it, *over against the sea* ; and the LXX. to the same purpose. And the word *southward* is joined by the Vulgar, not to the sea, but to the next words, “southward from the hill that lieth before Beth-horon.”

Southward:] That is, the hill was to the south of Beth-horon, as we read in the verse before.

which is Kirjath-jearim, a city of the children of Judah : this was the west quarter.

15 And the south quarter *was* from the end of Kirjath-jearim, and the border went out on the west, and went out to the well of waters of Nephtoah :

16 And the border came down to the end of the mountain that *lieth* before the valley of the son of Hinnom, *and* which is in the valley of the giants on the north, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south, and descended to En-rogel,

17 And *was* drawn from the north, and went forth to En-shemesh, and went forth toward Gelliloth, which is over against the going up of Adummim, and descended to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben,

18 And passed along toward the side over against Arabah northward, and went down unto Arabah :

[*Kirjath-Baal.*] See xv. 60.

This was the west quarter.] Here the *peath* before mentioned (for it is the same word we before translate *corner*), the west side, or quarter, ended : for that is meant by *its goings out*.

Ver. 15. *The south quarter.*] The same word again in the Hebrew, viz. *peath*.

Was from the end of Kirjath-jearim, and the border went out on the west.] Did not go directly south, but bordered something towards the sea, till it came to "the well of waters of Nephtoah," as this verse concludes (see xv. 9). By considering of which, and the foregoing and following verses, it will be unnecessary to say much of this south border of Benjamin, it being the same with the north border of Judah. For the very same places are named here that are there, and in the same order ; with this difference only, that in describing this border, he proceeds from the west towards the east ; but in describing that of Judah from the east towards the west. So that Kirjath-jearim is there the north limits of Judah, as it is here the south limits of Benjamin.

Ver. 16. *Valley of the son of Hinnom.*] See xv. 7.

Descended to En-rogel.] See xv. 7.

Ver. 17. *Gelliloth.*] See there ; where this place is called Gilgal.

Adummim.] See there, and ver. 6.

Ver. 18. *Unlo Arabah.*] Called Beth-Arabah, xv. 6. and so the LXX. have it here in this verse.

Ver. 19. *To the side of Beth-hoglah northward.*] Leaving Beth-hoglah on the north of it (see xv. 6).

At the north bay of the salt sea.] Its utmost progress was to the tongue or bay of the Salt sea, which is on the north part of it.

South end of Jordan.] Where Jordan ends towards the south ; being swallowed up by the Salt sea.

This was the south coast.] That is, hither it reached, and here it ended.

Ver. 20. *Jordan was the border of it on the east side.*] Till, near Jericho, it met with the bounds of the tribe of Ephraim and Manasseh.

By the coasts thereof round about.] That is, a description of its bounds on all sides.

According to their families.] Which was divided among as many families as were in that tribe.

Ver. 21. *Jericho.*] Having given a description of the bounds of the country, he sets down the principal cities in it. The first of which was well known, viz. Jericho ; the territory of which remained, though the city itself was destroyed. And perhaps there were

19 And the border passed along to the side of Beth-hoglah northward : and the outgoings of the border were at the north bay of the salt sea at the south end of Jordan : this *was* the south coast.

20 And Jordan was the border of it on the east side. This *was* the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, by the coasts thereof round about, according to their families.

21 Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin according to their families were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and the valley of Keziz,

22 And Beth-arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el,

23 And Avim, and Parah, and Ophrah,

24 And Chephar-haammonai, and Ophni, and Gaba ; twelve cities with their villages :

25 Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth,

26 And Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah,

27 And Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah,

some houses there, though without walls or gates ; which seem to be the only things which Joshua commanded should not be built (vi. 26).

Beth-hoglah.] A city near to Jericho ; not far from the river Jordan.

Valley of Keziz.] Rather, *Emer-Keziz* ; for he speaks of a city, not of a valley. Or, it may be interpreted, Keziz in the valley ; that is, in the plain of Jericho.

Ver. 22. *Beth-arabah.*] This city is reckoned to Judah (xvi. 61), being, it seems, in the confines of both tribes. It stood also in the plain of Jericho, signifying as much as *domus campestris*, "a habitation in the fields ;" for there were large fields about it, as Bochartus supposes ; from whence a place in Assyria, for this reason, was called Oraba, as he shows, lib. iv. Phaleg, cap. 21.

Zemaraim.] A city, it is probable, built by Zemar, the tenth son of Canaan (Gen. x. 13). There was a mountain also called by this name, from this city, it is likely. For though it is said to be in Mount Ephraim, 2 Chron. xiii. 14, it might also, in part, belong to Benjamin, as Betharaba and the next cities did belong to two tribes.

Beth-el.] A city in the confines of the tribe of Ephraim and of Benjamin, which seems to have belonged to both.

Ver. 23. *Arim, and Parah, and Ophrah.*] We know no more of these cities but their names.

Ver. 24. *Chephar-haammonai, and Ophni.*] These also are unknown cities.

Gaba.] This is often named in Scripture, and called Gibeah, being that place where the foul fact was committed which almost ruined this tribe (Judg. xix). And is called Gibeah of Saul, because it was his native country, where he made his residence after he was king (1 Sam. x. 26). And it was one of the cities of the priests (Josh. xxi. 17).

Twelve cities.] Which seem to have been in the eastern part of that country.

Ver. 25.] The first of these is well-known from the story of its ancient inhabitants, related in the ninth chapter of this book. It was also a city of the priests (xxi. 17), and seated on a hill, as its very name imports. Ramah also was an eminent city on the north side of Jerusalem, as Bethlehem was on the south. So that Jerusalem was in the road from the one to the other ; as appears from the man that went from Bethlehem-Judah to Ramah (Judg. xix. 2. 11. 13).

Beeroth also is notorious upon this account, that it

28 And Zelah, Eleph, and Jebusi, which is Jerusalem, Gibeath, and Kirjath; fourteen cities

was one of the cities which cunningly joined with Gibeon to deceive Joshua and procure a peace with them (ix. 17).

Ver. 26. *Mizpeh,*] There were several cities of this name, as I have noted before (xv. 38.) And this was in the confines of the tribe of Judah; so that it seems to have belonged to both of them and to Benjamin, as several others did.

Chepirah,] Another of the cities depending upon Gibeon (ix. 17).

Mozah,] An unknown city.

Ver. 27. *Rekem,*] This is a city mentioned both by Eusebius and St. Jerome; but they do not say where it was, nor so much as name the next two, Irpeel and Taralah.

Ver. 28. *Zelah, Eleph,*] Two cities, of which no more than the names are remaining. Eusebius and St. Jerome mention the former as in the tribe of Benjamin, but say no more.

Jebusi, which is Jerusalem,] See xv. 63, where it is reckoned to the tribe of Judah; for both that tribe and Benjamin had an interest in it. The old city belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; unto which an addi-

tion being made, it belonged to Judah (as some make account); that is, the north part, with Mount Moriah, was in the portion of Benjamin; but the south part, wherein Mount Sion was, belonged to Judah.

Gibeath,] This was a distinct city from Gaba (ver. 24), and I suppose near to Jerusalem.

Kirjath,] The very name imports a city; which, Eusebius and St. Jerome say, was under the metropolis of Gibeath before mentioned. Πόλις ὑπὸ Μητροπόλεως Γαβθαῖ.

Fourteen cities] Which were in the western part of this tribe.

This is the inheritance of—Benjamin] Which was one of the smallest, with respect to the quantity of ground which they possessed; but the soil was the richest of all other tribes, as Josephus informs us.

According to their families.] All the families of the Benjamites were disposed of into these great cities, and the territories belonging to them; in which, it is probable, there were lesser cities, not here named. For we find two cities of the priests in this tribe which are not among these here set down, viz. Anathoth and Almon (xix. 18).

CHAPTER XIX.

1 The lot of Simeon, 10 of Zebulun, 17 of Issachar, 24 of Asher, 32 of Naphtali, 40 of Dan. 49 The children of Israel give an inheritance to Joshua.

1 AND the second lot came forth to Simeon, even for the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families: and their inheritance was within the inheritance of the children of Judah.

2 And they had in their inheritance Beer-sheba, Sheba, and Moladah,

3 And Hazar-shual, and Balah, and Azem,

4 And Eltolad, and Bethul, and Hormah,

5 And Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susah,

6 And Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuh; thirteen cities and their villages:

CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *The second lot came forth to Simeon,*] Both the LXX. and the Vulgar leave out the latter part of these words, as if they were superfluous; and only say, "the second lot came forth to Simeon." But I suppose the words following in the Hebrew are intended to show, that though their inheritance was within that of the tribe of Judah (as the next word tells us), yet those cities were not all that were given to this tribe, but they had another share by lot that fell to them: and God disposed it so, that the very next lot to Benjamin came up for them: Simeon being the eldest son of Jacob that was unprovided.

According to their families.] Which was divided by Eleazar, Joshua, and the princes, among their several families.

Their inheritance was within the inheritance of the tribe of Judah.] So we will translate it; for though the word in the Hebrew be *betoch* (in the midst) of the inheritance of Judah; yet it signifies no more than *within*. For the lot of Simeon did not lie in the very heart (as we speak), but in the skirts, of the country of Judah: from whose northern and western border some part was cut off, and given to the Simeonites; for the reason mentioned ver. 9.

Ver. 2. *Beer-sheba, Sheba,*] Or, rather, *Beer-sheba*, which is *Sheba*: for they were one and the same place; sometimes called at length Beer-sheba, and sometimes contracted into Sheba; nothing being more common than to cut off the beginning of the names of towns and places, as Bochartus hath shown in many instances, in his *Paleg. lib. ii. cap. 24*,

which he repeats in his *Hieroicoicon*, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 15. And certainly it is so here; for otherwise it would not have been said (ver. 6), there were thirteen cities in all, but fourteen; for there are so many if Sheba be distinct from Beer-sheba. Which was the last city in the south belonging to the land of Israel. From whence the common saying, *from Dan to Beer-sheba*, to express the whole length of the country; from Dan in the north to Beer-sheba in the south.

Moladah,] This is mentioned before, in the account we had of the lot of Judah (xv. 26).

Ver. 3. *Hazar-shual,*] A place where there was abundance of foxes.

Balah,] The same that is mentioned in the south of Judah (xv. 29).

Azem,] It signifies in Hebrew, *great strength*. We read of it nowhere else but in this place, and 1 Chron. iv. 29, where it is called Ezem.

Ver. 4. *Eltolad,*] called there *Tolad*; the first syllable being cut off, as I said ver. 2, it often is.

Bethul,] Called there *Bethuel*. Which some will have to be the same with Bethulia, where Judith dwelt; because she was of the tribe of Simeon. But that is a mistake; for this was in the south of Judah, and that a city in Galilee.

Hormah,] Which is mentioned in the same place, 1 Chron. iv. 30, and was one of the cities to whom David sent part of the spoil he took from the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 30).

Ver. 5. *Ziklag,*] A neighbouring city, as appears from both the forementioned places.

Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susah,] It is a very

7 Ain, Remmon, and Ether, and Ashan; four cities and their villages:

8 And all the villages that were round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramath of the south. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families.

9 Out of the portion of the children of Judah was the inheritance of the children of Simeon: for the part of the children of Judah was too much for them: therefore the children of Simeon had their inheritance within the inheritance of them.

10 ¶ And the third lot came up for the child-

probable conjecture of Bochartus, that these were two of the cities where Solomon kept his chariots and horses (1 Kings x. 26). For the former of these signifies the house of chariots: and the other, the village of horses. For it is called Hazar-susim, in the plural number, 1 Chron. iv. 31 (see Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. 2, cap. 9).

Ver. 6. *Beth-lebaath, and Sharuhem*;] They seem to be the same cities, called in aftertimes Beth-birei, and Shaa-raim (1 Chron. iv. 31).

Thirteen cities and their villages.] See ver. 1.

Ver. 7. *Ain, Remmon, and Ether, and Ashan*;] One of these towns is otherwise called in 1 Chron. iv. 32. viz. Etam, not Ether; and a fifth is added. Which shows all the cities and towns belonging to Simeon are not here mentioned, no more than all those belonging to Benjamin; as I observed on ver. 28, of the foregoing chapter. Ashan also is thought by Bochart (in the place forenamed), to be the same with Chor-Ashan in 1 Sam. xxx. 30, by cutting off the first syllable.

Four cities and their villages.] Which are mentioned separate from the rest; either because they were in another part of the country, or because they were not properly cities, but only *chaterim* (large villages), as they are expressly called 1 Chron. iv. 32, that is, towns which were without walls. Here, indeed, they are called cities; but that must be understood largely, to make it agree with the Chronicles, for towns of more than ordinary bigness.

Ver. 8. *All the villages that were round about these cities*] Here the word *chaterim* (villages) is opposed to cities; and signifies all the towns, great and small, that lay about all the cities before mentioned.

To Baalath-beer, Ramath] This is the name but of one city, called simply Baal in 1 Chron. iv. 33, and is that city in the tribe of Judah, mentioned xv. ver. 24, or ver. 29. As far as which city the bounds of the tribe of Simeon reached. Some think this is the city which Solomon built, i. e. repaired, and made larger and stronger (1 Kings ix. 18).

Of the south.] This doth not relate to the situation of the city before mentioned; but of the inheritance of this tribe, which was on the south of Judah.

Ver. 9. *Out of the portion of Judah was the inheritance of Simeon*;] For which reason the bounds of this tribe on all sides are not described as of the foregoing; because that was sufficiently done in the description of the possession of Judah; out of which the inheritance of this tribe was taken.

For the part of the children of Judah was too much for them;] They who were sent to make a new survey of the whole land, found that the former surveyors had not measured it exactly; but left one division too big in proportion to the rest, which fell to the tribe of Judah: who had now, therefore, a large slice cut from them, because they had too much and others too little.

ren of Zebulun according to their families: and the border of their inheritance was unto Sarid:

11 And their border went up toward the sea, and Maralah, and reached to Dabbasheth, and reached to the river that is before Jokneam;

12 And turned from Sarid eastward toward the sunrise unto the border of Chisloth-tabor, and then goeth out to Daberath, and goeth up to Japhia,

13 And from thence passeth on along on the east to Gittah-hepher, to Attah-kazin, and goeth out to Remmon-methoar to Neah;

14 And the border compasseth it on the north

The children of Simeon had their inheritance within the inheritance of them.] Within that lot, which was at first given to the tribe of Judah: yet not absolutely given, but so that if it appeared there was not sufficient for the rest of their brethren, and they had more than enough, that error should be corrected by taking something from them and giving it to another tribe, as it was now in this new allotment.

Ver. 10. *Third lot came up for Zebulun*] He was not the next brother; for Issachar was born before him. But he is mentioned before Issachar, both in the blessing of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 13, and of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 18.

Unto Sarid: No more is said of this place by Eusebius, but that it was *ὁριον Ζαβουλων*, "the bound or limit of Zebulun;" and St. Jerome saith the same. And, by what follows, it seems to have been the south-west border.

Ver. 11. *Toward the sea*,] That is, the Mediterranean, which was in the west.

Maralah, and reached to Dabbasheth,] These were cities in the western borders, as appears by the following words.

The river that is before Jokneam;] See xii. 22.

Ver. 12. *Turned from Sarid eastward*] This is a description of the south border; which went from Sarid in the west unto Jordan in the east.

Chisloth-tabor,] A city near Mount Tabor in the tribe of Issachar, ver. 18. For as, on the west, the Zebulunites were contiguous to the tribe of Manasseh; so, towards the east, they were to the tribe of Issachar.

Daberath,] A city also in the tribe of Issachar (xxi. 28).

Japhia,] It is uncertain where this city was, though some think it to be the strong city which Josephus calls Japha (lib. ii. De Bello Jud. cap. 25), and places it in Galilee near Jotapata.

Ver. 13. *Passeth on along on the east to Gittah-hepher*,] This seems to be a description of the eastern border. We read of the *land of Hephher*, 1 Kings iv. 10, which was near the sea of Galilee. There this city was, in which Jonah the prophet was born (2 Kings xiv. 25).

Ittah-kazin,] This city, it is likely, was upon the same sea of Galilee, called Gennesaret; which the Vulgar calls *Thacasin*.

Goeth out to Remmon-methoar to Neah;] Here the eastern border ended (for that is meant by the phrase *goeth out*), at the sea of Gennesaret. So Josephus expressly affirms (see Gen. xlix. 13).

Ver. 14. *Compasseth it on the north side of Hannathon*;] Here begins the description of the northern border; which, from the last named place, went in a bending line towards Hannathon; a city, it is supposed, in this tribe.

Outgoings thereof are in the valley of Jiphthah-el:] Here the northern border ended. But we know no

side to Hannathon: and the outgoings thereof are in the valley of Jiphthah-el:

15 And Kattath, and Nahallal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and Beth-lehem: twelve cities with their villages.

16 This is the inheritance of the children of Zebulun according to their families, these cities with their villages.

17 ¶ And the fourth lot came out to Issachar, for the children of Issachar according to their families.

18 And their border was toward Jezreel, and Chesulloth, and Shunem.

19 And Ilaphraim, and Shihon, and Anaharath,

20 And Rabbith, and Kishion, and Abez,

21 And Remeth, and En-gannim, and En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez;

22 And the coast reached to Tabor, and Shahazimah, and Beth-shemesh; and the outgoings of their border were at Jordan: sixteen cities with their villages.

23 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Issachar according to their families, the cities and their villages.

24 ¶ And the fifth lot came out for the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families.

25 And their border was Helkath, and Hali, and Breten, and Achshaph,

26 And Alammelech, and Amad, and Misheal; and reacheth to Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath;

27 And turneth toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and reacheth to Zebulun, and to the val-

more of this valley of Jiphthah-el, than that it was in the tribe of Asher, in the confines of this tribe (ver. 27).

Ver. 15. *Kattath, &c.*] It is not certain whether these cities belonged to Zebulun, or are set down as places upon which this tribe bordered. Of the first two I can give no account; but we read of Shimron as a principal city, which had a king in it conquered by Joshua (see xii. 20.) And Idalah is mentioned by St. Jerome (De locis Hebraicis), and called *Jadela*: as if it were compounded of *jad* (which signifies a *place*, Deut. xxv. 12), and *ela* (a *goddess*), being the place where Venus was worshipped, as Bochartus conjectures, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 3. As for Beth-lehem, we are not to take it for the place where our Saviour was born; which is called Bethlehem-Judah, to distinguish it from this, which was far from it.

Twelve cities] Here are more cities than *twelve*; therefore some of them are mentioned only as the boundaries of this country. There is no doubt but those mentioned ver. 13, were in this tribe; and many think those five here mentioned in this were so also. Jokneam likewise belonged to it; but which were the rest to make up the number twelve cannot be determined.

Ver. 16.] That is, these were the bounds of it; but all the cities belonging to it are not here set down: for we read of two, Kartah and Dimnah (xxi. 34, 35), which are not here named. And, indeed, twelve cities do not seem sufficient for sixty thousand men (Numb. xxvi. 27); therefore they were only the principal; and all, perhaps, that the measurers of the land had noted in their book.

Ver. 17.] Thus far there is some kind of order observed in these lots: Issachar being brother to Zebulun by the same mother.

Ver. 18. *Jezreel*.] This was one of the royal seats of the kings of Israel in aftertimes (1 Kings xxi. 1), which Eusebius and St. Jerome place in the tribe of Manasseh; but ought to be accounted belonging to this tribe, as the next place is agreed to be. There was another in the tribe of Judah (xv. 56).

Chesulloth.] Mentioned ver. 12, which both the forementioned authors place in the tribe of Issachar, under the name of Acheseloth.

Shunem.] Where that noble lady lived who entertained Elisha at her house (2 Kings iv. 8. 12). And where Abishag, the wife of David, in his old age, was born, 1 Kings i. 3).

Ver. 19. *Hophrain, and Shihon, and Anaharath*.] He doth not describe the borders on all sides of this tribe; but only sets down some principal cities; for it lying between Manasseh and Zebulun, the situation

of it was sufficiently known. And they do but guess, who say these six cities named in the foregoing verso and in this were in the southern border.

Ver. 20.] These three cities, and the next two that follow, ver. 21, they will have to constitute the western border.

Ver. 21. *Remeth, and En-gannim*.] Here, as I said, they imagine the western border ended.

En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez.] These two, and the three next, ver. 22, they will have to be the northern border.

Ver. 22. *The coast reacheth to Tabor*.] That is, this northern border; for Mount Tabor was in the north; and this city was hard by it, and received its name from the mount, or gave its name to it.

Shahazimah, and Beth-shemesh.] Here ended the northern border. There was another Beth-shemesh in the tribe of Naphtali (ver. 38), and another in the tribe of Judah (xxi. 16).

Their border were at Jordan.] This makes it probable the former account of its other borders is not true; because it leaves no city for the eastern border near Jordan, nor any for the middle of the country.

Sixteen cities] This shows that Tabor was a city; otherwise there would be but fifteen.

Ver. 23.] These were their principal cities; but it is likely there were others: for we read of two not here mentioned, xxi. 28, 29. Dabereh and Jarnuth; yet there are those who think Jarnuth is but another name for Remeth, here mentioned, ver. 21. which to me doth not seem probable.

Ver. 24. No reason can be given for this order; unless it be, that God was pleased to place this tribe, being descended from the handmaid of Leah, not far from Zebulun, one of Leah's sons. As for Gad, the elder brother of Asher, he was provided for before, on the other side of Jordan.

Ver. 25.] We know no more of the first three of these cities than their names. But the last of them was very considerable; mention being made of the king of Achshaph, xi. 1. xii. 20. The first of them also we find was a Levitical city (xxi. 31), called Hukok, in 1 Chron. vi. 75. It appears, likewise, by the mention of Carmel in the next verse, unto which this border reached, that these cities lay in the west near the Mediterranean Sea.

Ver. 26. *Alammelech, and Amad, and Misheal; and reacheth to Carmel westward*.] Or, *by the sea*, not far from Ptolemais; to distinguish it from the other Carmel, in the tribe of Judah, near Hebron (see xv. 53). Here the great prophet Elijah sometimes dwelt, and confuted the Baalites by a stupendous miracle. But

ley of Jiphthah-el toward the north side of Beth-emek, and Neiel, and goeth out to Cabul on the left hand.

28 And Hebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and Kanah, *even unto great Zidon*;

29 And *then* the coast turneth to Ramah, and to the strong city Tyre; and the coast turneth to Hosah; and the outgoings thereof are at the sea from the coast to Achzib:

we are as ignorant of the three cities mentioned in this verse, as we are of the other in the foregoing.

To Shihor-libnath;] Whether this was a city (some fancy Ptolemais), or a promontory, or a muddy river (for there are those different opinions about it), I cannot determine.

Ver. 27. *Turneth toward the sunrise*] It turned from the sea towards the east; and so northward, bending towards the west again. For there are no borders or sides of this tribe described: but from the south part of the sea it turned eastward, and then northward, in the form of a bow, towards the north part of the same sea, where Zidon was (ver. 28).

To Beth-dagon,] There was a place of this name mentioned before in the tribe of Judah, xv. 41. where it is thought there was a famous temple of Dagon, the god of the Philistines.

To Zebulun, and to the valley of Jiphthah-el] And so touched upon the north border of the tribe of Zebulun; in which the valley of Jiphthah-el lay (see ver. 14).

Toward the north side of Beth-emek and Neiel,] Where these were, is not known. Only Eusebius and St. Jerome say, Beth-emek lay in a valley, or low place in this tribe; as the word seems to import.

To Cabul on the left hand,] On the north side (called the *left hand*) of this city, which lay in the tribe of Asher, this border ended. Some have been so frivolous as from hence to argue, that this book was written long after Joshua's time; because the land of Cabul (1 Kings ix. 13) was not known till the days of Solomon, when Hiram gave this name to the land, which Solomon presented him withal. As if there were no difference between the land and the city of Cabul: when one of them was a little region, containing twenty towns, and the other a small place in the confines of Ptolemais; both of them in the tribe of Asher. They are plainly distinguished by Josephus, who calls one of them γῆν Χαβούλ, "the land of Cabul;" and the other χωμὴν, "the village of Cabul;" as Huetius hath observed, propos. iv. Demonstr. Evang. p. 186.

Ver. 28. *Hebron,*] Called *Elbon* by the LXX. and by the Vulgar *Abnan*: to distinguish it, I suppose, from that Hebron in the land of Judah.

Rehob,] There were two cities of this name in this tribe (see ver. 30). One of them was a Levitical city (xxi. 31), and the Canaanites kept possession either of that or the other (Judg. i. 31).

Hammon,] There was a Levitical city of this name in the tribe of Naphtali (1 Chron. vi. 76), called Hammothdor in xxi. 32. of this book.

Kanah,] There were two cities of this name; one in the upper Galilee, which was Kanah the greater; and the other in the lower Galilee, called Kanah the less. He speaks here of the greater, which was near to Sidon. The lesser was that wherein our Saviour turned water into wine, and of which Nathanael and the Syrophenician woman were.

Great Zidon;] See before concerning this city, xi. 8.

Ver. 29. *Ramah,*] Another city on the northern part of the Mediterranean sea.

30 Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob: twenty and two cities with their villages.

31 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families, these cities with their villages.

32 The sixth lot came out to the children of Naphtali, *even for the children of Naphtali according to their families.*

33 And their coast was from Heleph, from

To the strong city Tyre;] This translation is questionable: for we never read one word of the city Tyre (unless it be here) until the days of David; though we often read of Sidon in the books of Moses; even in the prophecy of Jacob. And, as Bochartus observes, Homer himself, who speaks frequently of Sidon and the Sidonians, never names Tyre (lib. iv. Phæleg. cap. 35). Therefore, it is highly probable, some other place is meant by Tzor (as our margin notes the word is in the Hebrew), which was a fenced city, as we render the word here translated *strong* (ver. 35). And there were several cities, perhaps, called by this name of Tzor or Tyre, besides that famous one in future times; particularly Palætyrus; as much as to say old Tyre. And it is no improbable conjecture of Campegius Vitringa, that into these two places, Sidon and Tzor, many of the people of Canaan fled, to secure themselves when Joshua invaded them: for Tzor signifies not only a *rock*, but any strong fortified place; from whence it is possible the Latin word *turris*, and then our English *tower* is derived. Certain it is, that these two were famous cities, Ἰνδοβοὶ λαμπροί, as Strabo calls them, lib. xvi. where he saith they were so anciently, and not only in his time; inasmuch, that it was uncertain which was the metropolis of the Phœnicians. But it is certain he speaks of the New Tyre, which was built in an island; but the old one was on the continent (see his *Observationes Sacre*, lib. i. cap. 1).

Turneth to Hosah;] Declined a little towards a city of this name.

The outgoings thereof are at the sea, from the coast of Achzib;] It ended at the country which belonged to Achzib; for so *hebel* (which we here translate *coast*) signifies. In proper speaking it signifies a *cord*, whereby ground was measured; and thence was used to signify the portion of ground itself, which was measured by that cord or line. Thus we read of Hebel Argob, the region of Argob, Deut. iii. 13. and Hebel Hajam, the region of the sea, Zeph. ii. 5. Achzib, according to St. Jerome, is that place, which, by Pliny and others, was called in aftertimes Ecdippa.

Ver. 30. *Ummah also, and Aphek and Rehob;*] It is probable these were three cities in the heart of the country of Asher.

Twenty and two cities] There are more than this number here mentioned, though we do not reckon Carmel nor Jiphthah-el, one of which was a mountain, the other a valley. Therefore some of them were only the boundaries of this tribe, but did not belong to their possession.

Ver. 31.] That is, these were the most eminent cities, though it be probable there were some other. For we read of one called Abdon, xxi. 30. not here mentioned.

Ver. 32.] Here the younger son of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, is preferred before the elder, who was Dan (Gen. xxx. 6. 8), as Zebulun was before Issachar. Such was the method of Divine Providence in that nation, to show them that they ought not to value themselves too highly, as they were prone to do, upon their external privileges.

Ver. 33. *Their coast was from Heleph, &c.*] He doth

Allon, to Zaannanim, and Adami, Nkeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakum: and the outgoings thereof were at Jordan:

34 And then the coast turneth westward to Aznoth-labor, and goeth out from thence to Hukkok, and reacheth to Zebulun on the south side, and reacheth to Asher on the west side, and to Judah upon Jordan toward the sunrise.

35 And the fenced cities are Ziddim, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth,

36 And Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor,

37 And Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor,

not say what coast this was; but by what follows, it appears to be the northern border where these cities were situated, near Lebanon and Sidon, and the rest of the northern part of Asher's country: for Naphtali comprehended the upper Galilee.

The outgoings there were at Jordan.] This border ended at this river; and at the very fountain of it, which was at the foot of Libanus.

Ver. 34. Turneth westward to Aznoth-labor,—to Hukkok.] The southern border began at the former of these cities; and ended at the latter.

To Zebulun on the south side,] Touched on the confines of the tribe of Zebulun; so that the north side of Zebulun was the south side of Naphtali.

To Asher on the west side,] This is a short account of their western border, which went as far as to the borders of the tribe of Asher.

To Judah upon Jordan toward the sunrise.] It was not near Judah, there being several tribes between them. Therefore the meaning is, this tribe had communication with that of Judah by the river Jordan. So the word *upon* in our translation must be interpreted (though there be no preposition at all in the Hebrew before Jordan), which river afforded them convenience of carrying merchandises to Judah, or bringing them from thence. And thus some think the prophecy of Moses was fulfilled (Deut. xxxiii. 23). *Possess thou the west and the south.* Which doth not signify that they had any land in the south; but that they trafficked with it, by the means of Jordan.

Ver. 35. The fenced cities are Ziddim, &c.] These were northern cities, it appears by that mentioned in the midst, Hammath, or Hamath, which was the utmost bounds of the land of Israel northward (see Num. xiii. 21. xxxiv. 8. 1 Kings viii. 65). It seems to have had its name from the youngest son of Canaan, who, it is likely, built it, as his eldest son did Sidon (Gen. x. 18). It continued a famous city a long time; for in the days of David, we read how the king of it cunningly made his peace with him by a great present (2 Sam. i. vii. 9, &c.).

Rakkath.] Which follows that, in, in the opinion of some of the Jews, the same with Tiberias. So the author of the book De Cippis Hebraicis, set forth by Hottinger. Whence the Talmudists, as he observes, say, Rakkath is Zipporia; which was called Rakkath, because it was seated upon a bank of a river. It was also called Mesia, and at last Tiberias; though other Jewish authors make Rakkath different from that city.

Chinnereth.] A place upon this sea of Tiberias; in which there were fine gardens, and a kind of paradise. Whence it was called Geneser; as much as to say, *the gardens of princes* (Gannoth-Sarim). And it had the name of Chinnereth, from its sweetness and pleasures, as the Jews say (Cod. Megill.). “Kinnereth is Ginsar. And why is it called Chinnereth? because its fruits are as sweet to the taste, as the sound of a harp is to the ear” (see Hottinger in his annot. on the forenamed book, p. 36).

38 And Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh; nineteen cities with their villages.

39 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Naphtali according to their families, the cities and their villages.

40 ¶ And the seventh lot came out for the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families.

41 And the coast of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Ir-shemesh.

42 And Shaalabbin, and Ajalon, and Jethlah,

As for the first two cities, Ziddim and Zer, I can say nothing of them.

Ver. 36.] We may guess where these cities were by the last of them, Hazor, to which they were neighbours (see concerning it, xi. 1).

Ver. 37.] The first of these was a Levitical city (xxi. 32), in which that famous captain, Barak, was born, Judges iv. 6. where it is called Kedesh-Naphtali, to distinguish it from those of that name in other tribes. Of the other two tribes we know nothing.

Ver. 38. Iron, &c. and Beth-shemesh;] Every one knows there was another Beth-shemesh in the tribe of Judah; and that this city and Beth-anath the children of Naphtali could not conquer (Judg. i. 23). But we know no more of them, nor of the rest; save only that Eusebius says, there was a large village, called Migdal-el, between Dora and Ptolemais.

Nineteen cities with their villages.] Six of which were fenced cities, certainly belonging to this tribe; and there are as many more mentioned as make up twenty-three. Some of which therefore must be accounted as bordering cities; or only large villages, and not properly cities.

Ver. 39.] This must be understood (as in the account of the forementioned tribes) of the principal cities; for there were more besides these, as appears from xxi. 32, where Hammoth-dar and Kartan are numbered among the Levitical cities in this tribe, which are not mentioned here.

Ver. 40. Seventh lot came out for—Dan.] They were the only remaining tribe that was to be provided for.

Ver. 41.] He doth not describe their lot by its borders; but mentions the cities that were in it. Some of which at first were given to Judah; out of whose share, it being too large, some cities were taken for the Danites, as others were for the Simeonites. And it is certain the first two of these fell to Judah, in the first division of the land (xv. 33). Both very eminent places, for the birth, and burial, and mighty motions of Samson; for at Zorah he was born (Judg. xiii. 2), between Zorah and Eshtaol he was buried (Judg. xvi. ult.), and here the Spirit of God began to move him, at certain times (xiii. 25). It is probable, also, that Ir-shemesh was in the tribe of Judah at the first; it being of the same signification with Beth-shemesh for one signifies the *city of the sun*; the other, the *house, or place of the sun*.

Ver. 42. Shaalabbin,] Which the Amorites kept in their possession, Judg. i. 35, where by a small change of letters, it is called Shaalabim; and in some copies of the LXX. translated *ἐν τῷ καὶ αἰ ἀδελφότητι*, and in others *ἐν ὁμοφύῳ*. And in our present LXX. both these are retained. For a fox in the Arabian language is called *thalab*, and in the Phœnician (which is half Arabic) *shalab*; as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 13. and in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 34. p. 684.

Ajalon,] Another city which the Amorites kept,

43 And Elon, and Thimnathah, and Ekron,
44 And Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath,
45 And Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon,

46 And Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border before Japho.

47 And the coast of the children of Dan went out *too little* for them: therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.

from them, as we find in the same place, Judg. i. 35. And was one of the Levitical cities (xxi. 23,) and that famous place mentioned x. 13.

Jethlah.] We know no more than that it was a city in this tribe.

Ver. 43.] It is certain that the last of these three cities was at first given to Judah (xv. 45). But Thimnathah was not the same with Timnath in the same tribe (xv. 10. 57), but quite different from it; as Gibbethon, I observed in the foregoing chapter, was from Geba, for Samson went down to this city Timnath (Judg. xiv. 5), which shows it was in a valley; whereas Judah went up to Timnath to shear his sheep (Gen. xxxviii. 11. 13), which shows it was upon a hill. Concerning Elon I can say nothing, unless it be the same with Holon in the tribe of Judah (xv. 51.)

Ver. 44.] Some think that the first of these is the same with that city in the tribe of Judah, called Eltekon, xv. 59, and the last the same with that called there Baalah, ver. 29. As for Gibbethon, the Danites seem not to have got possession of it, or to have lost it again; for it was in the hands of the Philistines after the days of David (1 Kings xv. 27. xvi. 15), and yet appointed one of the Levitical cities (Josh. xvi. 21. 23).

Ver. 45.] Where Jehud was I find not; but Bapazai is mentioned by Eusebius as a village near Azotus (or Ashdod) and St. Jerome saith in his time was called Bernea. Which may incline us to his opinion, that Gath-rimmon was no other than the city of Gath so often mentioned in Scripture as one of the principal cities of the Philistines. It is reckoned among the Levitical cities xxi. 24, as Gibbethon was ver. 44, though in the hands of the Philistines.

Ver. 46. *Me-jarkon and Rakkon.*] It is not certain where these places were, but very likely near to the place next mentioned.

With the border before Japho.] This place was afterward called Joppa, being the principal port town in all Judea (mentioned by Pompon. Mela, Strabo, and Pliny), and continues so to this day, retaining the name of *Japha*, which in Hebrew signifies *fair or beautiful*. It is not certain that it was a part of the tribe of Dan, though Eusebius calls it a sea-town of the lot of Dan; for these words may signify no more but that their portion comprehended the border which lay before this place.

Ver. 47. *The coast of the children of Dan went out too little for them.*] These words, *too little*, are not in the Hebrew, where there is nothing answering to them. But the words run thus, "the coast of the children of Dan went out from them;" that is, they were dispossessed of it in some parts by their powerful neighbours the Amorites, who forced them into the mountains, and would not let them dwell in the valley (Judg. i. 34). This put them to such straits, that they were constrained to enlarge their border some other way, which they did by the means following. I shall only further note, that this is no strange phrase; for in the year of

48 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families, these cities with their villages.

49 ¶ When they had made an end of dividing the land for inheritance by their coasts, the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun among them:

50 According to the word of the Lord they gave him the city which he asked, *even* Timnath-serah in mount Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

51 These are the inheritances, which Eleazar

jubilee lands are said to *go out*, when they returned to their first owners, from the present possessors (Lev. xxv. 28. 30. 31. 33).

Leshem.] A city not far from Jordan, called Laish, in the book of Judges, before it was taken by the Danites. In aftertimes, when it fell into the hands of the Romans, it was called Pannos; and made the metropolis of Iurea and Trachonitis. And from Philip, also, son of Herod the Great, who very much enlarged and adorned it, it was called Caesarea Philippi, in honour of Tiberius Caesar.

Smote it—and dwelt therein.] Were not disturbed in their possession.

Called Leshem, Dan.] Thus conquerors were wont to change the names of places which they subdued. This was done after Joshua's death; and is related more largely in the book of Judges, ch. xviii. where there is an account of the whole expedition. From whence some argue this book was not written by Joshua; whereas no more can be inferred from it than this, that, in aftertimes, Ezra, or some other, thought good to put in this verse here, to complete the account of the Danites' possessions. But any one may see, as Huetius observes, that if this verse were taken away, all that is said of this tribe coheres perfectly; and there is no breach at all in the context of the foregoing with the following verse after this. Which is an argument, that this short account of their taking Leshem were not the words of the writer of this book, but inserted afterward by some other person. For if they were taken away, this relation of the Danites' lot would be more like the account of the lot of all the rest.

Ver. 48.] The number of them is not set down, as in the foregoing tribes; of which it is to no purpose to inquire the reason.

Ver. 49. *When they had made an end of dividing the land*] That is, after every tribe had their portion assigned to them.

Gave an inheritance to Joshua] We cannot but observe the wonderful modesty of this great man, who received his portion last of all; and then, not by lot, but by their gift; who were already possessed of the whole land.

Ver. 50. *According to the word of the Lord they gave him the city which he asked.*] God, indeed, had ordered that he should have a portion, and that he should choose it; but he was content to stay for it till every body else was served. We do not expressly read of this command; but many things were said and done which are not recorded. And he being as faithful and upright as Caleb (and, besides, chosen to be the captain of God's people), we cannot but think, that when God ordered what Caleb should have, he gave the same direction about Joshua. And so much is implied in those words of Caleb himself, when he demanded his portion of Joshua (xiv. 6). "Thou knowest the thing the Lord said unto Moses the man of God concerning me and thee in Kadesh-barnea"

the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, divided for an inheritance by lot in

Even Timnath-serah] He did not choose the best place in all the country, but a convenient place in his own tribe; which was seated on the north side of a hill called Gaash; as we read in the latter end of this book.

He build the city, and dwell therein.] Repaired it, I suppose (for in all likelihood there was a city there before), and made a convenient habitation for his family and kindred. But we read nothing of them; for as he did not affect to make himself king of Canaan, so he contented himself with a little, and made no large provision for his posterity. We have no

Shiloh before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. So they made an end of dividing the country.

mention made of his sons or daughters; but (as Conrad. Pellicanus speaks) all the Israelites were his children.

Ver. 51. *These are the inheritances, &c.*] It is usual after so long an account, to recapitulate in what they had done, and by what authority; which he doth in this verse.

So they made an end of dividing the country.] Every tribe had the place of their settlement appointed to their satisfaction; so that there was no further division made of the land.

CHAPTER XX.

1 God commandeth, 7 and the children of Israel appoint the six cities of refuge.

1 THE LORD also spake unto Joshua, saying,
2 Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Ap-
point out for you cities of refuge, whereof I
spake unto you by the hand of Moses:

3 That the slayer that killeth any person un-
awares and unwittingly may flee thither: and
they shall be your refuge from the avenger of
blood.

4 And when he that doth flee unto one of
those cities shall stand at the entering of the gate
of the city, and shall declare his cause in the ears
of the elders of that city, they shall take him
into the city unto them, and give him a place,
that he may dwell among them.

5 And if the avenger of blood pursue after
him, then they shall not deliver the slayer up
into his hand; because he smote his neighbour
unwittingly and hated him not beforetime.

6 And he shall dwell in that city, until he
stand before the congregation for judgment, and
until the death of the high priest that shall be in
those days: then shall the slayer return, and
come unto his own city, and unto his own house,
unto the city from whence he fled.

7 ¶ And they appointed Kedesh in Galilee in
mount Naphtali, and Shechem in mount Ephraim,
and Kirjath-arba, which is Hebron, in the moun-
tain of Judah.

CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *The Lord—spake unto Joshua.*] From the
tabernacle, at the door of which he, and Eleazar, and
the princes had been making a division of the land;
as the last verse of the foregoing chapter tells us.

Ver. 2. *Appoint out for you cities of refuge.*] This
was the proper time for it; when they were all met
together to receive their several portions of land, after
an exact survey of the country.

Whereof I spake unto you] In Numb. xxxv. 9—11,
&c. where he treats of them at large; and repeats it
again, Deut. xix. 1, 2, &c.

Ver. 3. *That the slayer that killeth any person un-
awares—may flee thither.*] Such places, every body
knows, there were among the heathen; but common-
ly they were their temples, and their altars, as many
have observed; particularly Joh. Gentius lately in
his book *De Victimis Humanis*, par. iii. cap. 21. p.
483, &c. But there were also some cities that had
this privilege, as Dilherrus (who thinks herein the
gentiles imitated the Jews) observes out of Tacitus,
lib. iii. *Annal.* where he saith the principal cities of
Greece contended before Tiberius about this matter,
De Jure Asylorum (see *Dissert. De Cacozelia Gen-
tilium*, cap. 3).

They shall be your refuge] Protect such persons
from him who studied to avenge the blood of the
slain. Concerning whom, see Numb. xxxv. 12.

Ver. 4. *Shall stand at the entering*] Desiring to be
admitted and protected there.

Shall declare his cause in the ears of the elders] That
is, the judges, who sat at the gate before mentioned
(Deut. xvi. 18).

They shall take him into the city] Being satisfied he
was such a person as he pretended.

Give him a place.] Assign a convenient habitation
for him; these cities being appointed by God for that
purpose, and given unto those who inhabited them on
this condition, that they should entertain such persons
when they fled to them.

Ver. 5. *If the avenger of blood pursue after him.*] Desiring he might be delivered up into his hands.

Then they shall not deliver the slayer up] But defend
him from his assaults.

Because he smote his neighbour unwittingly.] It was
a casual slaughter, without any design of doing him
hurt, as far as appeared to them. If the avenger pur-
sued the slayer so closely, that they had not time to
examine the matter at the gate of the city, they were
not to let him stand there; but take him in (and after-
ward hear his cause and judge it), lest the avenger
should kill him before he was admitted into their city.

Ver. 6. *Until he stand before the congregation for
judgment.*] The avenger might bring him before an-
other tribunal, to be tried whether he killed the man
by chance or not (see Numb. xxxv. 24, 25).

Until the death of the high priest] If that court
found him not guilty of wilful murder, he was re-
stored to the city of refuge; but confined to live
there till the death of the high priest (see in the same
place).

Then shall the slayer return.] See Numb. xxxv. 28.

Ver. 7.] It is commonly observed, that as these
three cities were seated on high and eminent places,
that they might be seen afar off; so they were at such
a distance from each other, that all the country might
more easily have the benefit of one or other of them.

8 And on the other side Jordan by Jericho eastward, they assigned Bezer in the wilderness upon the plain out of the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh.

For Kedesh was in the north, and Hebron in the south; and Shechem between both. Thus they fulfilled the command of God, Deut. xix. 8.

Ver. 8. *On the other side Jordan by Jericho eastward,*] On the east of Jericho, in the land of the two tribes and half; which was almost as long as the land of Canaan, though not so broad.

They assigned Bezer—and Ramoth in Gilead—and Golan in Bashan] These cities were assigned by Moses before he died (Deut. iv. 43), but had not the privilege till now. And it is observable, that if Bezer stood in a flat country, the other two, Ramoth and Golan, were in the high.

9 These were the cities appointed for all the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth any person at unawares might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the avenger of blood, until he stood before the congregation.

Ver. 9. *These were the cities appointed for all the children of Israel, and for the stranger*] For the safety of all sorts of persons, as is manifest from Numb. xxxv. 15.

That whosoever killeth any person at unawares might flee thither,] It is observable that all these cities belonged to the Levites; who, by their authority, might defend the man from unjust usage; and by their wisdom, direct the elders to judge aright concerning his cause; and also give him good instructions while he lived among them, until the death of the high-priest.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *Eight and forty cities given by lot, out of the other tribes, unto the Levites. 43 God gave the land and rest unto the Israelites, according to his promise.*

1 THEN came near the heads of the fathers of the Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel;

2 And they spake unto them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, The LORD commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with the suburbs thereof for our cattle.

3 And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance, at the commandment of the LORD, these cities and their suburbs.

4 And the lot came out for the families of the Kohathites: and the children of Aaron the priest,

which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of Simeon, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.

5 And the rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.

6 And the children of Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

7 The children of Merari by their families had

CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *Then came near*] After the cities of refuge were settled.

The heads of the fathers of the Levites] So the princes of the several tribes (who divided the land, together with Joshua and Eleazar) are called, xiv. 1, and in the conclusion of this verse. And, therefore, the chief persons descended from Kohath, Gershon, and Merari (who were the fathers of the Levites), are here meant by the "heads of the fathers" of that tribe.

Unto Eleazar—and unto the heads of the fathers of the tribes] Appointed by God to see the land divided, called the *princes* of the tribes, Numb. xxxiv. 18.

Ver. 2.] This command is registered in Numb. xxxv. 2, &c., and is set down before the mention of cities of refuge (which are commanded in the following part of the chapter), though, it seems, that command was executed before this.

Ver. 3.] Not only Joshua, Eleazar, and the princes, but all the people of Israel acknowledged this obligation, which God had laid upon them; and accordingly these words import, that the people separated so many cities as he commanded by Moses (which were to be forty and eight, Numb. xxxv. 7), for the habitation of the Levites. Which cities are here named, and distributed among them in this chapter.

Ver. 4. *The lot came out for the families of the Kohathites*] After the cities were set out, which should belong to them, then they were divided by lot among the several families of the Levites; as the whole land was among the tribes. And the first lot came out for the noblest family in the tribe of Levi; for Moses and Aaron were descended from Kohath.

The children of Aaron the priest,] The family of Aaron being priests were the principal among the Levites; and therefore were first and very honourably provided for.

Had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, &c.] It was by a special providence, that the share which fell to the priests was in those tribes that were nearest to the city; which God intended should be the fixed place of his worship and service in future times; that the priests might be ready to give their attendance there, without much trouble.

Ver. 5. *The children of Kohath*] All his descendants were not *priests*, but Aaron and his family alone; the rest were bare Levites.

Ephraim,—Dan,—Manasseh] These three tribes were nearest to the three forementioned; so that the Kohathites were not far separated one from another.

Ver. 6.] Among the sons of Levi, Gershon is mentioned as the eldest, Exod. vi. 16, Numb. iii. 17, but the lot came up first to the children of Kohath, the priests being descended from him.

out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.

8 And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses.

9 ¶ And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities which are here mentioned by name.

10 Which the children of Aaron, *being of the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children of Levi*, had: for their's was the first lot.

11 And they gave them the city of Arba the father of Anak, which *city is* Hebron, in the hill country of Judah, with the suburbs thereof round about it.

12 But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his possession.

13 ¶ Thus they gave to the children of Aaron the priest Hebron with her suburbs, *to be a city of refuge for the slayer*; and Libnah with her suburbs,

14 And Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs,

Ver. 7.] This is only a general account of the tribes in which their several lots fell, and of the number of cities bestowed on their several families.

Ver. 8. *The children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites*] The children of Israel, as I said before, gave them; and the lot divided them.

As the Lord commanded—Moses.] Who ordered both how many cities they should have, and how large the suburbs of them should be (see Numh. xxxiv. 3, 4).

Ver. 9.] Here now follows a particular account of the names of those cities, which were said before in general to have been given out of these two tribes. Which are put together, because the lot of Simeon was taken out of the lot of Judah.

Ver. 10. *The Kohathites,*] One of the families of the Kohathites, and the eldest of them; for they descended from Amram, the eldest son of Kohath (Exod. vi. 18. Numb. iii. 19).

Their's was the first lot.] They had the honour to be first provided for, as was said before, ver. 4.

Ver. 11. *And they*] That is, Eleazar, Joshua, and the princes.

Hebron.] See of this city, xiv. 15. xv. 13.

Ver. 12.] The priests had only the city and suburbs, which were their possession, as much as the fields and villages were Caleb's, on whom they were bestowed before (xiv. 13, &c.).

Ver. 13. *They gave to the children of Aaron the priest Hebron—to be a city of refuge*] It was given them with this condition, that they who slew a man unawares should be entertained here, and have a place given to them to live securely among them (xx. 4).

Libnah with her suburbs.] This is to be understood to belong to them no otherwise than Hebron did, unto which they had no right beyond the city and suburbs; and, therefore, the fields and the villages of Libnah they had nothing to do withal; and the same is to be noted of all the following cities of the priests.

Ver. 14.] These are mentioned as belonging to Judah, xv. 48. 50.

Ver. 15. *Holon*] Called Helin, 1 Chron. vi. 56.

Debir with her suburbs,] See xv. 15.

15 And Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs,

16 And Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, *and Beth-shemesh with her suburbs*; nine cities out of those two tribes.

17 And out of the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon with her suburbs, Geba with her suburbs,

18 Anathoth with her suburbs, and Almon with her suburbs; four cities.

19 All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, *were* thirteen cities with their suburbs.

20 ¶ And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites which remained of the children of Kohath, even they had the cities of their lot out of the tribe of Ephraim.

21 For they gave them Shechem with her suburbs in mount Ephraim, *to be a city of refuge for the slayer*; and Gezer with her suburbs,

22 And Kibzaim with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs; four cities.

23 And out of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh, with her suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs,

24 Aijalon with her suburbs, Gathrimmon with her suburbs; four cities.

25 And out of the half tribe of Manasseh,

Ver. 16. *Ain*] A city in the tribe of Simeon (xix. 17), but taken out of Judah (xv. 32).

Juttah] See xv. 55.

Beth-shemesh] Unto which city the providence of God directed the kine, which drew the cart wherein the Philistines put the ark when they sent it home, there being a great many priests in it, to receive it with due care and reverence (1 Sam. vi. 12, 13).

Nine cities out of those two tribes.] For the tribe of Judah was very large; and the command of God was, that "from them which had many cities they should give many" (Numb. xxxv. 8).

Ver. 17. *Benjamin, Gibeon—Geba*] See xviii. 24, 25.

Ver. 18. *Anathoth*] The city of the prophet Jeremiah, who was a priest (Jer. i. 1).

Almon] Called Alemeth, in 1 Chron. vi. 60. For there were greater alterations than this made, by length of time, in the names of places.

Four cities.] Which were a great many out of so small a tribe; but the soil of it, as I observed before, was very rich.

Ver. 19. *Thirteen cities*] As was said, ver. 4.

Ver. 20. *The Levites which remained of the children of Kohath.*] Who were mere Levites and not priests.

Even they had the cities of their lot out of—Ephraim.] Part of them were planted there, and part of them in two other tribes, as it follows, ver. 23, &c.

Ver. 21. *They gave them Shechem*] See xx. 7.

Gezer] See xvi. 3. 10.

Ver. 22. *Kibzaim*] Which is called Jokmeam in 1 Chron. vi. 68.

Beth-horon] We read of both the Beth-horons in the description of this tribe, the upper and the nether, xvi. 3. 5. the first of which seems to be here meant.

Ver. 23, 24.] The four cities mentioned in these two verses we find before in this tribe, xix. 42. 44. 45.

Ver. 25. *Half tribe of Manasseh.*] That half of it which was settled in Canaan.

Tanach] See xvii. 11.

Gath-rimmon] In 1 Chron. vi. 70, these two cities are called Aner and Bileam; so much were names changed in a long tract of time. Or, they being dis-

Tanach with her suburbs, and Gath-rimmon with her suburbs; two cities.

26 All the cities *were* ten with their suburbs for the families of the children of Kohath that remained.

27 ¶ And unto the children of Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out of the *other* half tribe of Manasseh *they gave* Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, *to be* a city of refuge for the slayer; and Beesh-terah with her suburbs; two cities.

28 And out of the tribe of Issachar, Kishon with her suburbs, Dabareh with her suburbs,

29 Jarmuth with her suburbs, En-gannim with her suburbs; four cities.

30 And out of the tribe of Asher, Mishal with her suburbs, Abdon with her suburbs,

31 Helkath with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs; four cities.

32 And out of the tribe of Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, *to be* a city of refuge for the slayer; and Hammoth-dor with her suburbs, and Kartan with her suburbs; three cities.

33 All the cities of the Gershonites according

to their families *were* thirteen cities with their suburbs.

34 ¶ And unto the families of the children of Merari, the rest of the Levites, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam with her suburbs, and Kartah with her suburbs,

35 Dimnah with her suburbs, Nahalal with her suburbs; four cities.

36 And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs, and Jahazah with her suburbs,

37 Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs; four cities.

38 And out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, *to be* a city of refuge for the slayer; and Mahanaim with her suburbs,

39 Heshbon with her suburbs, Jazer with her suburbs; four cities in all.

40 So all the cities for the children of Merari by their families, which were remaining of the families of the Levites, were *by* their lot twelve cities.

41 All the cities of the Levites within the possession of the children of Israel *were* forty and eight cities with their suburbs.

possessed of the two cities here mentioned, by the invasions of their enemies (who perhaps demolished them), these two others were given in lieu of them.

Two cities.] Which was a just proportion to the other whole tribes, who gave four.

Ver. 26. *For the families of the children of Kohath*] Who were not of the children of Aaron, the priests (ver. 5).

Ver. 27. *Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out of the other half tribe of Manasseh*] Which had their inheritance on the other side of Jordan.

Golan in Bashan] See xx. 8. From whence the neighbouring country was Gaulonitis.

Beesh-terah] Called Ashtaroth in 1 Chron. vi. 71, by a very light change, only leaving out the first letter.

Two cities.] The same number that was given out of the other half of this tribe (ver. 25).

Ver. 28. *Kishon*] See xix. 20. Called Kadesh, 1 Chron. vi. 72.

Dabareh] Not mentioned before in this book, but in 1 Chron. vi. 72.

Ver. 29. *Jarmuth*] Called Ramoth, 1 Chron. vi. 73.

En-gannim] See ch. xix. 21, called Anem, 1 Chron. vi. 73.

Ver. 30. *Mishal*] Called Misheal, xix. 26, and Mashal, 1 Chron. vi. 74.

Abdon] Mentioned in that place in the Chronicles; but not in the nineteenth chapter of this book (see ver. 31, of that chapter).

Ver. 31. *Helkath*] See xix. 25. Called Hukok, 1 Chron. vi. 75.

Rehob] Mentioned there, and Josh. xix. 28.

Ver. 32. *Kadesh in Galilee*] See xx. 7.

Hammoth-dor] Called simply Hammath, xix. 35, and Hammon, 1 Chron. vi. 76.

Kartan] Called Kirjathaim in 1 Chron. vi. 76.

Three cities.] This being a smaller territory, it seems, than the rest of the tribes forementioned, who gave four.

Ver. 33.] As was said before, ver. 6.

Ver. 34. *Merari, the rest of the Levites,*] The remaining families of the Levites; for there were three heads of them; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

Out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam—and Kartah] Of the former, see xix. 11, and of the latter, ver. 16.

Ver. 35. *Dimnah—Nahalal*] See xix. 15, 16.

Four cities.] There are but two mentioned, 1 Chron. vi. 77, with quite different names; the other two, it seems, being lost before that time.

Ver. 36. *Bezer*] Which was one of the cities of refuge (xx. 8) though not here mentioned, as the rest are in the foregoing part of this chapter; and in ver. 38.

Jahazah] These, and the two cities in the following verse, Kedemoth and Mephaath, are mentioned as cities in this tribe, xiii. 18. And so they are in 1 Chron. vi. 78, 79, as Levitical cities.

Ver. 37. *Kedemoth*] Some have urged against the integrity of the Hebrew text, that this and the foregoing verse are not to be found in some ancient copies of the Bible; and, indeed, the Masorites acknowledge as much. But it is evident that they are found in copies of very great antiquity; and the context shows, that they ought to be here; as Bishop Walton observes in his *Considerator Considered*, ch. 6. sect. 14. And Hottinger also (who answers this cavil more largely) observes, that they are in a most accurate MS. of the Duke of Rohan's, written 1495 (see his *Thesaurus Philolog.* lib. i. cap. ii. quæst. 4. p. 181, &c.). The Masorites, who take notice of this omission, acknowledge, in the margin of this verse, that it was to be found in several copies.

Ver. 38. *Ramoth in Gilead*] See xx. 8.

Mahanaim] This city was made by Abner the royal seer for Ish-bosheth, Βαλναιον ἐποίησε, as Josephus speaks, lib. vii. *Antiq.* cap. 1.

Ver. 39.] These, with the foregoing, are mentioned 1 Chron. vi. 80, 81.

Ver. 40.] As was said in general before, ver. 7.

Ver. 41.] So God ordered by Moses, Numb. xxxv. 7. And it is a demonstration that Moses was divinely inspired to make such an appointment; before they knew whether, without straitening the other tribes, they could afford so many cities to the Levites. For when Joshua and Caleb went up to search the land (with the rest, mentioned Numb. xiii.) they could have no opportunity to take the dimensions of the country; whereby Moses might know there would be room enough to allow the Levites so large a propor-

42 These cities were every one with their suburbs round about them: thus were all these cities.

43 ¶ And the LORD gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it, and dwelt therein.

44 And the LORD gave them rest round about,

according to all that he sware unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; the LORD delivered all their enemies into their hand.

45 There failed not ought of any good thing which the LORD had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass.

tion as this; but he was directed to it by a Divine foreknowledge.

Ver. 42. *These cities—with their suburbs round about them:* viz. Two thousand cubits on every side, round the city, as is ordered Numb. xxxv. 5. Which must be owned to be a great proportion for this tribe; which was the smallest of them all. But God would have an ample provision made for his ministers; and they had none of the land belonging to these cities, as was before observed, but only room for themselves, and for their cattle.

Thus were all these cities.] Disposed and settled according to the Divine commandment. Six of which were cities of refuge; and the other forty-two had the same privileges, if the inhabitants pleased, and at the cost of those that fled thither for safety (see upon Numb. xxxv. 6).

Ver. 43. *The Lord gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give*] He gave them a right to the whole country (which was distributed among them, as he appointed, by a lot which he ordered and directed), and he gave them the actual possession and enjoyment of the greatest part of it; and he gave them power to subdue the rest (if they continued obedient to him) as soon as it was convenient. Which was exactly according to his promise and oath made to them; for they not being numerous enough to people the whole country, at their first coming into it, he never intended to expel all the old inhabitants at

once, but by degrees; as we read expressly, Exod. xxiii. 29, 30.

They possessed it,] Went every man to his lot, and peopled the country, as far as at present they were able.

Ver. 44. *The Lord gave them rest.*] None molested them in their possessions; but they ploughed, and sowed, and reaped, &c. without any disturbance.

There stood not a man of all their enemies before them;] For whosoever had opposed them, were overthrown and destroyed by them: and, as it follows,

The Lord delivered all their enemies into their hand.] Which is not to be understood, as if all the people of Canaan were absolutely under their power; but that, as long as Joshua lived, not a man appeared to fight with them, but was delivered up unto them.

Ver. 45. *All came to pass.*] Which they themselves (he tells them afterward, xxiii. 14), knew very well, and could not but confess. But it must be understood according to the explication of ver. 43. For the time of fulfilling some part of his promise was not come; and the completing of what was begun depended upon their obedience to him. “But (as Conradus Pellicanus here admonishes) we are taught by this the truth of the Divine promises; and it ought to establish the belief of the faithful, that it do not fluctuate; though the promises of God seem to us to be fulfilled very slowly.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *The two tribes and half with a blessing are sent home.* 9 *They build the altar of testimony in their journey.*
11 *The Israelites are offended thereat.* 21 *They give them good satisfaction.*

1 THEN Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh,

2 And said unto them, Ye have kept all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, and have obeyed my voice in all that I commanded you:

3 Ye have not left your brethren these many days unto this day, but have kept the charge of the commandment of the LORD your God.

4 And now the LORD your God hath given rest unto your brethren, as he promised them: therefore now return ye, and get you unto your tents, and unto the land of your possession, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you on the other side Jordan.

5 But take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law, which Moses the servant of the LORD charged you, to love the LORD your

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Ver. 1.] Who came as auxiliaries to their brethren when they passed over Jordan; as they had engaged to do, when they received their inheritance on the other side of it (i. 12—14, &c.).

Ver. 2.] Numb. xxiii. 20, &c. Deut. iii. 18, &c. In this and the following verses, he commends them for their obedience unto God and unto him; and for their fidelity to their promises; and their constancy and patience in their piety to God, and love to their brethren.

Ver. 3. *Ye have not left your brethren these many days*] Seven years (some think as many more) they had continued in their service; as long as the war lasted with the Canaanites; yea, till they had seen their brethren settled in the lots fallen to them.

But have kept the charge] During which time they never refused what was expected from them for the help of their brethren (see xi. 18. xiv. 10). This was a great proof of their patient obedience, in staying so long from their wives and children.

Ver. 4. *Now the Lord your God hath given rest unto your brethren,*] Which he had done for them before, i. 13.

Tents,] So he calls their houses, because this was the common word used for a long time in the wilderness, to signify a habitation.

Unto the land of your possession,] It was but reasonable and just that they should go and enjoy what God had given them, now their brethren were in a quiet possession of their portion; and that their fidelity in performing their promise, should be rewarded with the like, in dismissing them, when they

God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and to cleave unto him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul.

6 So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away : and they went unto their tents.

7 ¶ Now to the *one* half of the tribe of Manasseh Moses had given possession in Bashan : but unto the *other* half thereof gave Joshua among their brethren on this side Jordan westward. And when Joshua sent them away also unto their tents, then he blessed them,

8 And he spake unto them, saying, Return with much riches unto your tents, and with very

much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment : divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren.

9 ¶ And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to go unto the country of Gilead, to the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed, according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses.

10 ¶ And when they came unto the borders of Jordan, that are in the land of Canaan, the

had done their business. For they engaged to serve no longer, than till they had driven the Canaanites out of their country (Numb. xxxii. 21).

Ver. 5. *Take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law.* That is, to observe all his precepts (as they had done this of aiding their brethren), and for that end, preserve in mind all that God had done for them (see Deut. iv. 9).

To love the Lord your God, &c. Especially to worship the Lord alone with sincere affection; which Moses inculcated above all things, before he left them (Deut. vi. 5, 13, 14. x. 12. xi. 13. 22. xx. 9. xxx. 6. 20).

Ver. 6. *So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away :* He not only praised and commended them; but dismissed them with a solemn prayer to God for his blessing upon them. And he seems first to have dismissed with his blessing the Reubenites and Gadites; and then to have blessed the Manassites by themselves.

They went unto their tents. In order to pack up their goods, and make themselves ready for their departure.

Ver. 7. *To the one half of the tribe of Manasseh, &c.* This is repeated to show why he mentioned only half the tribe of Manasseh, ver. 1, and to introduce what follows.

When Joshua sent them away As he had done the Reubenites and Gadites.

Then he blessed them. This seems to signify that he gave a peculiar blessing to the Manassites; that is, rewarded their services, by some present which he made them: for so the word *blessing* (I observed before) sometimes signifies (2 Kings v. 15). And he did this the rather, because the Manassites were near of kin to the children of Ephraim (of which tribe he himself was), and were now to be separated from the rest of their brethren in Canaan.

Ver. 8. *He spake unto them.* This speech seems to be directed to the Reubenites and Gadites, as well as to the Manassites; though they had a peculiar concern in it.

Return with much riches unto your tents, &c. As much as to say, Part with your brethren contentedly and well-pleased; laden with the spoils which you have got in the wars against the people of Canaan. For they had their share in the prey, as well as the other seven tribes and a half; and carried it away to their own country.

Divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren. He orders them, when they came home, to let those that stayed on the other side Jordan, to defend their wives, children, and cattle, to have a share in the spoil which they had gotten. For this was thought an equal thing by God himself in the war they had with the Midianites, before they came over Jordan; when twelve thousand went out to fight; who had one half of the spoil; the other half being divided among all

the congregation that stayed at home (Numb. xxxi. 27). And it is very reasonable to think, that now the same proportion was observed; the forty thousand who went to help their brethren in the war, having one half of the spoil; and their brethren who stayed to guard their possession, the other half: so that the warriors had the far greater share, as there was reason; because they had hazarded their lives in the enterprise. But in David's time it was made a law, that they who went to fight, and they that stayed to guard the stuff, should have an equal share in the prey (1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25. see Gen. xiv. ult.).

Ver. 9.] This shows that he gave them all his blessing in Shiloh, where the sanctuary was; and sent them from thence, under the Divine protection, to their own country: which is here called the *country of Gilead*, because that was an eminent part of their country, divided between the children of Gad and Manasseh; and here comprehends all the rest of the land where the Reubenites lived.

Ver. 10. *When they came unto the borders of Jordan.* Or, "they came" (for the word *when* is not in the Hebrew) unto the banks of that river.

In the land of Canaan. This seems to import that they built the altar, mentioned in the end of the verse, before they went over Jordan, in the land of Canaan. Which is not at all likely; for it would not have answered their intention: which was to show, that Jordan did not make such a separation between them and their brethren, but that they were one people with those in Canaan; where the altar of God was in Shiloh. Therefore I take this to be a short manner of speech; signifying that they came to the borders of Jordan in the land of Canaan; and passed over into their own country on the other side of the river. And so the Hebrew word *gelilath* (which we translate *borders*) seems to signify, a certain place near Jordan, to which they came. The Vulgar Latin translate it *heaps*; the LXX. in the Vatican copy, retains the word Γαλαδ (or Γαλαδ, as other copies more truly have it), taking it for some noted place, which was near to their passage over Jordan.

Built there an altar by Jordan. The word *there* hath made it thought that they built this altar in the land of Canaan before mentioned; but the particle *sham* relates to time as well as place, and may be translated *then* as well as *there*. Examples of which there are in Judg. v. 21. Prov. viii. 27. compared with ver. 30. Eccles. iii. 17, and most plainly, Isa. xlviii. 16. And thus it is to be here interpreted, that, before they went any farther, they stayed by Jordan till they had built this altar on the borders of their own country: for so the next verse teaches us to expound it, and will admit of no other sense; where it is said, they had "built an altar over against the land of Canaan."

A great altar to see to.] Which made a great show

children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to.

11 ¶ And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh have built an altar over against the land of Canaan, in the borders of Jordan, at the passage of the children of Israel.

12 And when the children of Israel heard of it, the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up to war against them.

13 And the children of Israel sent unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, into the land of Gilead, Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest,

being very high and conspicuous, that it might be seen afar off. For being built, not by a private person, but by the whole body of a great people, they thought they could not make it too stately and magnificent. And herein it differed so much from the altar made by Moses, that they thought, perhaps, it would administer the less occasion to their brethren to suspect it was intended for sacrifice.

Ver. 11. *The children of Israel*] That were in the land of Canaan. This is an instance of such a short manner of speech as I take that in the foregoing verse to be; which must be made out by some such supplement as is there mentioned. For the Reubenites, Gadites, &c. were the children of Israel, as well as those settled in the land of Canaan.

Heard say,] This is an argument the altar was not built on their side of Jordan; for then they would have seen what they were doing, and hindered the building; whereas they heard nothing of it till it was built.*

Have built an altar] By a common consent.

Over against the land of Canaan,—at the passage of the children of Israel,] Either there where they now passed over Jordan, or where they all passed over when they entered Canaan, or at the usual place where every body was wont to pass over, that they might take the more notice of it. And here also were the *geliloth* before mentioned, like those on the other side, which seem to have been great banks east up to keep Jordan from overflowing too far.

Ver. 12. *Whole congregation*] Not all the people of the land, but their elders and heads of their tribes, who in the foregoing books are often called by the name of *colledath* ("all the congregation"). See Numb. xxvii. 2. xxxii. 2. and ch. xviii. of this book, ver. 1.

Gathered themselves together] It seems they had been separated, being gone to settle in their several cities.

To go up to war against them,] To consult about it. For they imagined them to be apostates from their religion, which, as it required them to worship the Lord alone, and no other god, so at no other place but that which he himself had chosen. Where he allowed but one altar, as there was but one God (see Deut. xii. 5, 6, 11, 13, 18, 26, 27. xiii. 12, &c.). That altar also, where he commanded sacrifices to be offered, was to be but three cubits high (Exod. xxvii. 1), so that they went not up to it by steps (Exod. xx. 26); whereas this was a high altar, like those among the heathens, who loved to sacrifice on high places (i. e. mountains), and also upon high and lofty altars,

14 And with him ten princes, of each chief house a prince throughout all the tribes of Israel; and each one *was* an head of the house of their fathers among the thousands of Israel.

15 ¶ And they came unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, unto the land of Gilead, and they spake with them, saying,

16 Thus saith the whole congregation of the Lord, What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away this day from following the Lord, in that ye have builded you an altar, that ye might rebel this day against the Lord?

17 *Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us,* from which we are not cleansed until this day, although there was a plague in the congregation of the Lord,

which advanced their sacrifices nearer heaven. And this, perhaps, was one thing that incensed the congregation now assembled, and made them think their brethren were lapsed to idolatry; either intending to worship other gods, or the God of Israel in an unlawful place and manner.

Ver. 13. *The children of Israel sent unto the children of Reuben, &c.*] Their zeal did not so transport them, but that they prudently considered it was fit to be rightly informed of the matter of fact; and if any thing was amiss, to endeavour to set it right by counsel and argument, before they betook themselves to arms: in order to which they sent the embassy here mentioned.

Phinehas] A person of very eminent authority among them, and more likely to be received with due regard (Numb. xxxi. 6).

Ver. 14. *With him ten princes, of each chief house a prince*] Which were nine and a half; so that a prince was chosen out of the half tribe of Manasseh, as well as out of the other nine.

Each one was an head of the house of their fathers] That is, they were *chiliarchs*, as the LXX. call them, and the chief among such rulers of thousands in the several tribes (Exod. xviii. 21).

Ver. 15. *They came unto the children of Reuben, &c.*] Who, hearing of their coming, held a congregation, it is likely, of the chief persons among them, to receive their message.

Unto the land of Gilead,] So he calls here, and ver. 13, the country of the two tribes and half; by the name of an eminent part of it, which is put for the whole, as I observed upon ver. 9.

They spake with them,] Made the following speech in the assembly of the two tribes and half, by the mouth of Phinehas.

Ver. 16. *Thus saith the whole congregation*] The representatives of the whole people of Israel, in whose name this embassy was sent.

What trespass is this that ye have committed] They were not able to express the heinousness of it.

To turn away this day] So soon after they had seen his wonderful works, and received such a charge from Joshua as he gave them at their departure from Canaan (ver. 5).

In that ye have builded you an altar,] Which they supposed was for a sacrifice.

That ye might rebel this day] Which was direct opposition to his express command, immediately after he gave them the law from Mount Sinai (Exod. xx. 24. And see the places before named upon ver. 12).

Ver. 17. *Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us,*

18 But that ye must turn away this day from following the LORD? and it will be, seeing ye rebel to day against the LORD, that to morrow he will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel.

19 Notwithstanding, if the land of your possession be unclean, then pass ye over unto the land of the possession of the LORD, wherein the LORD's tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession among us: but rebel not against the LORD, nor rebel against us, in building you an altar beside the altar of the LORD our God.

20 Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a trespass in the accursed thing, and wrath fell on all the congregation of Israel? and that man perished not alone in his iniquity.

from which we are not cleansed] He instances in this, being himself an actor in the punishment of it, though it deserved still greater punishment. For that is the meaning of "we are not cleansed;" have not sufficiently suffered for that sin; there being some remaining (he feared) that were infected with those idolatrous inclinations, whom God might justly cut off.

Although there was a plague] Which destroyed twenty and four thousand (see Numb. xxv. 9).

Ver. 18. But that ye must turn away this day from following the Lord?] Commit more sins of that nature. For whether they intended to worship other gods, or to worship the God of Israel in a manner he did not allow, it was, in his esteem, idolatry.

It will be, seeing ye rebel to day] It must be acknowledged that they were a little too hasty in concluding their brethren to be rebels, before they had asked them for what purpose they had erected this altar, which should properly have been the first question; but their pious fear, lest God should be offended, made them immediately fall into this vehement expostulation.

That to morrow] That is, quickly, or speedily.

He will be wroth] With you for committing this sin, and with us for not punishing it.

Ver. 19. Notwithstanding,] Or rather, "and now," as the LXX. translate the Hebrew participle *reac*.

If the land of your possession be unclean,] They imagined the Reubenites, and Gadites, and Manassites, might take their land to be less holy for want of an altar, and such a token of the Divine presence as there was in the tabernacle. This appears to be the sense by what follows: which our Mr. Mede carries something further, in his observations concerning the appropriation of some place for the worship of God: which so universally prevailed from the beginning, that it was believed in those elder times, that those countries and territories wherein no place was set apart for God's worship were unhallowed and unclean. This he thinks may be rightly gathered from these words (see book ii. upon Eccles. v. 1. p. 433).

Then pass ye over—and take possession among us.] This expresses a wonderful zeal for God and the common good, wherewith they were at present possessed; which made them desire rather to give up some of their own land to them, than have them fall from their religion.

But rebel not against the Lord, nor rebel against us,] They desire them not to break the common bond that tied them to each other, as well as unto God, which was the same religion.

In building you an altar] Which was, in effect, to forsake the Lord.

21 ¶ Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh answered, and said unto the heads of the thousands of Israel,

22 The LORD God of gods, the LORD God of gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the LORD, (save us not this day,)

23 That we have built us an altar to turn from following the LORD, or if to offer thereon burnt offering or meat offering, or if to offer peace offerings thereon, let the LORD himself require it;

24 And if we have not rather done it for fear of this thing, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying,

Ver. 20. Did not Achan the son of Zerah] Descended from Zerah (vii 17, 18).

Commit a trespass] This was a fresher instance than that of Baal-Peor (ver. 17).

And wrath fell on all the congregation] See vii. 1, 2, &c. In this he explains what he said ver. 18, that the whole congregation was in danger to fall under the Divine displeasure by their apostasy.

Ver. 21.] Some of the heads of their tribes made the following reply, in the name of all the rest.

Ver. 22. The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods,] In the Hebrew, "the God of gods, the Lord; the God of gods, the Lord." Where there are three names of God, Elohim, and Jehovah; signifying that they owned no other God but him whom their forefathers worshipped, by what name soever he was called; that God, who is infinitely above all creatures, the fountain of all other beings; and they double the expression of their devotion to him, that they might signify their earnestness and vehemency to purge themselves from the crime objected to them.

Some of the ancient Jews thought a great mystery is contained in these words: for the Midrash Tillim upon the fiftieth Psalm (quoted by Mart. à Raymund in his Pugio Fidei, par. iii. distinct. 1. cap. 4.) thus discourses: "What did they see that they mention these words twice, 'El, Elohim, Jehovah; El, Elohim, Jehovah?' They said, 'God, God, Jehovah,' the first time, because by these the world was created; and they said 'God, God, Jehovah,' the second time, because by these the law was given." Where he plainly insinuates a plurality of persons, saying, *behen* (by these) the world was created, &c. and refers to the first words of Genesis, where it is said *Elohim* created in the beginning the heaven and the earth. No wonder then that Christians have been of the same opinion, and thought these three names denoted the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; as the author of the old Nitzacon (three hundred years before that of R. Lipman's) acknowledges, p. 59. Unto which he gives no answer, but only this, That these three belong to one God; which we also acknowledge.

He knoweth,] They appeal to Him who searcheth the hearts of men, and their most secret designs.

Israel he shall know;] By seeing their constancy in the religion of their ancestors.

If it be in rebellion,—(save us not this day,)] They turn their speech on a sudden (as is usual in great passion) unto God himself, desiring they may not live, but be immediately destroyed by him, if they intended either to throw off his worship and service, or to worship him in any other way than according to his appointment.

Ver. 23.] That is, they desire God to punish it (for

What have ye to do with the LORD God of Israel?

25 For the LORD hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no part in the LORD: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing the LORD.

26 Therefore we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar, not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice:

27 But that it may be a witness between us, and you, and our generations after us, that we might do the service of the LORD before him with our burnt offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no part in the LORD.

28 Therefore said we, that it shall be, when they should so say to us or to our generations in time to come, that we may say again, Behold the pattern of the altar of the LORD, which our fathers made, not for burnt offerings, nor for

sacrifices; but it is a witness between us and you.

29 God forbid that we should rebel against the LORD, and turn this day from following the LORD, to build an altar for burnt offerings, for meat offerings, or for sacrifices, beside the altar of the LORD our God that is before his tabernacle.

30 ¶ And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation and heads of the thousands of Israel which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spake, it pleased them.

31 And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the children of Manasseh, This day we perceive that the LORD is among us, because ye have not committed this trespass against the LORD: now ye have delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the LORD.

32 ¶ And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the child-

so that phrase *require* it signifies, Deut. xviii. 19), if they intended to offer any sort of sacrifice whatsoever upon this altar; which they acknowledge had been to turn from their religion.

Ver. 24. *For fear of this thing,*] The Hebrew word *deaga* (which we translate *fear*) signifies such anxiety in their mind as gave them much trouble, till they thought of this way to give themselves ease.

Saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the Lord God of Israel?] They were afraid a time might come when they should be looked upon as aliens, who had no right to come to the tabernacle and the altar to offer sacrifice there. The Targum hath it, "What have ye to do with the Word of the Lord God of Israel?"

Ver. 25. *The Lord hath made Jordan a border between us and you,*] Divided us from you by the river Jordan.

Ye have no part in the Lord: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing the Lord.] Make them lose their religion (which is called the *fear of God*), by pretending they are none of the Lord's people. It was not likely, one would think, such a thing should happen; but they did not know what length of time, and their distance from them, might do, to make them forget their relation unto them, and unto God; their country being no part of the land of promise, as Canaan was. Here again the Targum hath it; "Ye have no part in the Word of the Lord."

Ver. 26.] They again disclaim that, before they give the true reason of what they had done.

Ver. 27. *That it may be a witness between us, and you,*] For it had been an ancient way of preserving the remembrance of things, by raising such structures to testify to them, Gen. xxx. 48, and used afterward by Joshua himself, xxxiv. 27.

That we might do the service of the Lord before him with our burnt offerings, &c.] Have the privilege to come and worship God at the tabernacle, by offering such sacrifices as the rest of the Israelites did.

Ye have no part in the Lord.] That they might not be thrust away from the altar when they brought their sacrifices, under a pretence that they were none of God's people, because they did not live in the

land which he promised to their fathers. Here the Targum uses the same language again, "No part in the Word of the Lord."

Ver. 28. *When they shall so say to us—that we may say again,*] Have a reply ready, if such a thing as we fear should happen.

Behold the pattern of the altar of the Lord,] Which they could not have exactly imitated, if they had not been acquainted with it, and worshipped God there with their brethren.

Not for burnt offerings, nor for sacrifices,] They thought this could not be too often repeated, that they might not be misunderstood.

But it is a witness between us and you,] A public testimony that we ought not to be excluded from the worship of God among you, being of the same communion with you.

Ver. 29.] They utterly renounce all such intentions as they were suspected to have; protesting again most solemnly they meant not to rebel against the Word of the Lord, as the Targum again expresses it.

Ver. 30.] They not only acquiesced in their answer, but were very glad to hear it.

Ver. 31. *Phinehas—said unto the children of Reuben,*] He spake to them in the name of all his company.

This day we perceive that the Lord is among us,] He thankfully acknowledges the gracious presence of God with them, in preserving the Reubenites, &c. from so great a sin, as they feared they had committed; and all the people of Israel from such heavy judgments as it would have deserved.

Now ye have delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the Lord.] Who would have punished them for this schism, if they had been guilty of it, and not censured for it. This whole verse runs thus in the Targum: "This day we perceive that the Shechinah (or Divine Majesty) is among us, because ye have not committed this trespass against the Word of the Lord; whereby you have delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the Word of the Lord."

Ver. 32. *Phinehas—and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and—Gad, out of the land of Gilead,*] Under Reuben and Gad the half tribe of Manasseh is included, both here and ver. 25, 32, 33, as under the *land of Gilead* is included the whole

ren of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and brought them word again.

33 And the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and

country of these tribes. The LXX. thought good to add here (and in all those verses) expressly, "and the half tribe of Manasseh;" though not in the Hebrew.

And brought them word again.] Informed them how they found things among their brethren.

Ver. 33. *The thing pleased the children of Israel;*] They were satisfied in the account they gave them; and approved of what their brethren had done.

Blessed God,] As Phinehas had done, that their brethren had not offended the Divine Majesty as they suspected.

Did not intend to go up against them in battle,] Laid aside that intention (which was in their mind, ver. 12), and pursued it no further.

To destroy the land.] For so they thought they were bound to do by the command, Deut. xiii. 12, &c. which extended to a whole country, as well as a city.

Ver. 34. *Called the altar Ed:*] That is, "a witness;" for the reason following.

It shall be a witness between us that the Lord is God.] That we own no other God but Jehovah, and him only will we worship, as he hath commanded. So the LXX. ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῶν ἵσται, "that the Lord is their God."

In all this whole relation from ver. 10, to the end of the chapter, there being no mention of Joshua,

did not intend to go up against them in battle, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and Gad dwelt.

34 And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar *Ed*: for it *shall be* a witness between us that the LORD is God.

who is not once named, either as sending these ambassadors or receiving the report which they brought back, some have thence entertained a conceit, that Joshua was dead before this happened; and consequently, that he could not be the author of this book. But it is manifest such persons have a great desire to weaken the authority of these holy books, or else they would not draw such consequences from such frivolous observations. For it is evident that all this came to pass not long after Joshua had dismissed these tribes, with good counsel, and with his blessing: for they returning immediately after this to their own country, went no further than Jordan before they erected this altar; upon which those great persons went to expostulate with them, and heard their apology, and came back and reported it. All this is told in one continued and coherent history (as it were with one breath), without the least signification of any considerable time that passed between one part of it and the other. And the LXX. were so well satisfied of this, that they took the answer of the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites, to have been brought to Joshua; for they say he imposed the name of *Ed* upon the altar. So their words are in the Vatican edition, which is most common among us, καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν βασιλῆα, &c.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1 Joshua's exhortation before his death, 3 by former benefits, 5 by promises, 11 and by threatenings.

1 AND it came to pass a long time after that the LORD had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, that Joshua waxed old and stricken in age.

2 And Joshua called for all Israel, and for their elders, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers, and said unto them, I am old and stricken in age.

CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *A long time after*] Some take it to have been fourteen years after their conquest of the country (xi. 23), and seven years after the division of it (see xiv. 10).

Joshua waxed old] This was said of him before the land was divided (xiii. 1), and a portion thereof given unto him: where he built a city; which took up so much time, that probably he was now in the last year of his life.

Ver. 2. *Called for all Israel,*] Sent out a summons to them to come to him at Timnath-serah, where he lived, as the Jews will have it; but rather to Shiloh, where they might appear before God, as well as before him, and have the greater regard to his words.

For their elders,] The word *and* is not in the Hebrew text, and therefore these words are an explication of what he means by *all Israel*: not all the people (who could not, without great inconvenience, come thither, and could not all hear him if they

3 And ye have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto all these nations because of you; for the LORD your God is he that hath fought for you.

4 Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these nations that remain, to be an inheritance for your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have cut off, even unto the great sea westward.

did), but their elders; that is, the great Sanhedrin, as they were called in future times; and *for their heads*, that is of their tribes and families; and *for their judges*, who were settled in all the lesser cities; and *for their officers*, who attended upon the judges to execute their sentence.

I am old] He would make them sensible that this might be the last time he should be able to speak to them, which might move them to give greater attention unto what he said.

Ver. 3. *Ye have seen*] Or rather, "behold, ye have seen;" for so the particle *ve* (which we translate *and*) sometimes signifies: Gen. xxiv. 31. "Behold, I have prepared the house," &c.

Because of you;] For your sake; that he might make room for you in their country, by expelling them out of it.

The Lord your God is he that hath fought for you.] See ch. i. 9. xi. 8. 10. 42. xi. 6. The Targum here saith, (as in x. 42), "The Lord your God, his Word fought for you" (see xiv. 12).

5 And the LORD your God, he shall expel them from before you, and drive them from out of your sight; and ye shall possess their land, as the LORD your God hath promised unto you.

6 Be ye therefore very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye turn not aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left;

7 That ye come not among these nations, these that remain among you; neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear by them, neither serve them, nor bow yourselves unto them:

8 But cleave unto the LORD your God, as ye have done unto this day.

9 For the LORD hath driven out from before you great nations and strong: but as for you, no man hath been able to stand before you unto this day.

Ver. 4.] The meaning is, he had divided among them the whole land of Canaan, from Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west; as well that part of the land which remained still unconquered, as that out of which they had expelled the ancient inhabitants.

Ver. 5.] This relates unto those who *remained* unsubdued (mentioned in the beginning of the foregoing verse), whom they should undoubtedly conquer and possess their country, if they adhered to God in faithful obedience, as he exhorts them in the following part of this chapter.

Ver. 6. *To keep and to do*] Or (as it may be translated), “by observing and doing.”

All that is written in the book of the law of Moses,] Which was the condition upon which God promised to continue them in the possession of this land. By this it is evident, that the book of the law of Moses was extant in those days, and that the people read it.

That ye turn not aside] See upon Dent. v. 32.

Ver. 7. *That ye come not among these nations,*] Have no familiarity with them, especially by marriage.

Neither make mention of the name of their gods,] With any sort of respect to them (see Exod. xxiii. 13. and Dent. xii. 3).

Nor cause to swear by them,] Not make a gentile swear by the name of his god; which was utterly unlawful, as Selden observes out of Maimonides in Avoda Zara (see lib. ii. De Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13). For this was to suppose they had knowledge of men's thoughts, and power to punish those that forswore themselves. And the forbidding this was also to secure them from making leagues and covenants with the gentiles which they would not look upon as binding without an oath.

Neither serve them,] By offering sacrifices, or praying, or making vows to them, though never so secretly.

Nor bow yourselves unto them:] As all inward reverence, so all outward respect likewise was forbidden to be paid to them, especially open and public seats of worship. Interpreters here observe a gradation, from familiarity with them to the most gross idolatry, in which their friendship with these people concluded.

Ver. 8.] A remarkable instance of which they had all lately given, when the nine tribes and a half were so unanimously resolved to punish idolatry, with the extirpation of those that were guilty of it (xxii. 33),

10 One man of you shall chase a thousand: for the LORD your God, he it is that fighteth for you, as he hath promised you.

11 Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, that ye love the LORD your God.

12 Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, *even* these that remain among you, and shall make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you:

13 Know for a certainty that the LORD your God will no more drive out *any* of these nations from before you; but they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which the LORD your God hath given you.

14 And, behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know in all your hearts

and the other also most zealously disclaimed all inclinations to it (ver. 22. 29).

Ver. 9. *Hath driven out from before you great nations and strong:*] The seven nations of Canaan, who dwell in strong cities, and brought mighty armies against them, with horses and chariots, and were some of them gigantic persons (xi. 4. 22).

No man hath been able to stand before you] None that gave them battle; though from some of their strong cities they had not yet driven them (see xxi. 41).

Ver. 10. *One man of you shall chase a thousand:*] He gives them hope of a good success for the future, as they had hitherto (Lev. xxvi. 8).

For the Lord your God, he it is that fighteth for you,] But he would not have them ascribe it to their own courage, but to the Divine power (Dent. xxxii. 30). Here again the Targum hath it, “the Word of the Lord,” &c. as ver. 3.

Ver. 11.] It highly, therefore, concerned them to keep close to the worship and service of God alone, with sincere love to him; since all their happiness depended upon his favour to them; for that this is meant by *loving God*, appears from the following verse; and Dent. vi. 4, 5, x. 12, xi. 22.

Ver. 12. *Else if ye do in any wise go back,*] From God, and fall to idolatry.

And cleave unto the remnant of these nations,] Embrace their errors, as the Vulgar translates it; which they might easily do by making friendship with them, as the phrase properly signifies.

Shall make marriages with them,] Which was the effect of their familiarity with them.

And go in unto them,] The same thing that was said before in other words, which only signify the consummation of marriage; which was strictly forbidden them, Exod. xxiii. 32. xxxiv. 12. 15, 16. Dent. vii. 3.

Ver. 13. *The Lord your God will no more drive out any of these nations*] As he had hitherto done, and promised still to do, if they would be obedient (ver. 8, 9). The Targum saith, “The Word of the Lord will no more drive,” &c.

But they shall be snares and traps unto you,] Remain in the land to inveigle and seduce them into further impiety (see Exod. xxiv. 12. Dent. vii. 4. 16).

Scourges in your sides,] Bring sore chastisements upon them; for this alludes to the lashes that were given offenders upon their sides (Ecclus. xxx. 12. xlii. 5).

Thorns in your eyes,] Most grievously afflict them (see Numb. xxxiii. 55).

and in all your souls, that not one thing hath failed of all the good things which the LORD your God spake concerning you; all are come to pass unto you, and not one thing hath failed thereof.

15 Therefore it shall come to pass, *that* as all good things are come upon you, which the LORD your God promised you; so shall the LORD bring upon you all evil things, until he have destroyed

Until ye perish from off this good land] For, with the love and favour of God, they forfeited also their inheritance which he had bestowed on them.

Ver. 14. *I am going the way of all the earth:*] Shall die shortly, as all men must one time or other; therefore hearken to the words of a dying man.

Ye know in all your hearts] Are all fully convinced. *Not one thing hath failed, &c.*] See upon xxi. 45. And God was as good as his word ever after, as Solomon acknowledges, 1 Kings viii. 56.

Ver. 15. *So shall the Lord*] When he ceased to be their God.

Bring upon you all evil things,] According to what

you from off this good land which the LORD your God hath given you.

16 When ye have transgressed the covenant of the LORD your God, which he commanded you, and have gone and served other gods, and bowed yourselves to them; then shall the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and ye shall perish quickly from off the good land which he hath given unto you.

Moses had predicted at large, Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. In my annotations upon which last chapter, I have demonstrated, that not one thing hath failed of all the threatenings there mentioned, but all literally fulfilled to a tittle: for God's faithfulness is no less visible in fulfilling his threatenings than his promises.

Ver. 16. *And have gone and served other gods,*] This was the principal thing in the covenant, that they should have no other gods but him alone; as I have observed from a great number of places in the book of Deuteronomy.

Ye shall perish quickly] See Deut. xxviii. 20.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 Joshua assembleth the tribes at Shechem. 2 A brief history of God's benefits from Terah. 14 He reneweth the covenant between them and God. 26 A stone the witness of the covenant. 29 Joshua's age, death, and burial. 32 Joseph's bones are buried. 33 Eleazar dieth.

1 AND Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for

their officers; and they presented themselves before God.

2 And Joshua said unto all the people, Thus

CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *Joshua gathered all the tribes*] It is likely that Joshua, living longer than he expected when he made the foregoing speech to them, called the people together once more, to give them good advice before he died; as Moses made a great many speeches to them (I observed upon the book of Deuteronomy) before his departure from them: or, perhaps, it was the usual custom of Joshua to take occasion often to call them together, and put them in mind of their duty. And these two exhortations, which he made to them in the latter end of his life, he thought fit to record.

Tb Shechem,] Some will have this place to be the same with Shiloh, called here Shechem, because it was in the country of Shechem, and not far from it. The LXX. also call it Σηχώ, both here and ver. 25. It is plain also, by the latter end of the verse, that they assembled there where God dwelt, which was in Shiloh: yet all this is not sufficient to make us think they were not summoned to the city called Shechem: for there is no good reason for calling Shiloh by this name, it being (as St. Jerome saith) ten miles from Shechem: and all other copies of the LXX. but the Vatican, having Συχημ, not Σηχώ. And as for their appearing before God at this place, I shall give an account of it at the end of this verse; and now only say, that it is likely Joshua, who was the supreme governor of God's people, being old and infirm, caused the ark, for this time, to be brought to Shechem, being near to him, that he might renew the covenant with the people in that place where Abraham first settled, when he came into the land of Canaan, and where he built an altar, and God established his covenant with him (Gen. xii. 6, 7), and where the patriarchs were buried (Acts vii. 15, 16), and where he was about to lay the bones of Joseph (ver. 32. of this chapter),

and where the Israelites, at their first entrance into Canaan, renewed their covenant with God (Josh. viii. 30, &c.). For Ebal and Gerizim were hard by Shechem.

Called for the elders, &c.] The same persons mentioned xiii. 2. Which places give us a distinct account of the persons concerned in the government of the Israelites; as Const. L'Empereur observes, in his annotations upon Bertram De Repub. Judaica, p. 362. 395, 396.

They presented themselves before God.] At his tabernacle; which was, as I said, for the present brought hither. For it is plain, as Cornel. Bertram observes (L. De Republ. Judaica, cap. 15, p. 249), the kings or chief rulers of Israel had a power to carry the ark from the place of its constant residence when there was a great occasion for it (1 Sam. iv. 3, 4. 2 Sam. xv. 24). And now, at this great assembly of the whole nation by their representatives, there was a just reason for its being brought hither (seeing Joshua could not conveniently, by reason of his great old age, go to Shiloh), that it might be a more solemn meeting, being held in the presence of God. Mr. Mede hath another notion of this matter; for he thinks that there was a proseucha, or praying-place, erected by the Israelites (at least by the Ephraimites, in whose lot Shechem was) after they had subdued the country, that they might resort hither to call upon God, when they were not able to go as far as the tabernacle. Many such places he makes account there were; of which see more on ver. 26.

Ver. 2. *Joshua said unto all the people,*] That were there present, viz. the elders, heads, judges, and officers, mentioned in the foregoing verse; who were to report his words to all the people.

Thus saith the Lord God] This is an argument that Joshua spake all that follows by a Divine impulse; for

said the LORD God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, *even Terah*, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and they served other gods.

3 And I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood, and led him throughout all the land of Canaan, and multiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac.

4 And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and I gave unto Esau mount Seir, to possess it; but Jacob and his children went down into Egypt.

5 I sent Moses also and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that which I did among them: and afterward I brought you out.

6 And I brought your fathers out of Egypt:

he begins his speech in the solemn form used by the prophets (*thus saith the Lord*) and introduces God himself speaking in his own person. From whence it may be inferred he was a prophet, as well as the ruler of God's people.

Your fathers dwell on the other side of the flood] That is, of the river Euphrates.

In old time,] A long time before they came from Ur of the Chaldees into Haran (Gen. xi. 28. 31).

Terah, the father of Abraham, and—Nachor.] These were Terah's two eldest sons (Gen. xi. 26.).

They served other gods.] All agree that Terah was an idolater living in that country, from whence, as many think, idolatry first came (Gen. xxxi. 19). The Jews, in Schalsch. Hakkabala, say he was a priest: see Hottinger in his *Suegma Orientale*, cap. 8. p. 290. Others of them say, he was a statue, who made images of several materials, *λίαν τοις τοις εἰδαι θεοῖς*, "saying, These were gods;" as Suidas speaks, who, together with Epiphanius, is of the opinion (see Bochartus, in his *Phaleg*, lib. ii. cap. 5). Abraham himself also, most agree, was bred up in the same idolatry; though some few deny it; as Hottinger observes in the same place; where he alleges the words of Maimonides, who saith, He was converted to the worship of the Creator of all, in the forty-eighth year of his age; and that his father Terah also repented, and worshipped the true and only God (see upon Gen. xi. 31).

Ver. 3. *I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood,*] From that idolatrous country where he was born and educated. Which is mentioned as a singular obligation upon the Israelites to adhere unto God, who singled out the father of their families, so many ages ago, to be his worshipper. This Maimonides, having occasion to mention these words of Joshua, represents in very pathetic expressions: "How great is the benefit (saith he) that we receive by these precepts, which have freed us from such a grand error in which our father was educated, and converted us to the true belief of God? by teaching us that he created all things, and that he is to be worshipped, and loved, and feared, and he only; and that there is no great labour required to do his will, but only the love and fear of him, in which two all his worship is perfected," &c. (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29).

Led him] From Charran, after his father's death.

Throughout all the land of Canaan,] Till he came to Shechem (where the Israelites now were assembled), and so to Beth-el; and so on still towards the south of the land of Canaan (Gen. xii. 6. 8. 9).

Gave him Isaac.] In order to the fulfilling of his promise (Gen. xv. 5), he bestowed a son upon him, when he was a hundred years old (Gen. xxi. 1, 2, &c.).

and ye came unto the sea; and the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen unto the Red sea.

7 And when they cried unto the LORD, he put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea upon them, and covered them; and your eyes have seen what I have done in Egypt: and ye dwelt in the wilderness a long season.

8 And I brought you into the land of the Amorites, which dwelt on the other side Jordan; and they fought with you: and I gave them into your hand, that ye might possess their land; and I destroyed them from before you.

9 Then Balak the son of Zippor, king of

Ver. 4. *I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau.*] Who had a very numerous issue (Gen. xxv. 24, &c.).

I gave unto Esau mount Seir.] He and his brother being grown so rich, and their cattle so increased, that there was not room for them both in the land of Canaan, so they sojourned (Gen. xxxvi. 6—8).

Jacob and his children went down into Egypt.] Though Esau left the land of Canaan entirely to him, yet the time was not come when God intended to plant his posterity in it; but they were forced to go down into Egypt, where they suffered a cruel bondage (Gen. xlv. 6. Exod. i. 11, &c.). So the LXX. explain it.

Ver. 5. *I sent Moses also and Aaron.*] And when they were multiplied exceedingly (Exod. i. 7. 14. 20), these two great persons were sent to deliver them from that bondage (Exod. iii. 10. iv. 14).

I plagued Egypt.] Snote it with those signs (as the LXX. explain it) which are related in that book of Exodus.

Afterward I brought you out.] By those wonderful plagues they were, at last, constrained to let the Israelites depart, as they desired (Exod. xii. 31, &c.).

Ver. 6. *I brought your fathers out of Egypt: and you came unto the sea;*] When he had brought them out (as is related, Exod. xii. 40) they were led by God through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea (Exod. xiii. 18), by which they encamped, and were in very great straits (xiv. 9).

The Egyptians pursued after your fathers] Imagining them to be in such difficulties, that they could not escape out of their hand (Exod. xiv. 3).

Ver. 7. *He put darkness between you and the Egyptians.*] So that when they had overtaken them, they could not see where they were (Exod. xiv. 10. 19, 20).

Brought the sea upon them,] Inasmuch that they marched after them into the sea, where they were overwhelmed (Exod. xiv. 27, 28).

Your eyes have seen what I have done in Egypt:] Or, *upon the Egyptians.* He appeals to them for the truth of this, who had seen them lie dead upon the sea-shore (Exod. xiv. 30, 31). For their elders, to whom he now speaks (ver. 1), were all then there: and now not only men of great dignity, but (many of them at least) of great age.

Ye dwell in the wilderness a long season.] Forty years, Numb. xiv. 33. where he gave them a law, and fed them miraculously, &c.

Ver. 8. *I brought you into the land of the Amorites.*] Towards the latter end of that time (Numb. xxi. 20, 21).

They fought with you, &c.] See there, ver. 23, 24, 33, &c.

Ver. 9. *Then Balak—arose and warred against*

Moab, arose and warred against Israel, and sent and called Baalam the son of Beor to curse you :

10 But I would not hearken unto Baalam; therefore he blessed you still : so I delivered you out of his hand.

11 And ye went over Jordan, and came unto Jericho : and the men of Jericho fought against you, the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Girgashites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites ; and I delivered them into your hand.

12 And I sent the hornet before you, which drave them out from before you, *even the two*

kings of the Amorites ; *but not with thy sword nor with thy bow.*

13 And I have given you a land for which ye did not labour, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them ; of the vineyards and olive-yards which ye planted not do ye eat.

14 ¶ Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth : and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt ; and serve ye the Lord.

15 And if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve ;

Israel,] He did not actually draw out his forces, and fall upon them, but he prepared them and made them ready, with an intention to drive them by his coast, if Balaam could have disabled them by his curses ; which sufficiently appears from Numb. xxii. 11. David Camius therefore notes pertinently, "the design or contrivance is reputed the work itself."

Sent and called Balaam] See Numb. xxii. 5, 6, &c.

Ver. 10. But I would not hearken unto Balaam ;] Who had a great inclination to do what Balak desired ; and one would think by this, begged of God to give him leave to use his arts to do the Israelites mischief : and when this was denied him, yet obtaining license to go to the king of Moab, he went with these intentions, and with hope he might prevail with God to suffer him to prosecute his design (Numb. xxii. 32).

Therefore he blessed you still.] He all along pronounced nothing but blessings on them instead of curses, notwithstanding all the attempts that were made to the contrary, Numb. xxiii. and xxiv. Which was to be ascribed to the overruling power of God, who hindered him from hurting them.

Ver. 11. Ye went over Jordan,] Having vanquished the two kings of the Amorites on the other side of it, and got quit of all other enemies (the Moabites and Midianites), God in a wonderful manner brought them into Canaan, by drying up the river Jordan to give them a passage over it.

Came unto Jericho.] Which was the first place they besieged, being the nearest city to Jordan.

The men of Jericho fought against you,] We do not read of any sallies they made upon the Israelites ; but they, shutting their gates, to defend the city against them, it is likely, flung stones from their wall upon them.

The Amorites, &c.] After which, it appears by this book, that they fought with all the seven nations of Canaan ; who engaged them in several bodies, and at several times : which was done so lately, that there was no need he should repeat all the particulars mentioned in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters. But by the division of their land among the Israelites, it was very well known to them, that (as this verse concludes) "God had delivered them into their hands." It is observable, that the Girgashites are here particularly mentioned, as fighting against Israel with the rest of the seven nations ; which makes Grotius' observation doubtful, of their surrender at Joshua's first summons (see xvi. 10), but if that be not true, it is manifest some of them remained unsubdued, and had a settlement in Canaan in our Saviour's days : when we read of the country of the Gergesens, the inhabitants of which were not Jews, as appears by their breeding swine (see Constant. L'Empereur in his annotations on Bava-kama, p. 180).

Ver. 12. I sent the hornet before you, which drave them out.] This may signify, either that before the Israelites came into those parts, God sent hornets,

which so infested them, that many of them were forced to leave their country, and flee into other places ; or, that when they came to give them battle, these hornets made such assaults upon them, as facilitated the victory. This God promised in Exod. xxiii. 27, 28. Deut. vii. 20, and here Joshua remembers how true he was to his word. The Book of Wisdom calls them προδρομοι, the forerunners of God's host ; and Kimchi saith, they flew in the eyes of the Canaanites, and made them so blind, that they could not see to fight.

Even the two kings of the Amorites ;] Sihon and Og, whose country was first infested with them ; and afterward the kings of Canaan, and their people, felt their fury : for this is a short expression, like that which I observed xxii. 10.

But not with thy sword, nor with thy bow.] These swarms of hornets, it seems, did greater execution than the armies of the Israelites. We do not read of their assaulting the Canaanites in any of the battles that Joshua fought with them ; for he did not think fit to mention it particularly in the foregoing account of his victory, but now in general, when he was to sum up all the mercies of God to them.

Ver. 13. I have given you a land for which ye did not labour.] As Joshua had observed before (xi. 13).

Of the vineyards—which ye planted not do ye eat.] According to his promise, Deut. vi. 10, 11.

Ver. 14. Fear the Lord.] The fear of God commonly signifies his worship and service, unto which he exhorts them in the following words : which seem to relate to all outward acts of worship ; as this to the inward reverence they owed to him in their minds as the only God.

Serve him in sincerity and in truth.] Worship no other God together with him, nor mix any idolatrous rites with those prescribed by him ; but serve him constantly and purely according to his law which is the truth (Ps. cxix. 142).

Put away the gods which your fathers served.] See ver. 2. This intimates, that there were now some idolaters among them, though secretly in private, and not openly ; for they had lately expressed so unanimously such a zeal against any appearance of idolatry, that one cannot think there was any known worshipper of other gods now in the nation.

In Egypt.] Where they began to be corrupted in their religion, as is often suggested by the prophet Ezekiel, xx. 6—8. 18. xxiii. 3. 8. 19. 21. 27.

Serve ye the Lord.] He repeats it again, as a thing of the greatest moment, that they should worship the Lord alone.

Ver. 15. If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve.] He could not think they would turn atheists, and have no God at all ; and he was unwilling to suppose that they would prefer any other god to him, who had obliged them by such benefits as are before mentioned : which

whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the LORD.

16 And the people answered and said, God forbid that we should forsake the LORD, to serve other gods;

17 For the LORD our God, he it is that brought us up and our fathers out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage, and which did those great signs in our sight, and preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all the people through whom we passed;

18 And the LORD drave out from before us all the people, even the Amorites which dwell in the

land: *therefore* will we also serve the LORD; for he is our God.

19 And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve the LORD: for he is an holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions nor your sins.

20 If ye forsake the LORD, and serve strange gods, then he will turn and do you hurt, and consume you, after that he hath done you good.

21 And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve the LORD.

22 And Joshua said unto the people, *Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the LORD, to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses.*

23 Now therefore put away, said he, the

he expresses in his rhetorical form of speech; which is as much as if he had said, If you like not the Lord's service, tell me whom ye will serve? Where do you hope to find a God comparable to him?

Whether the gods which your fathers served] That had some colour for it, because of its antiquity; but was condemned by Abraham their father, who forsook that religion, and was blessed for it by God, with the inheritance he had now given them in the land of Canaan.

Or the gods of the Amorites,] That was so absurd, as to need no confutation; for those gods could not defend their servants that worshipped them.

But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.] He declares his firm resolution (let them take what course they pleased), together with his whole family (as far as he could oblige them), to worship the Lord alone.

Ver. 16. *The people answered*] All the elders and others there present, and all those to whom they reported that Joshua had said, made this answer.

God forbid that we should forsake the Lord,] The Hebrew word *chaliu* (which we translate *God forbid*) imports a great abhorrence and abomination of that which is mentioned with it.

To serve other gods;] Which they now looked upon as the greatest madness.

Ver. 17.] They gave such powerful reasons why they should serve none but the Lord alone; that if they had always preserved them as fresh in their minds as they were now, they could never have gone after other gods.

Ver. 18. *All the people,*] That is, of Canaan.

Even the Amorites] In the Hebrew, "and the Amorites;" that is, together with the two kings of the Amorites, whom they had driven before out of the land on the other side of Jordan.

Therefore will we also serve the Lord;] Follow the example of Joshua, their leader (ver. 15).

For he is our God.] As they were convinced by their wonderful deliverance out of Egypt; all the great signs he wrought there, and after they came from thence; and the care he took of them in the wilderness, and all other places; and now by their late victories over most potent enemies, whom he had driven out of their country, and put the Israelites in possession of it.

Ver. 19. *Ye cannot serve the Lord;*] This is far from signifying an utter impossibility of it (for that would have contradicted his exhortation, ver. 14), but that they were so very prone to idolatry, that they would not be able to persevere steadfast in their resolution, unless they took care constantly to reflect upon, and lay to heart, what they had now acknow-

ledged (ver. 17, 18), which he was afraid they would not do.

For he is an holy God; he is a jealous God;] Who, having no equal (that is meant by *holy*), will endure no rival; and therefore they who communicated the worship proper to him, unto any other besides him, or with him, were deemed to deny his incomparable sanctity, and said in Scripture to *profane* his holy name, as Mr. Mede observes (see book i. disc. 2). It is a just remark which Mr. Alix here makes, in his excellent book of the Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians, ch. ix. that here is a plain idea of a plurality of persons in the Godhead, the words in the Hebrew being, "he is the holy Gods;" like that Eccles. xii. 1, "Remember thy Creators." And, indeed, this is a place anciently noted by the Christian doctors (whom the Jews call heretics), who asked R. Samlai, as the Jews themselves tell us, what he had to answer unto these words. Ye cannot serve the Lord, Ki Elohim Kedoshim Hu, "because he is the holy Gods?" Who had nothing to reply, but that Joshua doth not say, "They are the holy Gods" but "He is the holy Gods." Which is the very same that we affirm, that he is Three in one. This is in Beresehith Rabba, mentioned by Raymond in his Pugio Fidei, and by J. Wagenseil, in his confutation of Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 129.

He will not forgive your transgressions] But make those who assume any other deity unto fellowship with him in worship, feel how he resents such dishonour done to his Divine Majesty.

Ver. 20. *If ye—serve strange gods,*] Either the gods of the Amorites, before mentioned, or those that their fathers anciently served.

Then he will turn and do you hurt,] Alter the course of his providence towards you, and send as many curses upon you, as he hath done blessings; according to the prediction of Moses in Deut. xxviii. 63.

Ver. 21.] They desire him to entertain a better opinion of them; for they persist in their well-grounded resolution (ver. 16—18).

Ver. 22. *Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve him.*] This solemn profession, which they had thus deliberately and publicly made, he tells them, would testify against them, and condemn them, if they proved false to God.

We are witnesses.] Here they renew that choice of God for their king, which their forefathers made when they came out of Egypt (in the nineteenth and twenty-fourth chapters of Exodus), and acknowledged they should be self-condemned if they did not make it good.

Ver. 23. *Put away—the strange gods that are among you,*] See ver. 14. This is an argument that he

strange gods which *are* among you, and incline your heart unto the LORD God of Israel.

24 And the people said unto Joshua, The LORD our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey.

25 So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem.

26 ¶ And Joshua wrote these words in the

was a prophet, as I said upon ver. 2, that he saw their inward disposition, and the secret affection they had to idols. For though there was no public idol worshipped, yet he knew, by the spirit of prophecy, that they had their *penates* (as the Romans called them), "household gods;" or, rather, gods which they worshipped secretly in their closets, as our Dr. Spencer observes, lib. iii. dissert. 1. cap. 3. These being the very same words which Jacob used to his household when he suspected them of the same crime, though there was no open idolatry practised among them (Gen. xxxv. 2).

Incline your heart unto the Lord] Settle your affection upon the Lord alone, who you profess is your sovereign, to whom the whole nation hath infinite obligations (ver. 16—18.)

Ver. 24.] They repeat their professed resolution a third time, which made it more binding; and a stronger witness against them, if they forsook the Lord.

Ver. 25. *So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day.*] Engaged them to make good this solemn profession, by renewing the covenant they had formerly entered into, both in the time of Moses, and in his time: wherein they promised to worship him alone, and be obedient to him; and he promised to do for them as he had formerly done; that is, be their constant protector and benefactor. There are those who think this covenant was now established by sacrifice, as it was when they came out of Egypt (Exod. xxiv. 4, 5), and when they came into Canaan (Josh. viii. 31.). But, as there is no mention of an altar, or any offering, so it is not likely that Joshua would offer any sacrifice but in the place which God had chosen, which was Shiloh: for though we suppose the sanctuary to have been brought hither for a little time, yet it was not the settled place of the Divine residence.

Set them a statute and an ordinance] It is commonly interpreted, that he propounded to them in brief the precepts of the law; which are the conditions of the covenant: but it may be expounded, that he enacted this covenant to have the force of a statute and ordinance, or judgment, as it is in the Hebrew.

In Shechem.] So that it was called hereafter the covenant or statute in Shechem, where they all made repeated professions of love to God.

Ver. 26. *Joshua wrote these words*] From whence, as I observed in the preface, the Talmudists gather Joshua to have been the author of this book. As if these words signified, that he, after the example of Moses, committed to writing all that we read in this book, and added it at the end of the five books written by Moses, as it is now annexed to them. But it must be confessed, that one cannot certainly infer more from these words than that he wrote the words of the foregoing covenant; and this he did, as it here follows, in the very book of the law of God, that it might be preserved in everlasting remembrance.

In the book of the law of God.] Which was laid up by Moses' order, in the side of the ark (Deut. xxxi. 24—26). From whence he took it, and wrote in it all that had passed between him and the people, that they might look upon this as a sacred transaction, as

book of the law of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there under an oak, that *was* by the sanctuary of the LORD.

27 And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the LORD which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.

indeed it was, and most carefully observe it: and perhaps he wrote it also in that copy of the law of God, which the princes had for the use of every tribe (see upon Deut. xxxi. 9).

Took a great stone, and set it up there] As a monument of the covenant now made. Which was an ancient way of preserving the memory of things past, as appears by what Jacob did, Gen. xxviii. 18, and they themselves had lately done, iv. 3. 20, 21, &c. Upon this stone, it is probable, there was an inscription, signifying what it meant.

Under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of the Lord.] This is one argument Mr. Mede uses (in the place I mentioned upon ver. 1), to prove that the sanctuary, properly so called, cannot be here meant, because it was unlawful to plant any trees near it (Deut. xvi. 21, 22), and therefore he understands hereby a *proseucha*, or praying-place, which, in memory of Jacob, was here at Shechem. And he doth plainly show, there were both such places, and also synagogues, in several parts of the country; the former being in the fields, open on the top; the latter in cities, covered as our houses are. And I may add, that we do read of sanctuaries, in the plural number, that were among them in aftertimes (Amos vii. 9). Yet it must be acknowledged, that the argument he uses from the place I mentioned in Deuteronomy is not cogent: for though they be prohibited there to plant a grove of any trees near God's altar, after the manner of the gentiles, this did not make it unlawful to set up the sanctuary under a tree that had been planted before; especially when it was done only for a short time, and not to make it the settled place for its constant abode.

But there are those who avoid this seeming difficulty, by referring these words, "in the sanctuary of the Lord" (as they may be translated), not to the oak, but to the words going before, "the book of the law of God," which was in the sanctuary. And thus, it is certain, words are sometimes to be connected, not with those immediately preceding, but with those which are more remote. A notable instance of which we have in Gen. xiii. 10, where those words in the end of the verse, "As thou comest unto Zoar," cannot be joined to "the land of Egypt," just before mentioned but to the "plain of Jordan," in the very beginning of the verse.

Ver. 27. *This stone shall be a witness unto us.*] As Laban said concerning the heap of stones which he and Jacob raised (Gen. xxxi. 48. 51, 52).

For it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us.] All those speeches which had been delivered by Joshua in the name of God (ver. 2, 3, &c.), and all that the Israelites had answered to him: that is, the covenant between God and them; which being renewed before this stone, it is said, by an elegant figure, to have heard what was spoken; because it would remain to testify and declare to all posterity the engagements that lay upon them. Thus the prophet calls to all creatures, "Hear, O heaven," &c.

It shall be therefore a witness unto you.] To accuse them; as much as if it had heard what they said, and could speak against them.

28 So Joshua let the people depart, every man unto his inheritance.

29 ¶ And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died, being an hundred and ten years old.

30 And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in mount Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash.

31 And Israel served the Lord all the days of

Joshua, and all the days of the elders that over-lived Joshua, and which had known all the works of the Lord, that he had done for Israel.

32 ¶ And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of silver: any it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph.

Ver. 28.] And the sanctuary of the Lord returned to its settled place, which was Shiloh.

Ver. 29. *After these things,*] Not long after, in all probability.

Joshua—the servant of the Lord, died,] Leaving this honourable character behind him, which Moses also had, that he had served the Lord faithfully.

Being an hundred and ten years old.] Of the same age with Joseph. How many of these years he spent in Canaan, as the chief ruler of God's people, men's opinions are very widely different: for some say he lived twenty and eight years after they came over Jordan (which is the opinion of the Jews in Seder Olam); though others will not allow so much as the odd eight years, but say it was only seven. There is a middle opinion maintained by others, that he was their governor seventeen years (see Bonfrerius).

Ver. 30. *Timnath-serah,*] Called in Judg. ii. 9. *Timnath-heres*: because of the image of the sun engraven on its sepulchre, in memory of that famous day, when the sun stood still till he had completed his victory (ch. x). So several of the Jewish authors say, particularly he who wrote the book put out by Hottinger, under the title of Cippi Hebraici, p. 32, where he saith, his father Nun was buried here and Caleb the son of Jephunnah (see also his *Smegma Orientale*, cap. 8. p. 523). And thus Tally saith, a sphere and a cylinder were put upon the tomb of Archimedes.

On the north side of the hill of Gaash.] So called, as the Jews fable, because it trembled and quaked, at the burial of Joshua, whose death the people did not enough bewail. Which fancy, it is likely, came into their head, because there is no mention here of any days of mourning for him, as there were for Aaron and Moses. In which St. Jerome and other of the fathers think there is a mystery; viz. that under the law when the kingdom of heaven was not yet opened, they had reason to mourn and weep for the death of their friends; but under the gospel, wherein is revealed by the Lord Jesus (of whom Joshua was a figure) the wonderful love of God to men, &c. there is no reason for mourning and lamentation, but rather for rejoicing.

Of this hill, see Const. L'Empereur upon Benjamin's Itinerarium, who calls Montpellier by this name of Har-Gaash, the trembling hill, p. 142, 143.

Ver. 31. *Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua,*] No idolatry appeared among them publicly while he lived (whatsoever private superstition might be practised, ver. 14, 23), for all that wicked generation which came out of Egypt (except the younger sort) were consumed in the wilderness, before Joshua took the conduct of them. And God kept them there so many years, as wasted them also, for this reason among others, that they might forget the idolatrous custom of Egypt, unto which it early appeared by their making the golden calf, they were strongly inclined. Thus St. Chrysostom discourses (lib. i. advers. Vitæ Monast. vituper.): God, saith he, that the children of Israel might unlearn the evil customs of

Egypt, brought them *καταμύνας ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ*, "to lead a solitary life in the wilderness," forming their minds, as in a monastery, far from those who had corrupted them. And he destroyed there all the elder sort, that none might enter into Palestine, but they who had not seen the superstitious impieties of the Egyptians, καὶ μηδὲν ὑδάσκατον ἔχον τῆς ποταμῆς κοίτης, "and that they might have no master left among them to teach them such kind of wickedness."

All the days of the elders that over-lived Joshua,] These elders had been chosen by Moses, who knew them to be men of great piety; that had not only seen, but observed and kept in mind all God's wonderful works; and would put others in mind of them and teach them to serve and obey the Lord.

From this place the Jews labour to establish all their oral traditions; which Moses, say they, delivered to Joshua, and he to these elders, and they to the prophets, and they to others (see Maimonides in Seder Zeraim, set forth by our most learned Dr. Pococke p. 34), for which there is no foundation.

Ver. 32. *The bones of Joseph,*] It is a needless pains which the Jews bestow in reconciling this place with Exodus xiii. 19, where it is said, "Moses took the bones of Joseph with him." For there is no contradiction between these two places, the children of Israel doing what Moses required them to do; who could not carry them away himself, but saw they brought out of Egypt. Yet thus they gravely discourse about this matter, in the Talmud (tit. Sota. cap. 1. sect. 47); "when any one begins a thing but doth not bring it to perfection, and another comes and finishes it, the Scripture speaks of him who completes it, as if he alone had done it."

Buried they in Shechem,] Which was one reason, perhaps, for gathering the great assembly above mentioned, that they might the more solemnly deposit the bones of this great man, in that portion of land which his father Jacob had given him; see Gen. xlviii. 22, where it seems they thought it most agreeable to lay him, rather than in the cave of Macphelah. It may be reasonably thought, also, that the bodies of the rest of the sons of Jacob, from whom the twelve tribes descended, were brought into Canaan, to be there interred, as Josephus relates from ancient tradition, lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 4. And St. Stephen confirms it, Acts vii. 16. For though Joseph excelled them all in dignity, and gave this special charge about his body, yet, no doubt, every tribe had as great a regard to the head of it, and would be inclined to do the same for their fathers that Joseph desired for himself. But whether they buried them in the sepulchre at Macphelah, or in some eminent place in their own tribe, as Joseph was, there is none that gives us any account.

In a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor] See Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19. This shows they did not bury him in the city of Shechem, but in a field near it, which was his own ground: for so the ancient manner was, not to bury in cities and towns, but in the adjacent fields or gardens.

33 And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in a hill that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in mount Ephraim.

It became the inheritance of the children of Joseph.] Of the Ephraimites, who gave Shechem to the Levites for a city of refuge (xxi. 20, 21).

Ver. 33. Eleazar—died;] Who imitated Joshua (if we may believe the Samaritan Chronicle), in calling all the elders and princes of the tribes to him before he died, charging them strictly to obey all the commands of God. After which he put off his sacred garments, and clothed his son Phinehas with them. This is so far from being improbable, that it is likely all the elders did the same, as far as their authority could reach; being very desirous their posterity might continue firm and steadfast in the worship of God alone.

They buried him in a hill that pertained to Phinehas his son,] In the Hebrew the words are, "in the hill of Phinehas; that is, a hill called by his name. It being the manner, as I have noted elsewhere, to call places by the name of their eldest son.

Which was given him in mount Ephraim.] It is a question to whom this hill was given: most probable to Eleazar, who, being the high-priest at the time of the division of the land, they thought fit to give him a peculiar portion, distinct from all the cities of the priests; none of which were in the tribe of Ephraim, but all in the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon, as we read xxi. 9. 17. 19. And they gave it Eleazar in this country, that he might be near to the tabernacle (which was in Shiloh), and near to Joshua, to be ready on all occasions to advise him, and consult

the oracle for him. But against this there lies a great objection, that no Levite or priest was to have any portion in the division of the land: and therefore it is the most received opinion among the Jews, that either Eleazar or Phinehas had this inheritance in the right of his wife. So the Gemara Babylonica on Bava Bathra, and a great many others, mentioned by Mr. Selden, in his book *De Successionibus ad Leges Hebr.* cap. 18, where he observes another example of this *marital succession*, as he calls it; that is, the husband succeeding his wife in her estate after her death, in 1 Chron. ii. 21, where the twenty-three cities which Jair possessed, Kimchi saith he had by his wife.

These last five verses, it is evident, were not written by Joshua: but this is no argument he did not write this book; no more than that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, because there is the like account given of his death and burial in the conclusion of it, by some other author (see Dent. xxxiv. 1). The Talmudists, I observed, say in Bava Bathra, that Joshua wrote his own book, and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch. And they say in the same place (cap. 1), as to what is written here, ver. 29, it was done by Eleazar; and what is said, ver. 33, it was written by Phinehas; or rather, these five verses, from 29 to the end, were written by Samuel: who, being a prophet, was moved and directed by God to continue the history of this people from the death of Joshua to his own time.



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